ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:	SEEING THE MATERIALITY OF RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER IN WESTERN ORANGE COUNTY, VIRGINIA
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This dissertation explores some of the ways the African American community in Western Orange County, Virginia adapted to life after emancipation. The interpretation relies upon intersectional materialism, which is rooted in the intellectual legacy of Black Left Feminists. Intersectional materialism rejects the dualities and dichotomies common in dialectical thinking and embraces a polylectical framework that has emerged following the influences of postmodern theorists in the mid to late 20th-century. Polylectical analysis requires the inclusion of a wide array of voices from people positioned across a complex matrix of domination to better understand the structure of that matrix and the possible futures that could be produced from it. This has enabled an understanding of African American material culture that links directly to the ideas of generations of Black intellectuals. This has resulted in an emphasis on the material culture of domestic architecture and literacy. It becomes possible to more accurately interpret material culture that may not have been directly

addressed by people in the past after a more complete interpretation of the structure of

social forces is accomplished. This includes the analysis and interpretation of the

dynamic relationship between African American domestic sites and the visualscape.

SEEING THE MATERIALITY OF RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER IN
WESTERN ORANGE COUNTY, VIRGINIA

by

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Dedication

Dedicated to the scholars of color that have provided the intellectual foundation of this dissertation, even though many were barred from earning a PhD themselves.

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I would like to acknowledge the hard work and sacrifice of my wife, Mary Collins, who spent many nights wrangling our two beautiful children on her own while I was buried in a book, a library, or a lab. I also want to thank my children for distracting me from my work with their bright smiles, always reminding me of the important things in life.

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Lastly, Thank you to members of the descendant community at Montpelier and members of the Orange County African American Historical Society, especially Dr. Iris Ford and Ms. Madlynn Anglin. The dissertation may be finished but our work together has only just begun.

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Introduction

Orange County has been a rural enclave in Virginia's central Piedmont for generations. Thousands of people have spent their lives working in the agricultural production of wealth by extracting commodities like tobacco, grain, produce, and livestock from its blood red soils. The ways in which this wealth has been distributed has always been shaped by powerful social and environmental forces. Historical archaeology has a significant role to play in understanding how the relationships between these forces influenced shifts within society and people's actions within them.

In the far western portion of the county, south of the Rapidan River, there is a small triangle formed by the towns of Orange, Gordonsville, and Barboursville. Within this small triangle is agricultural land that was once occupied by Native Peoples. The Monocans were living here when Europeans began to force enslaved African workers into this area at the beginning of the 18th century. The Monocans relied upon agriculture, arboriculture, and wild game to meet their need for food and to enable trade for distant goods.

When Europeans gained control of this land, the grandparents of President James Madison acquired a grant for thousands of acres of rolling hills and ravines covered in a patchwork of forests and fields produced by the earlier inhabitants. European forms of Land management were first put into action by enslaved Africans who cleared fields and built the first plantations on which they would continue to be held captive, along with generations of their descendants.

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This agricultural society has been shaped by patriarchy, racism, and the emergence of capitalism. These forces guided the actions of people as they sculpted their landscape from the remains of the past. Society and technology changed, along with people's relationships to one another. Shifting global markets and the mechanization of agricultural practices influenced what people decided to produce. Transportation modes and networks transformed peoples' ability to move goods and brought new forms of employment to the region. After many generations, slavery was outlawed, and new opportunities arose for the formerly enslaved.

Black men earned the vote, but the Black Codes followed. These laws limited the rights of people of color, etching inequality into new legal doctrine. Vigilante White supremacist groups and newly formed police forces used violence and the unjust legal system to subjugate Black Americans and strip them of their newly earned rights.

Women of all colors also faced a deficit of rights, including that foundation of democracy, the vote. Women across the country fought, protested, and lobbied for an amendment that would correct the injustice of their exclusion from the vote at the time of the founding of the United States. Although the majority felt that they deserved this right, competing tactics often pitted women against each other along boundaries of race and class. Ultimately, this right was won through the racist intention to further suppress the Black vote through the expansion of the number of White voters.

This brief synopsis of the forces that shaped the national and local social topography highlights some of the dramatic changes that have taken place. The complex interaction of people within a web of social relations helped to bring these changes about, but had to also adapt to the new, often shaky ground upon which the nation has continuously rebuilt itself. These complex relations, interactions, and social forces played out in the practice and performance of

everyday life within a social space. Archaeology is a valuable tool for developing an interpretation of everyday life through the material culture that has accumulated throughout the landscape as a product of past action. This dissertation attempts to use these remains to provide a more thorough understanding of the relationships of individuals and families with the complex intersection of social and environmental forces from the late Antebellum period, through reconstruction and the implementation of Jim Crow, Women's suffrage, and the Civil Rights fight of the early twentieth century.

Research Questions

The primary question driving this dissertation is, how did members of the Black community respond to the matrix of domination made up by the intersections of race, class, gender, and environment from the 1840s to the 1940s? This is a large question that requires the synthesis of diverse methods of social and environmental inquiry to address their many parts. These forces also operate at multiple scales, requiring the inclusion of analysis from the household and local level, while incorporating the potential impacts of processes operating at the regional, state, and national levels.

Developing an understanding of the structure of the matrix of domination from the 1840s to 1940s is possible through the speeches and writings of Black intellectuals throughout this time. The development of Black social theory is inextricable from the movements for the abolition of slavery, women's suffrage, and worker's rights across the nation. Likewise, the decisions and practices of Black families in Orange County cannot be understood in isolation of their context within this web of social forces.

Theoretical Framework: Linking Intersectionality and Historical

Materialism

Chapter 2 describes the Black Feminist framework needed to interpret the material

culture and historical documentation in western Orange County (Battle-Baptiste, 2011, pp. 33-

34). It integrates the contributions of frequently cited social theorists that have dominated

intellectual discourse (predominantly white men), with the men and women of color who

critically engaged these thinkers, adapted what was relevant to their fights for justice, and

rejected what they knew to be based in the dominant white supremacist and patriarchal

ideologies of the times. Black Feminist Theory produced the intersectional knowledge project

through this intellectual and activist mêlée (Collins, 2000; Collins, 2015).

Black feminist theory has expanded and diversified from the 20th century into the 21st.

The concept known as intersectionality has moved from an understanding of connections

between systems of social power (Crenshaw, 1989) and been modified and adapted to diverse

cultural, social, and geographical contexts (Salem, 2018). As it has traveled, it has taken on

different forms. The roots of the theory dig deep into Black feminist intellectual history (Stewart,

1835). It was first named within critical legal scholarship from an activist concept used to

deconstruct structural power relations (Mohanty, 2013; Crenshaw, 1989), then it was applied to

the interpretation of the multiplicity of identities held by a single individual (Jones & McEwan,

2000), and finally transformed into a neoliberal contortion seeking the presence of diverse bodies

without addressing the structural changes needed to produce emancipatory spaces (Bilge, 2013).

This dissertation adheres to a Black Feminist intersectional framework that is focused on

structural analysis based in a materialist interpretation of power relations (Collins & Bilge, 2020,

p. 171). I refer to this intellectual branch of intersectionality as intersectional materialism to

distinguish it from intersectional approaches based in the analysis of the individual or the neoliberal bastardization claiming the name.

The power relationships analyzed through the lens of intersectional materialism are manifest within specific geographic and environmental contexts (Valentine, 2007; Nightingale, 2011). The practice of power relies upon the exploitation of individual's relationship to one another, the environment, and the resources found within it. For this reason, the dissertation could broadly be defined as a work falling within the subfield of ecological anthropology, which Benjamin Orlove defined in 1980 as the "study of the relations among population dynamics, social organization, and culture of human populations and the environments in which they live (Orlove, 1980, p. 235)." This approach to anthropological understanding has had cyclical popularity within the discipline. Twenty years after Orlove's review of the subfield, Ian Scoones challenged future ecological anthropologists to take on the theoretical transitions made within the new ecology. This includes the study of spatial dynamics that links space and time, a focus on scaling across hierarchies of systems from the patch to the landscape scale, and the impacts of temporal dynamics on patterns and process (Scoones, 1999). As I write this, we are another 20 years later. Many of the approaches called for by Scoones have been embraced by ecological anthropologists and archaeologists but have not made a significant impact on the practice of historical archaeology. This dissertation seeks to highlight the potential of this approach for questions addressed by historical archaeologists when it is integrated into a critical analysis based in intersectional materialism.

Understanding Western Orange County through the lens of Intersectional Materialism

The social system in Western Orange County is quite complicated and has a long legacy of impacts that continue to shape the lives of descendants living today. Some of the major forces influencing society were racism, capitalism, patriarchy, religion, and the environment. Each of these forces existed in relation to one another, weaving their influences into a larger "matrix of domination (Collins, 2000 [1990], p. 18)" that shaped the opportunities and decisions of its members. Intersectionality has emerged from the minds and experiences of Black women to describe these entanglements and their impacts on the lived experiences of everyone (Collins, 2000; Collins & Bilge, 2020). This omnipresent network of power relations influences the interactions among individuals and with people and the environment, depending on the specific context of the interactions (Chang & Culp, Jr., 2002). These actions and interaction leave their material traces in artifacts, features, and structures scattered throughout the landscape.

The economic system in Western Orange County emerged alongside modern capitalism. The period of focus for the dissertation begins at a time when Karl Marx was formulating his ideas about Capitalism, which was influenced by the labor movement, and influenced the struggle for the civil rights of people of color and women of all races (Davis A. Y., 2000 [1977]). Marx's historical materialism focused on understanding the relationships between labor and capital by tracing historical social realities through a dialectical process of change, grounding a labor movement that shaped global politics for over a century (Lefebvre, 1968 [1940]). His ideas were also attractive to Black activists and intellectuals in the United States like Claudia Jones (2010 [1946]) and W. E. B. Du Bois (1953). Their work found its way into popular and academic publications that filtered down through Black-owned newspapers to the street corners and

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doorsteps of Black Americans across the country, including the smallest rural enclaves in Western Orange County.

Capitalism also has implications for the shaping of spatial relationships within the landscape. Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) and David Harvey (1989) developed an understanding of how the forces of capitalism manifest in social space. The power of capital influences where people live, where they labor, and where the product of that labor goes. As the social and economic systems changed in Orange County, the physical relationships between people and their work changed as well. Every expansion or contraction of freedoms influenced the decisions people made about where they would live within the county, or whether they would leave Orange altogether. Geographers whose work is based in intersectionality have expanded the class-centric interpretations of Lefebvre and Harvey to show that race, gender, and other forces of power in society have equally significant impacts on spatial relations and their changes through time (Pellow, 2016).

The approach of ecological archaeologists is well suited to integrate intersectional analysis and materialist approaches to understand social change. Archaeology is inherently spatial. Its stratigraphic approach enables a detailed understanding of changing processes through time. It also has the capacity to understand environmental changes and peoples' relationship to the environment over time through the interpretation of vegetation and geomorphology. It is an approach that specifically interrogates the relationships between society, culture, and the environment within the context of specific landscapes. The rural character of the local area and the significance of agricultural production means that relations of power are closely tied to the environmental contexts in Western Orange County. Quality of life was closely tied to the quality

of soils, water, and woodlots as well as socially constructed elements of the environment like transportation networks, markets, and employment opportunities.

Research Methods: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Methods

It is impossible to gain a comprehensive understanding of the forces influencing the decisions and practices of people in the past using a single method of analysis. Historical Archaeologists have developed a diverse methodological toolkit that combines an array of quantitative and qualitative approaches to inform their interpretations of the past. This research relies on archaeological surveys, site excavation, artifact analysis, documentary analysis, oral histories, and quantitative landscape analysis. These approaches combine to provide an understanding of how people lived at the household level, as well as how their household fit into the local community, and finally, how they fit into the larger regional and national system as individuals and as a community that produced and adapted to social change.

Archaeological surveys are needed to identify sites and to provide an initial characterization of their function and period of occupation. There are different survey methodologies that have been applied to the landscape on Montpelier and some of the surrounding properties. These include walkover and leaf rake surveys, in which landscape features that are visible on the surface are identified, the organic material covering the forest floor is then raked away so that the feature can be documented and mapped. Subsurface surveys in this project fall into two categories, shovel test pit (STP) surveys and metal detector (MD) surveys. Shovel Test pit surveys are the most common form of archaeological survey in the mid-Atlantic region. Small Test excavations are dug into the soil at regular intervals across a grid and the contents are sifted through a mesh screen to determine if there are any artifacts. Then, the soil stratigraphy is documented to begin to build an understanding of the site formation processes

through the patterns in the layers of earth. Metal Detector surveys use machines that have been developed to identify different types of metallic materials that are buried beneath the surface. The finds, or 'hits' are then plotted. Samples of artifacts can also be recovered to help classify a site, including its function and the period in which it was occupied.

Site excavations are larger scale projects. They often include close interval application of survey techniques but are primarily defined by the excavation of larger units so that subsurface features can be identified and a more comprehensive accounting of artifacts at the site can be determined. The standard units excavated at sites used in this dissertation are 5 x 5 foot units, which enable the excavator to see large portions of the soil as they excavate deeper into the earth in search of artifacts and archaeological features that are often identifiable only by slight changes in the appearance and texture of soils or the small inclusions of cultural and natural materials found within them.

The artifacts recovered from surveys and excavations are cleaned and cataloged in a way that enables analysis of artifacts within a site, as well as a comparison of artifacts between sites. Comparative artifact analysis is critical for answering research questions about changes in a community through time, such as the ones addressed in this dissertation. Specifically, artifacts related to architecture, education/literacy, and agricultural labor are critical to developing an understanding of how families were adapting to changing social, economic, and environmental forces in their community.

Documentary analysis provides additional supporting evidence needed to understand the lives of people in the past. The most important forms of historical documentation for this dissertation include historic maps, deeds, wills, newspaper articles, federal census records, and agricultural census records. Historic maps, including aerial imagery taken at different points in

time, provide evidence that helps determine how the organization of the landscape, including people's physical relationships to one another and to resources changed over time. Deeds and Wills provide information about what different families owned at different times and can provide some information about the reasons for the acquisition or selling/loss of property. Newspaper articles provide evidence for what was occurring in these local communities and the type of information that was being circulated among its members. They can also provide evidence of long-distance networks through articles in other towns and cities that refer to people or places in Orange County and their relationships with others across the nation. Federal censuses also provide detailed information about households, including the racial classification of the occupants, the number of residents, their names, ages, and occupations. This aides in the interpretation of material culture recovered from sites, and how household structures and labor markets changed over time. Lastly, agricultural censuses provide a more detailed accounting for the property owned by farmers, including the crops that they grew, the animals they raised, and any machinery or equipment they were investing in.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into eight chapters. Chapter two introduces the relevant theories and constructs used to interpret the material culture. Chapter three provides the local historical context needed to develop an intersectional interpretation of the material culture. Chapter four describes two decades of archaeology that have contributed to the understanding of African American material culture in this particular corner of Orange County. Chapter five discusses the history and materiality of literacy recovered from the sites described in chapter four. Chapter six describes the architectural heritage of these sites and the relationship they have to slavery, freedom, and status. Chapter Seven is a quantitative analysis of the visualscape of

African American sites over time. Finally, Chapter eight seeks to pull these disparat sources

together to interpret the different ways in which members of the Black community responded to

the particular social forces that were influencing them.

Chapter 2: Intersectional Materialism and the Interpretation of the Rural Black Experience

Introduction: The Intersectional Knowledge Project and Intersectional Materialism

This chapter is inspired by the work of Black women who constructed a way of thought that has been embraced by Black feminist intellectuals who have brought social theory to a tipping point (Collins, 1989; Collins, 1986; Collins, 2000 [1990]; Davis, 1981). They have flipped the switch on a paradigm shift whose ideological foundation is firmly rooted in the intersectional knowledge project (Collins, 2015). Black feminist archaeologists have placed intersectional work at the center of the archaeological analysis of dynamic power relations (Battle-Baptiste, 2011). The term 'intersectionality' was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989, but the roots of intersectionality are often traced back to Sojourner Truth, whose famous, although controversially transcribed, speech commonly known by the name "Ain't I a Woman?" applies an intersectional critique to challenge racism and patriarchy simultaneously (Truth, 1998 [1851]). This is often the earliest text cited by those who have traced the history of intersectionality, but it belies the fact that the ideas are part of a much older construction of social thought developed by Black women whose ancestors were stolen from their homes and whose children were violently forced into a lifetime of service to others (Stewart, 1835).

Over time, Black feminist thought traveled and was applied to diverse contexts within divergent theoretical constructs (Knapp G.-A. , 2005; Said, 1983). In the 19th century, intersectional arguments were used again and again in the struggle for a more just and equal society, including the abolition of slavery and for women's suffrage. In the 20th century, Black Feminist Marxists merged an intersectional understanding of power with the historical

materialism developed by Marx and Engels, to advocate for the inclusion of black women and men in unions and the communist party (McDuffie, 2011; Washington M. H., 2014; Washington M. H., 2003). This period in Intersectionality's history becomes the foundation of the framework that I am advocating for in this chapter, and which I am calling intersectional materialism. This term distinguishes it from applications of historical or dialectical materialism that prioritize the economic mode of production over all other power relations. It also rejects the common dualistic misinterpretation of the dialectic. Intersectional materialism also distinguishes itself from the late 20th century and early 21st century application of an intersectional lens to the postmodern analysis of identity, which often leaves power structures out of the analysis and isolates individuals through an emphasis on differences (Mohanty 2012; Salem 2018), or delegitimizes Black feminist thought through methods of decentering and deconstruction (Collins, 1998).

As Intersectionality traveled across disciplines and entered the analyses of intellectuals subscribing to diverse and often conflicting philosophies and ideologies, it has generally manifest in a few different forms (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013). It has been applied as an analytical framework that guides the researcher towards new questions that help interrogate intersectional dynamics within a methodological paradigm. It has been applied to inform and critique social theory. It has also been applied to political engagements that rely on an intersectional lens (Chun, Lipsitz, & Shin, 2013; Jackson S. J., 2016). Patricia Hill Collins has identified a set of elements that can be found in Intersectional work (2015). She describes intersectionality as a knowledge project that embraces, "one, some combination, or all of the following provisional list of guiding assumptions:

- "Race, class, gender, sexuality, age, ability, nation, ethnicity, and similar categories of analysis are best understood in relational terms rather than in isolation from one another

- These mutually constructing categories underlie and shape intersecting systems of power; the power relations of racism and sexism, for example, are interrelated.

- Intersecting systems of power catalyze social formations of complex social inequalities that are organized via unequal material realities and distinctive social experiences for people who live within them.

- Because social formations of complex social inequalities are historically contingent and cross-culturally specific, unequal material realities and social experiences vary across time and space.

- Individuals and groups differentially placed within intersecting systems of power have different points of view on their own and others' experiences with complex social inequalities, typically advancing knowledge projects that reflect their social locations within power relations.

- The complex social inequalities fostered by intersecting systems of power are fundamentally unjust, shaping knowledge projects

and/or political engagements that uphold or contest the status

quo (Collins 2015:14)."

Intersectional materialism as I conceive it, and as described in this chapter, accepts the

totality of these six guiding assumptions, and analyzes them as part of a materialist polylectic

(Sugathan, 2002). This results in derivative assumptions that guide this archaeological analysis

of the past:

- The unequal material realities that emerge from intersecting systems of power

  produce physical remains that endure in various forms, including landscapes and

  archaeological assemblages.

- Unequal material realities and social experiences that vary across time and space

  result in changes that can be traced through the stratigraphic record, in the

  landscape, and in archaeological assemblages.

- Historical and archaeological evidence of intersecting systems of power can

  provide physical evidence of strategies and tactics that succeeded in upholding

  or contesting the status quo in the past and can inform approaches to social

  change in the present and future.

I will use the following pages to develop the concept of intersectional materialism as a

framework for interpreting the relations of power within society and the practices that result in

their shifting over time. A brief history of Black feminist thought and the development of

intersectional materialism can be found in Appendix A. This historiography of intersectional

materialism provides the reader with an understanding of how intersectional materialism has

developed out of the work of many people, building upon knowledge gained through lived

experience as well as through philosophical, sociological, and anthropological texts. It also centers the contributions of Black women and men, positioning them alongside their white contemporaries who are often credited with developing their understandings of power within the vacuum of the ivory tower.

This chapter describes how an intersectional materialist analysis can inform the interpretation of landscapes and archaeological remains from the 19th and 20th centuries. It builds upon previous archaeological work that began looking at the relationships between multiple systems of power in the 1990s (Scott, 1994; Mullins, 1999; Mullins, 2002). At the turn of the 21st century Maria Franklin noted the general absence of Black Feminist voices and theory in the interpretation of the past (Franklin, A Black Feminist-Inspired Archaeology?, 2001). It has only been in the last decade that Black Feminist intellectuals have increasingly been cited in discussions of intersectional power relations (Battle-Baptiste, 2011). There continues to be a general lack of engagement with the work of Black feminists in Historical Archaeology, but there has been a slow and notable increase over time.

Intersectional Materialism: a description

Intersectional materialism requires multiple perspectives, sources of data, and methodologies to develop more complete and nuanced interpretations of the material world. This can be done using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies (Covarrubias, 2011). Intersectionality has also been analyzed across scales by geographers who interpret demographic distributions in relation to access to resources, housing costs, environmental conditions, and crime, among other material factors (Pellow, 2016; McKittrick, Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle, 2006). Each of these approaches

provide a different view of the matrix of domination in which society operates at any given time (Collins, 2000 [1990]).

Multiple perspectives are needed to gain the best understanding of how power is structured and operates in society (Collins, 1986). The discipline of archaeology is well positioned to contribute to an intersectional interpretation of dynamic power relations through time. Archaeology, including historical archaeology, does not "give voice to the voiceless." Historical archaeologists in particular have historically been guilty of ignoring the voices of people in the past, then claiming that their interpretations speak for those who produced, used, or discarded the material detritus upon which archaeologists build their careers.

For archaeologists, intersectional materialism is about using as many tools as possible to get different looks or perspectives on assemblages and landscapes as possible. These findings should be interpreted using a variety of research questions that enable the development of a nuanced interpretation of dynamic intersecting power relations. There are additional fundamental obligations for historical archaeologists seeking to practice analyses rooted in intersectional materialism. First and foremost, read the writings and transcriptions of speeches of people in the past that can inform your understanding of the diverse perspectives and understandings of the topics being discussed. We often cite the benefits of historical knowledge, but we rarely truly commit to reading the words written by people with diverse social locations in the past. As a result, interpretations from historical archaeologists reproduce understandings of the past that people have already clearly described over decades. Or worse, we develop interpretations completely detached from the reality in which people in the past were living, and therefore useless when trying to apply the lessons of that work to better understand the development of our current social system.

Intersectional materialism is closely tied to dialectical materialism and historical materialism. It diverges from these two approaches in differing ways. With dialectical materialism, there tends to be an emphasis on dualities. It is unlikely that Hegel intended dialectics to be conceived in this way, but it is too frequently the practice of dialectical thinkers (Sugathan, 2002). Historical materialism also lacks some important nuance. When the emphasis of analysis is focused on seeing change from one system to another, there is little room to take a wholistic understanding of all the forces operating in the past, and the diverse futures that people were working to produce at any give time. As a result, historical materialism often downplays the weapons of the weak that produce emergent changes within complex systems (Scott J. , 1985).

Instead, intersectional materialism is grounded in a Polylectical approach to social analysis. This is different than multilectics as described in education literature, which is essentially an intersectional approach to pedagogy that does not cite the long legacy of Black feminist and intersectional scholarship within the field of education (Fellner, 2014a). This is especially grievous when Marx and Marcuse are fundamental to developing the theory (Fellner, 2014b). Angela Davis, for example, studied Marx and studied under Marcuse for years while developing Black Feminist theory in the 1960s, influencing her work into the 1970s and beyond.

The term polylectics was coined by an Indian Philosopher named Ratnamuthu Sugathan (2002). He sees polylectics as the "third turn in logic, that is, the logic of the postmodern (Sugathan, 2002, p. 41)." It is not distinguished from dialectics through a focus on the multiplicity of contradictions. It is unique because of its acceptance of "the multiplicity of dimensions in each contradiction (Sugathan, 2002, pp. 41-42)." Contradictions are not binary,

they are plural (Sugathan, 2002, p. 171). Accepting the plurality of contradictions opens up many options for reinvestigating the past, as well as developing potential futures.

If it is accepted that contradictions are plural, how is it possible to identify the multiplicity of dimensions in each contradiction? This opens a space for historians and archaeologists to go to work. Each methodology or analysis provides a new perspective on the past. Maximizing the number and variety of analyses combined with a broad range of perspective from diverse archaeologists will produce the most complete understanding of the past possible. By working together we can identify more useful pieces of the past that were lost, buried, and forgotten, providing evidence that may be helpful in understanding some of the great challenges society faces today, whether it is climactic irregularity related to global climate change, racism that continues to lead to disproportionately high rates of incarceration and low life expectancies in people of color, or the continued sexist exploitation of women's minds and bodies through employment discrimination and obscenely high rates of physical and sexual abuse.

Other scholars have used the terms new materialism, intersectional materialism, Black feminist materialism, and Black feminist new materialism in recent years. It is important to take a moment and discuss these terms and determine in what ways they are similar and different from one another. This will enable a discussion of what form of materialist inquiry is appropriate for analysis in this dissertation. I will then describe what I mean by 'intersectional materialism' and why I have chosen to use this term over the alternatives.

'New materialism' is the oldest of these terms. It is used to describe a variety of materialism that is beginning to have significant impacts on social inquiry (Fox & Alldred,

2016). Nick Fox and Pam Alldred identify three main things that make the new materialism different from the old materialism.

"First, they shift sociological focus from individuals and human subjects to how relational networks or assemblages of animate and inanimate affect and are affected. Second, they recognize that the production of the social world is due to a wide variety of forces, including desires, feelings, and meanings. Finally, they supply a posthuman focus for the social sciences and social inquiry that does not privilege humans in relation to the rest of the natural and social environment (Fox & Alldred, 2016, pp. 4-5)."

This interpretation of new materialism overlaps much of what might be called intersectional or Black feminist materialism. The biggest divergence is in the focus on the posthuman. Intersectional and Black Feminist materialism is primarily focused on achieving justice and equality for all people. This is not removed from the non-human world. Destruction of the non-human world would in fact disproportionately impact Black and indigenous people of color around the globe. This is evident in the critical environmental justice movement, which has embraced intersectional analysis, but also has segments that are firmly rooted in a posthuman intellectual position (Pellow, 2016).

Mary Morrissey uses intersectional materialism as a theoretical framework to analyze the impacts of the war on drugs on women (Morrissey, 2017). She adopts a more limited definition of materialism, which is closely tied to a labor and class analysis common in Marxist feminism (Morrissey, 2017; Gimenez, 2000). She also distinguishes her work from Feminist materialism and Marxist feminism through an acknowledgement of people's multiple identities.

Black Feminist materialism is another term that has been put forward to describe a form of materialism that emerged directly from the work of Black feminist Marxists and Black left

feminists from the late 19th through the 20th century (Towns, 2019; Ndubuizu, 2017). Rosemary Ndubuizu defines Black Feminist materialism as a form of historical materialism that accounts for additional systems of power beyond capitalism and class. This is very similar to Mary Morrissey's use of the term intersectional materialism. The biggest difference is the emphasis upon tracing the production of unequal power relations through time. Ndubuizu specifically focuses on the development of housing policy and Black women's relationship to affordable housing in the Nation's capital. She used evidence of a long history of disciplinary housing policy to demonstrate the demonization of low-income Black women and the structural ways in which their access to housing was limited (Ndubuizu, 2017, p. 288).

Black feminist new materialism links Black feminist materialism and the New materialism through Jane Bennett's concepts of 'Vibrant Matter' and 'thing-power' (Towns, 2019; Bennett, 2010; Bennett , 2004). Armand Towns argues that "Blackness, as a construct, shares a consistency with the Western construct of matter… Black bodies – as chattel, or the Negro (those ontological, epistemological, and biological constructs fabricated for us by the West) – have been situated as *things*, absent of self-determination (Towns, 2019, pp. 2-3)." He describes how matter and human were defined in opposition to one another while Black people were being defined as things in opposition to (White) humans. His arguments fall firmly within the field of New Materialism, demonstrating that Black "Matter" lives (Towns, 2019).

The problem with Town's argument and the principles of new materialism more generally, is the extension of agency to non-human, even non-living matter. Black people are human. They are people with thoughts, words, emotions, and actions. Black "matter" lives because Black people are living matter, not because all matter lives. Non-human or non-living

matter obviously has impacts on people. This is a fundamental understanding of the new ecology (Scoones, 1999).

It is now important to describe what is meant by intersectional materialism in this dissertation. It is materialist in the sense that it accepts the reality of matter. It also accepts that matter is the only thing that there really is to study. In intersectional materialism, intersectionality refers to the intersecting forces and how they operate within a larger matrix of domination (Collins, Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, conciousness, and the politics of empowerment, 2000 [1990]). When I refer to forces, we can look beyond social forces to physical and natural forces that also impact humanity. In this sense we can borrow from the new ecology and flirt with the new materialism. But, intersectional materialism does not accept the idea that inanimate matter has agency.

Intersectional materialism is polylectic in the sense that it accepts of "the multiplicity of dimensions in each contradiction (Sugathan, 2002, pp. 41-42)." It rejects binary thinking and determinist explanations of how the world operates. Therefore, historical and archaeological analyses must account for the plurality within social contradictions.

I have now explained what makes intersectional materialism different from new materialism and Morrissey's interpretation of intersectional materialism. The next question is, why not 'polylectical materialism'? I do not believe polylectical materialism is appropriate because the freedom inherent in polylectical logic is too open ended to guarantee a revolutionary product from the analysis. New Materialism may more accurately be described as polylectical materialism. Intersectionality was born from the labor of Black Feminist theorists; whose work is both intellectual and activist at its core. Using the term 'intersectional' positions intersectional materialism as a both/and theory that seeks to produce revolutionary social change (Collins,

Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, conciousness, and the politics of empowerment, 2000 [1990]).

Lastly, why not use the term Black feminist materialism? I chose not to use the term Black feminist materialism because "Black feminist thought consists of ideas produced by Black women that clarify a standpoint of and for Black women (Collins, 1986, p. S16)." I am a student of Black Feminism. Intersectionality is a knowledge project that was produced by Black feminists and shared with the world (Knapp G.-A. , 2005). By using the term intersectionality and citing the works of its founders I am seeking to recognize the intellectual lineage that my work is a part of, without claiming a positionality and perspective that is unique to Black women, despite any differences that exist among Black women.

Therefore, intersectional materialism can be thought of as a materialism based in polylectical logic that accepts the material world is produced through human actions that are influenced by intersections of socio-environmental forces. The purpose of intersectional materialism is to identify ways to dismantle and reconstruct the material world to bring justice and freedom to all people. Its goal is the improvement of the human condition for the majority of the planet's residents. It places the sovereignty of human life over all other living and non-living matter but acknowledges that a just world requires an environment that is nurtured and can provide for all people.

Intersectionality and Black Feminist Theory in Historical Archaeology

Power is a major topic that has been addressed by historical archaeologists. It is a topic that has been analyzed from the global scale, down to the city, town, factory, plantation, and household. Many archaeologists have relied upon neo-Marxist readings of historical materialism as their framework for interpreting the power relations that produced the material culture they

uncovered. Others have leaned heavily on Bourdieu's Theory of Practice or Foucault's interpretation of Power relations to interpret the material record that makes up their assemblages. Historical archaeologists initially analyzed power as practiced within economic systems of exploitation. Over time, they also addressed racialized power structures. Others used material culture to analyze gendered power relations within a patriarchal system. The significance of each of these systems of power eventually resulted in analyses that incorporated two or more. This enabled an interpretation of how these systems worked to mutually reproduce one another through time. This work could be classified as intersectional, although initially, the intellectual heritage of intersectionality and the Black feminists who developed it was often unknown or ignored by historical archaeologists. The project of undoing this intellectual injustice within historical archaeology started twenty years ago (Franklin, 2001), and a Black feminist framework was clearly articulated ten years ago by Whitney Battle-Baptiste in her book *Black Feminist Archaeology* (Battle-Baptiste, 2011).

The materialist focus of many intellectuals that contribute to the intersectional knowledge project provides countless opportunities to develop intersectional archaeological practice informed by theories that incorporate the guiding assumptions outlined by Collins and quoted at the beginning of this chapter (Collins, 2015). There has been an increase in the awareness and understanding of intersectionality in archaeology since *Black Feminist Archaeology* was published. We are now seeing intersectionality discussed in African diasporic contexts as well as in archaeological analyses of other studies not related to people of African descent, including more ancient times. A review of archaeological work that is closely aligned with an interpretation based in intersectional materialism will provide a more thorough understanding of

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its potential and enables a description of how this theory permeates the work presented in the rest of this dissertation.

Class, Race, and Ethnicity were used together in archaeological interpretations as early as the 1970s. John Soloman Otto sorted his Plantation artifact assemblages into categories for enslaved people, overseers, and plantation owners based on the quality and cost of artifacts. These were then linked to differences among White yeoman farmers and enslaved Africans and their descendants. Interpretations of racial difference from these assemblages is problematic because it is only comparing 1 of each household type. There is no clear understanding of any patterns in the assemblage related to race because there was not a large enough sample to determine if a pattern existed. This resulted in an essentialist interpretation in which the quality and price of goods, like teawares, were linked directly to race (Otto, 1975). This is about the time that James Deetz focused on large scale structural influences on the material record, including influences of race and class on the material remains of Parting Ways (Deetz, 1977).

In the 1980s, the two main approaches to race and class were to use the material record to interpret ethnic and class markers or to identify boundaries between groups (Brandon, 2009, p. 7). The emphasis on identifying the material markers of race and class relied on artifacts like blue beads, pipes, opium paraphernalia, patent medicine bottles, ginger jars, cowrie shells, and food remains (Griggs, 1999). Identifying social boundaries were based on the identification of artifact patterns (South, Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology, 1977) and was influenced by Frederik Barth's theories of boundary formation (Barths, 1969). This influenced the consumer choice framework of analysis that focused on determining why certain artifacts were acquired, curated, and eventually discarded by people belonging to different subgroups that occupied and used archaeological sites in the past (Spencer-Wood, 1987, p. 9). Both methods applied static

conceptions of race and class, which produced simplistic interpretations that did not account for variability within the groups being analyzed (Orser, 2004, p. 17; Wurst, 2006, p. 191).

This parallels developments in the historical archaeology of gender. Archaeology of Gender existed in the 1980s but began to develop more substantially in the 1990s. There was a focus on identifying artifacts connected to gender. There was an assumption across cultural contexts that the same general dichotomy between male/female and public/private was a given. Archaeologists sought to identify women in the archaeological record through sewing materials, food processing artifacts, or materials for personal adornment (McEwan, 1991; Jackson L. M., 1994). The assumptions that interpretations were based on resulted in a circular reasoning that prevented the identification of opposition to dominant gender ideals. Another issue is that many artifacts are used by both men and women (Starbuck 1994). One proposed solution is to limit the items identifiable as related to men or women to those artifacts that have a very small likelihood of being used by both, such as those found in mixed salon/brothel assemblages (Spude, 2005), but even this begins to fall apart on closer inspection (Vermeer, 2009, p. 322).

The transition to the 1990s brought archaeology's post-processual turn to the interpretation of race, class, and gender in the archaeological record (Brandon, 2009, p. 8; Vermeer, 2009, p. 322). This was a rejection of processual archaeology's

> "uncritical acceptance of positivism, stress on functionalism and environmental adaptation, disdain for emphasis on social relations or cognition or ideology, lack of concern for the present social production of knowledge, overemphasis on stability rather than conflict, reduction of social change to effects of external factors, and belief in quantification as the goal of archaeology (Shackel & Little, 1992, p. 5)."

It was also impacted by the African Burial Ground Project in New York, and a call for the integration of descendant communities into the research process (LaRoche & Blakey, 1997). This resulted in a wide diversity of theoretical applications to the interpretation of race, class, and gender in American archaeology.

This paradigm shift caused some archaeologists to build theoretical frameworks to interpret the past (Leone, 1995; Leone,, Potter, & Shackel, 1987). Others developed vindicationist archaeologies that focused on anti-essentialism and applied critical-race theory (Epperson, Critical Race Theory and the Archaeology of the African Diaspora, 2004; Mack & Blakey, 2004). Bourdieu's practice theory also had a significant impact on archaeological interpretations (Wilkie, 2000). All these approaches contributed to increased reflexivity, critical theory, and symbolic interpretation in Historical Archaeology during the 1990s (Brandon, 2009, p. 8).

1990s historical archaeology of Gender transitioned to considering gender as a process produced differing material assemblages depending on the time and place in which people were living. This can be seen in the interpretation of women's roles in Mining camps in the Mountain West (Purser, 1991). Women played an important role in structuring social networks that were needed to mediate annual cycles in resource access and work options. Purser also identified gender variations found in different types of mining camps. Long-term camps generally had about the same number of men and women, where shorter term camps and the boom-and-bust sites were typically male dominated. This resulted in different architectural patterns. Long-term camps were generally organized into smaller households where short-term camps had larger shared structures and men shared many of the domestic responsibilities that women were mostly responsible for within Victorian ideology (Purser, 1991).

The post-processual turn also impacted the interpretation of race. Some archaeologists began to focus on the symbolism of artifacts recovered from African American sites. Archaeologists started to begin their projects with sites that had known occupation histories, where there was an understanding of racial and class status before the trowel first scratched the surface. This enabled a more nuanced understanding of variation within the Black community in places like Annapolis, Maryland. Ceramics, bric-a-brac, faunal remains, glass vessels, and tin cans all contributed to the interpretations of the material culture discarded by African Americans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These assemblages were tied to the strategies of racial improvement that Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois advocated for in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Mullins P. R., 2002; Mullins P. , 1999; Warner, 1998). This provided a nuanced, anti-essentialist interpretation of Black life in Annapolis after emancipation, but this early intersectional work had flaws.

The first problem is that intersectionality, as a concept, was not expressly described or credited by the archaeologists. This resulted in an erasure of many intellectuals of color that established and continue to make significant contributions to this discourse. Second, the thoughts and ideas of Du Bois and Washington were primarily treated as historical information or an ethnographic analogy that guided the interpretation of finds without critically engaging with their theories as theories. In this sense, Black Intellectuals were treated as historical subjects, not influential social theorists whose work continues to influence the trajectory of intersectional theory today. Lastly, Mullins and Warner relied almost exclusively on two Black male intellectuals, ignoring the greater diversity of thought across Black positionalities. As a result, the families they were analyzing were bound to be linked to a dialectic occupied by an ideological binary.

The first step in addressing this shortcoming is the incorporation of more black voices and perspectives within research projects led by historical archaeologists. Maria Franklin argued that archaeologists must build strong partnerships with Black communities and Black intellectuals to expand the diversity of voices and the impact of archaeology (Franklin, 1997). This broadens the exposure that most archaeologists have to Black ideologies and will also help archeologists develop strategies and tactics that can result in their work having a positive impact on the lives of African Americans living today.

One significant project that dominated much of the discourse on African American archaeology in the 1990s was the New York African Burial Ground project. Cheryl LaRoche and Michael Blakey (1997) describe how the local Black community in New York seized the power needed to influence the largest excavation of people of African Descent in North America. Their paper applies an intersectional understanding of social forces to deconstruct how powers were transferred between the city government, federal government, local citizens, developers, and archaeologists. It also highlights the transformative power of engaged Black communities and Black discourse in the management of heritage and archaeology. LaRoche expanded this analysis in 2011 when she investigated the relationships between heritage, activism, and archaeology at Duffield Street, another important site in New York City that the African American community fought to protect from eminent domain and its destruction (LaRoche C. J., 2011, p. 632).

The general lack of social complexity attributed to black communities in archaeological interpretations of the 1990s was not just seen in the works of White archaeologists. Maria Franklin critiqued her own analysis of the lives of enslaved people at Rich Neck plantation for being overly simplistic and homogenized. She neglected to ask how gendered systems of power influenced their lives (Franklin, 2001, p. 112). At the beginning of the 21st century it was rare to

have an archaeological analysis that focused on two axes of power, much less three or more. One rare example is Diana diZerega Wall's article that examined the interrelationships of gender, class, and ethnicity in 19th century New York (Wall, 1999). Sadly, her interpretation was limited because of the mixed contexts of some of the assemblages, where multiple households contributed to the deposition of ceramics.

The oversimplified interpretation of complexity in the Black experience inspired Maria Franklin to call for an explicitly Black feminist archaeology in 2001. She argued that a Black Feminist perspective could be used to reframe the questions archaeologists were asking about African American life (2001, p. 109). Black feminist discourse linked the movement for social justice to ending "the oppressive forces of racism, sexism, classism and, for Black lesbians, homophobia (2001, p. 110)." These forces are not separate from one another and stacked on individuals as multiple separate burdens. They are part of a single "overarching structure of domination (Collins 1991:222)," that requires a critical framework and acknowledges the integration and interrelationships of oppressions and their differential impacts on individuals positioned across society.

It was many years before someone explicitly took up Maria Franklin's call for a Black Feminist Archaeology. There was a growing number of young Black men and women who were entering the field of historical archaeology about this time, and Maria Franklin's work influenced their trajectory within academia. Franklin's call created a theoretical and methodological space within the discipline to expand beyond the overwhelmingly White writings of the discipline supplemented by the theoretical writings of a few White men from other fields. They could now cite a respected feminist archaeologist of color who called for an expansion of the discourse deemed relevant to archaeological inquiry. This was particularly attractive to many of the young

archaeologists of color that were trying to find a space where they could operate effectively. It also provided an opportunity for White archaeologists to engage with an entirely different intellectual heritage that directly related to the dominant topics in the field at the time, African diaspora archaeology, the archaeology of labor and industry, and the archaeology of immigration.

There were still only a handful of Black archaeologists advanced enough in their careers to publish regularly. It would take time for the younger generation to get through. Cheryl Janifer LaRoche finished her dissertation a few years later, in 2004. Her research focused on Free Black Communities and the underground railroad, highlighting the complex relationships between Free Black Communities, White abolitionists, the Methodist Church, and the dangerous landscape of the underground railroad. This required her to engage with the historical documentation and diverse abolitionists' theories, which underpin the intersectional theories of today (LaRoche C. J., 2014).

Mark Leone, Cheryl LaRoche, and Jennifer Babiarz Reviewed the archaeology of post-emancipation African American life in 2005. They explicitly echoed Maria Franklin's call for a Black Feminist archaeology in the section that focused on gender (Leone, LaRoche, & Babiarz, 2005, p. 586). The repetition of this call reinforced its significance, but the relegation of Black Feminist theory to the subsection on the interpretation of gender in the African American experience ignores the capacity for Black feminist theory to impact the interpretations of all aspects of life through the intersections of power relations.

In 2009, Alexandra Jones started Archaeology in the Community, a non-profit organization committed to the archaeological education of youth representing diverse races, economic statuses, genders, and ages in the Washington D.C. area. This organization has grown

over the last ten years to serve hundreds of students and expose them to archaeological methods and theories. There was also a strong network of like-minded archaeologists that emerged to form a network of support for the organization and the communities it served.

The National Park Service also developed a program called the Urban Archaeology Corp to educate, train, and employ diverse youth from cities in archaeological methods and theory. The fact that this was a summer employment program means that students who were obligated to earn an income to support themselves and their families could still engage in practicing archaeology. These organizations have the potential to have a dramatic impact on the demographics of the discipline in the coming years. They both train students in thinking about material culture. These programs have the potential to create a pipeline or pathway to becoming archaeological professionals, reducing the underrepresentation that is rampant in the archaeological discipline.

The second decade of the 21st century has witnessed an exponential increase in intersectional publications in archaeology, but there is still plenty of room for its influence to grow. The event that triggered this change was the publication of Whitney Battle Baptiste's book, *Black Feminist Archaeology* (2011). She provides a methodological framework for conducting an intersectional archaeological analysis. One clear example is her development of the concept 'Homespace.' She pulls from the writing of Bell Hooks' interpretation of homeplace within the Black consciousness, and combines it with the archaeological concept, yardspace to critique and expand the interpretation of African American households. She uses historical and archaeological evidence to remove the nuclear family as the primary unit of analysis for the quarters where captive African people and their descendants were held in bondage. She expands the interpretation of family to include the extended kin and fictive-kin networks that were

essential for supporting enslaved Black communities. She also shows how the area around the cabins were part of a complex social space that was produced through the interactions of the enslaved community members and those that tried to dominate them.

Battle-Baptiste also used the example of one of the earliest archaeological investigations into Black life in America to demonstrate that archaeology's relationship to women and people of color is a shameful legacy. The excavation of the Lucy Foster Homestead is the earliest example of an excavation focused on a site occupied by a Black woman. She highlights how the discipline's patriarchal system dismissed the White female archaeologist Adelaide Bullen's work and the life of Lucy Foster with it. This case study demonstrates a history of subjugating the theories and interpretations of women. It also demonstrates how the investigation of Black Women's lives have a history of being ignored by the discipline (Battle-Baptiste, 2011).

The greatest critique of the book *Black Feminist Archaeology* is also its greatest strength. It was intentionally written in an accessible format that did not delve too deeply into the scholastic minutia that is so common in academic publications. This resulted in a final product that was useful to young scholars, non-academics, and non-archaeologists. It provided a path for potential Black feminist archaeologists of the future to be introduced to the theories and the discipline. The counterpoint to this is that it left many archaeologists wanting a more developed description of Black feminist theory and a framework in which it could be applied.

Peggy Brunache finished her dissertation the same year that *Black Feminist Archaeology* was released (2011). She saw intersectionality as a critical tool that could produce knowledge through the analysis of structural categories of difference (Brunache, 2011, p. 35). This influenced the ways she engaged with historical documents and the archaeological record. She was able to show that the foodways of the enslaved in the French Caribbean may have begun out

of a practice of survival, but over time it was transformed into an expression of "autonomy and creativity in cultural production that enriched themselves and those around them," and became a "complex culinary expression of group identity (Brunache, 2011, p. 293)."

Another transformative act influencing Black Feminist Archaeology was the creation of the Society of Black Archaeologists. This institution claimed Archaeology as a tool of transformative social action that would benefit all people who felt disenfranchised from the discipline. It has five main goals: 1) to lobby on behalf and ensure the proper treatment of African and African Diaspora material culture, 2) to encourage more people of African descent to enter the field of archaeology, 3) to raise and address concerns related to African peoples worldwide, 4) to highlight the past and present achievements and contributions that people of African descent have made to the field of archaeology, and to ensure the communities affected by archaeological work act not just as objects of study or informants but are active makers and/or participants in the unearthing of their own history (societyofblackarchaeologists.com/about).

Its founders were Justin Dunnavant and Ayana Flewellan, both students at the time. Since its founding, it has gathered dozens of members. It has organized field schools for the education of the next generation of Black archaeologists. It has built a community of intellectual and emotional support that will help future Black archaeologists navigate the vestiges of the discipline's colonial past. It also informs others of the accomplishments of Black archaeologists around the world.

Since 2011, there has been a notable increase in the significance of intersectional archaeology informed by Black feminist theory. This is largely a result of the efforts of Young Black archaeologists who have engaged with this intellectual heritage. Justin Dunnavant has analyzed the relationship between race, class, healthcare, and mortality in the District of

Columbia (2017). Mia Carey Analyzed the materiality of the intersections of race, religion, and food in her interpretation of the life and longevity of Yarrow Mamout in Washington D.C. (2017). Ayana Flewellen used a Black feminist analytical framework to expose hidden stories of life on Kingsley plantation in Florida (2017) and Levi Jordan Plantation in Texas (Flewellen A. A., 2018). Some of these were published in a thematic issue of historical archaeology that focused on the African experience in the Americas and featured a lineup of authors that were almost entirely African American, countering the persistent underrepresentation of African Americans in the discipline, where they still make up less than 1%, 20 years after Maria Franklin asked why there were so few (Franklin, 1997; Odewale, Dunnavant, Flewellen, & Jones, 2018)

Two more recent articles exemplify the ways in which Intersectional analysis can be used to develop nuanced interpretations of life at the household and the regional landscape scale and have influenced my approach to the interpretation of social change in Western Orange County, Virginia.

First, Maria Franklin has returned to her work with sites of captivity on plantations surrounding Williamsburg to conduct the more nuanced analysis that she wished she had done back in the 1990s (2020). She conducted a comparative analysis of three households from two different types of plantations. Two case studies were Rich Neck and Utopia plantations owned by large landowners that enslaved dozens of people across all their properties. The third site was a small plantation owned by John Coke, a tavern owner and goldsmith in Williamsburg who owned a 200-acre plantation that was just outside Williamsburg at the time.

Franklin compared the artifact assemblages recovered from three similar subfloor pits, one from each site, and used these findings to conduct an analysis of material differences between them. She found that the two large plantation quarters had very similar assemblages that

were closely tied to the mode of production in each. All three sites began their operation focused on the production of tobacco, but the two large plantations converted to a more diversified agricultural strategy that also changed the labor regime and household life. The plantation site owned by Coke had a distinct material make-up that Franklin was able to link to the maintenance of a tobacco focused agriculture combined with the enslaved family's responsibilities related to labor in the town (Franklin, 2020).

The Coke site had a ceramic assemblage that more closely related to the tavern assemblages from Williamsburg. This includes a substantial number of tea and coffee service vessels as well as wine and case bottles. There was also a significantly higher portion of the assemblage made up of materials related to sewing and laundry. This may indicate that the captive household on the Coke plantation was responsible for laundry and sewing for customers of the tavern as well as the need for the enslaved workers to maintained a specific aesthetic while working in their captor's tavern. There were also fewer materials related to agricultural production. This may indicate that John Coke chose not to invest in crop diversification, which would have required a different toolset and increased time demands on the enslaved workers who were responsible for the agricultural work (Franklin, 2020).

This work identified differences within the enslaved households she analyzed and connected them to the context of their enslavement and their modes of production. In doing this, Franklin was able to show variation in the lived experiences of members of the enslaved community around Williamsburg. She was able to identify differences in the roles of women at these sites, as well as the relationships between men, women, and children (Franklin, 2020).

Another significant article was written by Robert Paynter and Whitney Battle-Baptiste, and analyzed the landscape of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, where W. E. B. Du Bois and

four generations of his mother's family grew up (Paynter & Baptiste, 2019). They began their analysis by establishing the boyhood home of Du Bois as a homeplace, a term Bell Hooks uses to synthesize the physical and transcendent qualities of home for African Americans. It is through this space that Bell Hooks learned to recognize herself and her place in the world (Hooks, 1990, p. 103). By defining Du Bois' boyhood home as his homeplace, Paynter and Battle-Baptiste are able to argue that it was significant in shaping the life of W. E. B. Du Bois and his relationship to the material world.

Freedom came to Massachusetts before any of the surrounding states. This resulted in many enslaved people in neighboring states to escape across the border and enter Great Barrington, where Du Bois grew up. As a result, Western Massachusetts became a geography of resistance like the ones described by Cheryl LaRoche west of the Ohio River (2014). The culture of resistance and activism continued past the end of the Civil War and was led by Veterans of the Massachusetts 54th who set up institutions along with the Black churches. This is the social environment that Du Bois was born into. The early years of his life were spent in a hotbed of Black intellectual activist practice that molded the social space into a form that instilled a combative ethic aimed at attacking the inequality and exploitation of Black people (Paynter and Battle Baptiste 2019).

Intersectionality and the interpretation of material culture in the Montpelier area.

The goal of this dissertation is to contribute to the intersectional knowledge project through the application of an explicitly intersectional and materialist theoretic that enables the identification of links between the practices of people in the past and the production of the present. My efforts are limited spatially to the area surrounding the Montpelier Foundation

property, but I intend the method and interpretations to contribute to advancing the discipline of historical archaeology and the efforts of some practitioners to decolonize archaeology and produce an anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-capitalist discipline.

The unit of analysis for this work is the household. Households are a core component of human societies. Households are defined in a variety of ways but can generally be thought of as a group of people who co-reside in a dwelling and engage in practices whose goal is to maintain the household (Wilk & Ashmore, 1988). Households are foundational social units operating at the spatial and temporal scale of daily life. They are also one of the smallest social units that can be analyzed archaeologically. It is often difficult, if not impossible, to associate archaeological materials recovered from a site with specific individuals.

Households are directly connected to a shared dwelling, which is "the physical structure or area in which residential activities take place (Wilk & Ashmore, 1988, p. 6)." Dwellings may be stationary or mobile. They could be contained within a single subsection of a building like in modern apartments. Dwellings could also be considered a compound of buildings and outdoor activity areas like a farmstead or a homespace (Battle-Baptiste, 2011).

Households are frequently composed of families. Some families are separated by long distances, which prevents the formation of a household. Households can also form with members who are not family. Examples of other co-residing groups that can form households include sororities, monasteries, crews on ships, and prisoners held in concentration camps. But households are not defined solely through the fact of co-residence. They are actively produced through the practices of individuals who share residence (Wilk & Netting, 1984). It is actions that make a household, not spatial proximity of individuals.

The combination of households' connection to dwelling spaces and the material manifestations of the practices that individuals engage in to form and maintain households make them attractive to archaeologists. Archaeologists of African America have focused much of their research at the household level. Most of these households have been made up of families, but their structure has taken many forms as a result of the strategies enslaver families used to manipulate, control, punish, and divide Black families (Dunaway, 2003). Many of the tactics used by enslaved families in the Americas were adapted from familial forms in parts of West and West Central Africa, where most enslaved people in the Mid-Atlantic region were originally captured (Billingsley, 1992). Women were often the head of the household during the dark period of enslavement in the American colonies, and later, the United States (Davis A. Y., 1981). This was a product of the common practice of abroad marriages in which couples often lived on separate plantations. The division of enslaved family members through sales also meant many individuals were completely removed from their families, and often formed fictive-kin relationships that were not tied to genetic relations but provided similar support structures as nuclear families (Sudarkasa, 1996).

Nuclear families became more common after emancipation when legal weddings became an option for African Americans. Marriage was considered a critical institution for the enslaved people who had been denied the civil rights of wedded union (Sudarkasa, 1996). Many White Americans also saw weddings as key to 'civilizing' the mass of free Black people who were considered to have little to lose, making them dangerous to society (Franke, 1999). The high rates a weddings after emancipation highlights the significance that African Americans placed on their spouses and families, but emancipation did not remove all the forces that divided African American families. The industrializing economy, reduction in rural economic opportunities,

violence targeting black communities, and restrictions on African American political rights all played a role in what would come to be known as The Great Migration (Berlin, 2010). This social phenomena resulted in a disproportionate number of African American men moving north, often leaving behind households led by women (Hunter, 1997; Du Bois W. E., 1898).

The archaeological analysis of African American households has been a significant component of African American archaeology. The spatial constraints and material remains produced by households is well within the scope of most research projects. Whitney Battle-Baptiste advanced this work through her synthesis of the African American concept Homeplace described by Bell Hooks with the archaeological concept of yardspace, to create a new concept she calls homespace (Battle-Baptiste, 2011; Hooks, 2015 [1990]; Heath & Bennett, 2000). A Homespace includes the domestic structure, yardspace, and areas between neighboring households as a single dwelling unit. Homespaces were produced through a "multi-family cooperative domestic exchange system" that developed within the context of plantation slavery and provided space for the enslaved to escape the brutality of the captive experience and share tactics for survival and resistance (Battle-Baptiste, 2011, pp. 94-95). The relationships between homespace and community exchange emerged within the plantation context and persisted into the emancipation period, serving similar roles in the negotiation of power relations during rapidly shifting economic, social, and political structures (Brock, 2014).

The strategies and tactics that African American households used to resist slavery, violence, segregation, and economic domination can be found among the archaeological remains of African America. Education was considered key to the social and economic advancement of African Americans. Education was often illegal and rarely encouraged for enslaved African

Americans in the United States of America. Literacy and education were seen by many African Americans as key to improving their lives and resisting an oppressive system of imprisonment.

The architecture and the organization of homespaces was the most visibly prominent expression of African American strategies to resist oppression in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It was often protected internally through spiritual practices while outwardly symbolizing the social accomplishments and status of a household. The spiritual and symbolic expression of these practices were often limited by the economic status and societal access of the families that called these houses homes.

The visibility of African American households on the landscape shifted through time, along with its role and importance. This includes the links between visibility, panoptic surveillance, community connection, and expressions of status. All these factors shift through time as intersecting social and economic systems influence and adapt to one another's changes.

Interpreting the material expressions of literacy, architecture, and visibility through time requires an intersectional approach informed by Black feminist theory in archaeology. The interpretation of systems of power and their relationship to the material remains of the past have been refined over the last five decades. Interpretations have become more nuanced and tied to specific local contexts. The specifics of each time and place should be used to determine which social forces were most significant, and therefore, how the research to understand the material culture should be framed.

The following chapter describes the history of the property and its surroundings. This provides the historical context needed to determine which intersecting systems of power held the greatest influence on Western Orange County, Virginia, where Montpelier is located. Over time,

the influence and interrelationships of these systems of power changed, reshaping the lenses

through which the material culture must be understood.

Chapter 3: A Brief History of the Montpelier Property and Surrounding Lands in Western Orange County, Virginia

Introduction

There have been many dynamic intersecting social systems influencing the material cultures of Orange County throughout the history of the land. Archaeologists' ability to understand the intersections of these past systems is enhanced when additional lines of evidence are made available. The historical and documentary records are incomplete and shaped by bias, but they provide lenses or perspectives that can inform an interpretation of intersecting social systems in the past. They provide evidence for which social forces were most significant and ways in which they mutually supported and reproduced one another. They also provide scattered details about the actions of communities, the demographics of households, and the lives of specific individuals.

Ecological evidence of past landscapes can expand an understanding gleaned from historical documentation alone. Ecosystems and their manipulation by people will often leave evidence that can be observed in the soils and forests of the present day. This evidence often exposes elements of the environment that were unnoticed or taken for granted by past inhabitants, precluding its inclusion in the historical record. These artifacts of the environment have contributed to the historical context developed in this chapter.

Material culture is the third leg of the historical stool upon which the archaeological analysis in this dissertation sits. The material culture incorporated into the development of the history described in this chapter come from observations of the modern landscape and visible materials from the past as well as the cumulation of archaeological findings over the last few decades.

By the conclusion of this chapter it will be clear to readers that race, gender, and class have been the dominant social forces in Orange County since it first became occupied by people of European Descent and the Africans they enslaved. The manifestation of these forces shifted along with their intersecting relationships. The most significant factor in these changes was the Civil War, and more specifically, the end of legal enslavement within the United States. This change forced a reorganization of society which relied upon systems of racial and gender-based discrimination and exploitation in the production of a new rural capitalism based in the mechanization and industrialization of agriculture to the primary benefit of wealthy white landholding men. The structure that enabled this transition is rooted in the removal of the indigenous peoples followed by over 150 years of a racially-based chattel slave system.

Making and Maintaining Mount Pleasant

Orange County is in the Piedmont region of Central Virginia. Its significance to English colonists increased as the tobacco fields of the Chesapeake Bay Tidewater region were depleted of their nutrients through overuse. The native Monocan peoples had to be removed from their ancestral lands Before the rich soils of western Virginia could be exploited. The vast majority were gone within a few decades of establishing the first plantations in the area. One of these early tobacco plantations was called Mount Pleasant. It was owned by Ambrose and Frances Madison, the grand parents of President James Madison, the fourth president of the United States and the father of the constitution.

The first people to move to this area who were not Monocan, were enslaved Africans and their overseers. The majority of enslaved Africans arriving in the western portion of Spotsylvania County that would become Orange County were most likely forced onto slave ships in West Africa, primarily from ports in the Bight of Biafara (Chambers 2005). This is based upon the

presence of names from this region appearing in the historic record, as well as general trends identified through analysis of shipping records from the transatlantic trade in captive African people (Chambers 2005). Other members of the enslaved community in Orange County would have come from West Central Africa, or other colonies in the Americas.

Artifacts that were likely manufactured by Monocan peoples were found at Mount Pleasant (Reeves and Fogle 2007: 110). This suggests that there may have been some interaction between the ten to fifteen enslaved Africans who first arrived there to build the plantation in the 1720s, and the locals who were quickly being removed from the area. The formation of Colonial Orange County (the western portion of Spotsylvania County at the time) was shaped by the collision of two removals, African and Monocan. Both experienced forced removals by Europeans during the era when the modern capitalist system was developing.

The labor required during this first phase of English occupation included clearing fields and processing timbers to build Mount Pleasant and the related buildings necessary to run a successful tobacco plantation. The landscape would have been covered by an Oak-Hickory-Pine forest (Druckenbrod et al 2005: 38). In the early historical record a range of tree species including red, white, and Spanish oaks, pines, dogwoods, chestnuts, black gums, and yellow poplars were mentioned (Druckenbrod and Shugart 2004: 208). Due to the expansive network of roots related to recently felled trees, fields could not have been sown using the aid of the plow. Instead, the tobacco would have been grown using hoes to loosen and build the mounds of soil necessary. It would have been many years before the root systems decayed enough that they could have been removed, so it is believed that the fields were not plowed until after they were initially exhausted and had gone through their first fallow period (Druckenbrod and Shugart 2004). The lack of plowing and the maintenance of root systems prevented rapid erosion during

the early years of settlement, but the steep slopes of the Piedmont hills are susceptible to erosion with little additional stress related to human activity (Sherwood 2010). The use of hoes also meant a greater demand for labor, since the plow dramatically speeds up the tilling and hilling of the soil.

Ambrose and Frances Madison finally moved to the property in 1731. It was undoubtedly difficult for the enslaved community to adjust to the close proximity of their captors. Ambrose Madison died within six months of arriving. Three enslaved people were found guilty of conspiring to kill him. Only one was executed, the enslaved medicine man of a neighboring plantation named Pompey. Turk and Dido returned to captivity under Frances Madison. They appear to have lived out the rest of their lives at Mount Pleasant, and their names are repeated in later generations (Chambers 2005). The enslaved laborers who built the plantation also had to adjust to an influx of additional people of African descent into their group. In 1733 twenty-nine enslaved Africans and African Americans were recorded as living at Mount Pleasant, fifteen of which were sixteen or older (Chambers, 2005). This shows the presence of enslaved children, which means that families in some form existed by this time.

After Ambrose's death, Frances Madison continued to run Montpelier as a tobacco plantation the rest of her life. She didn't transfer the property to her eldest son when he came of age, as was customary for the time period. This decision forced James Madison Sr. to seek out other ways of establishing himself and building his own wealth. He assumed political roles in the county. He became a member of the local Anglican vestry and colonel of the local militia. He earned his living as a merchant, he hired out enslaved craftsmen skilled in carpentry, and he built a large blacksmithing operation on the Montpelier property, where enslaved blacksmiths built and repaired tools for nearby Piedmont planters. Madison Senior's industrial developments are

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important to consider since it means that there was a significant number of enslaved people being trained in a valuable trade. In addition to Blacksmiths, many other skilled laborers could be found amongst the enslaved Africans and African Americans, including carpenters, masons, and gardeners. Those enslaved people with skills in high demand were routinely rented out and had potential access to a meager personal income while not conducting forced labor. They regularly left the plantation for extended periods of time in order to work on behalf of the person who claimed ownership of them.

Our knowledge of the distribution of archaeological sites during the period Frances Madison owned and ran Mount Pleasant is limited. The majority of people and activities were clustered in the home house quarter. Another concentration of enslaved laborers and an overseer were living at Black Level quarter, but its location has not yet been identified. One concentration of early 18th century material was found through a metal detector survey in the spring of 2014, but it is not clear that it is Black Level, since it is near the Madison family's property boundary, and may be outside it. This is likely a domestic site for enslaved field laborers. Additional excavation is needed to gain a better understanding of the relationship between this isolated site, and the cluster of people around the Mount Pleasant home house quarter. More sites from this period are expected to be identified through metal detector survey methodologies using a grid-based system with complete coverage of the landscape (Woehlke and Reeves 2015). The population of the enslaved community and the sites associated with them increase through the end of the 18th century. As the labor force grew, the amount of lands brought into tobacco cultivation increased as well.

Figure 1. Map of Sites Related to Mount Pleasant (est. 1723)
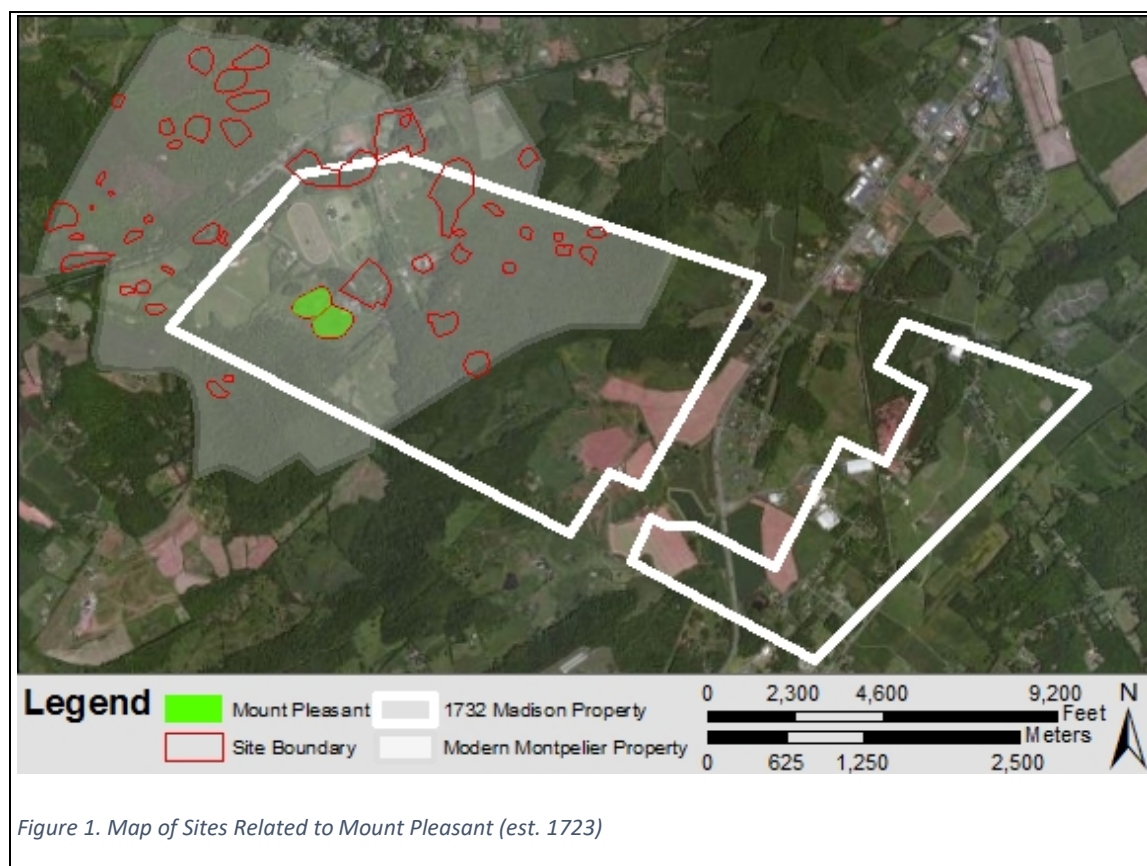
Building Montpelier and the Birth of Rural Industry in Orange County

The first major transitions in the organization of Montpelier's plantation operations takes place when Frances Madison dies, and Col. James Madison inherits the plantation. This occurs in the 1760s when Montpelier, a Georgian style brick mansion, was constructed a few hundred yards northeast of Mount Pleasant. A depleted tobacco field next to Mount Pleasant became an area where domestic sites associated with the enslaved community were clustered. It continued to be occupied by members of the enslaved population and an overseer for many more decades (Reeves and Fogel 2007).

Figure 2. Known Sites Associated with Col. James Madison's Ownership
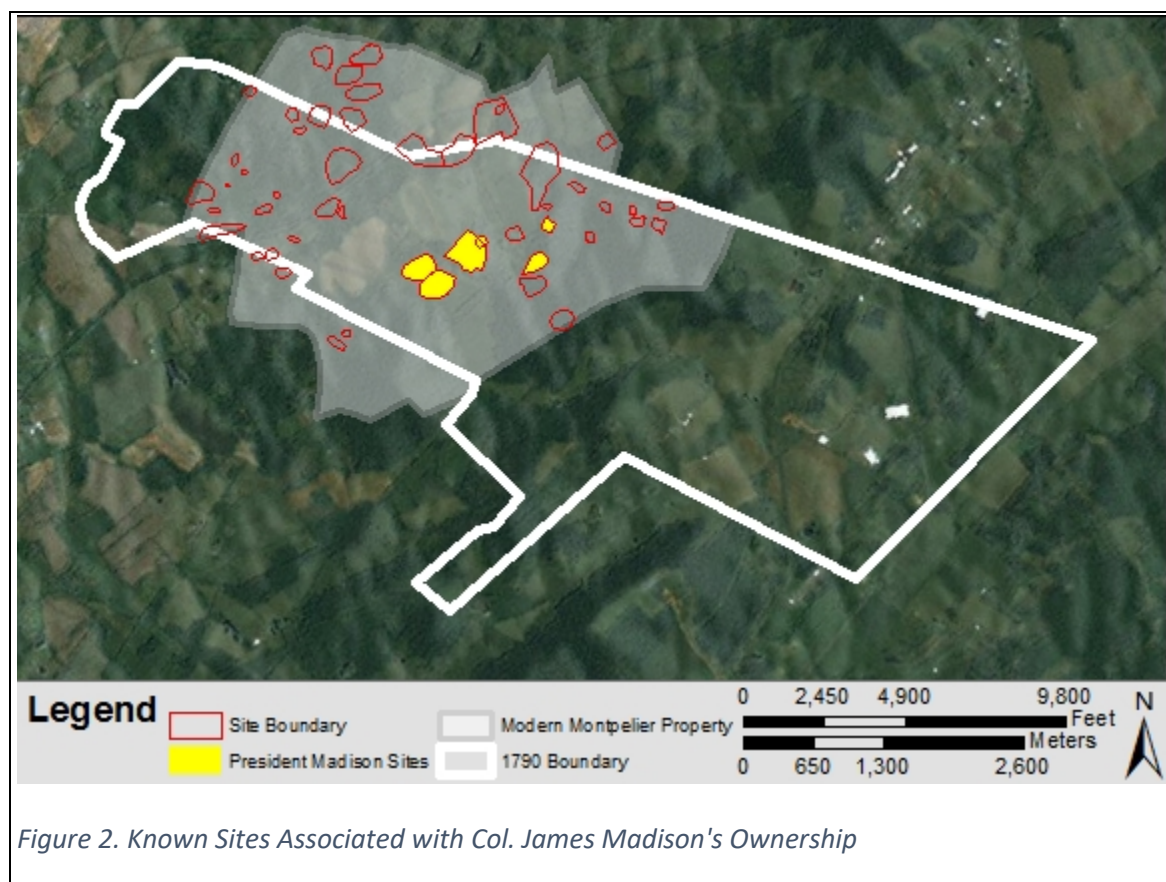
A diversity of crops to feed the local population also needed to be grown at Montpelier because of poor access to navigable waterways and high transportation costs. Providing a sustainable food supply was essential for life in Orange County. Corn was the second most important crop for the first decades after English migration to the region. By the 1760s wheat became more important. An expansion in grain production at this time is supported by an increase in grist mills across the county (Schlotterbeck 1980). It is likely that many of the first fields cleared in the area had already gone through a fallow period and now the old roots were no longer impeding plows. This transition also corresponds with the establishment of Col. Madison's blacksmithing complex. His industrial operation became essential to the mechanization of Orange County agriculture with the production and repair of farming equipment.

Diversification extended beyond what was planted in the region. A social economy developed in which planters exchanged resources in order to meet local demands for products and labor. Enslaved Africans were regularly hired out to neighbors for short and extended periods. Often times these were specialists, such as Carpenters who might be needed for a long-term construction project. Other industries that developed over the 18th and into the 19th centuries included lumber, milling, carding, tanneries, saddle and harness manufacture, boots and shoes, clothing, cooperage, furniture, and construction. Diversified tasks meant many things for the enslaved community. A large portion became skilled artisans, trained in a valuable craft. It also meant that there was something for everyone to do all the time. As the importance of tobacco declined, diversified agricultural regimes balanced out the demand for labor throughout the year (Schlotterbeck 1980).

Archaeological surveys have identified an increase in the number of sites within a few hundred yards of the Montpelier house during the years that Col. Madison controlled the property. It is not clear how Black Level Quarter changed, since it has not yet been identified through archaeological survey, and may be located on a portion of Madison property that is not owned by the Montpelier Foundation today. A better understanding of these 18th century shifts in settlement patterns will depend upon an expansion of the multi-year, grid-based metal detector survey that is still underway at Montpelier.

Diversifying Montpelier, from Plantation to Farm

James Madison Sr. died in 1801. This triggered major changes in the management of the plantation. James Madison Jr., who would later become president, inherited the property. Some of the enslaved population remained under the ownership of Nelly Madison, his mother, while others were transferred to President Madison and his siblings. This undoubtedly sent shockwaves

through the enslaved community as friends and family members were forced to leave Montpelier to work for other Madison relatives. As a result, the population of the enslaved community shrunk. It took two decades to return to its late 18th century numbers (Chambers, 2005).

Figure 3. Known Sites Associated with the Ownership of President James Madison

President Madison made many changes to the landscape over the next three and a half decades. First, he moved the blacksmithing complex to the far southern end of his property. He also continued to transition away from a mono-crop tobacco agriculture, towards a mix of tobacco and grain-that was dependent upon markets. The excavation of a tobacco barn complex in 2012 revealed this dramatic shift towards a mechanized grain agriculture. A former tobacco barn with smoking pit and trenches around the interior edges that doubled as an out-of-season domestic site, was converted to a threshing barn. The hand wrought iron teeth were recovered in the yard around the barn, and the two large postholes that held the machine in place were also excavated (Trickett 2013). The fact that these teeth were hand wrought reinforces the

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significance of the blacksmith complex in support of the mechanization process started decades earlier by the president's father. This early 19th century expansion of mechanization occurred as wheat became the main export crop for the county (Schlotterbeck 1980).

Madison also experimented with methods to increase soil fertility and land productivity. He acquired and modified new tools like a moldboard plow that he had a blacksmith reinforce for the heavy piedmont clay. He rotated crops and planted grasses after harvest to reduce erosion. He also had his overseer set aside plots to test different fertilizing methods combining manure and plaster, in addition to manuring fields during fallow resting periods to help restore depleted nutrients (Schlotterbeck 1980).

Along with the technical and agricultural transition came huge social changes across Orange County. Westward expansion and the rise of the Cotton Belt in the New South drove white migration in waves, but the African American migration was even greater. This is what Ira Berlin calls the second great migration of African Americans (2010). It impacted all of the upper south because of the huge demand for labor and capital that it spurred. Enslaved families were torn from one another in order to feed the tremendous labor demands for the planting, harvesting, and processing of cotton. Once again, enslaved African descendants were experiencing a traumatic removal similar to those their grandparents and great grandparents experienced when they were taken from Africa. Over each decade of the 1820s and 1830s, over 2,000 people of African descent left Orange county—doubtlessly sold to "negro traders" who beat a steady transport of enslaved individuals in chained lines of human coffles leading to and from the major slave trading centers of Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans (Baptist 2014). This is about double the net migration of whites, and it continued at a disproportionate rate for decades after (Schlotterbeck 1980).

Figure 4. Organization of Montpelier during the Ownership of President James Madison
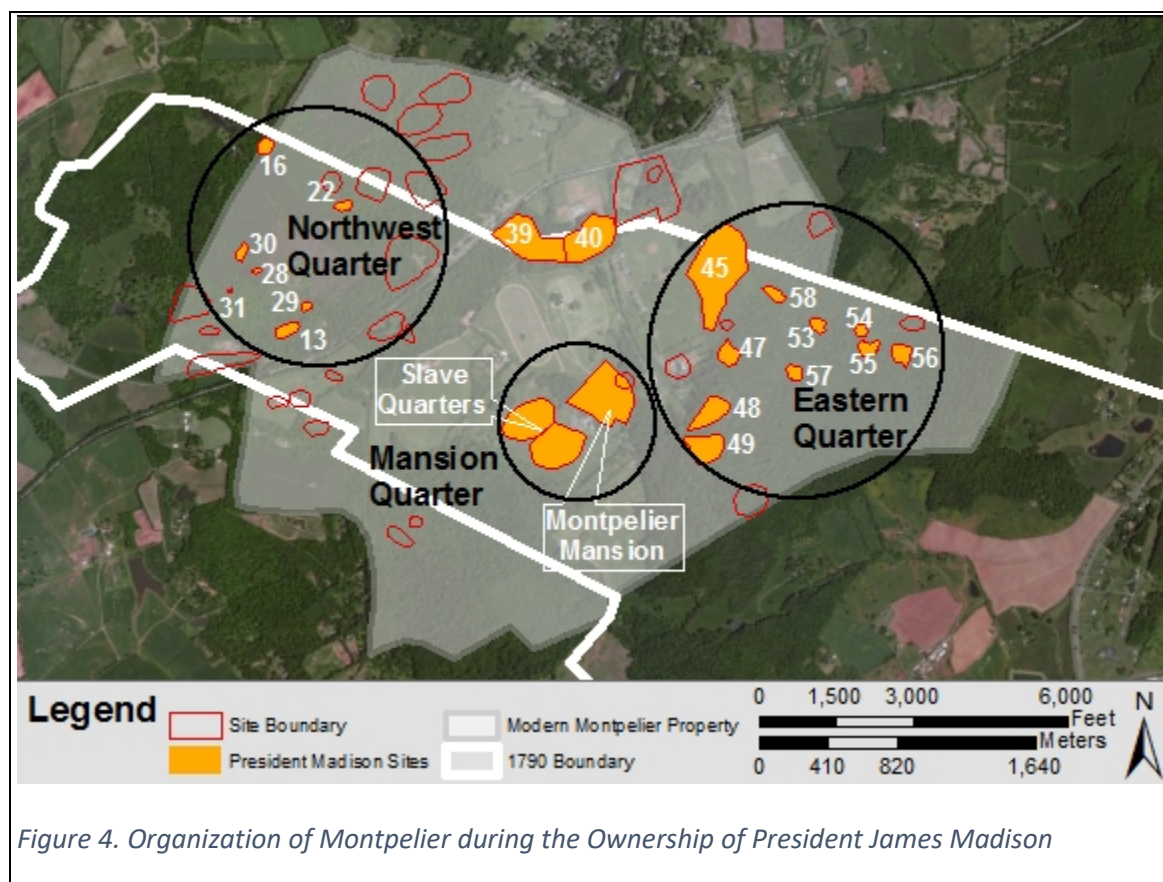
At Montpelier, the plantation population stayed together during Madison's life. The distribution of sites associated with the plantation becomes more evenly distributed across the landscape. This would maximize production by reducing the amount of time needed to travel to the fields. It also suggests that there may have been a shift in the management of the enslaved population. Sites dating to this period are easily found through metal detector surveys since the mechanization of nail production resulted in members of the enslaved community having ready access to them, leaving clear traces of human activity in the archaeological record. These widely distributed sites loosely consolidate in three areas of the Montpelier Foundation's Property. The first is the area around the mansion. Another area where domestic and agricultural structures are located can be found to the east of the mansion in an area that is currently wooded. Another cluster of domestic structures dating to this period can be found northwest of the mansion across modern day route 20, the historic plank road (Woehlke and Trickett 2015).

Contraction in the Late Antebellum

The African American community in western Orange County had been experiencing the pain of removal as the decline in demand for labor in the region combined with an increase in demand to the west and south. After Madison's death in 1836 the enslaved community living at Montpelier began to suffer the same fate. Many could still remember when the community was divided 35 years earlier, after the death of the president's father (Chambers 2005). This time they were being split among the Madison family, as well as many others. Dolley Madison was forced to sell Montpelier in 1844 because of the debts accrued during her husband's life. She sold the house, the majority of the land, and most of the enslaved population to Henry Moncure. The rest of the land had been sold in smaller parcels leading up to the final sale. After this, she moved to Washington D.C. where she sold Madison's papers to congress in 1846 for $25,000 (Madison 1886).

Moncure sold the property to Benjamin Thornton in 1848. After a few short years it was sold again to William MacFarland in 1854, who resold it in 1855 to Alfred Scott. The rate of exchange began to decrease at this time. Thomas Carson and his brother Frank Carson owned the property from 1857 until 1881.
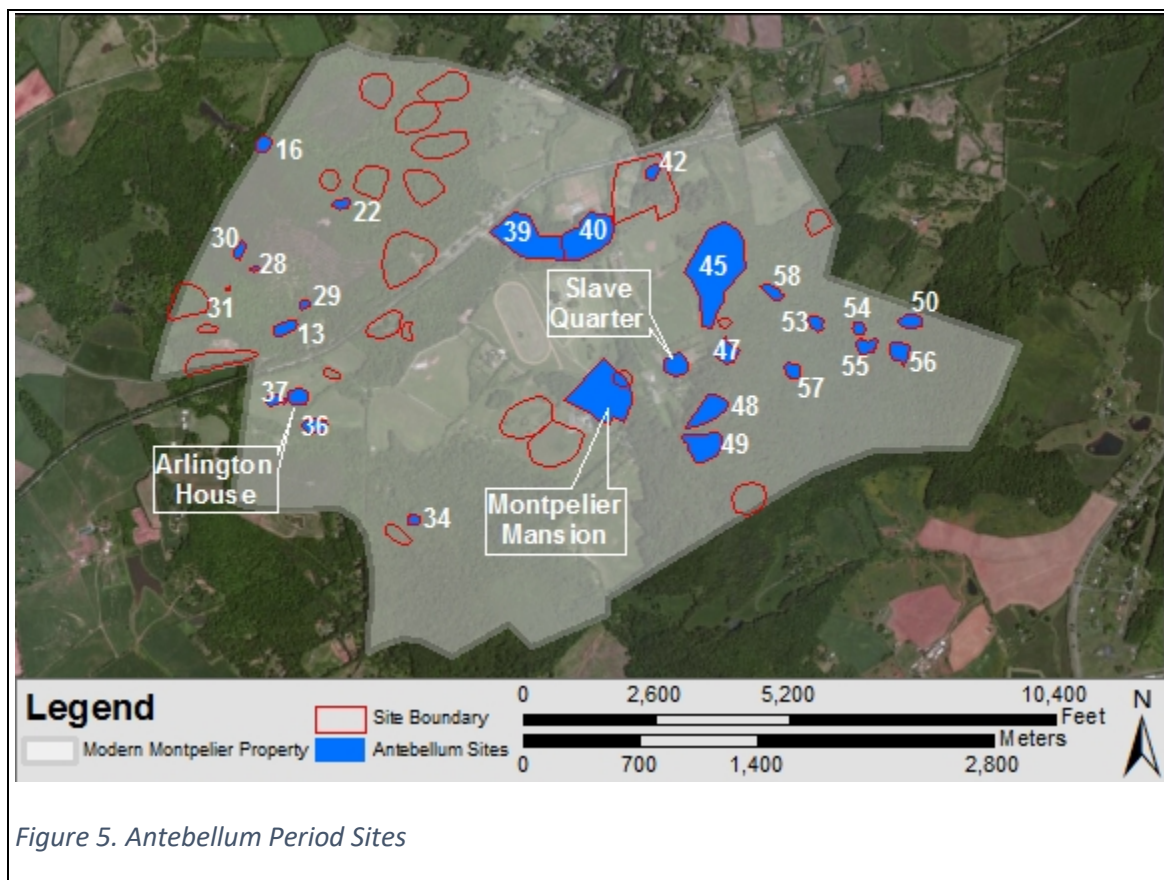
Figure 5. Antebellum Period Sites

The settlement pattern on Montpelier's property changed with ownership. The area was made up of smaller farms cut from the Madison family property. Initially this led to a more evenly dispersed population across the landscape because of the smaller parcels. It wasn't long until many of the sites were abandoned. This likely represents the removal of the enslaved population previously held by the Madison family. The mechanization of mixed grain agriculture resulted in a reduction in the demand for labor and the abandonment of over half the sites in the Montpelier Foundation's east woods and about a third from the north woods, between 1844 and 1860 (Woehlke and Trickett 2015). New Barns were also constructed at Montpelier, signifying an investment in capital intensive projects along with equipment at the same time the enslaved community was sold away to southern plantations. The homes of the enslaved community around the mansion were demolished, and new ones constructed near the barns, much further to the east (Reeves and Marshall 2009).

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The censuses show the stagnation and frequent declines in the African American population in Orange County. During the first half of the 19th century. The population increased slightly between 1820 and 1830 (7,661 to 8,181 people), followed by a sharp decline that brought the population below 1820 levels. In 1840 there were 7,335 African Americans recorded in Orange County. There was a slight increase in each of the following years up until emancipation. This period of decline and stagnation in the population is a result of forced removal that targeted the youth. This can be seen in the population tree of the 547 enslaved people living around Montpelier in 1860 where the lower portions of the tree (younger people) are considerably smaller in comparison to individuals over 35 years of age (Reeves and Lewis 2009).

During the Civil War there were multiple periods in which the confederate army camped in Orange County. The domestic sites in which enslaved African Americans lived were taken over by Confederate officers (Reeves and Trickett 2009). Many of the enslaved community may have taken this opportunity to escape north across to the Rappahannock River into Culpepper County, which was the line between the Union and Confederate armies during the winter of 1863-64. Soldiers in the Confederate and the Union armies regularly took advantage of the enslaved or recently freed populations (Dunaway 2003). Dramatic shifts in the social fabric of the county continued after the removal of enslaved people to the New South and their emancipation following the Civil War.

Emancipation and a new Agricultural System

In the decade from 1860-1870 there was a 36% decline in the African American Population. It is likely that many of the African Americans living in Orange County during this period were sold further south by the start of the Civil War, while others likely took advantage of the disruption of

Confederate troop occupation to leave Orange County for territory occupied by the union. Many left the area after emancipation in search of friends and family who had been sold before the end of the war. Others went in search of a greater degree of freedom and access to higher paying jobs than could be found in the land where they were raised (Reeves and Lewis 2005). There was also movement within the county, primarily to the local towns of Orange Courthouse and Gordonsville, leading to a restructuring of voting districts in order for the White inhabitants to maintain political control of the county following the 1870 census (Scott 1907:163-164).

Emancipation also had an effect on family life. Free from the fear that their spouses or children would be forced south; the African American community experienced a small baby boom in the five years following emancipation. Similarly, marriages within the African American community also increased after the end of the War (Reeves and Lewis 2005).

It took time for some African American communities to become established following the Civil War, one in particular, Jacksontown, was well on its way by 1870 (Reeves and Lewis 2005). It was located just to the southwest of Montpelier, and consisted of nuclear families. This may have been a popular location for African Americans since it was centrally located between a number of large farms on which community members could find work as laborers and domestic servants. Over time, many of the families here were able to purchase their land. By 1900, 26 families owned land in this community, the highest concentration of African American landowners in the county (Reeves and Lewis 2005).
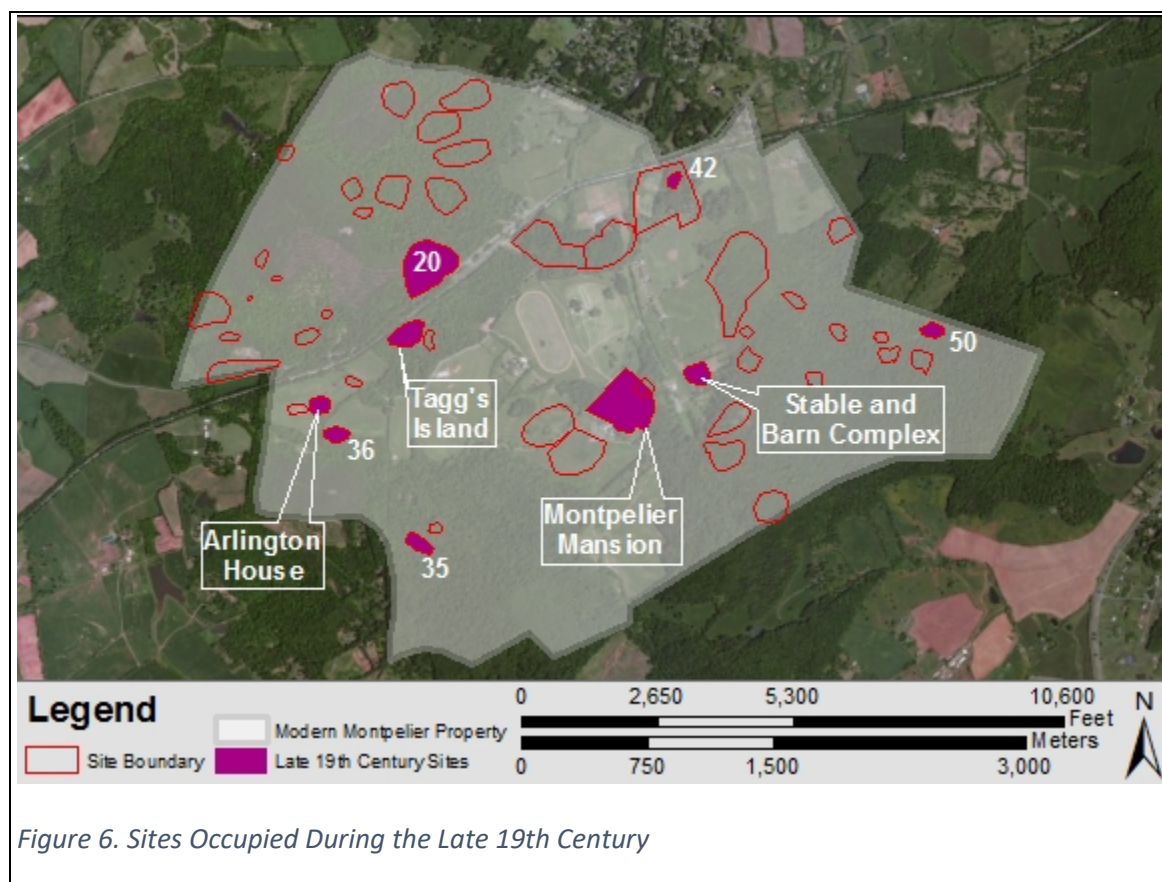
Figure 6. Sites Occupied During the Late 19th Century

The domestic sites associated with African Americans on the Montpelier Foundation's property dropped dramatically at this time. Based on surveys conducted across the property there are only nine areas in which African Americans lived on the property after the Civil War (Woehlke and Trickett 2015). One site belonged to the Gilmore Family, who mortgaged their property, gaining full ownership in 1901 (Reeves 2010). The Walker and Taylor families both purchased their 5.5 acre lots from Col. Willis, their former slave holder, for $1 in 1886. Other African Americans owned small lots in the area known as Tagg's Island. A few other African Americans living on current Montpelier Foundation property were either day laborers paying rent or tenants in the last decades of the 19th century, as were most African Americans in the county (Reeves and Lewis 2005).

The occupations of African Americans in Orange County in 1870 are dominated by farm laborers. Additionally, seven percent were classified as laborers and another seven as domestic

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servants. Given the low wages for this class of worker it would have been extremely difficult to raise the funds required to purchase the land or livestock required to build wealth. Only three percent of African Americans were listed as farmers, and only some of them owned their land. This contrasts dramatically with the White population in which 57% were classified as farmers and only 5% as farm laborer, with an additional two and one percent classified as laborer and domestic servant respectively. The rest of the White population was comprised of skilled laborers, clerks, doctors, merchants, and railroad workers (Reeves and Lewis 2005). African Americans in Orange County who were unable to find jobs as skilled laborers were left with no power to bargain with property owners over contracts since their labor could easily be replaced by other members of the African American community who were also looking for work.

Between 1870 and 1880 the African American population in the area surrounding Montpelier actually increased by 39%. Personal Property values also grew to an average range of ten to twenty dollars. That said, there were some outliers within the African American community that skew these numbers. A select few households accumulated hundreds of dollars of wealth, while the majority of people were recorded as having no personal property or just a few dollars.
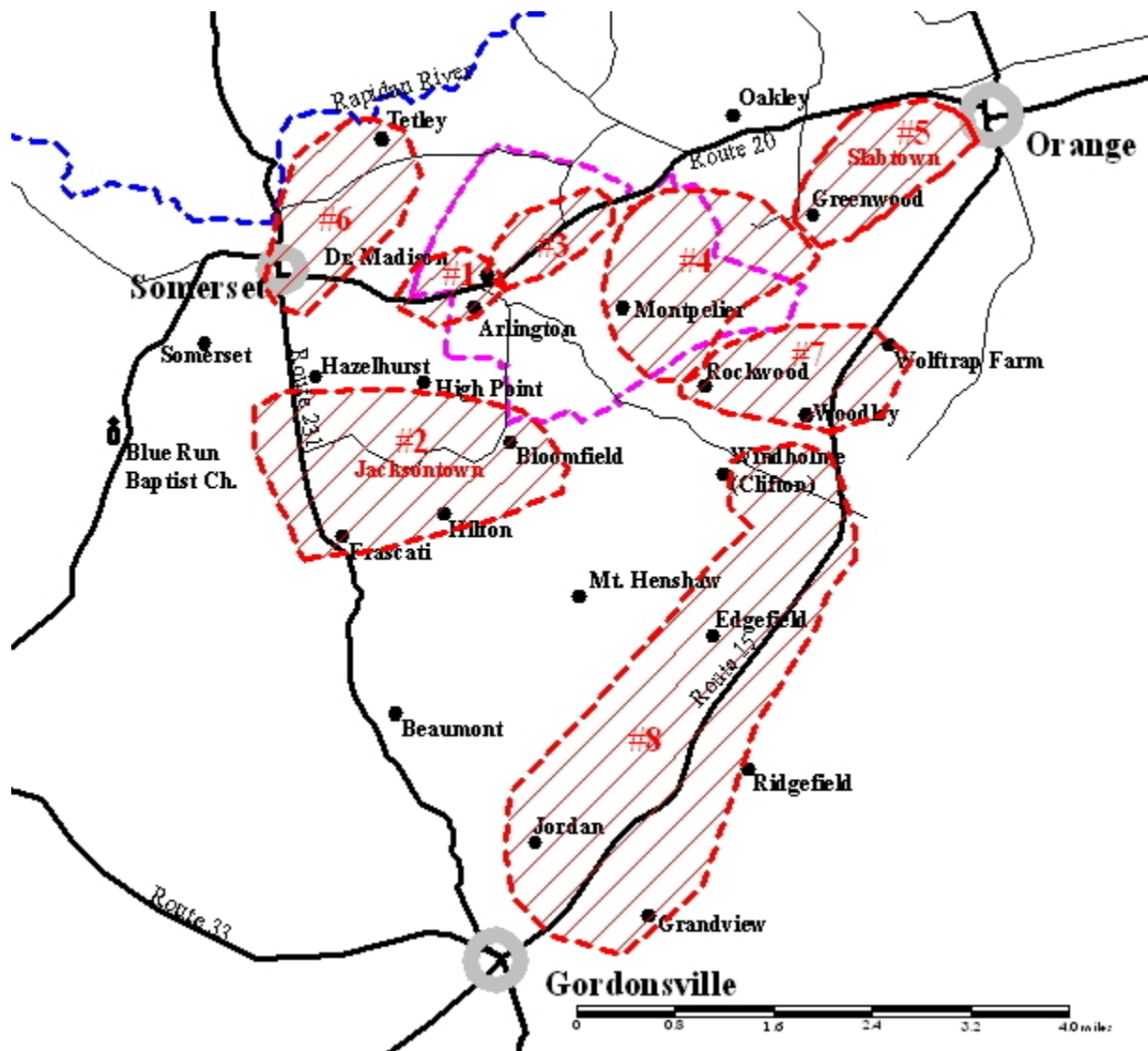
Figure 7. African American Settlement in the late 19th century. (Need to replace with my own map)

During this period, another African American settlement known as Slabtown was established outside of the town of Orange, less than five miles up the road from Montpelier. By 1880 there were 132 African Americans living there. These were mostly extended families living on small lots. The residents here were predominantly laborers and domestic servants, likely working in the town of Orange (Reeves and Lewis 2005).

Jacksontown also grew during this decade. As more families acquired property and families had more children, the population rose to 182 in 1880. The residents in Jacksontown

were also able to pool their resources in order to construct some community infrastructure, including a schoolhouse, community store, and meeting hall (Reeves and Lewis 2005). These resources undoubtedly contributed to the attractiveness of this community to other African Americans in the region.

Figure 8. Jacksontown School

Other African Americans lived in homes scattered more broadly across the countryside. These households tended to have more wealth than those living in the towns or small communities in the area. This is mostly related to the livestock and farm equipment that many of them had in order to produce food for their families and the market (Reeves and Lewis 2005). Another interesting contrast is the higher average age in these more rural households. This may be related to the tendency for children to leave the area looking for work once they came of age. Supporting this observation, the children in Jacksontown and Slabtown tended to be younger in 1880 with older teenagers leaving the area for work, or in some cases, school.

By 1880 the employment patterns changed only slightly. Laborers and Farm Laborers made up 57% of the African American workforce. The number of farmers grew from 3% to 11%, which is likely related to the amount of time that had passed since emancipation. Very few African Americans had the money to acquire property immediately following the Civil War, but by 1880 the number of families that could pool their resources in order to get their own place grew. Interestingly, white farmers made up proportionately less of the white labor force, falling from 57% in 1870 to 47% in 1880. The labor that both populations engaged in diversified over this period. Skilled labor outside of agriculture continued to be an important sector of the economy. The railroad became a major employer across races by 1880, especially in Gordonsville, to the SE of Montpelier. A small percentage of African Americans found work in hotels or as merchants. A number of Black women entrepreneurs created work through the selling of foods like fried chicken to passengers on trains as they waited at the station between arrival and departure (Williams-Forson, 2006). The White community occupied a wider range of the workforce, including doctors, clerks, and teachers. Domestic servitude held steady during the decade (Reeves and Lewis 2005).

The wealth gap continued to be abundantly clear between Whites and African Americans living in the western portion of Orange County, even among landowners. In 1880, the average value of an African American's farm was $270, while for whites it was $4,174 according to the agricultural census (Reeves and Lewis 2005:11). Similarly, the difference in the amount of land they owned was more drastic than farm values. African Americans owned on average about 20 acres, while white farmers averaged around 300. This discrepancy in the size of farms also affected the ways in which they were managed. Due to their smaller size, African Americans had to work around 70% of their property, as opposed to 36% for whites. This contributed to

discrepancies between the productivity of land. White farmers were able to produce three to five more bushels of grain per acre than the African Americans. This is a result of the poor soil quality in areas where African Americans could afford land. Furthermore, their small size meant that they lacked the capacity needed to let fields rest and rotate properly. Compounding this factor was the ability for many white farmers to purchase chemical fertilizers that were beginning to be industrially produced in the late-19th century. Only one African American farmer is reported to have purchased fertilizer during the same period (Reeves and Lewis 2005).

Similarly, the discrepancies between White and Black farmers can be seen in the use of outside wage labor. Only one African American farmer is recorded as paying any wages. His name was Noah Wales, and he paid eighteen dollars in wages for the year. He owned 52 acres and had the highest personal property assessment among the African Americans in Orange County, $3,600. He produced the second largest amount of wine out of anyone in Orange County, and it is presumed that these wages were paid out to help with the harvesting and processing of grapes. He also produced fruit, wool, timber, and butter from his property (Reeves and Lewis 2005).

The demand for agricultural labor was linked to the amount and variety of crops in production. Since most African American farms were small, under twenty acres, they had little demand for labor beyond the nuclear family. When necessary, local communities banded together, trading labor for labor or a small share of the crops.

In 1881 the Montpelier property was sold to a couple business partners who sought to bring a new livestock management program to Montpelier and turn it into a profitable farm once again. Louis Detrick and William Bradley owned the property from 1881-1900 when it was sold to William DuPont's agent, Charles King Lennig.

After 1880, African American land ownership continued to grow at a slow and steady rate. By the 1900 census almost one third of the African Americans in this part of Orange County owned land, totaling 254 out of 616 households (Reeves and Lewis 2005). This trend is a continuation of families being able to pool their resources. As children grew into adults and were able to earn enough money to contribute, families were able to purchase their first plot of land.

One African American family that lived on the Montpelier Foundation's property after emancipation was the Gilmores. They got the land from Dr. James Madison, the president's nephew, through a mortgage following the Civil War. Archaeology confirmed that George and Polly Gilmore built their first home out of material salvaged from abandoned winter huts built by the Confederate army (Reeves 2010). The Gilmore property was most likely clear cut by the military, who devoured forests for construction of their camps as well as for firewood (Reeves and Trickett 2009). The Gilmores saved for years, before they were able to purchase large timbers to build a more substantial cabin in 1873 (Reeves 2010). The family's first home on the property continued to stand for decades, and appears behind the current structure in an early 20th century photograph.

Figure 9. Gilmore Cabin about 1920, with initial family home in the background.

George Gilmore farmed his own land and supplemented his income by working additional jobs. They did not have enough land to provide everything their growing family needed. In 1880, George was listed as a farmer with 12 acres of tilled land, and 4 acres that were unimproved. His two eldest sons, Jerry and Philip, were listed as laborers, supplying additional wages to supplement the family's harvests (Reeves and Lewis 2005). The 1880 Agricultural census lists the farm's value at $26. This was primarily attributed to one pig and one hog with a combined value of $15. As George and Polly grew older, their youngest son, William, began to take over responsibility for the farm.

Overall, the decades following emancipation showed great promise for the African American community in Orange County. They were able to begin to build wealth and establish

themselves despite the fact that they were more likely to migrate away from the county than the White residents. Life was difficult, but there were opportunities to acquire property and positions as skilled laborers. These challenges increased over the course of the early twentieth century, and property ownership began to decline. In this part of the county, the arrival of the DuPont Family aligned with the cementation of Jim Crow policies at the turn of the 20th century.

Jim Crow, William du Pont, and the Consolidation of Power in the 20th century

The turn of the 20th century brought many changes to the people and the landscape of Orange County. There were two great influences in the western portion of the county that occurred at nearly the same time. The first was the legal endorsement of segregation laws that were the foundation of Jim Crow with the Supreme Court decision in Plessy V. Ferguson in 1896. The second was the arrival of William DuPont as owner of Montpelier in 1901. Both events created additional challenges for the African American community that resulted in the gradual dispossession of their homes and their property in many cases.

Two examples of African American families quickly impacted by the DuPont arrival are the Walker and Taylor families. Charles and Rebecca Taylor were tenant farmers, renting 45 acres of land from John Willis. In 1886 they bought six acres from Col. John Willis for $1. This is shortly before John Willis passes away, and is the same deal given to the Taylors' neighbors, the Walkers.

Peter and Hannah Walker's property contained one structure where initial excavations have begun. It appears to have been occupied just after the Civil War, and may have been constructed out of salvaged materials like the first Gilmore cabin. The farms and other property of the Walkers and Taylors are both valued over $100 in 1880. Both properties were sold to

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William DuPont within a year of one another. The Walkers sold their property for $100 in 1900 ($16 per acre) and the Taylors sold theirs for $150 in 1901 ($25 per acre) (Reeves and Lewis 2005).

The Taylors seem to have moved in with their children after they sold their property. It is currently unclear what happened to Peter and Hannah Walker after they sold their home and moved off the land. Other properties around Montpelier continued to get bought up by William duPont and other wealthy White landowners. William duPont was not dependent on the land to produce a profit. His independent wealth enabled him to use Montpelier as a place to raise horses. Over time he added to his property. He purchased almost 5,000 acres of land surrounding the Mansion. He bought land from white and black families resulting in the removal of more African Americans from the County.

The Gilmore family became another victim of DuPont's land acquisition. As George Gilmore grew old and was unable to manage his farm, his youngest son William supported his parents through his labor. In 1901, Just before Dr. James Madison passed away, George Gilmore purchased the land outright for $560 ($35 per acre). This was a steep price for the total acreage of the property, and shows how race may have impacted the price of land for African Americans in the region. William continued to live at the farm with his family for another 19 years, even after his parents passed away. Eventually, the Gilmore siblings had a dispute over the land which resulted in a court ordered auction that was intended to settle it in 1920. At the auction, William DuPont quickly ended the bidding with a $5000 offer, far more than George and Polly's son William could raise on his own, despite his efforts.

As the twentieth century continued, the last of the remaining African Americans were bought out, or forced out when their landlords sold their property to William DuPont. Some

African Americans worked as laborers for the DuPonts and rented out rooms or houses on the property, but many Black laborers at Montpelier were from neighboring Madison County (Personal Conversation with Mark Gooch)

Economic inequality prevented African Americans from building wealth and acquiring property over the long term in Orange County. There are many African Americans who are still living there, but their numbers continued to shrink throughout the 20th century as the White population grew at an increasingly rapid pace. Racism played an important role as a form of social power that increased the ability of wealthy whites to exploit the labor and fears of their African American workers. According to articles in *The Native Virginian*, a paper printed in the town of Orange, the Ku Klux Klan was harassing African Americans in the county before 1870 (KKK, 1868) and continued to be active into the late 20th century (personal conversation with former teenage member). This intersection of economic inequality and racism exacerbated the obstacles which the African American community needed to navigate.

Violence was an all too common experience of African Americans in Orange. There was a constant risk. African Americans were frequently run down in cars at night across the country, frequently without any repercussions. Although no articles currently describing this in Orange County have been found, a White Orange County resident, Thomas O. Greenough was convicted of a hit and run that killed two young Black men, Walton and Nathen Fletcher, and injured two others in Northern Virginia (The Baltimore Afro-American, 1937). Almost a dozen other people who escaped death from hit-and-runs in other parts of Washington D.C. were described in the same article.

More Explicit mob violence was another threat to African Americans in Orange County. The Wales family of Gordonsville, Virginia were among the most successful African Americans

in the area. The Baptist minister Rev. Manoah Wales and his wife Sarah Wales had eight children. Three of the children Lizzie, Cora, and James, still lived at home when the parents passed away. James was very industrious. He worked on the railroad, purchased land, and started the first Taxi service in town. He purchased additional properties in Gordonsville, including a lake on the edge of town, and opened a pool hall. One night he was found dead in his girlfriend's house. The court ruled the death a suicide, but people in town suspected the son of a wealthy White businessman in town was the guilty party. After that, Lizzie and Cora refused to go to Gordonsville, eat food purchased in Gordonsville, or speak to anyone living there. A neighbor would bring them food and supplies from Barboursville until Lizzie passed away. At that point, their brother William came home to live with Cora (Garrett, 1936).

James' land was slowly taken from them because of missed mortgage payments or defaults. A white man, Barton Campbell, acquired the lake and most of the surrounding land owned by Black residents in the area, but the Wales siblings refused to sell their family home and surrounding land, which was next to the White cemetery on the way from Gordonsville to Barboursville. Eventually, a large portion of their family farm was seized using eminent domain so the cemetery could be expanded, but efforts continued to be made to remove the Wale's from their parents' property altogether (Garrett, 1936).

At this point, the siblings knew what would happen eventually. They spent three years slowly stockpiling guns and ammunition. Eventually a mob came to remove them. Reports state that 3,000 people were there to watch, including 300 state troopers. The Sherriff's knock was not answered, so he broke the window in the front door and reached in to turn the knob. At that moment, William or his sister shot the Sherriff in the chest, killing him on their front porch. A six-and-a-half-hour gun battle ensued that resulted in the wounding of five more White men, and

the death of William and Cora Wales. The house was burned, and the victims were hacked to pieces. Anything that could be stripped from the property was removed as souvenirs by the onlookers (Garrett, 1936).

The risk of violence against Black people continued in Orange county in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s. Madlynn Anglin, a descendant of Allen Jackson, described the rules her mother told her about driving alone in the county. If there was a person laying in the road, don't stop, drive around them, and keep driving. If you can't drive around them, drive over them, go straight to the police station and tell them what happened. This was because of reports where men would stop cars and rob or rape those in the car. The police were not always reliable either, especially in isolation. Madlynn Anglin was also instructed that if she was driving alone and was getting pulled over that she should slow down, drive into town, and pull up in front of the police station and stop. This was a tactic to avoid physical and sexual violence from law enforcement officials.

Violence was not the only force that pushed African Americans to leave the area. A lack of job opportunities was key. Agricultural employment opportunities declined throughout the 20th century with changes in farming practices. Job opportunities were sparse. There were really only two options for Black women by the middle of the century; teaching or working in the jeans factory. An education was required to teach, but it was hard for most to acquire.

Education continued to play an important role in the African American community's path out of poverty. Black education was severely limited in Orange County. There was no public education for Black youth beyond the 8th grade for the first half of the 20th century. The only ones that could gain a high school degree were those who could afford to go away to school in Fredericksburg or Petersburg. After WWII ended the Black veterans that returned home forced the County into building the first high school for Black Students, but it served four counties.

Many students left home before sunrise and returned home after dark. When the segregation of schools was finally ended in the county it was thought to be an opening, but Black families were discouraged from having their children claim their seats at a desk in the White schools. Madlynn's mother was a teacher. The superintendent told her and her colleagues that they would be fired if they sent their kids to the White school. This is what prompted their family to finally leave Orange County and move to Washington D.C.

Conclusion

Western Orange County followed a similar pattern as many other rural communities across Virginia and into the south. Agriculture was the principle driver in the colonial settlement of the area and continued to be a vital source of sustenance and income right up to the present. The crops, techniques, technology, and labor requirements changed, and those changes impacted White and Black residents in very different ways. The first Black Orange county residents were enslaved Africans that were forced to clear the land to grow tobacco. The relative isolation of the county also required the early agricultural system to become largely self-sufficient, growing and processing the grains and produce needed to feed the residents year-round. Grain became an increasingly important commodity throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. This paralleled the development of methods and technologies needed to increase production and decrease labor demands.

Agricultural labor demands continued to fall following the end of slavery in the United States. Some African Americans were able to acquire their own land or small family farms, but it was difficult to compete with large operations that could afford to invest in the latest technologies. This differential in economies of scale between White and Black-owned farms

resulted in a decrease in African American owned farms in the early twentieth century (Woehlke & Reeves, 2019).

The skilled labor positions were largely taken by White residents. Education was needed to acquire many skilled positions if they were available to African Americans at all. But, African American education was intentionally limited at the county level. A minority of Black families were able to send their children away to complete a high school and occasionally college education. These opened some opportunities in the county. Educated Black women were only able to find work as teachers. This dearth of opportunity forced many Black residents to move elsewhere in search of opportunities that would enable them to live up to their potential.

The people that stayed behind were at risk of violence from White supremacist organizations including the Ku Klux Klan and the Police. This is demonstrated in the examples of lynchings that occurred in that section of the county in the first decades of the 20th century. Violence was a constant risk for Black people in Orange County and elsewhere. It could not be escaped by moving to a city, but the likelihood of certain forms of violence were greatly reduced in urban environments.

Eventually, the intersection of economic and social forces led many to leave Orange County. The members of the African American community with an education and some accumulated wealth were positioned to make that transition successfully, but many challenges continued to be faced no matter their skills, what they had, or where they decided to go.

In Orange, the Montpelier property was transferred to the National Trust for Historic Places in the 1980s, after William DuPont's daughter, Marion DuPont Scott died. The last African American residents on the property moved away after this transition. The Montpelier Foundation was formed to manage the property, and they continue that responsibility to this day.

Chapter 4: The Archaeology of the 19th and 20th Centuries at Montpelier

Introduction

Archaeology on the property of the Montpelier Foundation dates to the transition of the property from the executors of Marion DuPont Scott's estate and the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1987. Archaeological work has been undertaken to research the lives of the Madison family and those they enslaved. Excavations have also been undertaken to mitigate the destruction of cultural materials that could be impacted by site development projects engaged in by the Montpelier Foundation, and to identify the location of sites to inform management of the cultural resources and inform future decisions about projects including ground disturbance.

Excavations at Montpelier began in the late 1980s under the direction of Lynne Lewis, the archaeologist for the National Trust for Historic Places. They have continued every year since then. They have identified Native American and plantation sites up to the 20th century. The main focus of excavations has been the time period that the property was owned by President Madison and his relatives, 1730s – 1840s.

This dissertation relies on the archaeological materials recovered from sites dating to the 19th and early 20th centuries. This is the period after Dolley Madison sold the property through the time that the duPonts acquired the properties surrounding Montpelier. Two different forms of archaeological data will be described in the following sections. First, I will review the findings of archaeological surveys that have identified and characterized dozens of sites, many of which fall into the period of analysis. These surveys reveal patterns in the general organization of the landscape, and how people's relationship to it changed over time. The actions and behaviors of people shape and are shaped by the environment in which they practice everyday life, forming

taskscapes (Certeau, 2011 [1984]; Ingold, The Temporality of the Landscape, 1993). Survey findings enable the analysis of the taskscape at specific periods in the community's history. As these taskscapes accumulate, impacting future generations, a complex landscape emerges which is full of symbolic meaning and functional realities that can be interpreted using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods.

The second set of archaeological data come from unit-based excavations that range in intensity and comprehensiveness. Some fall into a category generally referred to as Phase II excavations that refine the definition of site boundaries and excavate small percentages of the area to gain a better understanding of the site's stratigraphic integrity, structure, occupation period, function, and the general materiality of its occupants. Phase III excavations are more comprehensive, provide similar information as the Phase II, but with more detail, and a more refined understanding of a site's organization and material culture. The archaeological findings produced through these methods enables a more informed understanding of people's homes and how they lived within them.

Property Survey

The sites that are included in this analysis either contain extant structures or were identified with metal detector surveys or shovel test pit (STP) surveys. Archaeological survey at Montpelier began in the mid-1980s when archaeologists from The National Trust for Historic Places (NTHP) conducted surveys of the historic core of the Montpelier property. Seventeen Native American sites and twenty-two historic sites were identified. This was followed by a partial STP and walkover survey of the property's periphery conducted by the University of Virginia in 1987. This resulted in the identification of twenty-one prehistoric sites, seven historic sites, and ten multicomponent sites. This was followed up by a University of Virginia

Survey of the periphery of the property that resulted in the identification of 38 more sites, including historic, prehistoric, and multi-component sites (Klein, 1988).

Archaeological surveys of the outer portions of the property were renewed after initial excavations at one of the large Civil War encampments, designated the McGowan encampment. The identification of numerous intact deposits from the Confederate occupation of Orange County from 1862-1863 resulted in the acquisition of funding from the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) to conduct additional surveys and develop a resource management plan for the portion of the property periphery known as the North Woods. ABPP funded programs included leaf rake surveys to reveal features visible at the surface level, Shovel test pits to identify artifacts and the stratigraphic structure of identified sites, and metal detector surveys (Reeves & Barton, 2006).

The first round of ABPP funded surveys in 2003-2004 identified what was initially believed to be twelve sites, including late antebellum and civil war components (Reeves & Barton, 2006). This was followed up by additional ABPP funded survey work that identified nine additional sites, but also determined some of the sites from the first ABPP survey were incorrectly identified (Reeves & Trickett, 2009). This occurred because of the presence of similar looking depressions that were the product of natural processes such as tree fall.

The ABPP funded surveys demonstrated that the most effective way to identify historic sites with subsurface remains was with metal detectors. Metal detector survey was expanded to the rest of the property's periphery as the ABPP project was ongoing. From 2008-2011, targeted metal detector surveys focusing on landforms considered to have a high probability of containing sites were conducted in six different areas. These surveys identified 18 additional sites that dated from the turn of the 19th century through the 20th century (Woehlke & Trickett, 2015).

It was clear that some of the Madison family sites were not being identified with this methodology by the conclusion of the targeted metal detector surveys. No new 18th century sites were identified in any of the metal detector surveys. There were far fewer metal artifacts on 18th century sites because this was before machine-cut nails were introduced to the area. As a result, these sites were being missed with the methodology used up to that point.

In 2012, a new metal detector survey methodology was implemented using a systematic method in which metal detectorists would survey 20m grid squares systematically across a designated area. This methodology demands additional labor and time, but it was determined to be necessary to have a more complete understanding of the resources that needed to be managed on the property. This methodology resulted in the identification of six additional sites and nine smaller clusters of artifacts designated activity areas in a previously surveyed portion of the East Woods using the targeted Metal Detector Survey method. Some of these additional sites had possible 18th century components, confirming the potential for the systematic survey to produce a more comprehensive accounting of past site locations and related activities (Woehlke & Reeves, 2015).

In 2014, The grid-based systematic metal detector survey was expanded to the southwest section of the property known as chicken mountain. This survey identified four 18th century sites and four 19th century sites. This confirmed that the grid-based approach could be used to identify 18th century sites with limited metal materials as well as additional 19th century sites that had been missed with the targeted approach initially applied across the property.

In total, the metal detector surveys have identified dozens of sites, including 66 on the property's periphery, and dozens more around the historic core. The material culture identified through the metal detector surveys frequently enabled the dating of the site using diagnostic

artifacts, and the classification of site function based on artifact types. A variety of agricultural structures, work buildings, Civil War sites, and domestic buildings have been identified and sorted into the time periods in which they were occupied. This data provides the foundation for the analysis of changing spatial relations at Montpelier through time.

Site Excavations

Late Antebellum domestic site for enslaved workers near the Barns

The Montpelier Foundation planned an expansion of the Robert H. Smith Center for the Constitution in 2008. The center is an educational organization whose mission is to expand the understanding of the principles on which the United States was founded. The planned expansion would require the removal of post-Madison agricultural structures to construct new buildings for programs and participant housing. The proposed project had the potential to cause significant impacts on the archaeological resources in the area. This triggered archaeological surveys and test excavations to assess the potential impact the plans would have.

Figure 10. Units excavated near Secretary's Barn. MT 556 contained dry-laid stone foundation and MT559 contained yard scatter associated with this site.
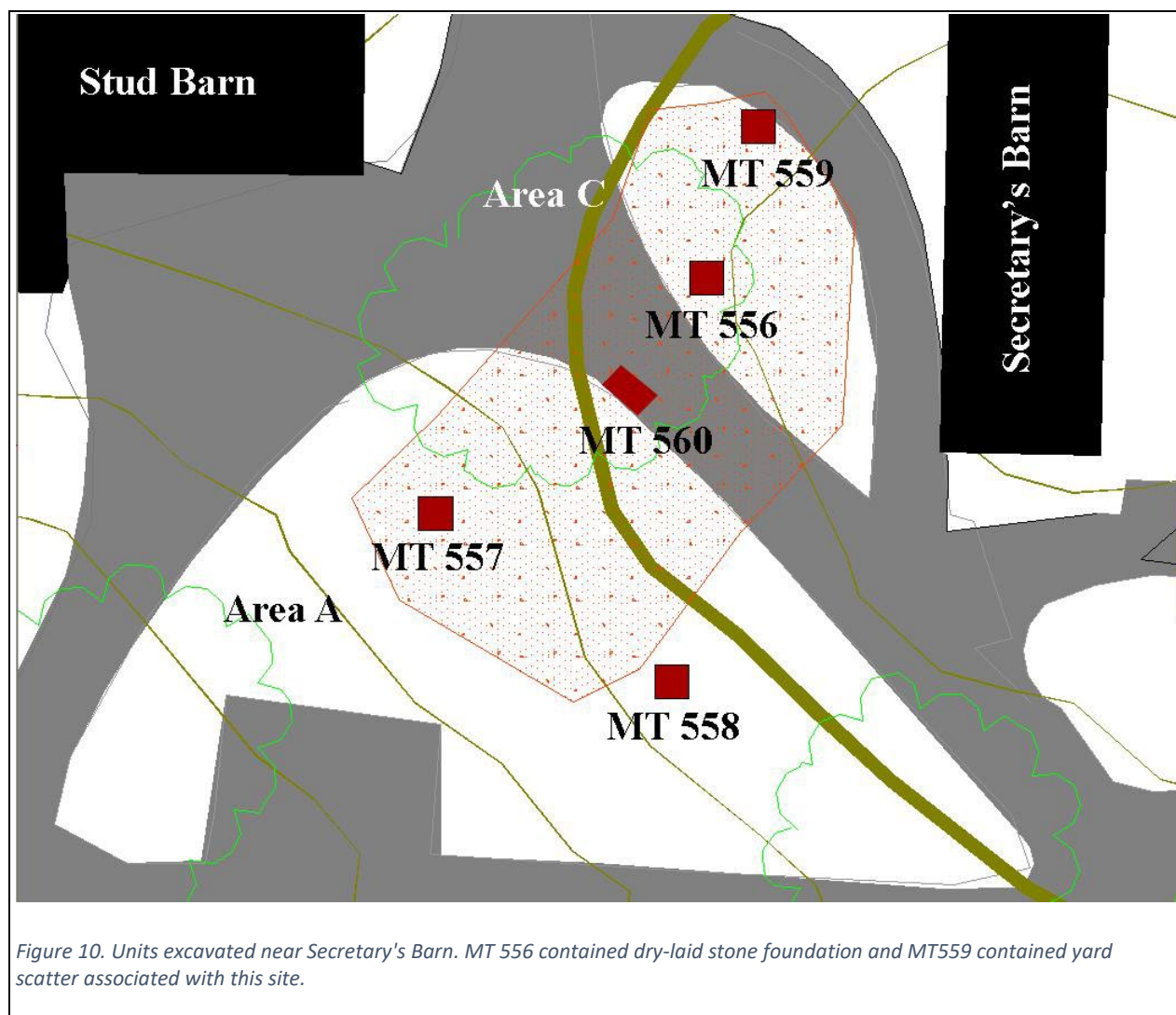
The survey of this area consisted of Shovel Test pits, which uncovered artifact concentrations in a couple areas near the barn that was home to the Dupont's Thoroughbred, Secretary (Secretary's Barn). Four units measuring 5-feet per side and one unit half the size was excavated in this area. They revealed a stone foundation, possible yard space, and a historic road trace filled with clinker and slag. The materials sampled from these units suggest that the foundation was likely a domestic structure dating to the period after James Madison sold the property. The Structure's abandonment date could not be determined due to the small scope of the excavation and the continuous use of this area throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

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Figure 11. Unit MT556 excavation in progress, showing exposed dry-laid brick Foundation.

The area where this structure is located would have been owned by Henry Moncure after the Madisons. The structure may also have been built by the next owner, Benjamin Thornton. It likely stood into the 20th century, and may have continued to be used in some fashion after Secretary's barn was commissioned by William Dupont.

Site #56; A Late Antebellum domestic site for enslaved People

Site 56 contained another domestic structure from about the same period. It is located approximately a mile east of the late antebellum site near Secretary's barn. This area was likely owned by Colonel John Willis while the structure was occupied. The site was originally identified during metal detector surveys from 2008-2011.

The site was excavated in 2014 with funding from National Geographic. It was initially identified in the grid-based Metal detector survey in 2012, which suggested it was a likely

domestic site for enslaved workers. The 2014 survey included Shovel test pits on a ten-foot grid, and 10-foot metal detector survey quantifying hit distributions followed by a small sample collected in each grid square. Finally, six 5 x 5 foot units were excavated. Five were excavated into the sloping hillside determined to contain a sheet midden, and one was placed in a low-density area near the ruined brick chimney base in hopes of identifying additional structural features.

Artifacts recovered from the excavation were closely associated with domestic use, with some artifacts related to agricultural labor. The ceramics included Pearlware, whiteware, stoneware, and possible ironstone, which all fit a date of the late antebellum with some possible overlap with Madison family occupation.

Walker House Site

The walker house site was surveyed and excavated in 2014. The survey included Shovel Test Pits excavated during the spring, and a metal detector hit count and sampling survey that was completed over a three-week period in June of the same year. This 3-week summer field season also included the excavation of four 5 x 5 foot units in the location of the rubble pile believed to be the remains of a brick chimney.

Figure 12. Image of the Chimney Base partially excavated at the Walker House Site.

The artifact assemblage in these units differed from the materials at the two other domestic sites discussed above. There were no pearlware ceramics, only whiteware and some ironstone earthenware was recovered. This supports a later occupation date than the site near the barns, or site #56. This land is also known to have been purchased by Peter Walker from John

Willis in 1881 and was eventually transferred to Hannah walker after Peter's death. It was ultimately sold to William duPont in 1900.

Gilmore Cabin

By January 2001, the Gilmore Cabin had fallen into disrepair. The Montpelier Foundation, Orange County African American Historical Society, and Descendants of George and Polly Gilmore wanted to save the structure from further disintegration and eventually restore it to the appearance it would have had in 1873 following its construction. This was a unique opportunity to interpret the home of a free Black family that was occupied from shortly after the Civil War into the 20th century.

The first step in the restoration was the stabilization of the original stone piers that the structure sat on. This work required excavation around and underneath the stones to establish a more substantial concrete footer upon which the original piers could rest. Additionally, a central girder was needed to support the floor joists within the structure. The disturbance of soils around sensitive parts of the structure triggered archaeological excavations aimed at mitigating the loss of cultural resources connected to the Gilmores and other activities that may have occurred prior to the Gilmore occupation, or after their removal from the property.

Descendant Excavation of Interiors in October of 2001

Later in 2001, the first official gathering of the descendants of people enslaved at Montpelier brought together many local families and others dispersed more broadly across the country. This meeting provided the impetus for a descendant archaeology project that seized the opportunity to explore additional spaces beneath the cabin before the floorboards were replaced. Three descendants of George and Polly Gilmore, Alfred Mills (great grandson), Debra Mills (great great granddaughter), and Donna Mills (great great granddaughter), were able to come to

the site in October and work side-by-side with staff and volunteers trained in archaeological excavations. This process enabled the descendants to become actively involved in the recovery and interpretation of materials connected to their family heritage. They learned about the archaeological process and the questions it could help answer.

Figure 13. Descendants of George and Polly Gilmore helping with the excavation beneath the Floor of the 1972 cabin structure.

These initial excavations within the walls and beneath the floors of the Gilmore Cabin revealed a wealth of materials connected to the occupation of the Gilmore Family from 1873 until just about 1910. It is believed that linoleum or a similar material was put down on the floor about this time, sealing the cracks in the floor, and capping the deposition of these materials to the period this house was occupied by George, Polly, and their children. All the artifacts recovered from the soft brown silt below the floor were small. The processes through which this deposit was formed is a product of the small cracks that were present between the abutted floor boards. The assemblage was dominated by materials related to fashion, including buttons,

needles, straight pins, safety pins, and beads. Additional beads were recovered from the firebox on the second floor of the structure the following years. The total number of beads recovered from the Gilmores was over 2000, making it the largest collection of beads of its kind.

2002 Excavations

In 2002, architectural and archaeological research continued at the Gilmore Site. The excavations can be divided into two projects. The first was an intensive, close-interval, shovel test pit (STP) survey. The goal of this project was to identify additional outbuildings, activity areas, and trash deposits associated with the Gilmore Family occupation of the Site. The second was the excavation of large test units during a summer field school whose goal was to characterize and interpret features identified during the STP survey that took place earlier that year.

STP Survey of Yard Spaces around the Gilmore Cabin (Spring)

The STP survey of the Gilmores' yard was conducted at a close interval due to the ephemeral nature of many outbuildings during this period. A 10-foot grid was laid out across the front and back yard areas. Each STP was excavated until either a feature was identified, or sterile sub-soil was reached. Staff conducted a rapid assessment of the materials being excavated so that concentrations of materials could be mapped while fieldwork was ongoing.

The predominant stratigraphic profile of the site was identified during the STP survey. It included a layer of sod and 20th century topsoil that was above a thin silty-clay layer with artifacts dating to the 19th century. Below this was a deflated plow zone, which indicates this area had been used as agricultural fields prior to the 19th century occupation.

Three artifact concentrations were also identified. Two of these concentrations were dominated by glass fragments and were determined to be related to 20th century midden deposits. A third concentration approximately 40' west of the cabin contained an abundance of cut nails.

Three stone features were also encountered during the STP survey. One was overlain by a level of pea gravel, and was thought to be a path. Another similar stone feature overlain by gray gravel was found to the West of the structure. A third buried stone feature was identified behind the Gilmore Cabin, about 5 feet west of the well.

Additional surface surveys resulted in the identification of a series of depressions to the west of the structure where it is believed trees were removed in the 20th century. North of the Gilmore cabin there were some additional depressions that were more substantial. These were considered to be potential borrow pits or cellar holes. A discussion with Rebecca Coleman (another Gilmore descendant) and Ann Miller, a local historian, revealed a third interpretation. William Gilmore, the son of George and Polly Gilmore, was involved in early 20th century mining operations seeking gold placer deposits. Another potential interpretation for some of these features was a connection to the Confederate Army, who camped in the area, and whose winter encampments left regularly spaced depression in a linear pattern where clay was excavated to seal the gaps between logs used for winter huts.

Unit Excavation of Identified Features (Summer)

The Shovel Test Pit survey revealed a number of interesting features and artifact concentrations that could be more thoroughly investigated through the excavation of larger, 5' x 5' test units. This includes the three stone features, the concentration of cut nails to the west of the cabin, and a deep soil feature SW of the structure. In total, 8 units were excavated along with some additional exploratory trenches.

The test units excavated where the three stone features were identified in the STP survey revealed two stone pads and one stone path. The line connecting the two stone pads ran roughly parallel to the stone path with the thin pea gravel above it. They ran from the SW to the NE, following the ridgeline that the Gilmore cabin sits on. The context for these features was determined to be the confederate encampments based on the inconsistency with the layout of the Gilmore property, the presence of other known camps nearby, and the recovery of Civil War artifacts from the features themselves. Little evidence of significant activities or structures were recovered from the other test units excavated in 2002.

2003 Excavation of Porch as Mitigation during Restoration

Restoration work on the Gilmore cabin continued into 2003. An additional mitigation project was needed to prevent the destruction of sensitive materials around the porch. The same sort of stabilization that was done for most the cabin in 2001 needed to be done on the porch to prevent it from settling further. Once again, the soil from around and beneath the piers needed to be excavated to enable the restoration team to place a more substantial concrete footer below the piers that were present at the time. The brick piers were then replaced with stone, similar to the stone used support the sill around the rest of the cabin.

The stratigraphy in these units was very similar to one another. There were layers of topsoil mixed with modern construction debris from the restoration project. This was followed by a buried topsoil that covered a cultural layer dating to the late 19th century. Below the 19th century layer was a deflated plow zone from earlier agricultural activities and sterile subsoil beneath.

The artifact assemblage was significantly different from the interior of the structure, which was dominated by sewing implements. The cultural deposition below the porch contained
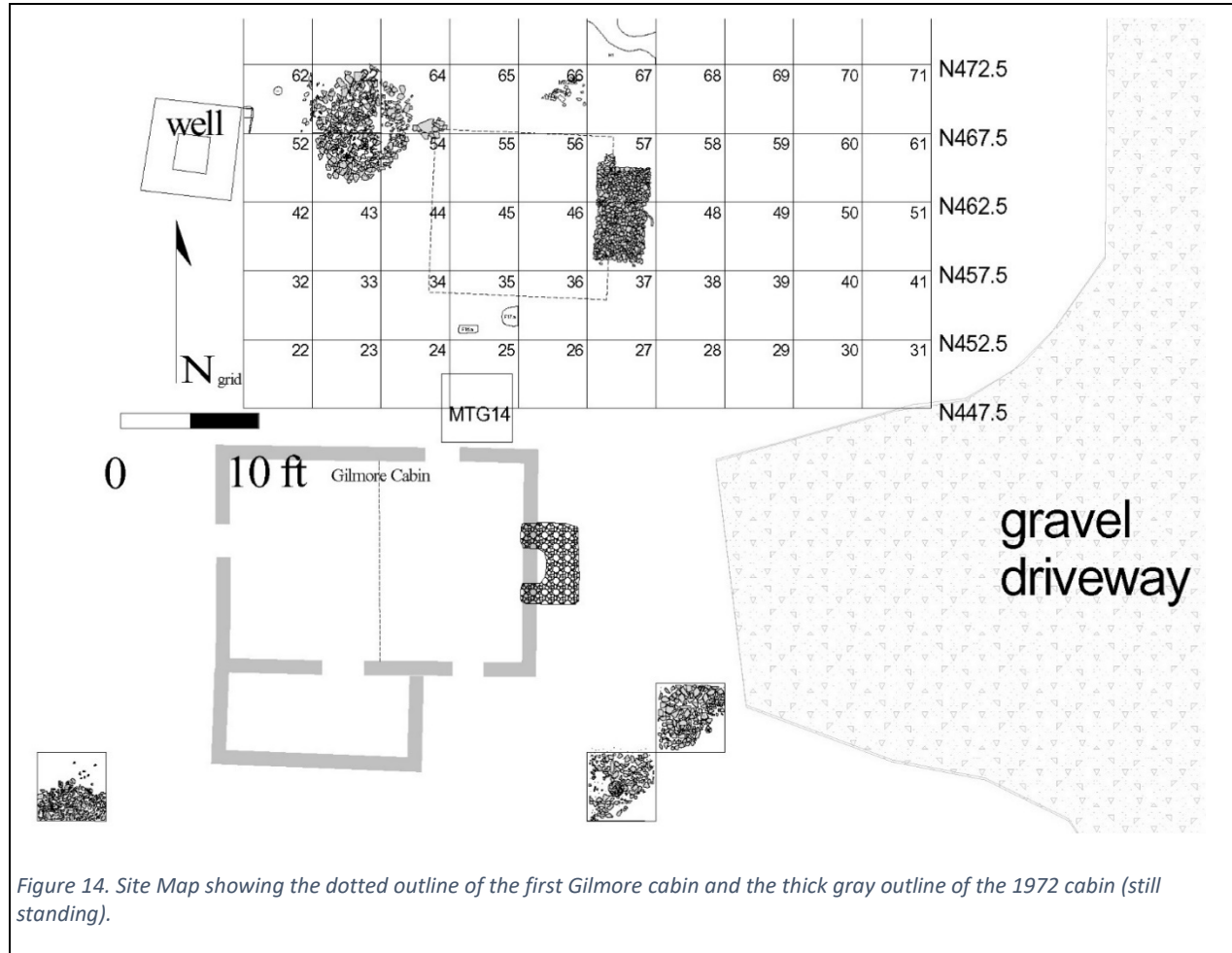
few artifacts, but did include small toys that date to the last half of the 19th century, and would

have been used by the children and perhaps the grandchildren of George and Polly Gilmore.

2005 Excavation of Additional Yard Spaces and First Gilmore Residence

There were many questions that remained following the 2002 excavation in the yard of

the Gilmore Cabin. The stone pads associated with the confederate occupation of the land during

the Civil War had only been partially excavated and their associated structures were poorly

understood. Additionally, the 1920s photo of the Gilmore Cabin showed another log structure

behind the cabin, and the archaeological team and Gilmore descendants had a desire to learn

more about the history of this structure. The first set of questions revolved around determining

the period in which it was in use. The second question was focused on the building's purpose or

function within the Gilmore household.

The 2005 excavation uncovered additional information that helped understand the Civil

War component of the site. Additional excavations confirmed that all three stone features

examined in 2002 did date to the Confederate occupation of Orange County. These features

differed greatly from all the other confederate encampments excavated at Montpelier to date.

This can be seen in the more substantial construction materials and techniques used to build the

structures associated with the two stone pads.

Excavations in 2005 were also able to determine that the well on the Gilmore site was

dug by confederate soldiers as well. The excavated clay and degraded saprolitic soils associated

with deep subsoil surrounded the well location, and were encountered below the Gilmore

Occupation layers. There is a chance that the well was dug immediately upon arrival on the

property by the Gilmores. Excavation of the well itself would be required to gain a more

conclusive understanding of who was responsible for the well's construction.

Figure 14. Site Map showing the dotted outline of the first Gilmore cabin and the thick gray outline of the 1972 cabin (still standing).

The next occupation of the site was by the Gilmore family, but not in the cabin that is standing today. Based on dendrochronological analysis, the earliest the current structure could have been constructed was 1873, eight years after emancipation. The small log structure in the back of the 1920s photograph predates the current cabin, and appears to have been constructed using salvaged materials from the abandoned confederate encampments. The stone and logs used for the Confederate Army's structures would have been two years old by the time the war ended, and they were not intended to last long. Any materials that were salvageable appears to have been collected by the Gilmores and used in the construction of their first residence, and was probably used for other purposes around the farm as well.

Another feature dating to this early Gilmore period is a borrow pit that was filled with midden materials and colluvium that washed in over time. The artifacts from this feature appear to date to the earliest Gilmore occupation, and can provide some insight into what life was like for the family immediately after the end of their lifelong bondage.

In 1873, after the new cabin was constructed, the Gilmores appear to have dismantled the chimney of their first home down to the base and reincorporated the materials into the construction of their new chimney. It is not entirely clear what the main purpose of the initial residence was following the completion of the new cabin. It may have served multiple purposes, at times as an outbuilding or workshop, and at others as a residence for the Gilmore's children or their families as they grew into adulthood.

After George Gilmore died in 1905 and Polly dies in 1908, the house was occupied by William Gilmore. At this time, the house went through major renovations. One critical component was the application of a floor treatment that sealed the assemblage beneath the floorboards. The more substantial work included a one and a half story frame addition on the west gable end of the original cabin. This is likely the same time that a dividing wall was added to the original portion of the structure, turning it into a two over two house with a central hall.

Disagreements within the family about the division of land resulted in a chancery case in Orange Court House. The judge decided to put the property up for auction and divide the proceeds amongst the descendants. Despite every attempt to purchase the property, the Gilmore siblings couldn't afford to outbid one of their newest neighbors, William DuPont. Despite this transfer of ownership, William DuPont continued to live on the property until about 1935. A small woodlot originally owned by George and Polly Gilmore was not included in the auction, and continued to be owned by descendants throughout the entire time William DuPont and his

descendants owned Montpelier. Recently, after the Montpelier Foundation proved their desire to interpret the story of the Gilmore Family, the last plot of Gilmore land was donated to be cared for under the stewardship of the foundation and its staff.

2017 Metal Detector Survey of Gilmore Outbuildings

After more than a decade of work away from the Gilmore Site, the Montpelier Archaeology Department returned to answer additional questions regarding the farm operation and its management throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Despite all of the excavations that had been undertaken in the immediate vicinity of the house, there was very little known about the farm itself, the way it was organized on the landscape, and the tactics the Gilmore family practiced in order to maintain its value and stave off the competitive forces mounted by large farms employing the latest technologies like mechanization and chemical fertilization.

Agricultural censuses for the Gilmore family suggest that their land barely produced enough feed to keep their animals alive, much less themselves. Over half of their farm value can be attributed to a milk cow and a pig. These animals also required shelter. Where were the necessities of a farm? Even a small farm must have outbuildings to store grain and equipment, and shelter livestock. It was believed that the metal detector survey methodology that has been developed at Montpelier over more than a decade could help identify some of these structures because they would have undoubtedly left behind sufficient amounts of diagnostic metal artifacts to determine the location and function of various types of structures that could be expected on a small farm like the one owned by the Gilmores.

The metal detector survey relied on a 10-foot grid from the Driveway, east to the Gilmore family cemetery. This survey identified a large cluster of metal objects in this area. Another Grid

was laid out to the Northwest of the structure, beyond where the STP survey in 2002 ended. Once again, a cluster of artifacts suggestive of agricultural outbuildings were identified. Along with structural hardware, teeth of a 19th century threshing machine were identified. They are nearly identical to the ones that had been found at President Madison's threshing Barn, which would have been operating about 50 years earlier. Such a substantial piece of equipment would have been noted in agricultural censuses or property tax records, but nothing of the sort was found in association with George Gilmore in the historical record.

Linking Archaeological Data with Additional Supporting Data

Historical archaeology relies on additional documentary sources that go beyond the archaeological record of the past. These supplementary materials enable the development of nuanced interpretations, like those required for intersectional interpretations of the past. Information from these additional sources can be linked with archaeological data through relational databases in geographic information systems (GIS). This section describes the additional data sources that inform the intersectional interpretation of African American households in the Montpelier vicinity in Orange County, Virginia.

Supplemental Historical and Demographic Data

There is a wide array of historical data that has informed an intersectional understanding of past social relations in this study. They include government documents, personal correspondences, and modern spatial data, and visual representations of space in maps and aerial imagery. A brief description of supporting materials that inform an interpretation of the material culture recovered from archaeological sites are found below.

Historical Maps

There are a variety of maps that aided in the analysis of the changing settlement system in Orange County. These include maps that were made by the Confederate Army during the Civil War, sketch maps produced by Jedediah Hotchkiss during the decade after the Civil War, and Property maps drawn for William Dupont in the first half of the 20th century. Plats associated with the sale of properties and other maps located during future research will also be included in the analysis of changing spatial systems when appropriate.

The historical maps have been digitized and georeferenced into the geodatabase that contains the other spatial data used for this analysis. Features in the maps have been digitized so that the information can inform the models included in the analysis. The maps do not include all the same information, but many features are consistently represented across multiple maps. Features that are relevant for interpreting spatial organization include roads, fields, woodlots, waterways, and structure locations. Some maps include additional information about fencelines, former property boundaries, deed references, and names or other descriptions of the residents.

Historical Aerial Imagery

During the 20th century there have been two significant aerial photographic surveys of the area. The most referenced surveys occurred in 1937 and 1956. They provide details about the spatial relationship between sites and land use during the 20th century. Other local aerial imagery or satellite imagery are also included in the geodatabase of landscape change when they provide significant evidence about changing land use.

Aerial imagery provides information that is not included on some of the maps but lacks much of the contextual information included in maps. The fuzzy focus of some aerial imagery

limits its capacity to accurately locate all structures in the project area, but most structures, along with fields, woodlots, orchards, roads, and other information can still be derived from them.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Oral histories with two descendants of Allen Jackson, Dr. Iris Ford and Madlynn Anglin have provided contextual information about space in the mid-20th century with some additional references to earlier times when their parents and grandparents were living in Orange County. These oral histories highlight some of the complexity and variation within the African American community in the 20th century.

Historical Documents

Historical documents will also provide significant information about the lives of people living in the past. Federal Censuses and agricultural censuses of families near Montpelier have been digitized. The Montpelier Foundation has also recently completed a comprehensive analysis of the deed record for land currently owned by the Montpelier Foundation. Their GIS specialist, David Berry, has plotted the meets and bounds to provide a comprehensive map of property ownership history. The deeds of sale for properties also provide information related to the quality of any structures, their sizes, and land improvements.

Elevation Data

In 2017 there was an Aerial survey of Montpelier's Property using a remotely piloted aerial system (Drone) that was mounted with Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR) equipment. The final product includes a point cloud and an interpolated digital elevation model in a gridded surface known as a raster layer. The resolution of the LiDAR survey was so fine that it recorded elevation points across the surface with approximately 2 inches between them. This resolution of

elevation data has enabled the identification of additional cultural resources, including features related to the study period under investigation.

There is also a lower resolution LiDAR elevation dataset that was publicly released by the United States Geological Survey (USGS) about the same time that the high-resolution LiDAR data was collected. This lower resolution data was collected from a piloted aircraft flown at a higher elevation. The final products from this survey also includes a point cloud and interpolated digital elevation model (DEM), but the resolution is approximately 1 point every three feet. This dataset was used to create a DEM with raster grid cells equal to 1 meter. The coverage of this LiDAR dataset includes Montpelier as well as large portions of the surrounding region. This dataset is useful for Modelling movement throughout the local area, between domestic sites and nearby towns.

All spatial analyses in this dissertation rely on raster analysis methods. Rasters are considered 2.5-dimensional data since they represent 3-dimensional information on a 2-dimensional plain. Raster-based spatial analysis is the most common approach used by archaeologists due to easy access to analytical tools that have been applied often and tested in many contexts.

Federal Censuses

Federal censuses provide basic demographic information about people living in the area every ten years. Some challenges with interpreting change through time using census data is that the information recorded and the definitions of classifications used change over time. There is also error or bias that impacts the way in which census enumerators classified individuals living at each household. That said, the information is still helpful, if incomplete. There are many cases in which household information can be tied to site locations in the area of the study.

Agricultural Census

The agricultural censuses include information about the farms in the area. The information collected during the agricultural census helps clarify the ways in which farming was practiced by different people, including the equipment and fertilizers they possessed. Some limitations in the agricultural census is that some equipment may have been shared amongst a community of neighboring small farmers. We also know that some agricultural equipment that has been identified archaeologically had not been mentioned in the agricultural censuses, highlighting some deficits in its accuracy.

Deeds

Deeds provide information about any structures of value on historic properties at the time of transitions of ownership. This can be useful in interpreting the function of outbuildings identified archaeologically. It can also inform an interpretation of building quality. Deeds also discuss the size and outline of a property in relation to landscape features and neighboring properties. This helps to determine the organization of the landscape, and how much land around a domestic site was actually controlled by the families that lived there.

Wills

Wills provide additional information about property and materials owned by an individual before the time of their death. They can also provide information about the relationships between family members and occasionally the friends and neighbors of the deceased. These can all contribute to a nuanced interpretation of households in the past.

Newspapers

Newspapers provide information related to events that occurred throughout the area. The description of events and the stories reported varied widely between White-owned and Black-

owned organizations. The Baltimore Afro-American also carried stories and postings in the social pages that discussed some of the Black residents in the area around Montpelier, including their social gatherings, lifetime milestones.

Data Integration

The data for the spatial analysis is consolidated within a geographic database (geodatabase) that includes all relevant spatial information. The data is then sorted and categorized into spatial data layers that correspond to the types of information required for the analyses. This includes sorting sites by occupation period, function, and people associated with them. The supplemental historical information can then be linked to the location of sites in many cases. The combination of diverse information into an integrated dataset enables the refined analysis needed to ask questions related to intersecting power relations and how they have changed over time.

The Sites

The sites used in this analysis include all those that have been identified across the Montpelier Foundation Property. Most have been identified during metal detector surveys, and have been characterized using a sample of artifacts identified at each site. Additional site locations and functions have come from historic maps and aerial imagery of the property in the 20th century. Many of those structures can be linked to a survey of structures on the Montpelier Foundation property that was conducted a decade after it transitioned to the ownership of the National Trust for Historic Places (Meachum, 1997).

Analysis of shifting spatial relationships between cultural sites and the people who lived and labored in them requires multiple steps. The first step is the integration of all relevant GIS layers containing the location of archaeology sites, standing structures, and any other relevant

cultural sites. The second step is classifying each of these sites by their function. The third step is the division of sites into separate GIS layers by period of use.

Five dates and associated periods were chosen based on changing socio-historical contexts and available data (Table 1). The first period relates to the ownership of the property by James and Dolley Madison. The second period is associated with the late antebellum period after the property was subdivided and sold by Dolley Madison. The third period was selected to represent the post-emancipation set of spatial relations. The last two periods are associated with William DuPont's early efforts to consolidate property around the Montpelier mansion. The early years are captured in 1908 when initial property acquisitions had been made. The final period represents the mature DuPont settlement system from 1948.

Integration of multiple GIS feature classes were needed to create the comprehensive cultural sites layers. The first was the archaeology sites layer. It contains all archaeology sites that have been identified on the property of the Montpelier Foundation to date. The second is a buildings layer that contains all standing structures and a few structures recently removed from the Montpelier property. Many of the buildings in this layer were constructed in the late 19th century or by the DuPonts in the 20th century. The synthesis of archaeological and standing sites were then supplemented with structures identifiable in the 1937 aerial photographic survey of the United States. The combination of these data sets result in a more complete representation of cultural sites that were extant during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The function of each site was then classified in the cultural sites data table. The designation of the site's function was made using a combination of archaeological, architectural, and historical sources. Some sites are known to have served multiple functions that changed over time. In other cases, a single building may serve multiple purposes simultaneously. Lastly, some

sites from the aerial imagery have little or no information about their function, and can only be classified at a general level.

An additional consideration for analysis was the social position of site occupants within a site function class. A clear example of this is a domestic site. Some analyses may include all residences extant at a specific time or only certain residences such as those occupied by workers or Elite property owners. Analyses could also consider the racial classification of a site's

Table 1. Table showing a sample of site function classifications.

Site Function	Description
Laborer Residences	Residences or domestic sites occupied by laborers. This is a broad classification of laborers that includes wage labor, share cropping, and other common forms of labor extraction in the 19th and early 20th centuries.
Elite Residences	Residences of large property owners.
Manager Residences	Residences of members of the management class. This includes overseers, dairy managers, etc.
African American Residences	These are sites that are occupied by African Americans.
White Residences	These are sites that are occupied by people of European descent.
Aesthetic	Sites or landscape features that were established or constructed for the purpose creating a specific aesthetic. This includes the temple, pine allee and boxwood grotto.
Agricultural structure	Buildings or structures related to agricultural production. Examples include barns, silos, chicken coops, rock piles, granaries, etc.
Agricultural field	Fields used for the production of crops
Pasture Land	Fields used as pasture for cattle or horses
Woodlot	Wooded area
Orchard	Fruit Orchard
Burial Grounds	Burial sites or cemeteries.
Civil War Camp	Summer and winter encampments occupied at different times during the Civil War. Some were short term camps and others were occupied for many months at a time.
Civil War Picket Post	Civil War sites found at strategic locations along roadways to monitor movement and surveil people travelling along roads.
Domestic Labor	Sites or structures related to the functioning of Elite Residences. This includes sites like kitchens and smokehouses.
Industry	Sites and structures related to non-agricultural production and agricultural processing. These include blacksmith shops, mills, etc.
Midden	Sites related to trash or waste disposal
Stable	Structures built to house horses and provide the care they require.
Utility	Structures related to utilities such as well houses, spring houses, water towers, ice houses, power houses, etc.

occupants. These subdivisions in the classification of sites enable the interpretation of spatial distributions in relation to multiple systems of power or domination.

The final step was the division of sites into different time periods. The time periods for the occupation or use of each site was determined using archaeological and historical evidence. In many cases, a site was occupied through large portions of the 19th and 20th centuries and are included in all relevant time periods. Their function at different times may change.

Five dates and associated periods were chosen based on changing socio-historical contexts and available data (Table 1). The first period relates to the ownership of the property by James and Dolley Madison. The second period is associated with the late antebellum period after the property was subdivided and sold by Dolley Madison. The third period was selected to represent the post-emancipation set of spatial relations. The last two periods are associated with William DuPont's early efforts to consolidate property around the Montpelier mansion. The

Table 2. Table showing the dates used for analysis of shifting spatial relationships through the 19th century.

Year	Period Name	Period Description
1838	Terminal Madison	Represents the organization of the property at the time of President Madison's death, prior to its subdivision by Dolley Madison.
1860	Late Antebellum	Represents the distribution of sites following the subdivision of former Montpelier property owned by Pres. Madison.
1890	Late 19th Century	Represents the distribution of sites following emancipation, reconstruction, and the beginning of Jim Crow.
1908	DuPont A	Represents the distribution of sites following the purchase of Montpelier by William DuPont and his earliest efforts to consolidate property around the Montpelier house.
1948	DuPont B	The distribution of sites after William DuPont consolidated and transformed the landscape.

early years are captured in 1908 when initial property acquisitions had been made. The final period represents the mature DuPont settlement system from 1948.

Conclusion

The combination of archaeological survey and site excavation provides a significant amount of data related to shifting land use and household activities from the 18th through the 20th centuries. The synthesis of data from multiple projects conducted over two decades with a diverse set of historical data sources provide the intersectional contexts required to interpret the relationship between dynamic power relations in Western Orange County and the material practices of African American households during a period of significant change.

Archaeological survey data contribute to our understanding of shifting spatial relations and land use. This evidence helps build an understanding of how enslaved people navigated an oppressive system from a position of captivity and exploitation. It also provides evidence needed to understand how African American households adapted to the shifting social and environmental landscape of the reconstruction and post emancipation periods.

The site-level excavation data provides additional material details related to everyday life within and among households. The recovered artifacts are often related to practices that went unrecorded in historical records controlled by dominant white-male institutions as well as Black institutions like newspapers. Occasionally, artifacts related to clandestine activities are also recovered, such as those related to literacy in the context of enslavement.

Chapter 5: The Intersections of Race, Class, Gender, and Literacy

Introduction

Many would agree that literacy has been a critical component for improving the lives of people across cultures for centuries, but this is a simplistic reduction of the complex relationships between reading, writing, and empowerment. The education of Africans in the American colonies began when the first group was brought to Virginia in 1619 and were given a Christian education by missionaries (Dunn, 1993). The close relationship between colonialism, Christianity, and literacy made many Africans and their descendants skeptical of White literacy campaigns for African Americans[1]. Thankfully, enslaved Africans and their descendents were not solely dependent upon White slaveholders for access to literacy (Williams H. A., 2005). This chapter explores the history of literacy in the Black community around Montpelier from the mid-19th through the mid-20th centuries. It begins with a description of the relationship between Black diasporic peoples, literacy, and forms of education. The following section describes what is known historically about literacy in the Black community in Western Orange County. The chapter ends with a description of literacy related material culture and an interpretation of how literacy fit into the Black community depending upon each individual household's social position.

Black Literacy in America

Samuel Davies was a white man considered to be the first resident Presbyterian minister in the Piedmont region of Virginia in 1749. He practiced at seven meetinghouses in four counties

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[1] For examples in the Colonial Caribbean and the Southeast of North America, See the Society for the Propagation of the Bible, who linked literacy with religion, the bible, and the branding of people as property (Watson, 2009).

and saw evangelizing the people enslaved by his parishioners as a critical part of his ministries. Davies believed that salvation required extensive religious education that could only be attained through reading. He understood the significance of music in African American spirituality and had his benefactors in the Northeast and in London send Hymnals along with Bibles. Literacy became the dominant attractant to Christianity for enslaved people in the Piedmont at this time (Richards J. H., 2003, p. 337).

After working in the Piedmont, Davies became the president of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton), where President Madison would go to college two decades later. He did not accept Black students to train as missionaries, and it is unclear if he educated any of the people he personally enslaved, including the 14 he owned at the time of his death.

The African Americans in the Piedmont that Davies educated built reading houses with their children so they could share sermons and Bible verses with one another as a community. In this case, literacy was transmitted within African American communities through the sermons they chose to read, interpret, and debate in relation to their own biblical understandings. It also linked architecture and material culture with literacy. This allowed for community formation around Christianity and literacy. Alternative interpretations of sermons and Bible verses resulted in a revolutionary anti-slavery Black Christianity by the beginning of the early 19th century. Rebellions led by Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner were all ideologically grounded in Christian theological interpretations of the Bible (Lambert, 1992, p. 196).

There were other paths to literacy that were not linked to Christian conversion. Examples of clandestine education and literacy was present throughout the South. One enslaved Virginia man named Uncle Jack gave the children of the plantation owners treats like fresh fruit and nuts in exchange for the reading and writing lessons they were getting in school (White & White,

2000; White W. S., 1849, p. 12). Members of enslaved communities who learned to read and write could spread this knowledge quietly, hidden from the eyes of their captors.

Even when enslaved people had not learned to read, they knew who could, and they could remember letters they came across in town or in the slaveholder's house and have them deciphered after they could steal themselves away to the quarters or a neighboring plantation where a literate member of the community lived.

African Americans continued to advocate for education throughout the period of enslavement. The restriction of access to education was perceived as a strategy to maintain White domination over Black Americans (Hall, 1998 [1797]; Walker, 1998 [1828]; Harris, 1992). The Acquisition of literacy became a significant symbol of resistance. Some Black women also saw education as a tool to overcome specific forms of discrimination they faced in the workplace (Stewart, 1987 [1832b]).

Our understanding of education in the last three decades of the Antebellum period is informed by more voices from enslaved people than the earlier periods that rely heavily on the letters and journals of White Evangelicals and missionaries. The later slave Narratives combined with the WPA Ex-Slave narratives provide a more wholistic understanding of how enslaved people acquired the skills needed to read and write. About 5% of people in the WPA ex-slave narratives described having learned to read or write while enslaved. Just over a third were women (Cornelius, 1983, pp. 172-173).

Teaching literacy was extremely dangerous, and there are numerous accounts of violent punishments, including death for enslaved people who taught their friends and families to read during this time (Cornelius, 1983, p. 174). The risk of harm may have resulted in preventing children from understanding the scope of literacy within the community, so estimates about the

presence of literacy in plantations given by those interviewed by members of the WPA may be low estimates, since the interviewees would have been children while enslaved. There are examples of people that knew how to read but played dumb around white people until after emancipation. Literacy was more common among enslaved domestic workers and African Americans enslaved in urban settings, but many young domestic workers were moved into the fields after they became a certain age, bringing their literacy with them (Cornelius, 1983).

The White people who were acknowledged as contributing to the education of enslaved Black youth were commonly associated with the plantation or farm owner. More White women helped educate enslaved youth than men. It was often incorporated into the responsibilities of the mistress of the house, along with the teaching of other domestic tasks deemed appropriate for children and girls (Cornelius, 1983, p. 176). But Whites were also legally barred and socially coerced to prevent them from teaching literacy to enslaved people. They were often placing themselves in harm's way. The Ex-Slave narrative of Ellen Cragin in Mississippi included a description of an old white man that would come by and tutor her parents, but who told them not to tell anyone because "they" would kill him (Cragin, 1936).

There are many examples of enslaved family members teaching one another to read, including mothers, fathers, grandmothers, aunts, and older siblings (Cornelius, 1983, pp. 177-178). There are also examples of itinerant Black teachers who would travel around with a book and a wooden or slate pad used to trace letters. Enoch Golden was a two-headed man who taught many to read and write. On his deathbed he confessed that this work resulted in many deaths during slavery (Cornelius, 1983, p. 178).

Enslaved people used innovative solutions to expand access to literacy in the Black community and to enjoy the fruits of that literacy once it was achieved. This included the

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borrowing of books from slaveholders and occasionally purchasing them with their own money, if conditions were safe. They made their own writing materials or practiced in the sand. Many used evenings, Sundays, and Holidays to teach themselves (Cornelius, 1983, p. 180). W. E. Northcross and Jenny Proctor recalled similar experiences of lighting the end of a board or pine torch in their cabins to provide the light needed to read at night. If Northcross heard the dogs barking or any disturbance outside, he would hide the book and peer through the cracks in his cabin and door until he was sure that it was safe enough to read some more. Jenny Proctor would hide the Webster's Speller in the cabin until very late at night, after she was sure that others were asleep before she practiced her letters (Cornelius, 1983, p. 181).

The connection between religion and literacy meant that in some areas, the only literate person was a Black minister. Sometimes literate people were pushed into the role of minister by their community. Byrd Day was bought a Bible by other members of the enslaved community. They also worked his plot of land to give him more time to study the Bible and share the powerful words that slaveholders skipped over with the rest of the community (Cornelius 1983:182).

Literacy was also related to the mobility of enslaved people. An enslaved person who could read or write would often travel with slaveholders so that they could write letters home if anything happened to the owner. Some enslaved people also used their skill to forge papers, enabling them or others they knew to escape to free states in the North or Canada.

One tool of education used by enslaved people was called Midnight school, where enslaved people like Milla Granson taught hundreds of others to read and write. She usually used newspapers as a teaching aide, which also helped spread news of the Civil War throughout the surrounding Black community (Dannett, 1964).

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Frederick Douglass' description of learning to read may be the most commonly cited example of the experience for enslaved people during the last decades of the Antebellum period (Douglass F. , 1849). Some have described how Douglass used that story as a rhetorical tool common in other Slave Narratives, so it should not be interpreted literally. Douglass presented literacy as a nearly unobtainable accomplishment in slave societies. Its acquisition would free the mind and could contribute to the self-emancipation of the body. His target audience in his first autobiography was largely White abolitionists who supported anti-slavery work (often financially), even though many did not go as far as being anti-racist. Ultimately, literacy may not have been as significant to the lives of enslaved people in the South as is commonly presented in the narratives, and some may have actively resisted it (Watson, 2009).

Literacy is not where Douglass begins his struggle against slavery. The earliest example of resistance in Douglass' *My Bondage, My Freedom* comes in the form of music, or more accurately, his refusal to sing hymns on command for Covey and his family. Douglass also makes a link between slavery and literacy when he describes how the overseer had "written his character on the living parchment (Douglass F. , 1849, p. 130)" of the enslaved. He repeated this metaphor when he described how a white northerner would introduce him as a graduate of slavery with his diploma written on his back (Douglass F. , 1849)." Douglass' initial desire for literacy was a pure act of resistance, taking something that he was denied and was used to oppress him (Messmer, 2007, p. 7). It is after he escapes to freedom that he begins to use writing as a tool to end slavery, and that was largely directed at a white audience. In this sense, Douglass was attempting to use one of the master's tools to dismantle the master's house (Lorde, 2020 [1984], p. 102).

Harriett Lucretia Anthony, a descendant of Douglass' owner, wrote in the margins of her copy of Douglass' narrative that many of the enslaved people on her father's Plantation knew how to read, and proudly read the Bible (Schiller, 2008). This example of inconsistencies with Douglass' description of life on the Eastern Shore highlights the existence of Black 'critical literacy' used to oppose the discursive tools of the dominant class (Freire & Macedo, 1987). In this sense, literacy was used as a weapon of social change in multiple ways, including the performance of illiteracy. Ben Schiller highlights numerous examples of Black critical literacy in letters written between slave holders and the people they enslaved (2008).

Black and White Women played dominant roles in the education of African Americans during slavery and in Freedom in the 19th century. It was illegal in almost every southern state for African Americans to learn to read by the middle of the 19th century. This did not prevent them from reading. One white teacher at Myrtilla Miner's Normal School for Colored Girls in Washington, DC described the cabins of some enslaved Black families that were absent of furniture but had a small stack of books in the corner (Davis A. Y., 1981). Graduates of the Normal School were expected to become teachers for other African American communities, spreading literacy using a similar theory of cultural transmission as White Evangelicals had more than a century earlier (Watson, 2009).

Ideas about education and literacy in African American society took on new dimensions as emancipation spread across the North and fueled the Civil War. Sara Jane Woodson Early was the first Black woman college instructor. She was hired in 1858 at Wilberforce College. She gave an "Address to the youth,' in 1866. She described how education was critical to everything, including manual labor. She stressed that African Americans must also study science, philosophy, and religion, because they would be key to shaping the social revolution that was

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required for African Americans to gain equality in the United States (Woodson S. J., 1998 [1863]).

The role of education as a tool for attaining social justice became the guiding principle of African American education from reconstruction through the 20th century, but different approaches were advocated for, depending on the power relations of the period and the personal positions of people within that structure (Agbe-Davies & Martin, 2013). This can be seen through Black intellectuals arguing for different strategies and tactics, depending on the specific context in which they were positioned. Frederick Dunn describes three dominant educational philosophies of the late 19th and early 20th century, which he connected to three different Black male intellectuals of the time. The accommodationist philosophy was attributed to Booker T. Washington, the radical liberationist philosophy to W. E. B. DuBois, and the Integrationist philosophy to Charles Hamilton Houston (Dunn, 1993).

Frederick Douglass died at a time in the late 19th century when racial violence was on the rise, segregation had taken hold, and African American men had become disenfranchised from the vote that women of all races were still denied. Booker T. Washington was on the rise after receiving his education in "moral philosophy" from the Hampton Institute (Bond, 1966, p. 118). He became president of the Tuskeegee institute in 1881, where he promoted vocational education as a pragmatic, non-threatening strategy for improving the lives of African Americans during an increasingly dangerous time. The training he promoted was rooted in his earlier experiences at The Hampton Institute. It was not effectively adapted to the industrializing labor demands that were growing at this time. The rural demand for jobs in agriculture and trades were decreasing.

Du Bois challenged the educational philosophy of Washington, as one that "Apologizes for injustice, North and South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles

the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds (Du Bois W. E., 2015 [1903], p. 80)." Du Bois' multi-generational intellectualist tactic for developing a critical educational system for Black America relied on a construct he called the "talented tenth." He argued that the limited number of African Americans who had access and capacity to earn high level degrees at elite institutions had the responsibility to return to underserved black communities to share their knowledge with the next generation.

Charles Hamilton Houston was a well-educated African American lawyer that worked at Howard University law school and became its Dean before transitioning to Special Council for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He was a believer in social engineering through the application of the law. He felt that access to quality services and institutions like public education in the United States required integration. In his law classes at Howard University, he always taught that African American lawyers have the double responsibility of being effective lawyers, as well as to use the constitution to improve the lives of people facing racial oppression. His legal strategies set the foundation for desegregation arguments in the Brown v. Board case that helped set the precedent that ended all legal forms of public racial segregation in the nation (Dunn, 1993).

There were other African Americans in the early 20th century that were troubled by the emphasis of some African American intellectuals on desegregation. Carter G. Woodson argued that education had to be more than memorization of multiplication tables and the spelling of words, it had to be about who Black students were, where they came from, and their value. He argues that most white teachers held racist ideologies that prevented them from treating Black students with the humanity they deserved and is required for a productive learning environment (Woodson C. G., 1990 [1933]). Woodson also recognized the result that western education had

on the perspective of many educated African Americans. It provided a social class distinction that too often resulted in a negative perception of the uneducated members of the Black community (Woodson C. G., 1990 [1933]).

Zora Neal Hurston was criticized in the 1950s for her concerns about desegregation in the *Orlando Sentinel* where she challenged the idea that integration would improve education. She argued that you cannot legislate a change in anti-racist ideology. Desegregation would not result in integrated, safe, open, and equitable learning environments (Hurston, 1955). This is the reality Bell Hooks describes in her introduction for *Teaching to Transgress* (Hooks, 1994). While in her segregated Black school she was instilled with a "pedagogy of resistance (1994, p. 2)" and an anticolonial philosophy from her Black women teachers. After integration, her educational experience transitioned from having a role in anti-racist struggle to an education focused on obedience over learning (1994, p. 3).

The relationship between the benefits of literacy and its relation to White control over society was a blessing and a curse. There is a history of connections between White American literacy campaigns and the manipulation of Black society (Watson, 2009, p. W84). There has also been constant resistance to these campaigns. Resistance has taken the form of refusing to learn or feigning ignorance, and it has also taken the form of an African American legacy of literacy and education that has produced other forms of social stratification and in some cases conflict.

Literacy and Education distinguished many African Americans from their peers, but it also created a psychic barrier in some circumstances. There were times in his autobiography when Douglass admitted to wishing he had never learned to read and could be part of the masses of enslaved people who still did not know their letters (Douglass F. , 1849). Hooks also

described her uneasiness before receiving tenure, because she felt as if she was falling into the box that Black women were put into in the South during the middle of the 20th century (Hooks, 1994). The only options in life she was presented growing up in rural Kentucky was to get married, do domestic work, or become a teacher. After receiving tenure at a White Institution, she was concerned she may become part of the problem in Black education, like many other examples of White institutions that have negatively impacted Black youth through their 'attempts' to reform and educate.

African American Education and Literacy in Western Orange County

It is known that some members of the enslaved community at Montpelier were literate. Paul Jennings was Madison's enslaved hand-servant. There are letters he wrote among Dolley Madison's papers in the Library of Congress (Madison, 1794-1852). One letter was addressed directly to his sister Sukey, indicating that she could likely read as well (Madison, 1794-1852). He also wrote and published a pamphlet describing his "Reminiscences of James Madison" in 1865 (Jennings P. , 1865).

Sarah Stewart was another literate woman enslaved by James and Dolley Madison. She labored as Dolley's maid and wrote directly to Dolley in Washington D.C. when she was in Orange. In 1844 she wrote to Dolley on behalf of the entire enslaved community who had been captured by the sherriff and were to be sold at auction to pay off Madison family debts (Madison, 1794-1852). Sarah asked Dolley to find a way to keep families from being divided. Dolley was able to avoid the catastrophe of that particular auction, but many of the people she enslaved were eventually seized by the court to pay debts[2].

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[2] Sarah's Daughter Ellen was to be sold south, but attempted to escape on *The Pearl* where she was captured and imprisoned (Madison, 1794-1852)

As Madison finances continued to dwindle, more of the remaining enslaved families were sold off or taken by the courts to settle debts. This eventually included Sarah Stewart and members of the Taylor family. These sales occurred after the death of Dolley and her son John Payne Todd, who had been terrible at managing finances, but also advocated for the enslaved families that his controlled. Dolley Madison's and John Payne Todd's wills both included provisions in which Sarah and the Taylors would be freed. They were instead sold to a new owner. Eventually, Sarah Stewart was able to sue for her freedom in the D.C. court where Dolley Madison's will was filed. The Taylors soon followed with a similar case in Orange. Both resulted in the emancipation of the enslaved people formerly held by Madison.

These few examples highlight a portion of the role that literacy played in the lives of enslaved people held by the Madisons. Literacy was encouraged among some of them, and it likely spread to other members of the enslaved community. The ability to sue in court for freedom highlights the sophistication and complex legal and political understanding that members of the enslaved community had.

Literacy continued to be important as society transitioned to life after emancipation. George Gilmore was noted in the Freedmen's Bureau records as being one of only six men of color known to be literate in the County. This low number highlights the fact that literacy was often acquired clandestinely and that it may have been less common on other Orange County plantations. There must have been many other literate members of the free Black community that maintained caution when it came to advertising their literacy. It may have still been considered a dangerous knowledge to possess at the close of the war. It also hints that George Gilmore ay have help a unique social position within White society.

The desire for literacy clearly continued. The community around Jacksontown pooled their resources to build a schoolhouse where children could go to earn an education. Legal documents were signed in African Americans' own hand, including deeds of sale for property and wedding licenses. Literacy was rapidly spreading throughout the African American Community in Western Orange County in the late 19th century.

These changes made large differences in the lives of the first generation of youth that were growing up in a free society. Sadly, limited resources and small populations made it difficult to attract teachers to village schools across the south (Du Bois W. E., 2015 [1903]). The educations that could be acquired were also limited, forcing students in Orange to travel to get any education above an eighth-grade level. Postings in *The Baltimore Afro-American* describe seemingly mundane aspects of daily life in Orange County that were shared with everyone in the paper's regional distribution. One example includes the September 27th issue in 1930 which stated that "Allen Lane, Miss Christine Jackson and Miss Sara Jackson, of Jacksontown left Monday for Fredericksburg, where they will continue their studies in the high schools (The Baltimore Afro-American, 1930)." It is most likely that these students were attending the Fredericksburg Normal and Industrial Institute. Other students' departure for high school or college at the end of summer was also announced, referencing St. Paul School, an Episcopal Normal and technical school, and the State College at Petersburg.

This brief history of literacy in Western Orange County from the 1840s to 1940 shows that there has always been a proportion of the population that valued and acquired literacy skills and additional forms of education. It is impossible to understand the true extent of literacy in the Black community during this time. Archaeological evidence of the materiality of literacy and

education can help elucidate a more comprehensive understanding of Literacy's role in the community and different people's response to it.

The Materiality of African American Literacy and Education in Western Orange County

We already know from the written record that there were a number of literate African Americans at Montpelier by the time that Dolley Madison sold Montpelier to Henry Moncure in 1844. But many of the literate people enslaved by the Madison family left Orange County with Dolley when she moved to Washington D.C. We also know that at least one member of the enslaved community that stayed in Orange County was literate because of the account of George Gilmore in the Freedmen's Bureau papers.

Archaeology is an additional tool that can help clarify our understanding of African American literacy during slavery and the decades that followed the Civil War. Material culture related to literacy includes objects with writing on them or tools associated with tasks that would require the ability to read or write. This chapter focuses on those materials explicitly connected to the acts of writing and learning to read or write, like slate pencils and writing slates, lead or graphite pencils, ink wells, pens, and school buildings. Many of these artifacts have been recovered from African American domestic contexts that date to the decades before and after the Civil War. It is impossible to say that the presence of one or more of these items means that any of the residents were literate, and if they were literate, to what degree. Pencils can be used to write letters, but also used by carpenters to mark measurements on lumber. Similarly, the absence of writing implements does not indicate illiteracy. As noted above, some enslaved people would practice their writing by scratching letters into the dirt or tracing them on a wooden tablet with their finger. So, the presence of these materials suggests some degree of literacy by an

occupant of the house, but it is not conclusive without additional evidence. The likelihood of literacy in the household increases as a greater quantity and diversity of literacy related materials are recovered archaeologically.

The two antebellum sites that are highlighted in this dissertation are the domestic structure with the dry laid stone foundation near Secretary's Barn, and site #56 that was on the property of Col. John Willis during the decades before the Civil War. The house near Secretary's barn appeared to have a larger investment in the architecture and construction than site #56. There were a few units excavated on the interior of the structure and a couple more that were outside in the surrounding yardspace. There were no artifacts related to literacy that were recovered at the site. It is possible that this structure was constructed after Dolley Madison sold the property. The lack of literacy related material may be due to an uneasiness of the occupant with the new owner, Henry Moncure, or stricter policies related to literacy that Moncure forced upon the enslaved community.

Site 56 had a similar portion of the site excavated, but the excavation units were concentrated in a downslope sheet midden with a high concentration of discarded artifacts. There was one lead pencil recovered from this site. This is a limited literacy assemblage, but it suggests that there may have been literacy among the household members, or efforts to acquire literacy by someone living there. It provides some evidence that a literacy assemblage was not reserved for people enslaved by the Madison's and that other members of the plantation owning class may have turned a blind eye to literacy among the people they held in bondage. On the other hand, pencils are particularly useful in carpentry and other trades, so this could have been a tool used in skilled labor.

All the documentary and material evidence of literacy during the Antebellum period demonstrates that there were some members of the African American community with the skills needed to read and write. The letters written by the enslaved Jennings and Taylors show that at least some literate African Americans were known to the planter elite and could practice their skills without fear of repercussions. These members of the community would have also been able to read for others. This would be especially important when it came to sharing news and the Bible. These members would also have been able to read and forge documents and review contracts for community members if necessary.

Literacy became much more widespread after emancipation. Literacy related materials are abundant at the Gilmore Cabin and the Walker site. Stratigraphic layers associated with the Gilmore family contained a variety of writing related implements including lead pencils, slate pencils and writing slate fragments. The historical record noted George Gilmore's literacy. The presence of many writing implements suggests that literacy continued to play a significant role in the Gilmore household after emancipation.

The Walker family also had a variety of writing related material culture recovered from their home. This includes writing slate fragments and slate pencils. There was also a stoneware inkwell that was excavated in the units near the hearth. The presence of multiple literacy related artifacts taking multiple forms at the reconstruction era sites suggest that literacy became increasingly accessible, was no longer relegated to clandestine African American spaces, and was valued by Free Black families in the decades that followed the Civil War.

The Walker family's neighbors, Charles and Rebecca Taylor also had at least one literate family member. Rebecca Taylor signed the deed for the property, while her husband marked his name with an "X" when it was sold to William DuPont in 1901. This highlights the role of

women in the household when it came to acquiring skills like writing that would support the family. Writing by women also fits with idealized African American gender roles following emancipation. There was a pride in many African American households where the women were not dependent on domestic labor in White homes for an income. Literacy was a critical skill for households after the Civil War when much of the work was organized through contracts. Rebecca Taylor, as a literate woman, could review contracts that her husband could not. This meant that she would have been responsible for a critical component of the household's livelihood at the same time that she could maintain a gendered division of labor that kept her out of White homes doing domestic labor and out of the fields doing manual labor, except for planting, processing, or harvesting when all hands would have been needed.

Another significant piece of materiality related to African American education were school buildings. There were not many school buildings in Orange County. Most of the early school buildings were funded and constructed by Black communities on their own. This is the case for the Jacksontown School. Its exact construction date is currently unknown, but it must have been some time in the 19th century based on its abandonement in the mid-20th century. The construction of the school provided opportunities for Young Black boys and girls to earn an education within walking distance of their home. All the Black domestic sites discussed in this dissertation were in walking distance of the Jacksontown school. As students learn to read and write they would have brought this knowledge home and some parents may have been able to acquire this skill through them.

Schools may have also played a role in attracting other Black residents from the area to come and settle in villages like Jacksontown. In this sense, educational infrastructure may have played an important role in the longevity and success of Black communities. After students

began attending more formal public school institutions in the area it may have had a detrimental impact on these small Black villages scattered throughout the local area. Either way, education continued to be critical to the success of Black residents and their ability to advance in society, whether that was near home, or more likely in a city, where many moved to seek out opportunities not available in the 19th or most of the 20th century. Even in the 1960s, Madlynn Anglin's mother (A descendant of Allen Jackson) told her that her only options for employment in Orange County were as a school teacher or in the jeans factory (Personal conversation).

Conclusion

Education, and especially literacy, have been sought by many African Americans as a tool to help Black people rise above the positions that White society relegated them to. This goes back centuries, to the earliest writings and recorded speeches of African American intellectuals and beyond (Stewart, 1987 [1832b]; Lambert, 1992). Literacy was present among the enslaved community held by James and Dolley Madison and was likely present among some enslaved members of the wider Black community in Western Orange County. After emancipation it appears that literacy expanded significantly. This is due to newly earned freedoms and the construction of an education infrastructure in the form of schools and churches that taught literacy.

Undoubtedly, there was not equal access to education in Western Orange County. Many Black residents were large distances from school, making it difficult or even impossible to attend. There was also economic pressure for children to help the family with work on the farm to maintain economic independence and ward off the need to labor in other people's homes and fields. There were also families that sent their sons to school, but not their daughters, because they felt that their daughters did not need a formal education to to meet the social expectations

for a wife and mother. And after an education was achieved, there were few opportunities for African Americans to put that knowledge to use locally. There was an increase in African Americans filling skilled labor positions in Western Orange County, but there were not enough well-paid jobs for the young generations coming up through the education system. Many left the area in search of work, which produced a significant decline in the portion of the county that was African American.

The socio-economic position of Black families in Orange County impacted their relationship to education and literacy. Families that could afford to send their children usually did, but many struggling families had to put immediate needs over the long-term benefits that came with receiving an education. Black land-owning families had additional resources, but also required the labor of their children, especially during busy portions of the agricultural cycle. This may have also limited children's access to education. One thing is clear. Despite these diverse challenges, many young Black residents of Western Orange County did receive an education. Some of them went on to study at the high school or college level away home. This higher education all but required them to find work away from their childhood homes. This resulted in a brain drain that pushed educated African Americans away while many uneducated African Americans became stuck in a cycle of tenancy or sharecropping until mechanization took those limited opportunities away as well.

Chapter 6: Architecture of the African American Homespace

Introduction

Architecture played an important role in African American resistance to slavery and the diverse forms of direct and structural violence they faced in the generations that followed emancipation. The ways that racism, capitalism, and patriarchy intersected during different periods in American history influenced the ways in which Architecture was used as a tool of resistance by African Americans. There were also a variety of strategies and tactics that were applied at any one time, as people engaged in different forms of resistance depending upon their understanding of these systems and their capacity to operate within them.

Racism was resisted through the creative use and adaptation of architectural styles. This includes the construction of buildings in styles that incorporated many elements connected to the African heritages of the enslaved people that were captured and forced into bondage (Handler & Bergman, 2009; Chapman, 1991; Cochran L. E., 2019; Hamer F. , 1997). In other contexts, African Americans incorporated architectural styles developed by wealthy White members of society to counteract their attempts to project racial and economic superiority (Mooney, 2002).

African Americans also applied architecture to resist structures intended to limit their capacity for economic success. During slavery, this can be seen in the use of storage pits used to secure private property in multi-family and co-residential structures like barracks (Samford, 2007). The shift to single family domestic architecture during late eighteenth and early nineteenth century provided limited security and control over the use of space. Additional changes in the use of architecture for economic gain occurred following emancipation. African American families started to purchase their own land to build small farms. They built agricultural structures needed to maintain the farm, feed their families, and produce enough surplus to make

additional investments in their property. At times, they would use buildings as collateral to be awarded the loans needed to develop competitive agricultural businesses (Penningroth, 2003; Douyard, 2014).

Architecture also played a significant role in challenging society's patriarchal system. During slavery, the transition to single family housing provided women with additional security. After emancipation many families moved their households further from their former slaveholders and provided a space within which they could work for themselves. During the great migration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries many of the households became female-headed since the majority of people moving to cities and then further north were men (Du Bois W. E., 1904; Berlin, 2010). This presented a host of new challenges, but also provided proof that black women could do everything that men were socially expected to at a time when the movement for women's suffrage was picking up.

An examination of changes in architectural practices highlights the creative ways in which architecture was used to support and advance the prospects of African American families. This examination will begin with evidence of African influences in the architecture of earlier generations of enslaved African Americans and will follow changes required to negotiate new systems of exploitation throughout the periods of slavery, emancipation, and Jim Crow. African American resistance during all these periods can be seen in the spiritual, symbolic, structural, and economic uses of architecture to challenge dominant social forces.

Symbolic Resistance through Architecture

Symbolic forms of resistance using architecture are not as common during periods of enslavement, when building materials and construction techniques were tightly regulated by the owners of plantations. Frederick Douglass did use architecture as a rhetorical tool of resistance in

his first autobiography to explicitly challenge the system of Racism he experienced on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He made a comparison of New England and Maryland architecture to advocate the superiority of society in Free states over slave states. He also presents the home of a free Black northerner, Nathan Johnson, to advocate for the superior character and the industriousness of free blacks over that of slaveholders in Talbot County (Douglass F. , 1849). But these examples are limited, and do not reference symbolic forms of resistance used by enslaved African Americans.

The role of the built environment in African Americans' lives changed significantly as the southern states transitioned from slavery to freedom. The construction of African American homes became an opportunity to resist racist ideologies (Mooney, 2002). Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois both pointed to architecture and the home as measures of racial improvement. Black Architects trained at schools such as the Tuskegee Institute actively practiced an anti-racist architecture by the turn of the 20th century. Differing perspectives on the ideal path for improving the lives of African Americans influenced the symbolic applications of architecture to resist dominant social forces working to limit the capacity for African Americans to live full and equal lives.

The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was founded by Union General Samuel C. Armstrong in 1868 in Hampton, Virginia. Its focus was on the production of self-sufficient free Black graduates that could live independently in rural settings. Armstrong believed that the knowledge gained by students at the institute would expand into black communities through the teaching and example of its graduates (Mooney, 2002). Gendered courses produced men who were trained in carpentry, masonry, and home construction while women were taught furniture repair, painting, and papering needed to maintain the house.

The Hampton Institute's most famous graduate was Booker T. Washington. He took what he learned in Hampton with him and opened the Tuskegee Normal School in Alabama in 1881. The link between the household and education was exemplified by his description of the ideal school as a cottage surrounded by gardens and containing a kitchen and dining room in addition to the classroom. He continued a similar gendered approach to education that he had experienced at the Hampton Institute as well. He maintained the belief that a quality home would lead to the respect of White Americans. He believed that if a Black man was a successful farmer and built a "comfortable tasty framed cottage" or a respectable brick house that white men would have no choice but to respect him (Washington B. T., 1932 [1896]).

Washington's belief that the performance of material success would lead to respect and equality was not well founded by the experiences of most African Americans, including those living in Western Orange County. The murder of the Wales siblings who refused to sell their land outside Gordonsville is a disturbing example of how wrong Washington was (Garrett, 1936). But Washington was not the only person who felt that the home could play a significant role in changing race relations. The Black Women's club movement participated in activism to end lynching in America, reform the juvenile justice system, and fight racism through architectural preservation. Mary B. Talbert wrote in *The Crisis* about the struggle to preserve Frederick Douglass' home in Anacostia (1917).

The National Association of Colored Women advocated for a similar domestic ideal as the one described by Washington. They believed that a clean, orderly, and beautiful home would provide Black youth with the environment they would need to learn and grow into successful adults (Davis & Lemke, 1996). The NACW's promotion of the ideal home was also a strategy

they could use to claim their dignity and challenge stereotypes of Black women that dated back to the time of enslavement (Mooney, 2002, p. 55).

W. E. B. Du Bois saw material and symbolic value in African American architecture. In his study of Farmville, Virginia he describes the variety of architecture that could be found. Few houses were one story cabins, and these he describes as quickly vanishing from the landscape (Du Bois W. E., 1898, p. 25). There were also small frame structures. The most common were two-room tenements that were commonly arranged into duplexes with kitchens upstairs and living areas on the main floor. As the number of rooms increase beyond two rooms, the portion of the total number of black homes decreases. 43.5% of African American homes were owned by the family. These tended to be houses that contained three or more rooms. All but 15 of the 148 tenants rented from White property owners (Du Bois W. E., 1898, p. 26). Du Bois estimated the average annual income of the Black families using the account books of local grocers. In his estimation, a family of five making up the working poor in Farmville made approximately $174 a year while the estimated average income of an African American family of five who owned their home was $284. Despite noting that the majority of houses were poorly built, he cited material improvements, "healthful locations, with good water nearby and a garden spot (1898, p. 26)," to stress material improvements of African American homespace over the last third of the 19th century.

W. E. B. Du Bois expanded his sociological treatment of architecture in 1909 when he published *The Negro American Family*. He focused a significant portion of the text on the African American home, tracing its development from its African roots through slavery and into the 20th century. The classification system used ethnic and economic status differences in the presentation of African houses and economic status alone for the division of African American

domestic structures. He used evolutionary terminology to describe the progression of architectural styles and construction methods. In this sense, he conceived of most tenant farm houses as either a former "slave home or its lineal descendant (1970 [1909], p. 50)." Gradually, the frequency with which Agricultural workers or tenants would pick up and leave resulted in a slow improvement in the housing offered to the small farmers that large property owners relied on to earn greater revenues. These potential improvements were largely suppressed as debt bondage tied laborers to land beyond the time they would have left (Du Bois W. E., 1970 [1909], pp. 51-52).

Du Bois also worked with his Sociology students at Atlanta University to do a sociological analysis of eight homes. This included the drafting of plans for each structure, and an analysis of the structures' organization and domestic materials. Four of these structures are country homes. The largest is the plan D, it has multiple lines of symmetry with a central hall and two bedrooms on both sides and identical porches off the front and the back of the house. The Plan C and the Plan D both have accompanying maps showing the location and size of outbuildings associated with agricultural production. In the four examples of city houses there is a marked absence of symmetry, with geometrically complex bungalows evolving into ornate Queen Anne style homes as the economic status of each house's residents increased (Du Bois W. E., 1970 [1909]).

This same pattern is also evident in his photographic documentation of African American architectural evolution. The only exception to the trend is the final example, which is a photograph of the nearly completed 15-room home of a wealthy Black businessman in Atlanta considered to be the "finest Negro residence in the south (Du Bois W. E., 1970 [1909], p. 96)." It was fitted with modern amenities like steam heat and electric lights. Its design was Palladian, an

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early adopter of the neo-classical style that was just beginning to become popular again at this time. The home was all brick, with ornate columns supporting a two-story portico that was topped with a rooftop garden that extended back over the rest of the house.

Du Bois attributes the significance to architectural styles reminiscent of Plantation homes to the lack of exposure to architectural variability in rural society. Within the rural context, Federalist style housing was the most significant symbol of status, but the diversity of styles in urban contexts resulted in more options. Urban styles were also influenced by the White and Black architects that were designing the properties, but most homes of the wealthiest White and Black Americans in the early 20th century were Palladian variants built in different periods throughout the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries.

African American Architectural Strategies and Tactics in Western Orange County

Antebellum Domestic Sites

During slavery, there were few opportunities for African Americans to design and construct buildings that met specific symbolic design principles that they held themselves, but some enslaved people at Montpelier began living in domestic buildings built to project the symbolic message of President James Madison early in the 19th century. These structures were inspired by Madison's reading related to English industrial worker housing (Reeves 2010; Brock 2018). Their raised floors and glazed windows were considered important for worker health and hygiene. Madison included these buildings within the fenced curtilage enclosing the rear lawn for entertaining as well as the structures in the South Yard that were used to support the Madison

household. The structures were used to cook, smoke meats, wash laundry, and house enslaved domestic workers within close range of the Madison family.

The six structures in the South Yard were built using many different construction techniques. The first building was the kitchen for James Madison Senior's household and was likely a planter's cottage occupied by James Madison Senior before the main house was constructed. The southeastern most quarter had a continuous dry laid stone foundation and chimney base. The southwestern quarter had a brick chimney base and the sills would have rested on brick piers. The smokehouses were built on wooden sill foundations that were laid into trenches forming 12.5' square foundations. The northeastern quarter in the South Yard was built on a continuous brick foundation that was just one course wide. The main structure of all these buildings was wood frame, most likely clad in siding.

The construction of the South Yard dwellings was drastically different than the cabins for enslaved field workers from the same time. These cabin sites were ephemeral structures identified during excavations through the presence of their sub-floor storage pits dug into the earthen floors. No evidence of substantial chimney construction or foundations were identified. These buildings were not built to portray Madison's grasp of industrial worker housing. The structures were not organized using formal geography. Instead, they were distributed in relation to the landforms where they were constructed (Trickett 2014).

Figure 15. Gilmer Map, showing the location of sites in the early 1860s.

The two late antebellum domestic sites that have been excavated were most likely constructed after the Madison quarters around the house were abandoned in the 1840s. The first site excavated was related to the proposed expansion of the center for the constitution. The domestic site discovered next to Secretery's barn may be one of the slave quarters identified in an 1860s map produced by Confederate cartographers Izzard and Gilmer. Archaeologists identified a dry laid stone chimney foundation just below the surface with broken bricks that were probably the remains of the chimney itself. This is like the southeastern dwelling in the south yard. This suggests that there was greater investment in the domestic architecture the mid-19th century farm barn complex than was invested in the houses for enslaved field workers in the late 18th century. More excavations are needed to determine if there was a continuous stone foundation or if the structure was raised on piers of some kind.

Site 56 is the other late-antebellum quarter excavated on Montpelier's property. Its ruins are visible on the surface of the site in the form of a large mound of bricks where the chimney collapsed. There is a high number of metal detector hits located on the eastern side of the chimney base that may indicate the presence of a stick chimney held together by nails and

insulated with clay. This is a common form of chimney construction documented in the cabins of enslaved households throughout the Mid-Atlantic region.

The African American influences on the architectural design of these buildings is unlikely to have had significant influence from outside the surrounding area. The enslaved workers that constructed these building would have had limited resources at their disposal. They were utilitarian forms of shelter with few reasons to embellish or improve since they did not own the buildings, and could be forced to leave them at any moment. The tenuous connection of enslaved people to their homes did not inspire the additional labor that would have been required to turn the homes into symbols of anti-racism.

Postbellum Domestic Sites

The African American relationship to architecture in western Orange County changed in similar ways as was seen across the south after emancipation. Initially, there were few differences in the houses of most free families when compared to the houses of enslaved families a decade earlier. In Orange County the reuse of slave quarters may have been less common because few of the houses of enslaved families were reinhabited after the Confederate army commandeered them during the winter of 1862-1863.

The Walker house had a dry laid stone chimney foundation. Its remains were covered with broken bricks that were left behind as the whole bricks in stable condition were salvaged and reused in construction after the site was abandoned. There was one large visible stone on the surface in an area where the corner of the structure may have been. This suggests that the structure was built on piers. It is currently impossible to determine if the structure was built using wood framing or log construction, but it is most-likely to have been log construction that relied on salvaged materials from officers' cabins and soldiers' huts in the abandoned encampments

located nearby. This form of construction would have been familiar to the Walkers and would not have required significant investment.

The limited scope of the excavations prevents a clear understanding of the home's plan and any architectural embellishments that it may have had. That said, the limited evidence suggests that it was of similar construction to the homes of enslaved families, but was more substantial than the homes available to enslaved field workers in the early 19th century. This is

Figure 16. Gilmore Cabin after it was restored to its first phase of Construction.

clear evidence of limited material improvements that the Walkers experienced in the decades immediately following emancipation.

An architectural analysis of the Gilmore Cabin was completed in the summer of 2000, prior to a stabilization and restoration of the building (Ferguson 2003). In addition to a study of

the building as it stood, a dendrochronological analysis was conducted on the timbers of the earliest portion of the cabin (Cook et al. 2003). They found that every timber in the cabin was cut in 1872. This led to questions about where the Gilmores were living in 1870 when the census recorded the location of their home. Archaeological analysis soon uncovered the location of a stone chimney base behind the present-day cabin. Materials recovered from this earlier cabin suggested that it was built using materials recovered from Winter encampments in the area, that were occupied by confederate soldiers from late in 1862 until the Battle of Wilderness in 1863.

Figure 17. Photograph of the Gilmore Family Home taken in the 1920s. Note the second building in the back, and the gable end addition with external chimney on the left side of the house. Symmetry is seen in the placement of the door (orange highlight), windows (Blue Highlight) and gable-end chimneys (red highlight).

A photograph from the 1920s shows a building behind the Gilmore cabin that is in the location of the earlier chimney base (Figure 1).

After George and Polly Gilmore purchased the land, they saved up money to purchase timbers and construct a new home for their family. They didn't have the timber resources they needed on their land because of massive deforestation associated with the construction of huts and burning of wood in the winter encampments a few years earlier. Eventually, they were able to order the timber frames used in the construction of the cabin.

George Gilmore built a one and a half story, two bay, log cabin with a steep gable roof with a loft underneath. Each floor had a fireplace at the east gable end, where a single exterior chimney carried out smoke. There is a front and back door, but they are not symmetrical. There is one double hung sash window opening in the front of the house. There are also two gable end windows to light the loft space. There is a front porch, but no rear porch. The location of doors and windows does not create a symmetrical plan or a symmetrical exterior face (Figure 2). The gable end, above the timbers, is covered in a milled board and batten siding. This is likely the original covering, based on the presence of cut nails used to secure them (Ferguson 2003).

Figure 18. Photograph of the Gilmore Cabin's front walk and entryway after the early 20th-century addition was added on the left side of the image.

The next phase of construction took place after the death of George and Polly Gilmore, when William Gilmore added an addition to the west gable end. The addition included a front facing window and another gable end chimney, but it was of frame construction using dimensional lumber (Ferguson 2003). Additionally, William Gilmore added a wall that divided the first floor of the original cabin into two rooms. The result was a symmetrical exterior, except for the awning on the front of the house, as can be seen in Figure 17. The interior also became symmetrical, with a central hall, including stairs to the loft, and one room on either side. The organization of the loft mimicked the first floor, with two walls dividing the upstairs into three nearly equal sections.

Figure 19. Plan View of the Gilmore Cabin with excavation units related to the study of the structure's integrity and the Gilmore era materials deposited beneath the floorboards.
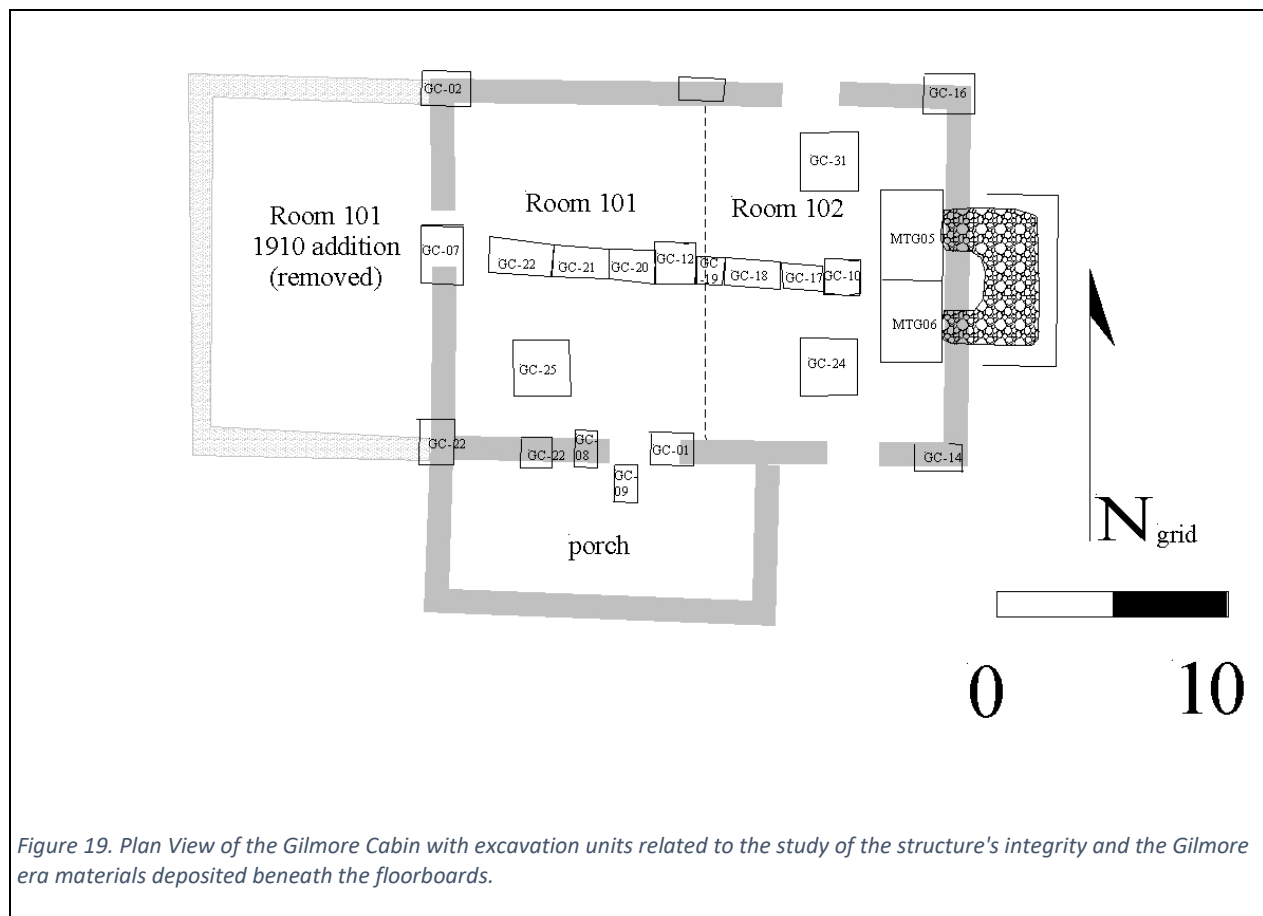
The design of the William Gilmore family house follows many of the design principles advocated for by Booker T. Washington and the Hampton Institute. It is very similar in design to Du Bois' Plan D country home design. The significance of William Gilmore's architecture becomes more apparent when it is compared to the house of the last person to own his family during slavery, Dr. James Madison, the President's nephew. Dr. Madison's house, which was also the closest neighboring house, was built in the mid-18th century and followed the same design. The only difference was in the slightly larger size of Dr. Madison's house.

Figure 20. Photograph Facing East of Allen Jackson's Birthplace in 1937. Note the addition to the right of the chimney and the lack of furniture or improvements to the structure as compared to the 1920s image of the Gilmore cabin above (Figure 22).

Another example of African American architecture is the birthplace of Allen Jackson, located on a plantation that neighbors Montpelier called Bloomfield. The cabin where he was raised became a tenant house after emancipation. It appears to have followed the transitional path described by W. E. B. Du Bois in 1909. There was an addition added to the gable end with a second entryway, turning it into a two-room tenant house that would have been similar to the duplex built in the southwest of Montpelier's South Yard. No furniture or obvious investments made to the homespace are visible in a 1937 photograph of the building. This is also similar to what Du Bois observed in his social analysis of Farmville's African American community four decades earlier (Du Bois W. E., 1898).

In this context, refusing to spend time improving the land can be interpreted as a form of tenant sabotage. Sabotage was a critical tactic advocated by the Anarchist Lucy Parsons and defined as "the withdrawal of efficiency (Flynn, 2014 [1916], p. 93)" by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in 1916. Flynn saw sabotage as "an instinctive defense (2014 [1916], p. 93)," that was also a useful tool when applied intentionally as a form of organized labor resistance. Sabotage effects products through the manipulation of the quality, quantity, or service being provided. One way that the tenants of the Jackson Family homeplace could engage in sabotage is through the adulteration of the crop or providing lower quality commodity products in the contracted quantity (Flynn, 2014 [1916], pp. 99-100), but landlords usually had the right to split the crop as they chose, countering effective sabotage. Another way that the tenant could engage in sabotage is through the refusal to invest in the improvement of the land or structures. If tenants did make improvements to the structures or the land, then the landowner could charge the family more or remove them from the property when their contract was complete and charge a new tenant more to take their place. This structural relationship between tenant and owner disincentivized the tenant to make improvements.

Conclusion

Architecture has played an important role in African American strategies to counter the effects of racialized violence, economic control, and symbolic domination throughout the history of the Black experience in the Americas. This can be seen in the archaeology and architecture of sites in Western Orange County, as well as the Mid-Atlantic more generally. The enslaved community relied on spiritual practices for protection, and eventually constructed cabins that were removed from the White property owners and their overseers.

Architectural design became increasingly important after the end of the Civil War, when some African American families were able to purchase land and build homes of their own for the first time. The Walker and Gilmore families initially used materials recovered from Confederate Army encampments to construct their first homes as free people. This was a cost-effective way of getting a roof over their heads at a time when they were thrust into freedom with little in the way of personal possessions.

George and Polly Gilmore were able to combine income from George Gilmore's trade as a carpenter with earnings from their farm to save for the timbers needed to construct a more substantial log structure in the early 1870s. This is the Gilmore cabin standing today. Constructing a cabin using substantial logs that would last over 150 years was an accomplishment all its own, since this is a time that most formerly enslaved families in rural areas continued to live in structures that were either built during slavery, or were built out of scavenged materials and were reminiscent of the poor material qualities found in most slave quarters.

Some former slave quarters had improvements made to help entice tenant farmers or sharecroppers and get them to sign contracts to work the land for wealthy property owners. This can be seen in the Jackson Family homeplace, which had an addition and clapboard siding added at some point. Additional excavations will be needed to determine the timing of these changes and their relationship to rural socio-economic dynamics and migration away from the area.

The early 20th century modification to the Gilmore cabin is an example of using architectural design to resist racist ideologies. William Gilmore's addition drew from the design of the home of the former slaveholder that held his parents in bondage. This design had many things in common with architectural improvements recommended by both Booker T.

Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. He introduced symmetry while mixing construction techniques in the most cost-effective manner. These modifications are symbolic of the upward mobility of the Gilmore family and the capacity for African Americans to achieve a style of material.

This overall pattern is reminiscent of the architectural evolution that Du Bois described in the early 20th century (1970 [1909]). Evolution is clearly not an accurate metaphor for these architectural changes. These were the product of deliberate decisions made by many different Black people over an extended period. Their architectural decisions were tied to their economic capacity, social position, and their interpretation of the best strategies for improving the conditions of themselves and their families.

Those who were dependent upon tenant farming or sharecropping contracts lacked the means to purchase their own land and houses. Most chose not to make improvements, which would have been costly and would have been a long-term benefit to the property owner, not themselves. They may be more likely to sabotage the house, land, or crop than to improve it.

African American property owners had different circumstances that guided their decision making. The priority was creating a structure that would protect their families from the elements. This can be seen in the first Gilmore cabin and in the architectural remains of the Walker family home. After they had shelter, they could focus on other things, like earning an income through their agricultural pursuits and additional off-farm labor. New options arose for the families that had enough land and additional skills that they could begin building wealth.

Some families were lucky enough that they could expand they could build more substantial homes or create additions that expanded their homes like William Gilmore. As economic resources expanded, they were confronted with more choices about materials and

design options. This is the level wealth required to have the ability to decide how they wanted their house to look from an architectural design perspective. Those decisions would shape how they were perceived by others in the community as they passed by on the road (Reeves M. B., 2003). Some chose to build more substantial homes that could counter racist ideologies about African Americans. Some may have chosen not to make these aesthetic and structural modifications because it could have been perceived as putting them at an increased risk of violence from the White community. The example of the Wales siblings and the murder of their brother for becoming successful and an economic competitor with those in power highlights the risk that African Americans in Western Orange County faced if they were perceived as rising above an acceptable economic status for Black people in the early 20th century (Garrett, 1936). Architecture was part of a complex socio-economic negotiation that Black families engaged in from year to year. First and foremost, it was a necessity of life to shelter them from the scorching summer sun and freezing winter nights. Beyond that, it was a form of material discourse they actively chose to engage in as a way to challenge racism and maintain the dignity that White supremacist forces sought to degrade through physical and structural violence against them.

Chapter 7: The African American Domestic Visualscape

Introduction

Landscape Archaeology has linked the social and environmental in explicit ways since the early 20th century (Wiley, 1953). A variety of ecological theories have been used to weave the social and environmental together[3]. The human-nature divide increasingly dissolved, leading to the development of the "new ecology" (Odum, 1964; Biersack, 1999; Scoones, 1999) and "deep ecology" (Naess, 1973), that focused on the integration of social and environmental systems into a unified theory and interpretation of nature and society. This link opened opportunities for critical theorists in the social sciences to explore the relationships between society, power, and the environment. Critical environmental justice studies integrate deeply intersectional analyses (Malin & Ryder, 2018) that have brought, "greater attention to how multiple social categories of difference are entangled in the production of environmental justice, from race, gender, sexuality, ability, and class to species (Pellow, 2016, p. 223)." Critical environmental justice studies have also been linked with Black feminist geographies (McKittrick, 2006; McKittrick & Woods, 2007) through the study of Black feminist landscapes that are understood through Black feminist spatial imaginaries (Ducre, 2018).

This chapter seeks to apply the concept of visualscape (Llobera, 2003) as an additional socio-environmental component related to the production of homespaces in African American landscapes (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]; Battle-Baptiste, 2011). Visualscape is a term that is used to encapsulate all visual properties of a landscape (Llobera, 2003). Quantitative approaches to analyses of the visualscape have become increasingly sophisticated as computing capacity has

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[3] For cultural ecology, see (Steward J. , 1937; Steward J. H., 1955; Sahlins, 1976); for Systems-based approaches see (Rappaport R. A., 1967); for political ecology, see (Wolf, 1972); for human behavioral ecology, see (Wilmsen, 1973)

increased (Djindjian, 2014). An extended review of visibility studies in archaeology can be found in Appendix B.

One form of visualscape that has dominated historical archaeology is the panopticon. It was originally conceived as an explicit material construction of space that enabled observation of subjects without their ability to know if they were being watched (Bentham, 1791). The panopticon is intended to instill a sense of self-policing through the potential that unsanctioned activities may be viewed by authorities at any moment. Historical archaeologists have applied it to the interpretation of cities, prisons, and plantations (Leone, 1995; Singleton T. A., 2001; Casella, 2001). The archaeological application of the panopticon by archaeologists often draw on Foucault's emphasis on a panoptic form of self-discipline (Randle L. B., 2011). This can come from a panoptic landscape that contains watchtowers or concealed locations with high visibility of surrounding terrain, but can also be developed through a multitude of social forms of power and control (Douglass F. , 1849, pp. 60-61). The explicit role of visibility in the projection of power and control has already been demonstrated by archaeologists, but new methods enable an exploration of additional components and constructions of the visualscape. Advancements in the methods and techniques to systematically test and assess the ways in which visibility was used by people across a broad spectrum of society in diverse contexts are now possible using an array of computational approaches (Brughmans, Garderen, & Gillings, 2018).

The following analyses seek to push the current boundaries of computational methods currently employed by historical archaeologists. It draws on a long legacy of computational approaches to visibility by archaeologists, geographers, and architects concerned with the visual structure of environments. One critical methodological development applied for this study is *total viewshed analysis*, which models the visibility from any point on the landscape as a

function of the surrounding terrain, contour, and elevation (Llobera, 2003). This brings potential for statistical rigor that has not been applied to visibility analyses in historical archaeology.

The broad research question addressed in this analysis is, how did the visual characteristics of African American homespaces change through time? This requires a dataset that includes information about site location, occupation period, and function, as well as an elevation dataset with a resolution fine enough to accurately assess the visual characteristics in question. The visual qualities of domestic structures can relate to many socially relevant processes including surveillance and costly-signaling (Delle J. A., 2014).

This chapter includes three analyses, each of which builds upon the results and findings of the previous ones. (1) The first analysis is the modeling of the overall visual characteristics of the landscape, and then assessing the general structure at multiple visual scales. (2) The second analysis compares the visual properties of African American domestic sites at different points in time to determine if they vary from the general background visibility data. (3) The third analysis will then compare the visual structure of African American sites with one another over time to identify periods in which significant shifts in the African American domestic viewscape occur.

The Archaeology of African American Landscapes

Landscapes have been an important construct for the archaeological investigation of Black lives in the past. Archaeologists have approached landscapes as constructed, conceptualized, and ideational spaces that represent material metaphors, lived experience, or material systems (Knapp & Ashmore, 1999; De Cunzo, 2003). People in different social locations understand, interpret, and use landscapes based on their positions and cultural lens (De Cunzo, 2003, p. 243). This diversity of relationships to a single space produces multilocal landscapes (Rodman, 1992).

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Lu Ann De Cunzo explains "landscapes become multilocal as individuals constructing their life worlds, appropriating, acting on, and transforming the 'world out there' into a lived, consumed, fashioned reality (2003, p. 243)." She goes on to describe how individuals' position in a complex web of social forces and power relations dismantle any perceived unity in the interpretation or experience of a landscape. Multilocality highlights a connection between intersectionality and landscapes as multilocal spaces. De Cunzo's understanding of multilocality resulted in her emphasis on how a unified conception of landscape is ultimately dissolved, making interpretations of landscapes difficult.

Dell Upton addressed the existence of two multilocal landscapes in his article, "White and Black places in Eighteenth Century Virginia" (1984). He showed how the spatial and social relations of slavery produce two distinct interpretations and experiences of the landscape divided along racial lines. Intersectional landscape analyses may also consider gender, sex, age, ability, sexuality, or religion and their relations to one another in the interpretation and classification of multilocal landscapes.

One important tool for the archaeological analysis of landscapes is geographic information systems (GIS)[4]. Some historical archaeologists recognized this potential as the technology was being developed in the 1960s (Dethlefsen & Deetz, 1967), but archaeological GIS analyses of historical spatial patterns weren't conducted until the 1980s (Paynter, 1982; Orser Jr. & Nekola, 1985; King & Miller, 1987). One of the earliest spatial analyses used a GIS platform called SYMAP to look at changes in the settlement patterns of African Americans produced by shifts in social and economic relations on a plantation following emancipation (Orser Jr. & Nekola, 1985). Charles Orser and Annette Nekola sought to quantitatively assess a

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[4] For a history of GIS, see (Fisher H. T., 1982; Chrisman, 2006)

transition from an antebellum settlement system to a post-emancipation squad-based labor

system, and finally to the new plantation system described by Merle Prunty Jr (Orser Jr. &

Nekola, 1985; Barrow, 1881; Prunty Jr., 1955).

There were many significant changes in historical archaeology that were beginning to

influence quantitative analyses by the late 1980s. The postmodern movement in archaeology,

known as postprocessualism, rejected many quantitative methods, which were theoretically

based in ecological and evolutionary theory. The impact of this paradigm shift stagnated

quantitative approaches to African American landscape analysis and resulted in a shift towards

qualitative and phenomenological approaches (Epperson, 1999).

As postprocessual archaeologists turned away from quantitative methods in the 1990s

they turned towards an analysis of power. This was particularly explicit in the study of

surveillance on plantation landscapes that employed panoptic structures and spatial organization

(Delle J. , 1998; Epperson, 2000; Singleton T. A., 2001). Ultimately, the focus on power and

control on plantation landscapes opened an opportunity to reintroduce computational methods to

plantation landscape analysis. The two dominant forms of spatial model applied by

archaeologists have been viewshed models and cost-surface models. Viewshed models map the

area of the landscape that are potentially visible from one or more locations on a map. Cost-

surfaces measure the cost of moving through a landscape (Gonzalez-Tennant, 2016). Units of

energy, time, or financial resources are commonly used as cost units. The most common form of

cost-surface analysis in archaeology are least-cost analyses (LCAs). The calculation of the least

cost paths (LCPs) through a landscape are the most common form of LCA. Least cost paths are used to identify likely routes between two points or a network of points across regions.

Thomas Whitley used GIS to interpret risk management and spatial dynamics of enslaved workers on three rice plantations near Savannah, Georgia (Whitley, 2002a; Whitley, 2008). His work relied on spatial proxies for cognition, which are measurable spatial variables that are substituted for cognitive factors that could not be measured. Whitley divided proxy variables into three types. The first type was direct causal references which measure a quality of the landscape that would have also been used by people in the past. Whitley used the example of visibility, which would have influenced decisions of people in the past and can be measured and mapped using GIS technology in the present. The second proxy variable type was indirect causal references. They include things that cannot be measured in the present, but certain methods can be used to model a representation based on a theoretical understanding. For example, familiarity of past people with the landscape cannot be known in the present but can be modeled as an area of potential understanding of the landscape. For example, distance from a domestic site could be used to map potential familiarity using a distance decay function. Lastly, Non-causal references are the third form of spatial proxy described by Whitley. These often require substitutions of currently existing models like visibility and distance decay to represent senses such as smell or sound (Whitley, 2002b, pp. 7-8). Models explicitly developed for additional sensory experiences continue to be created and refined currently.

Whitley's interpretation of cognitive decision-making on plantations near Savannah applied adaptations of visibility and cost-distance models to interpret different decisions made by members of the communities of captive African workers. He identified two systems of coerced labor, the task system, and the gang system. He created maps of the potential to avoid labor using

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visibility and distance from overseers, guided by his understanding of the ways that each system worked. He found that his model of the task system showed it was much more difficult to avoid work, and that less direct supervision was needed (Whitley, 2008, pp. 12-13).

He also used GIS to model areas around the quarters that were ideal for clandestine religious practice. He created viewsheds from the overseer's house as well as the roads that traveled through the quarters. He also created distance buffers from the same features. He was then able to combine them to identify clandestine spaces. His initial analysis showed that the location of a sacrificial lamb burial was not in a significantly isolated portion of the quarters. He then looked at the assemblages of the houses and determined that items recovered from house 6, closest to the burial, may have been related to religious practices. These items included fragments of a colonoware bowl, glass beads, and a pewter sheep figurine. He then adapted his model by creating a multiple-ring distance buffer around House 6, which then brought the sheep burial into a high probability portion of the model. This supports the evidence that the resident of house 6 may have been a religious specialist and may have also been associated with the sacrificial burial (Whitley, 2008, pp. 18-19).

Lastly, Whitley used GIS analysis to better understand the decisions surrounding self-emancipation. He built models for three different periods that produced maps showing areas of high risk of recapture. He created a cost surface that included landmarks, vegetation, visibility, first-hand knowledge, second-hand knowledge, proximities to communities, and proximity to travel arteries. He Assumed that there is a direct relationship between likelihood of recapture and proximity to spaces frequented by White people. He also mapped visibility, with areas of high vegetation correlating to area where a person would be hard to see. Thirdly, he incorporated variables related to the cost of travel, making travelling through swamp land more costly than

open fields. He then integrated these three cost surfaces into a cost-benefit surface for each period of analysis (Whitley, 2008, pp. 23-24).

Ultimately, Whitley's analysis highlighted the relationship between space, labor, risk, and social classification using GIS analysis to represent interpretations of landscapes and their potential impact on the decisions made by people enslaved on plantations in the Georgia Lowcountry (Whitley, 2008, p. 27). This is a clear example of the potential for GIS to be used to build, test, and refine theories related to human activities and cognition within a landscape composed of physical, social, and cultural layers.

Lisa Randle expanded the application of viewsheds to plantation landscapes through the application of cumulative viewshed analyses (Randle L. B., 2009; Randle L. B., 2011). She used cumulative viewsheds to model areas on plantation where the viewshed of multiple points of panoptic surveillance overlapped. This provides a quantification of surveillance on the landscape, including the identification of any clandestine spaces where observation would be difficult.

Cumulative viewsheds have also been applied to study the intervisibility of plantation houses (Randle L. B., 2011; Delle J. A., 2014). The identification of high levels of intervisibility could indicate an expression of status by plantation owners. An alternative hypothesis is that intervisibility relates to plantation power dynamics and the desire of plantation owners to visually communicate, like watchtowers, if an uprising among the enslaved community sought to overthrow the plantation elite (Delle J. A., 2014).

An expansion of the cumulative viewsheds to an entire landscape enables additional forms of analysis. A total viewshed model quantifies the total area visible from or visible to each grid cell across an entire landscape, assuming a set visual radius. The visual radius can be

adjusted to account for visual acuity and forms of viewing (Higuchi, 1983). The total viewshed enables an analysis of the larger visualscape and a comparison of the visual character of different sites through time. The rest of this chapter employs total viewshed models to assess changes in the visualscape of African American domestic sites through time.

The Visualscape of the Montpelier Area Through Time

Visibility has played a significant role in the interpretation of power and domination in the archeology of plantation sites in the African Diaspora. The following series of analyses seek to determine if there were significant changes in the structure of African American domestic visibility from the 1840s to the 1940s, and then attempt to characterize them using a statistical tool developed to interpret differences between two distributions, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov goodness-of-fit test (Randle L. B., 2011).

The first visibility analysis will map the visual potential of the landscape at multiple spatial and visual scales using total viewshed analyses (Cuckovic, 2016). The visual potential of the landscape establishes a base set of visibility data that can be used to understand the potential for surveillance and concealment across space. Visibility operates in different ways at different scales, so total viewsheds were calculated using a set of radii that cover a wide visual range. There were two total viewsheds developed at each distance radius. One models the view to the observation point and the other models the view from the observation point.

Figure 21. Image shows that point B is visible when someone stands at point A, but point A is not visible when a person stands at point B, resulting in variation in the 'view to' and the 'view from' models
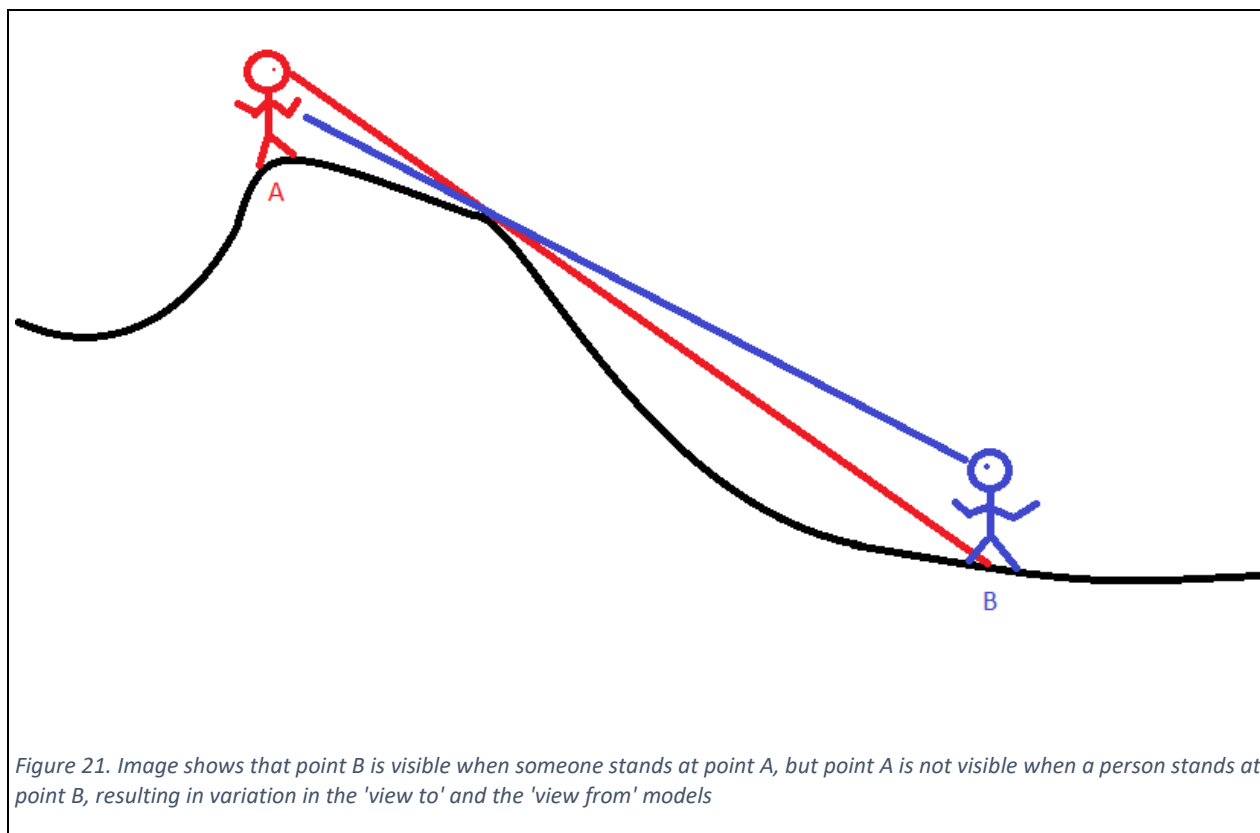
Analysis two will compare the distribution of visibility at African American domestic sites at different times, from 1800 to the 1940s with the background total viewshed data modeled in analysis one using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (K-S test). Domestic sites with a high view-to value will be considered exposed and sites with a low view-to value will be considered hidden (Gillings, 2015). Sites with high view from values at short distances are considered to have clear surveillance capabilities. High view-from values at large distances have commanding views of the landscape.

The third visibility analysis will apply the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test to determine if there are significant differences in African American domestic visibility from one period to the next. It is expected that the visibility of African American sites will change from the antebellum to the postbellum periods, but it is also possible that significant variations in visibility of domestic sites

occurred within the system of slavery or in the decades following the Civil War as the Orange County agricultural economy and society shifted.

Visibility Analysis 1: Potential Total Viewshed

The first visibility analysis in this dissertation seeks to establish a baseline for the analysis and interpretation of visibility through time. Total viewshed analyses are used to characterize and interpret the visualscape. The total viewshed data provides a quantitative foundation from which the visibility of sites on the landscape can be compared. Differences in the visual structure of site locations can be identified across sites in existence at the same time, as well as similar sites through time. The analyses that follow the calculation of the total viewshed will focus on the visualscape of African American homespaces in relation to the total viewshed.

Calculating the total viewshed requires two main datasets. The first is a digital elevation model (DEM) that covers the entire area of interest. The digital elevation model for this analysis relied on elevation data from the 2015 LiDAR survey that covered this area of Orange County. The resolution was reduced from a 1m square cell to a 5m square cell to help manage model run times. The area of analysis was determined to be the same area covered by the high-resolution LiDAR survey of the Montpelier Foundation property. The five-meter resolution digital elevation model was then clipped to an area extending five kilometers beyond the high resolution survey area to account for any edge effects that would be introduced in the calculation of a total viewshed at the scales relevant for the visibility analyses in this study. The resolution of 5 meters enables an understanding of visual landscape structures down to a level where individual identities and activities could be identified by an observer. Analyses of short-range visual interaction among individuals could be conducted with a finer resolution raster base map with

cell sizes of one square meter or less. The computational demands of working on visibility at that resolution was prohibitive using the computer available for this analysis.

The second set of data are observation points placed at the center of each grid cell. They include parameters that affect the calculation of the total viewshed, including their location, elevation, and the observation height above the elevation. The target height also has similar parameters that impact the calculation of what is visible. The radius used for calculating the total viewshed around the observation point also needs to be classified for each run of the model. The result produces a value for each cell through the summation of the total number of cells visible within the set radii.

The potential total viewshed parameter settings were chosen to assess changes in the structure of the visualscape at different scales. The radius values began at 63 meters (rounded up from 62.5) and increased by a factor of two up to 4,000 meters. Additional iterations with smaller radii could inform an interpretation of visual relationships among individuals.

Each radius setting was run with two variations. The first included a calculation of the total viewshed with an observer height of 1.6 meters and a target height of 0 meters. This total viewshed represents the total area that is visible from (views from) a location with an eye level at 1.6 meters above ground level. This could be considered the surveillance potential of the location. The second variation includes an observer height of 0 meters and a target height of 1.6 meters. This second total viewshed variation represents the number of locations that can see each cell's location (views to). This could be considered a measure of the level of exposure or concealment of locations within the visualscape. The parameter variations and layer names used in this analysis can be found in Table 3. The construction of the 14 total viewsheds used in this analysis took over two weeks of non-stop batch computation.

Table 3. Potential total viewshed parameters for 14 iterations

Run #	Radius (m)	Observation Height (m)	Target Height(m)	Observer Point File Name	Total Viewshed Raster File Name
01	63	1.6	0.0	ObsPnts_0063r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_0063r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt
02	63	0.0	1.6	ObsPnts_0063r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_0063r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt
03	125	1.6	0.0	ObsPnts_0125r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_0125r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt
04	125	0.0	1.6	ObsPnts_0125r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_0125r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt
05	250	1.6	0.0	ObsPnts_0250r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_0250r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt
06	250	0.0	1.6	ObsPnts_0250r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_0250r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt
07	500	1.6	0.0	ObsPnts_0500r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_0500r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt
08	500	0.0	1.6	ObsPnts_0500r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_0500r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt
09	1000	1.6	0.0	ObsPnts_1000r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_1000r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt
10	1000	0.0	1.6	ObsPnts_1000r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_1000r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt
11	2000	1.6	0.0	ObsPnts_2000r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_2000r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt
12	2000	0.0	1.6	ObsPnts_2000r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_2000r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt
13	4000	1.6	0.0	ObsPnts_4000r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_4000r_16mObsHt_0mTrgtHt
14	4000	0.0	1.6	ObsPnts_4000r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt	TV_ ObsPnts_4000r_0mObsHt_16mTrgtHt

The adjustments in the radius value was done to account for the impact of distance on visibility, as well as the different ways in which visibility may impact human action at different scales (Higuchi, 1983). The shortest distances represent the areas in which an observer could easily identify behaviors and the identities of observed individuals. The radii with greater values represent the distance where people would likely be able to identify structures and large objects such as carriages or wagons in the distance.

Additional parameters must be set for the calculation of the total viewshed raster products. One variable is the incorporation of an algorithm to account for the curvature of the earth. It was determined that this variable would not have a significant impact given the relatively short distances with which the current analysis is concerned so it was not included in the calculation of the total viewshed. The exclusion of this additional algorithm reduced computation time and enabled a more thorough investigation of the visualscape at scales more

relevant for human interaction. Atmospheric attenuation was not determined to have significant impacts at the shorter distances in this study.

The differences in the role of visibility at multiple ranges may impact the interpretation of settlement patterns and their relationship to the visualscape. Interpreting these changes requires a formal understanding of the visual capacity of each location on the landscape as they relate to one another. These results can also be compared to additional analyses that are based on a digital surface model as opposed to a digital elevation model. The digital surface model includes vegetation and structures that impact the visualscape of an observer. Interpreting the ways in which these features modify the potential total visualscape speaks to the ways in which people in the past responded to the impact of visibility on social relations.

Visibility Analysis 1: Potential Total Viewshed Results

The first step in understanding the visual structure across scales is to describe and interpret the results of the total viewshed analysis for each iteration. This includes descriptive statistics of the results and plotting of histograms to understand the distribution of visibility in each context. Next, the Total Viewshed (TV) values for each iteration are mapped onto the sites used in this analysis, enabling an interpretation of the relationship between visibility and race, class, and gender status of domestic sites throughout the study period. Race, class, and gender information for each site is derived from a combination of historic documents for the study area, including federal censuses, agricultural censuses, and deeds.

The visual structure of the study area is impacted by the topography, as well as the visual distance being considered. The overall structure of the TV data for the 'view to' and the 'view from' data is similar, with some variations along the edges of visible zones producing some small variations in overall results (Table 4 and Table 5). There is also a general trend for the data

to skew left at the 63m radius, then most closely approximate a normal distribution at the 125m

and 250m radii, and finally express an increasing level of skewness to the right at each visual

radius from 500m to 4000m (Figure 12 and Figure 13). This indicates that in the Piedmont

terrain high visibility is common at short distances and increasingly rare at long distances.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics showing the number of times an observation point is visible from surrounding cells.

Radius (m)	Mean	Standard Deviation	Coefficient of Variation	Skewness	Kurtosis	Min	1st Quartile	Median	3rd Quartile	Max
63	387.6	75.93	0.2	-0.41	-0.28	26	335	389	451	497
125	1056	331.22	0.31	0.22	-0.05	26	836	1043	1254	1941
250	2788	1065	0.38	0.22	0.07	29	2044	2784	3490	7417
500	7166	3166.72	0.44	0.35	-0.18	28	4819	6959	9298	24448
1000	17314	9606.9	0.55	0.55	-0.25	28	9621	16151	23801	70893
2000	33491	25215.98	0.75	1.41	2.67	28	14568	27503	46142	201783
4000	53328	56495.24	1.06	2.33	6.96	28	17144	34035	67636	433871
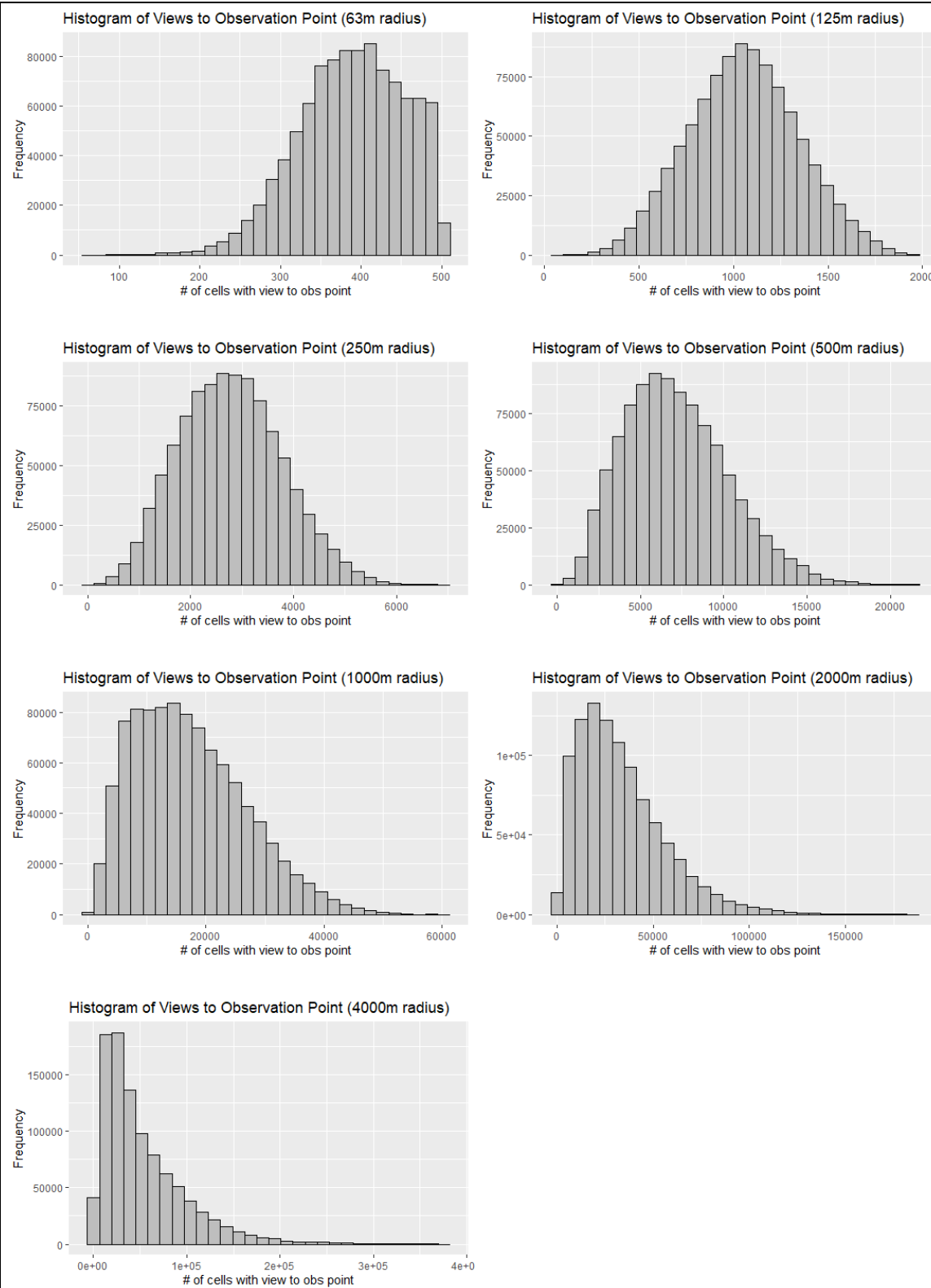
Figure 22. Histograms representing the structure of the visualscape as defined by the visibility of the observation points from surrounding cells at multiple radii

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics showing the number of surrounding cells visible from the observation points.

Radius	63	125	250	500	1000	2000	4000
Max	497	1940	6994	21485	60443	185181	376119
3rd	439	1253	3452	9167	23447	45458	73731
Median	392	1055	2750	6845	16059	28820	39360
1st	345	855	2057	4837	9801	16458	20685
Min	55	54	70	122	122	122	122
Kurtosis	-0.14	-0.29	-0.26	0	-0.02	2.37	4.28
Skewness	-0.42	0.03	0.24	0.51	0.63	1.27	1.76
Coefficien	0.17	0.28	0.36	0.43	0.54	0.68	0.85
Standard	65	290.61	992.62	2104.63	9425.76	22925.44	45689.8
Mean	388.7	1056	2784	7160	17304	33554	53441

Figure 23. Histograms representing the structure of the visualscape as defined by the visibility of surrounding cells from observation points at multiple radii.

Analysis 2: The visibility of African American Homespaces

The second analysis will be used to assess the relationship between African American sites and the total potential viewshed calculated in the first viewshed analysis. This requires the determination of the total area that can see and be seen from each known African American homespace through time. The cultural sites used in this analysis come from a combination of archaeological and historical sources. periods of analysis range from the time that President James Madison took over Montpelier into the time that the Dupont family owned the mansion and acquired large areas of the surrounding landscape, roughly 1800 to 1940. This period enables an assessment of the relationship between visibility and power in relation to changes across dynamic social, technological, and economic systems.

The sites are then classified by site function, race of occupants, and the period of occupation. Visibility values are determined using the 'view to' and the 'view from' values for their location in each of the fourteen total viewshed data layers produced in analysis one. This value will then be used in two ways. First, a Kolmogorov – Smirnov test will be used to determine if there is a statistically significant difference between the distribution of values in the background total viewshed datasets and the distribution of visibility values for African American domestic sites at different time periods and visual ranges (Wheatley D. , 1995). Secondly, the values can be compared to the total viewshed statistics to identify a general idea of whether African American domestic sites have relatively high or low visibility at multiple distances.

Results: The visibility of African American Homespaces

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (K-S test) was used to determine if the distribution of the visibility levels at African American domestic sites differed significantly from the background

TV data for the area around Montpelier. This required the isolation of the African American domestic sites for periods from 1800 to 1940. Including a timeframe that begins before the period of interest is intended to help establish a baseline for interpreting site visibility from 1840 to 1940.

The Null hypothesis for this analysis is that sites are distributed similarly to the overall distribution of visibility on the landscape. The alternative hypothesis is that the sites are not distributed in a way that is consistent with the distribution of visibility levels. Interpretations of significant difference in visibility from the background data is context dependent. For example, Short distance visibility would be considered important for surveillance of enslaved families, but it may be an asset for a concentration of free Black households where community members may want to have the ability to look after one another. Long distance visibility of houses occupied by enslaved African Americans would have no practical surveillance benefit, so if high visibility of African American domestic spaces was present during enslavement, it could be related to attempts of the property owner to signify wealth and status through the public display of the people they claimed as property. High visibility (view to values) of free Black households could signify their own display of wealth. If they have commanding views of the landscape from their home it may simultaneously serve a defensive surveillance role to identify incoming threats as early as possible, as well as a personal aesthetic preference for expansive views of the Piedmont's rolling hills.

The Kolmogorov – Smirnov test was run for each of the seven radii, and calculated significance for both the view to and the view from visibility values. There were fourteen tests run for each period, and there were seven different periods. In total, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was run 98 times, once for each period and distance radius. The initial results indicated

twenty cases were significant (p-value < 0.05), but the significance values must be adjusted to account for family-wise error introduced when running a series of hypothesis tests. There is an increased likelihood of a type-I error, or false positive, when running multiple hypotheses tests. The Holm test was applied to account for multiple-testing error. None of the results were found to be significant at a p-value <0.5 after running the Holm correction.

Although none of the results could reject the null hypothesis, there are a couple results that should be considered a little more, given the tendency for the Holm correction to produce a conservative adjustment of significance values. After emancipation, the long distance view from African American homespaces were nearly significant from the 2000m range with an adjusted p-value of 0.1143 (Figure 13). The total visible area from all African American domestic sites fell within the 4th quartile with more than 45,458 visible cells. This may indicate that the small sample size makes it difficult to determine statistically significant variation from the background data.

The fact that these sites fall within the fourth quartile for visibility suggests that there was an explicit effort made to build homes in areas that had high visibility. These results do suggest additional assessments are warranted in the future. The background data used in this analysis is the overall total visibility values for each grid cell, no matter its suitability for domestic site construction. Eliminating grid cells from the total viewshed data where house construction would be impossible would refine the statistical inferences related to visibility and house locations.

Figure 24. The ECDF of the total viewshed data (black line) and the view from African American homespaces after emancipation, based on visible areas within 2000m.
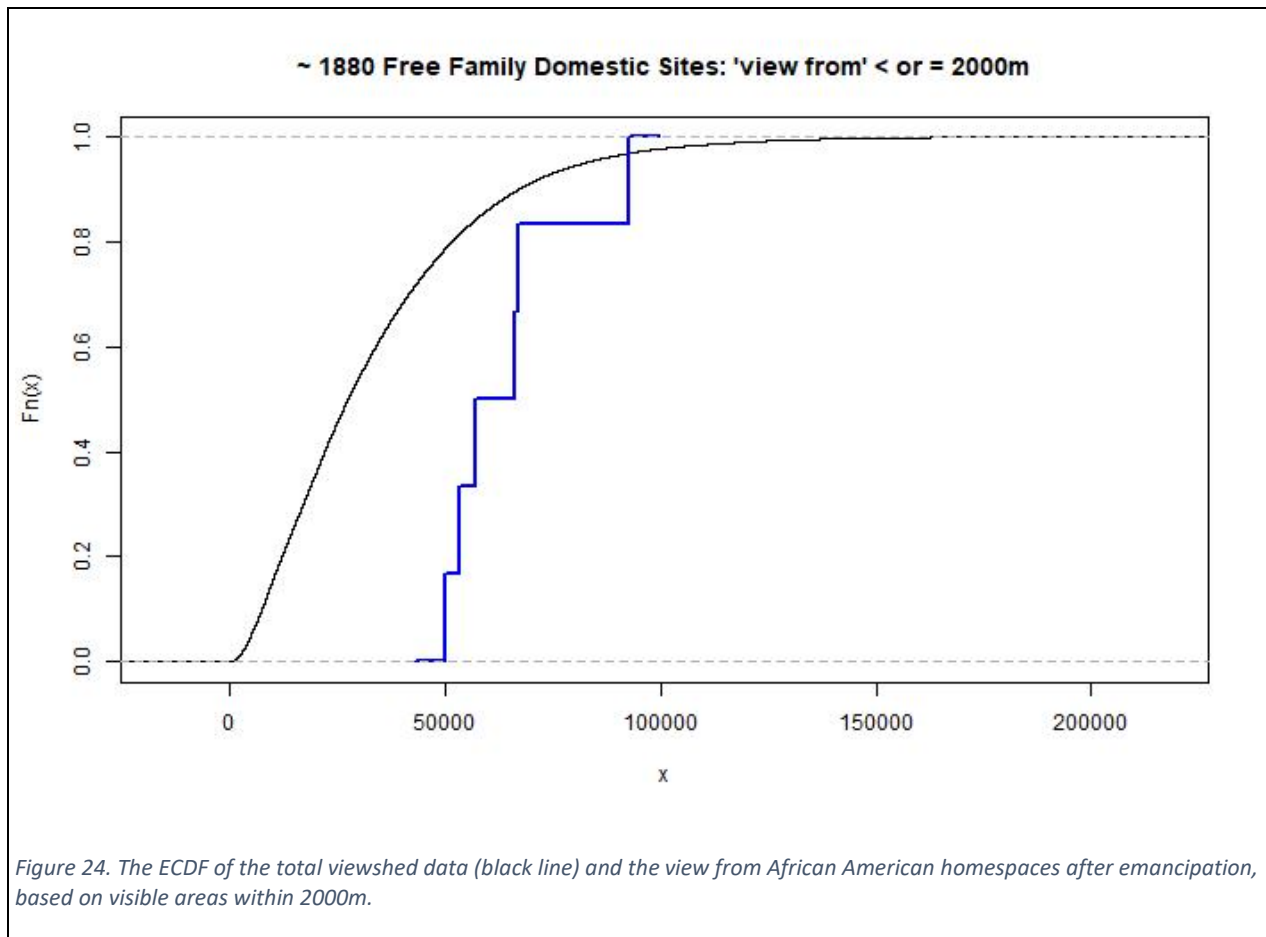
Analysis 3: Changes in the Visibility of African American Homespaces through Time.

Analysis two showed that there were no periods in which differences between the visibility of African American homes and the overall background total viewshed values were statistically significant. Analysis three seeks to determine if there were significant changes in African American domestic site visibility between periods (as defined in Table 1).

The null hypothesis for this analysis is that there is no significant change in the visibility of sites from one period to the next. If the null hypothesis is rejected with a p-value that is less

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than 0.05, then there was a significant change in the visibility of African American sites from one time to the next. It is also important to note the longevity of occupation at many sites because they will be included in multiple distributions. This limits the likelihood of rejecting the Null hypothesis.

The Kolmogorov – Smirnov test was applied to test for significant differences between periods in a similar way as it was used to compare values to the background TV data in Analysis two. The same time periods were used for this analysis. Every period was compared to the next immediate period for each visual direction and radius. This required six K-S tests for each radius and direction of site, totaling 84 iterations. The initial p-values were then corrected using the Holm adjustment to reduce the likelihood of a false positive. The cumulative distribution functions can then be overlaid and visually assessed.

Results: Changes in the Visibility of African American Homespaces through time

Most radii and view directions had no significant differences from one period to the next in the initial results. The rare exceptions to this were related to changes in the visibility of African American sites after Emancipation. The ten mist significant results are displayed in Table 6. After the Holm adjustment was run, no statistically significant changes in African American domestic visibility could be identified between periods.

Table 6. Model Parameters with the ten most significant results for Analysis 3.

Periods	Parameters	Initial p-value	Corrected p-value (Holm method)
From 1860 to 1880	View From 2000m	0.01119	0.93996
From 1860 to 1880	View To 2000m	0.02753	1
From 1860 to 1880	View From 4000m	0.02753	1
From 1860 to 1880	View To 4000m	0.06214	1
From 1860 to 1880	View To 1000m	0.1287	1
From 1860 to 1880	View To 63m	0.2445	1
From 1820 to 1840	View To 1000m	0.3161	1
From 1880 to 1900	View From 1000m	0.4413	1
From 1880 to 1900	View From 2000m	0.4413	1
From 1820 to 1840	View To 2000m	0.5163	1

Although there were no significant differences in African American visibility between periods, the cumulative distance function for the late antebellum period is almost entirely to the left of the post emancipation cumulative distance function. This indicates that the post-emancipation home sites tended to have a greater amount of visible areas around them than the late antebellum sites, at the 2000m radius.

Figure 25. Overlay of the cumulative distribution functions for the view to African American Homespaces through time with a 2000m radius. The dates with significant variation between them have bold lines.
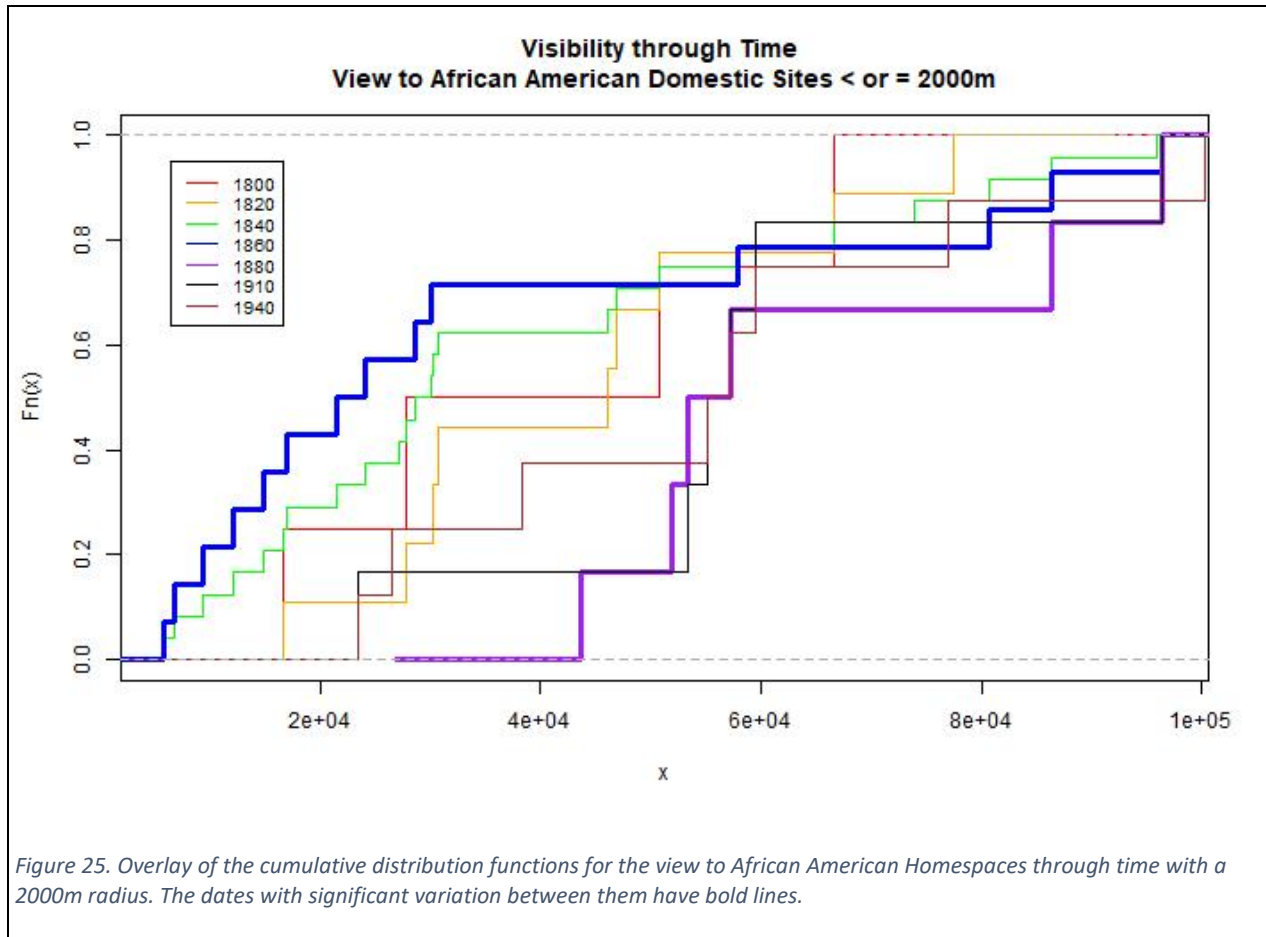
One additional observation was made during visual inspections of the overlaid

cumulative distribution functions as seen in Figure 14. The CDF from 1940 is almost entirely to

the left of the 1880 values. This implies that visibility from African American sites within a

2000m radius declined after an initial increase following emancipation. This may be the result of

the purchase and razing of former Black-owned homes, or the movement of Black families to

low-visibility houses controlled by the DuPont family. Again, small sample size makes it

difficult to determine statistical significance, so additional analyses should be considered as

additional settlement data is acquired for the period ranging from 1800 to 1940.

Interpreting changes in the Domestic visualscape of African Americans

The previous analyses of the African American domestic visualscape did not produce any statistically significant results, but there are some interesting findings that deserve additional interpretation. Throughout the 19th century system of slavery there was little to no effort made to place African American houses in particularly high or low visibility locations on the landscape. This changed dramatically as soon as African Americans were able to determine where their houses should be built. They tended to be placed in areas that had more commanding views of the land around them. Many were in places that had visibility values ranking in the top 10% for the entire study area. In the early 20th century William Dupont acquired Montpelier and began consolidating surrounding properties under his ownership. As this happened some African Americans were removed from houses they had been living in. Other Black families began living in houses formerly occupied by white residents. Some black families continued to live in houses that were previously occupied by Black families. There were also new houses being constructed, most of which were occupied by white employees of the Dupont family.

The Dupont property consolidation reduced the overall visibility that was experienced from African American houses. They did not return to exactly the same visual structure as was seen during slavery, but there was an overall trend towards reduced visibility of the surrounding landscape.

There is also qualitative evidence of differences between visibility and the economic status of the residents. The Gilmore cabin was found to have the highest visibility values. Other sites built after emancipation also show relatively high visibility values (in the fourth quartile). Some slave quarters that continued to function as domestic sites had high visibility because they

were located close to the white property owners' houses. Other structures built by the Duponts had relatively low visibility values.

This analysis relied on Total Viewshed data that was calculated using a bare earth elevation model derived from LiDAR elevation datasets. The results have been used to show that there were statistically significant changes in the visualscape experienced by African Americans from before and after the Civil War. Additional visibility analyses are recommended to better understand changes in the relationship between the race, class, and family structure of households and the visualscape. One recommendation would be to create digital surface models for each time period and run the same tests outlined in this chapter. Comparing the potential total viewshed (based on bare earth) and the total viewshed with built and natural visual obstructions could inform an interpretation of how landscape features were used to modify the visibility of African American domestic sites through time.

Cumulative viewsheds could also be used to identify changes in the potential intervisibility of sites. Intervisibility can play multiple roles. Intervisibility could have been used as a method of surveillance of free and enslaved laborers by overseers and property owners. Intervisibility could have also played a role in visually linking African American homespaces (Battle-Baptiste, 2011). Intervisibility has also been shown to be a way of linking sites associated with the Elite and management classes (Randle L. B., 2011; Delle J. A., 2014). The development, management, and dissolution of visual relationships relates directly to the intersection of systems of power operating on the community and their shifts through time.

Visibility analyses could also determine the relationship between domestic sites and covert spaces, with relatively low view-to values and high view-from values. A preference for covert sites could be related to a defensive positioning of a domestic site so that approaching

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people could be identified long before they reached the house. It is possible that domestic sites occupied by African Americans may tend towards covert spaces due to threats of physical violence against their community.

Cumulative viewsheds could also be used to better understand the intervisibility of African American sites. They could be used to test if African American sites after emancipation were constructed in a way that enabled visibility between two or more sites, creating a visibility network among Black communities. Also, how would this hypothetical network look under slavery or Dupont property consolidation?

Ultimately, these analyses have highlighted the potential for more thorough investigations of African American visualscapes and their changes through time. Significant shifts in visibility are identifiable. It was shown that structural social and economic changes manifest themselves in material changes to the African American domestic visualscape.

Increased computing capacity will make analyses like this one more commonplace in the future. It will also enable the inclusion of additional sensitivity tests that adjust the observer height to determine how that impacts the calculation of the visual structure of the landscape. Faster computer resources will also enable this analysis to be run using a smaller grid cell size, such as 1m, which would refine the interpretation of what areas are visible in hilly and mountainous terrain.

Chapter 8: Intersectional Materialism and the Interpretation of Change in Western Orange County

Introduction

The century extending from 1840 to 1940 was a period of dramatic change in the United States. It saw a Civil War, the end of slavery, expansion of voting rights to Black men, the suppression of Black men's voting rights, and finally the extension of suffrage to women, while continuing to suppress Black people's access to the polls, education, jobs, and safety. The local manifestation of these dramatic shifts was felt deeply by the Black community in Western Orange County and left their material mark in the archaeological record that is scattered across the landscape.

Given the significance of these changes, what can I say about this time and this community as a white man who only called Orange County home for a few short years? Do I have a right to? And, if so, how could my position, experience, and knowledge contribute anything new to the understanding of this time and the people who persevered through it? The historical materials I have accessed to help build a local understanding of the socio-historical context is largely available to scholars with access to a research institution like the University of Maryland, but most members of the Black community in Orange are stuck on the wrong side of the paywall that grants access to these resources. The archaeology is even more difficult for them to access. My position as an archaeologist and my lived experience brought me to a point where I had access to a set of skills and specialized knowledge that is largely denied to the Black community through social, educational, and economic forces (Odewale, Dunnavant, Flewellen, & Jones, 2018; Agbe-Davies, Black Scholars, Black Pasts, 2002). I am a person that grew up in a majority Black and Brown community in Upstate New York. I witnessed the systematic

denigration and denial of rights that my friends and classmates of color had no choice but to endure. I have physically left that space, but I have never forgotten the experiences I had there, the injustices I witnessed, or the sense of responsibility I have to be an ally, an advocate, and an accomplice seeking to use my position to support those who have been denied a similar one (Franklin, Dunnavant, Flewellen, & Odewale, 2020).

I also understand the challenging power dynamics surrounding the Black community's heritage right now in Orange County. The Montpelier Foundation is the most powerful heritage organization that operates there. The Black descendant community continually struggles to have their stories told, and to have a say in the way they're told. This includes everything from contributions to the interpretations presented by staff of the Montpelier Foundation, research into the Black community after the Madison's abandoned the property, to seats on the Board, where all of the serious decisions regarding the hiring of organizational leadership to the distribution and application of resources are ultimately decided.

This dissertation is only a small part of addressing some of the demands of the descendant community. I chose to use my access to the post-Madison archaeology to expand the understanding of the Black community's experience during a dynamic period in history that was underrepresented and understudied by archaeologists and historians working in Orange County (Williams-Forson, 2006). It is a period that living memory does not touch, except for a few childhood memories held onto by some of the oldest members of Orange County's Black community. In this sense, the dissertation contributes to understanding a critical gap in the history of the Black community in Western Orange County, Virginia.

In the preceding chapters I described Intersectional materialism as a theoretical framework within the intersectional knowledge project. I described the local history and the

archaeology of the area. I then focused on three material components of African American households and how they changed through time; literacy materials, architecture, and visibility. Now, I must tie them together, using an intersectional materialist approach to paint a picture of the families that made up these households, and how race, gender, and economic positions influenced their daily practices and the material culture they left behind.

The materiality of Black Families in Western Orange County

The excavations and historical documentation associated with the households included in this study is not consistent across sites. We do not know the names of the enslaved people that occupied site 56 or the house outside Secretary's barn. We do not know the names of the people living in the tenant house that was the original home of Allen Jackson, founder of Jacksontown. Archaeologically, we do not have the same amount of excavation across each of these sites. Similarly, the size and distribution of these sites varied, making it difficult to determine exactly how much has been excavated, or is left to be studied. These facts are challenges to an intersectional interpretation, but what we do know helps to tell a complex story about the lives of people living in the past.

Excavations revealed a significant foundation at the house site outside Secretary's Barn. There is currently no historical evidence about the occupants of the site, but it is likely that the household was an enslaved family. The solid stone foundation suggests that the structure was intended to be robust. Its date of construction is mid-19th century, and the investment in building materials suggests that it was intended to be occupied for many decades to come. Limited materials were recovered from the site. No midden was identified, so the artifacts were what was left behind following daily use.

The materials collected from the surrounding yard space included medicinal bottles, molded glass drinking vessels, and other materials that hint at a connection to the larger market. Whoever lived there had some means to generate a small income and acquire products that were not being supplied by the property owner. There were no materials related to literacy recovered from the site, although we know from historic documentation that at least some members of the enslaved community were literate before Henry Moncure purchased this portion of the property from Dolley Madison.

The site near Secretary's Barn also had very high levels of visibility for the shorter ranges, with the view from the site and the view of the site at 125m falling in the fourth quartile for values across the whole study area. This makes the site well placed for observation and surveillance. At the high visibility radii it performs much worse, falling just outside the first quartile, indicating that it was quite hidden in the larger landscape, and had poor views of the surrounding area.

The forces of race and class shaped the material culture of this site's occupants. Additional investigations may also inform our understanding of how gender contributed to the assemblage, but not enough information is currently available. The status of the occupants as enslaved is the most explicit product of the intersections of race and class. The site is located in an area that is easily surveilled, encouraging a panoptic form of self-discipline. But, enslavement did not prevent them from engaging in many different activities, including market activities. The lack of literacy related materials may be associated with an uneasiness around reading and writing because of Henry Moncure's position on literacy, but that is not yet known. Either way, the lack of literacy materials suggests that the occupants were either not literate, or were not comfortable in letting their literacy be known. One last observation is that here, there is a substantial domestic

structure for an enslaved person, but no literacy. This suggests that there is not necessarily a

correlation between the quality and robustness of domestic architecture and domestic material

culture during enslavement and access to education or literacy.

Site 56 is another site occupied by an enslaved household. Again, given the time and the

context, it is likely that a family lived in the structure. The extent of excavations here was

greater, including excavations of the sheet midden. This resulted in a larger assemblage of

household materials, from pearlware and whiteware ceramics, to bottle glass, tumbler fragments,

doll parts and a slate pencil. The diversity of materials reinforces the interpretation that the

structure was occupied by an enslaved family. The doll parts suggest the presence of young

children.

Materials from the site suggest that its construction may predate the sale of the property

by Dolley Madison to Col. Willis. It is unclear if the same family occupied it before and after the

sale. The diversity of materials, including multiple pharmaceutical bottles and pipe bowl

fragments continue to reinforce the access of enslaved people to the markets. Since we do not

know who specifically lived here, we cannot say much about the structure of the household, or

how they raised an income that provided them a small level of purchasing power in the local

market.

The architecture of the house was typical of many built by enslaved families during the

first half of the 19th century. It was far removed from the Willis family house and the residents

may have experienced some degree of autonomy. The presence of the slate pencil suggests that

there was literacy within the household. We know that the Walker and the Taylor families, both

enslaved by Col. Willis, had literate members of the household post-emancipation. Willis may

have been more lenient in his approach to literacy than Henry Moncure.

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This site also demonstrates that there were enslaved field workers that were literate. The earlier examples of literacy in the enslaved community are from letters in Dolley Madison's papers. The enslaved people she referenced were domestic laborers who may have had an economic, or labor-based justification for achieving literacy. This is unlikely to have applied to enslaved field workers, so the presence of literacy at this site is noteworthy. It demonstrates the personal desire and drive to learn to read and write, even though household members were most likely relegated to agricultural work.

The house at site 56 is located on the top of a hill, just before the slope breaks to the north and west. This is different from Secretary's Barn site, which is located at the bottom of a hill, near the ice pond and its associated drainage. This would suggest a different visual character, but the site is still well placed for surveillance, with the total area that could observe the site falling just inside the fourth quartile of all visibility measurements at 125m across the landscape. It's view of the surroundings is improved when compared to the other late antebellum quarter, but only places it at the median level, which demonstrates that the view of the surroundings played little or no roll in the site placement. The increased visibility may have been enough to make the family members living inside feel that they could identify people approaching in enough time that literacy materials could be hidden, making it more suitable to clandestine literary practice than the previous site.

The Allen Jackson Homesite is the only one that was continuously occupied from enslavement through the Jim Crow Era, essentially the entire study period of the dissertation. This is also the site with the least amount of excavation, having only preliminary shovel test pits excavated from it. No literacy related materials were recovered, but that is not surprising given the small sample size. We also know that Allen Jackson's children were literate, and his sons

went on to become doctors in Richmond, so it is highly likely that the Jacksons were literate, even during enslavement.

Allen Jackson lived in this house as a child with his mother and father, who were owned by the Newman family. After emancipation he makes a few land purchases, eventually becoming the founder of Jacksontown, where many of his extended family members also bought land and built homes. It is unclear if any members of the Jackson family continued to live in the cabin they occupied while enslaved, but if so, it is unlikely that it lasted long.

The architecture of the Jackson homeplace was somewhat typical of the time. The stone laid foundation of the original cabin was quite substantial, and is still visible beneath the brambles growing over the site today. This site was located just downhill from the main house at Bloomfield plantation, so it was easily surveilled and also may have played a role in the signaling of the status of Bloomfield's owners, since it was located between the main house and the road. The view of the structure rated in the fourth quartile of visibility at short ranges for the entire project area, making it highly susceptible to surveillance. It differs from some of the other late antebellum domestic sites of enslave people because it also has a fairly commanding view of the surrounding area. This is most likely a result of its proximity to the main house at Bloomfield.

Improvements to the house made after emancipation may have been necessary to attract tenants that were willing to live under the gaze of their landlord. The expansion of the structure on stone piers would have nearly doubled the space inside the building. It is currently impossible to assess anything more about the household occupants until additional excavations are conducted there.

The Gilmore cabin and the Walker house are the last two sites focused on in this comparative analysis. The Walker family house is located on land the was owned by Col. Willis at the time of emancipation. Peter Walker, his wife Hannah, and their children Henry and Eli were farmers. They owned 27 acres of land in 1880 and purchased six more from Col. Willis before his death in 1886. The six acres of land where the Walker House is located is on the property purchased from Willis before his death, and may have been logged by the census as property he owned outright. Peter Walker was one of the wealthiest African Americans in the Montpelier vicinity, with personal property worth $111 in the late 19th century.

The visual characteristics of this house are significantly different than site 56, which was also on land owned by Col. Willis. The structure is located in an area where surveillance is unlikely. The visibility of the site is well within the first quantile of all short distance visibility data throughout the project area. It also has a significantly higher view at greater distances, with a value that falls within the 4th quartile at the 2000m range. This is essentially a complete reversal of visibility from many homes for enslaved families.

The Walkers also had a much higher number and diversity of literacy related materials than site 56. This suggests that literacy and the materials required to practice it were increasingly accessible to peoples that were formerly enslaved by Col. Willis and others in the region. The Walker children lived close enough to have been able to walk to the Jacksontown school, and the Walkers would have been able to afford school fees.

The wealth that the family acquired was not used to invest in architecture. The family appears to have avoided buying substantial timbers to build a robust cabin like the Gilmore family. It seems like the Walker's resources were used to reinvest in the farm and in the education of the family instead. The status of the Walker family is not conspicuously displayed

for all to see, except for the fact that they could be seen from long distances. A statement on their presence in the community and desire to continue to spread their roots.

The Gilmore family was not as wealthy as their neighbors the Walkers or Taylors. Their property was valued at $26 in 1880 as opposed to Peter Walker's property at $111. The Gilmores worked 16 acres, which they eventually purchased outright from Dr. Madison, the president's nephew, in 1900. Additional income beyond the farm would have been required to feed themselves and their livestock. Archaeological materials related to sewing and beadwork suggest that Polly Gilmore may have played a role in earning some of the supplementary income, but the Gilmore's children are also recorded as working as farm laborers in the census.

The locations of the first and the second Gilmore cabin share many visual qualities given their proximity to one another. Both properties rate among the most visible portions of the landscape at short distances, nearing the maximum recorded value for visibility at the 125m range. This is a value that would align well with the visibility of many slave quarters. The difference is with the visibility at greater distances. The initial Gilmore cabin was located in an area that ranked in the third quartile for visibility of the surrounding landscape, but the total visible area just a few feet away where the 1973 cabin stood has a much higher visible area from the location. It is impossible to identify this change today because of the woodlots that have grown up all around it, but it would have been a noticeable change shortly after the war when the majority of forests in that part of the county had been cut down by Confederate soldiers.

The literacy materials were similar as those found at the Walker site, and it is also likely that the Gilmore children attended school in Jacksontown, about a mile away. It isn't surprising to find these materials at the site since it was noted that George Gilmore was literate after the war.

Perhaps the more interesting components of the Gilmore's material culture is the Cabin. Building a solid structure that would last generations must have been an important priority for George and Polly Gilmore as they raised their children. The Gilmore family was near the center when compared to the wealth of their Black neighbors. So, building a new house just a few years after emancipation would have been a challenge, if not a sacrifice. One reason to build a new home could have been to reject racist ideologies, as was mentioned in chapter six, but anther reason may have been to show project status within the Black community, despite not have the same economic means as many of their neighbors a mile east where the Walkers and Taylors lived, or a mile southeast where Jacksontown was located.

Each of these households' material culture provide evidence about the ways in which they chose to navigate the dynamic and challenging social forces in Orange County. What is clear from the material record is that the quality of building or quantity of literacy materials do not equate with the wealth of the family that lived there. Charles Taylor, Peter Walker's neighbor was wealthier than all of his close neighbors, but he never learned to write. The viewscape from free people's houses are different from the ones occupied during slavery, but this variation falls just shy of statistical significance. What is clear, is that the context of each family's social position influenced the way that they perceived the world and the value that they placed in different practices. Therefore, the archaeology is a product of each household's material practices, not of economic status, race, or gender. But, these practices were carried out within a complex system of intersecting power relations that influenced the decisions of each family and how they chose to respond to society's challenges.

The development of an understanding about the different strategies and tactics taken by each household could not be determined without the aid of archaeology. The historical records

provided evidence to place these families in relation to one another along economic lines of personal property values, acres tilled, or crops produced. The historical documents also gave names to the residents and provided clues as to the network of relationships between extended family members in the area. But, it is the material record that provided evidence for how they lived and the ways in which they sought to make the best for themselves and their families.

The complex relationships described throughout this dissertation and in the paragraphs above highlight the significance of an intersectional understanding. Economics, race, and gender were all intertwined in the decisions families made. This intersectional understanding would not be possible if it were not for the reliance on diverse Black intellectuals of the past and present. The emphasis on the materiality of education, literacy, and architecture were directly tied to the writings and speeches of Black intellectuals in the past who emphasized these topics. Many archaeological analyses of African American life begin with classes of material culture that are common and that archaeologists are comfortable with interpreting. Often these take the form of ceramics and glass. Archaeologists have made important interpretations of Black life through this work. There is clearly value in it. But, as a White man working to understand the challenges and decisions of African Americans in Western Orange County, it seemed important to focus on what Black people emphasized during the dramatic times in which these sites were occupied by the families that made them homes.

A more complete understanding of the African American experience in Orange county can be achieved by putting the topics and challenges that contemporary Black intellectuals addressed at the forefront of archaeological analysis. Then, additional nuance can be teased out through the interpretation of other classes of material culture that may not have been mentioned. Interpretations of the data from excavations and spatial analyses can then be made while relying

on the work and intellectual contributions of a diverse array of Black intellectuals to account for the wide diversity of thought and practice throughout the Black experience. This brings us back to the contributions of modern Black Feminist Theorists in anthropology, sociology, geography, and history, as well as the mutli-disciplinary fields of American Studies, African American Studies, and Gender Studies.

Next Steps

This dissertation is only a small part of what is needed in Orange County. It has highlighted some future avenues for research that I, and hopefully others, will pursue. It has highlighted the potential for incorporating additional computational methods to help disentangle the complex relations of people in the past and the materials they left behind. It has also reinforced the importance of working with descendant communities, but the necessity of working for descendant communities in the future (Colwell, 2016; The National Summit on Teaching Slavery, 2018).

Future work in Orange County will include continued engagement with the Black descendant community, both locally and throughout the nation. It will center their questions of the past in development of future research, and will engage them as clients of the historical and archaeological work that is done. This will require a participatory framework that helps inform the local community of archaeology's potential and challenges, and then asks the descendat community what they would like to investigate, and what sites they desire to excavate. It will involve more listening and the collection of additional oral histories. It will involve work to identify and compile the family histories curated by a small number of community members into a more complete telling of the county's history. This will also involve the mapping of historical information and its organization in a spatial database that will enable analyses that were beyond

the scope of this dissertation, but could help illustrate the many ways in which people faced challenges in Orange County, or through their migrations. Some of this work is already in progress by members of the Orange County African American Historical Society. The work of outside researchers is that of support, capacity building, and access to sources still hidden behind academic paywalls.

This will also lead to additional archaeological support for the community. Discussions with descendants of Allen Jackson continue to work towards a family reunion and excavation of the homespace where Allen was enslaved as a child. This will be one step in the expansion of African American archaeology beyond the borders of the Montpelier Foundation, but there are many more stories waiting to be understood and told with the help of archaeological materials. This includes the Wale family which was snuffed out through extrajudicial state violence. It also includes the story of Edna Lewis, whose roots in her birthplace in Orange County influenced her culinary career, and through her, the flavor of America's cuisines.

No matter where the next steps go, they will be guided and informed by the Black community in Orange. I chose this project with the support of some members of the descendant community, but future decisions about research and excavation will be rooted in the desires and needs identified by the Black community.

These next steps are part of transforming the discipline of archaeology. These are the steps needed to expand anti-racism in archaeology and history. They are needed to tell the accurate history of Orange County. They are needed to dismantle the myths surrounding the White "founders" of the county and the nation. They are needed to restructure the heritage industry and make room for the Black descendant community members to claim their rightful position of authority and tell the stories of their ancestors, the ones who built the county.

Appendix A – A Brief History of Black Feminist Theory and the Development of Intersectional Materialism

Race, Class, Gender and the Dialectic: The Roots of Intersectional Thought from the late 18th century to the Civil War

Eighteenth century America was a time and place where it was illegal for Black men and women to learn to read or write in most parts of the country. There were many exceptions, but the majority of Black people that acquired these skills were forced to practice them in private. One clear exception is the poet Phillis Wheatley (1753-1784). She was purchased as a child by the Wheatley family in Boston Massachusetts after arriving from Africa. She learned to read and write with the Wheatley's daughter, and attracted the attention of the genteel white segment of society in Boston Massachusetts for her skill in poetry. We will never know the full extent of her writings. The poems she hid from the eyes of her White captors and promoters will never be read again. What was published was undoubtedly a collection of poems thought to be acceptable to a significant portion of Boston and London's literati, who themselves were thickly entwined with a culture of White supremacy. She was still able to share messages in her published works that demonstrated her understanding of her position within systems of power built on race, gender, religion, and class (Wheatley P. , 1834). Sadly, we will never hear her unfiltered voice, which was lost after only thirty-one years of life.

Another early Black voice was Jupiter Hammon (1711-1806). His first poem was published about the time that Phyllis Wheatley arrived in Boston. His work was also self-censored (Hammon, 1786). His writing was explicitly Christian. His recently discovered unpublished poem contains the strongest anti-slavery language of any of his known works. He was also Christian, and his published writing was couched in White Christian interpretations of

the Bible used to justify slavery. It is clear from his poem "An Essay on Slavery and its recent past" that he was not as passive as the White public interpreted him to be.

Shortly after Phillis Wheatley's death, a German Philosopher began publishing works that would revolutionize though in Western Europe, and eventually much of the world. began publishing in Europe. There is no clear connection between Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) and Wheatley or Hammon but Hegel's influence was vast, and influenced Black intellectuals that followed, as well as Karl Marx, who many Black Feminists critically engage. Specifically, the concept of dialectical thinking requires a moment of reflection. For Hegel, the only truth is in the whole, therefore he develops a way of thinking which is used to gain a more complete understanding of the whole or totality. The totality is produced through a process in which all earlier periods or moments are subsumed into one. As each period becomes subsumed into the emerging totality, it is preserved within its structure through the process of *Aufhebung*, often translated as sublation.

In *The Science of Logic*, Hegel describes a new way of thinking based in negation, or negativity (Hegel, 2010). Negative thinking is used to interrogate a problem, system, or an idea by asking what it is not, or what is missing. The weaknesses produce internal tensions that must be resolved. The original idea is negated when the conflict or tension is identified, and a new idea is formed. This new idea immediately becomes subject to an interrogation, which will ultimately result in the identification of new tensions, and yet another idea. This three-step process, from idea, to its negation, to the development of a new idea, is the triadic structure of thinking called dialectical reasoning, which moves ever closer to an understanding of the totality (Hegel, 2010, pp. 509-511)

Society also operates as a dialectic. As contradictions within society emerge, society shifts to a new state, until new contradictions are identified that require it to shift again. This process of change is painful, imperfect, and slow. At each new stage, some elements that would be useful in the present are left behind and forgotten in the previous one. This presents a significant role for historians and archaeologists in developing an understanding of social change. They retrieve useful but forgotten elements of past societies that will influence the production of the next manifestation of society.

Hegel also saw institutions as playing a pivotal role in the transition to new societies (Hegel, 2010). He believed their power was needed to make new ideas effective in the world and achieve positive change. He believed that new needs identified by society would result in the formation of new institutions designed to address those needs. Ultimately, addressing a need in society would result in the resolution of the contradiction that produced the need, and a new society would result. This process is infinitely iterative, but rates and magnitudes of change vary through time.

The Role of Institutions in Early 19th Century Social Change

The potential for institutions to effect change in society is something that African Americans were well aware of in the early 19th century. There were many informal and formal ones but they often struggled to persist (Hamilton, 1998 [1809]). Important institutions included secret societies such as the African Masonic Lodge (later known as the Prince Hall Masons), mutual aid societies, anti-slavery societies, women's organizations, schools, families, and churches. In 1828, David Walker even called for a general union of all free people of color (Walker, The Necessity of a General Union Among Us, 1998 [1828]). Institutions were a way to build solidarity and the social networks needed to effect change in society.

These institutions did make a difference in the lives of some African Americans, but the largest hindrance was the lack of capital needed to meet the demand of a people that were systematically denied access to the institutions that enabled White male elites to control the levers of power. Austin Stewart, on New York's Emancipation Day, told his audience to "remember at all times that money even in your hand, is power (Steward A. , 1998 [1827])." He argued that the listeners could even direct the actions of white people with money. This is a clear example of an understanding about the relations of power, and the capacity to use power in one system to effect change in another.

One form of African American institution, the mutual aid society, was established to provide a safety net for its members by sharing funds through a communal system. One of the largest institutions in New York City was the New York African Society for Mutual Relief, which was developed to provide for widows, orphans and the sick (Foner & Branham, 1998, p. 80). This support was critically important at a time when work was dangerous and violence against Black bodies could be sparked at any moment. William Hamilton described the role of this organization as protecting against indigency, which limits improvement. He also noted the power of solidarity. He saw individual people as feeble and slow, but "united with his fellow man he is strong, he is vigorous, he turns the channel of mighty rivers, throws down huge mountains, removes thick forests, builds great cities, pushes on the great machine of trade, his arm is next omnipotent (Hamilton, 1998 [1809], p. 83)."

One of the most important categories of institutions for African Americans were educational. Education was viewed as key to improvement. Formal education was limited, but schools were being built in major cities, where the funds could be raised. Education was also a topic that Black Women were more freely able to advocate publicly for, even in their youth.

Margarett Odell, graduate of the New York African Free School in 1822, used her valedictory speech to acknowledge the lost intellectual capacity of the millions of people of African descent who were denied or otherwise lacked access to education (Odell, 1998 [1822]).

Fifteen years later, Elizabeth Jennings spoke to the elite black members of the Ladies' Literary Society of New York at the age of ten. She identified neglect as a fatal challenge that must be overcome (Jennings E. , 1998 [1837]). Specifically, she was referring to the neglect of the mind. She stated that this neglect will reinforce racist ideologies about African Americans. When spoken by a girl of her age, it highlights how deeply the idea about education's significance had penetrated Black society. In this sense, educational institutions were considered by many to play the most important role in antiracist work.

In Washington D.C., the first school for Black youth was funded by three illiterate African American employees at the Navy Yard, who hired a white man as a teacher. Some Schools for African American youth were started by White women. Mary Billings opened an integrated school in Georgetown in 1807, one block from an auction site, but was forced to move across Rock Creek into Washington D.C. where she opened a segregated Black school that she operated until her death (Green 2015 [1967]:17; Carrier 1999:117). Another example of a White woman who worked to educate Black youth was Prudence Crandall, who accepted a Black girl into her all-girls school in Canterbury, Connecticut in 1833. This was immediately followed by a boycott of the school by White families, but financial support from abolitionists, and positive publicity in William Lloyd Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator*, enabled her to continue running her school, expanding the Black student body until her arrest (Davis A. Y., 1981).

Abolitionist Societies were another critical social institution until emancipation following the Civil War. These organizations had their roots in the late 18th century, beginning with The

Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage in Philadelphia in 1775 (Nash & Soderlund, 1991, p. 80). Slowly, abolitionist groups started forming in cities across the north. In 1832, a group of Black women started The Female Anti-Slavery Society of Salem, the first group of its kind started by women (Davis A. Y., 1981, p. 34). The Anti-Slavery societies were critical institutions of social change in the 19th century, shifting public sentiment on slavery to the point that states seceded from the Union in an attempt to preserve the institution.

Challenging Social Contradictions in Early 19th Century America

As Hegel was developing his understanding of social contradictions, many people around the globe were experiencing them every day in their lives. In the United States, Black men and all races of women were beginning to publicly voice their understandings of social contradictions and put them into writing through the abolitionist and Black press. In American society at that time, the most commonly challenged social contradiction was the presence of slavery in the land of the free. Similarly prominent, was the oppression of women under a patriarchal system that attempted to bound them to the domestic sphere.

Slavery had already existed in the Americas for more than 200 years before the Declaration of Independence was penned by a man who individually enslaved hundreds of people on his own plantations. This contradiction in Jefferson's life and writing continued to plague society and the Black community. The Fourth of July was a stark and vivid annual reminder of this disgraceful contradiction. It was a time when many African Americans spoke directly to it. In 1827, upon emancipation in New York State, Austin Steward expressed Jubilation and hope for a better future, but he acknowledged that only one portion of the nation renounced slavery that day, and that despite the new rights afforded to people of color in New York, they were still barred from full participation in the civic responsibilities of governing the

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republic (Steward A. , 1998 [1827]). Twenty-five years later, in 1852, Frederick Douglass eloquently expanded this thesis, asking, "What to the slave is the fourth of July (Douglass F. , What to the Slave, is the Fourth of July?, 1998 [1852])?"

Arguments about the inferiority of Black people based in their race remained constant. This was a common justification for their enslavement. John Brown Russwurm, one of the first college graduates of color in the country, was among many African Americans that spoke about the ways in which slavery, as an institution, was designed to "numb the faculties of the enslaved (1998 [1826])." David Walker also spoke of the relationship between ignorance and slavery in his Appeal (Walker, 1993 [1830]). He argued that slavery reproduced the conditions through which slavery was justified. The most explicit examples include the laws at the state level that denied people of color, free or enslaved, the right to learn to read or write. This is a clear and concise analysis of the reproduction of a racialized system of oppression that was linked to economic structures and cultural institutions. He described the ways in which these intersecting systems shaped the ideology of the time and naturalized the subjectification of an entire class of people.

To Russwurm, the Haitian revolution proved that Black people could overcome the systemic neglect of the Black intellect within slave societies (1998 [1826]). Others felt strongly that revolution was the only thing that would end slavery across the nation and the world. Maria W. Stewart gave many speeches to the free black community of Boston in the 1830s, and she was clear that equality will not come without a revolt (Stewart, 1987 [1832a]). Similar arguments were made in *David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in particular and very expressly, to those of the United States of America* (Walker, 1993 [1830]).

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There were also many people of African descent in North America that believed it was possible for White and Black Americans to live side by side in society. Prince Hall, founder of the African Masonic Lodge, used the Bible to provide numerous 'historical' examples in which White and Black people cooperated, respected one another, and were friends (Hall, 1998 [1797]). This provided an argument that could, in theory, appeal to White Christians. Even David Walker, whose Black revolutionary fervor instilled fear in many White Americans, advocated for an interracial society of liberty and equality among the races (1993 [1830]).

Many white elites and some African Americans shared a different vision of the future, that of colonization, but the majority disagreed. During the antebellum, most White Americans preferred to maintain an enslaved labor force they could exploit but would be happy to see free people of color removed from the nation. Most African Americans knew nothing of Africa, and wanted to remain in the United States, their birthplace, despite the conditions of their ancestors' arrival or their experience with oppressions. Rev. Peter Williams Jr. deconstructed the supposed charity of the colonizationists in a 4th of July speech in 1830. He argued that the Colonizationists' desire to help the people of Africa by having Free people of color spread Christianity through the continent could not be justified, since some of these same advocates for colonization described free people of color as, "the most vile and degraded people in the world (1998 [1850], p. 116)." How could such terrible people spread light through an entire continent?

Maria Stewart, one of the few Black women orators whose speeches were recorded during the early 19th century, was also adamant about the absurdity of the colonization proposal. Not only did she feel that the philanthropic colonizationists would make better use of their money investing in Schools for Black Americans, she also argued that if all people of color were

removed from these shores, the nation would be weakened to the extent that any invasion of a foreign enemy would quickly vanquish it (Stewart, 1987 [1832a]).

The second contradiction in American society that some African Americans were addressing in the early 19th century was the lack of rights and equal treatment for women. This is a topic that is underrepresented in the historical record because society restricted women from speaking publicly, and few were able to publish. Luckily, Maria Stewart spoke eloquently on this topic on multiple occasions. Stewart closed her speech to an audience of the African-American Female Intelligence Society of America by stating that their example is powerful and their influence great. She said their power, "extends over your husbands and your children, and throughout the circle of your acquaintances (Stewart, 1987 [1832b])."

The following year, she gave a farewell address before leaving Boston. In it, she ran through a plethora of historical examples of powerful women that changed societies throughout history. She tells her audience that women were already rising up to make great change and "challenge the strong current of prejudice (1987[1833])." She was not just speaking of racial prejudice, but also gendered prejudice. She had developed a long list of enemies among the free Black men of Boston, who she regularly challenged and chastised for their intemperance, gambling and wasted money at dance halls. She argued that if this money had been invested in education, future generations of Black people would be known as scientists, and as the great legislators who fought for the rights of African Americans (1987[1832b]).

White women and some men of all races, also challenged the patriarchal system that dominated American society during this time. The 19th century saw the rise of industrialization, which moved the household industries managed by women from the home to the factory. The removal of this economic role from women resulted in a cultural transition in the way that they

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were viewed by society and the expectations for them. Essentially, their role and their ideal contribution to society became that of wife and mother (Davis 1981). Many women rejected this limited role and the social isolation associated with it. They fought for the rights to vote, to work, and to be educated. The few women who did work outside the home were either enslaved, free domestic workers, or wage laborers working in dangerous and demeaning industrial settings like the textile mills.

The fact that women and African Americans lacked many of the same rights made them natural allies in the struggle for social, political, and economic equality. This resulted in a link between the women's rights movement and the abolitionist movement that formed following Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 (Davis 1981). Some wealthy women used their newly gained "free time" to become activists and social reformers. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott were active abolitionists who were most responsible for organizing the first National Women's Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Frederick Douglass was also invited to be a speaker, given his history of support for women's rights.

The focus of the convention related to marriage and its role in robbing women of their right to property. As a result, women became legally dependent upon their husbands. If they were unsatisfied with their marriage and their husband for whatever reason, it was difficult to maintain their property rights because the laws related to separation and divorce were written from a male supremacist perspective (Davis 1981).

Women's suffrage was a supplemental topic raised by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Frederick Douglass. They argued that if intelligence was the basis for the right to vote, then there was no reason that women should be denied enfranchisement.

Working class women were not invited to participate in the Seneca Falls Convention. The only member of the working class that attended was Charlotte Woodward, who spoke against the control that male members of her household had over the wages she earned through her labor. Women labor activists had already advocated for a number of reforms through strike and legislative intervention in the years before the Seneca Falls convention. They petitioned Massachusetts state legislators for a ten-hour workday in 1843 and 44. They were also able to initiate the first investigation of labor conditions in the United States. Eventually, native-born white women agitators were replaced by immigrant men and women in the factory towns (Davis 1981).

Black women were not invited to participate in Seneca Falls, and their concerns were not addressed by the resolutions that were passed. Racism within the women's rights movement and among white members of the abolitionist movement made it difficult for the plight of Black women to be addressed in political activism. The connections between women's rights and the rights of people of color may have been clearer to the African American community. A few months after Seneca Falls, the equality of all women was recognized by a resolution passed at the National Convention of Colored Freedmen, but there were still many Black men that challenged the idea of women's equality.

One injustice faced by enslaved black women that cut through white women's racist ideologies and inspired their support for abolitionism was rape (Harrison, 2009, pp. 71-84). It was a weapon of white male supremacist terror that white women could identify with (Davis 1981). Sarah Grimke made the connection between the rape of women and torture of the enslaved in her letters to the president of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1837

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(Grimke, 1988 [1837]). A more widely distributed example linking sexual violence to the Abolitionist cause can be found in Harriett Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (2009 [1852]).

Intersectionality in Early 19th Century America

The speeches and writings of some people in the first half of the 19th century already demonstrates an intersectional understanding of power structures in society. Links between free and enslaved African Americans were identified, as well as different economic classes among free people of color. There are links between women and the enslaved. These include the denial of their right to vote, lack of control over their role in production, and the inability to control the products of their labor. Only in a few rare examples did someone link the systems of race, sex, and class as three integrated systems of power that worked to oppress women, people of color, and the working class.

One description of a racial awakening was described by Sarah Mapps Douglass who was a member of the free Black elite of Philadelphia. She gave a lecture to the Female Literary Society of Philadelphia in 1832 that described how she had formed a mental world of her own that had shielded her from truly acknowledging the suffering of her enslaved peers. This protective bubble only burst for her as she began to sense the oppressor lurking (1998 [1832]). This was about the same time that the fugitive slave law was being tested following the capture of Margaret Morgan in York County, Pennsylvania and her removal to Maryland, where she had been previously enslaved. This case eventually worked its way into the supreme court, where the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 was upheld (Prigg v. Pennsylvania, 1842).

Douglass' description of her emotional detachment from the plight of the enslaved highlights the reality that some people within free Black society remained focused on their own self-improvement instead of risking their status and their lives for the sake of enslaved people

who shared their complexion. Worse than that, there were some members of the free Black community David Walker calls the "gang of villains" who illegally sold free African Americans into slavery or returned escaped individuals for meagre bounties (1998 [1828], p. 113).

There were also significant class differences among free people of color that limited the capacity to build solidarity that could lead to a union of all people of color. Austin Steward believed that, "industry, prudence, and economy" were the path out of poverty and destitution towards respectability and happiness (1998 [1827]). Although these characteristics wouldn't hurt attempts to escape poverty, they were certainly no guarantee. Maria Stewart recognized that it would take all African Americans supporting one another if everyone's existence were going to improve. She called for a petition to end slavery signed by all African Americans, as well as the need to "hold up, encourage, and patronize each other (1832)," referring to the significance of promoting economic growth to build power within the Black community.

Some 19th century Americans advocated for building solidarity that extended beyond race. They believed that equality for one social class required equality for all social classes. Specifically, this meant linking the women's rights movement with the anti-slavery movement, and efforts to end racism. Building this coalition was very difficult, especially since many of its advocates were unaware of their own prejudices. Despite these weaknesses, the coalition was quite powerful. Some of the people who believed that people deserved civil rights despite their race or gender include Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Harriett Beecher Stowe, the Grimke sisters, William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Hariett Tubman, and Sojourner Truth. All these people regularly advocated for an end to slavery and an expansion of suffrage to women and people of color, but only a few expressed an understanding of the links between racial, gendered, and economic oppression.

The *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* (2013 [1850]) describes a life filled with physical and emotional strain that is difficult, if not impossible to imagine. It included auctions and sales that separated her from her family, including her children. She did hard physical labor for most her life. She was denied an education and remained illiterate until the day she died. These facts belie her intelligence, quick wit, and physical strength, all of which came to her aid following her freedom and her rise in fame as an orator and activist. Her most famous speech highlighted her ability to dismantle justifications for racism and sexism held by most members of society.

In both published version of her "Ar'nt I a Woman?" speech to the Woman's Rights convention in Akron, Ohio, she is able to build connections between White women and enslaved African Americans, advocate for the right to vote, and challenge religious justifications of male supremacy. She does all this while acknowledging the support for emancipation and suffrage by some men and leaves a pathway open for their participation in the social revolution she predicts (1998 [1851]).

Angelina Grimke is another significant intersectional thinker of the time. She had one of the most developed theories of power in relation to race, class, and gender for the time. She steadfastly linked the struggles for women's and African American's civil rights, but she also linked these to the rights of the working class. She defined the Civil War as a war of principles. "in this war, the Black man was the first victim, the working man of whatever color the next; and now *all* who contend for free speech, free schools, free suffrage, and a free government (Lerner, 1998)."

These examples highlight the development of intersectional thought within emancipatory projects in the 19th century. The development of an intersectional understanding of power formed with the understanding that all rights are linked to one another, and that gaining those rights

required people positioned across the hierarchy of social power to work together. Ultimately, this effort resulted in a Civil War, or what Angelina Grimke called a second revolution, that freed millions of captives across the South. Despite these great strides, the social divisions in society still broke the solidarity that had formed leading up to the war, and that had devastating impacts on emancipatory progress in the last few decades of the 19th century.

The Destruction and Reconstruction of an Intersectional Solidarity: The Muddy Path to Universal Suffrage.

The fallout of the Civil War brought an opportunity for massive social changes, while the economic power of industrial capitalists was reinforced. The political reality of the moment meant that some hard choices needed to be made about who would benefit from any expansion of rights, if anyone at all. After the fall of legal slavery on June 19, 1865, the biggest battle was over the right to vote. If the entire demographics of the coalition led by white women and African Americans all gained enfranchisement, the people belonging to these demographics would have had over half the vote. After all, women alone made up half the population of the country and democrats and republican politicians were exclusively white men up to that point.

Susan B. Anthony called for the establishment of an Equal Rights Association at a woman's rights convention in New York in 1866. She felt it was important to expand the struggle beyond woman's rights or Black's rights to human rights (Davis 1981, p. 71). The reality of racism in America made this proposal a difficult one for white suffragists to support. Additionally, some Black male suffragists, including Frederick Douglass, saw the political reality as an impossible hurdle for universal suffrage (Davis 1981). He felt that if the push was made for universal suffrage, the vote wouldn't be expanded at all. He cited the mass murders and

rapes of Black people that had occurred in New York, New Orleans, and Memphis in 1863 and 1866 as examples why it was so important to guarantee the Black male vote.

Most white women suffragists saw this as a betrayal along with many Black women. After the solidarity built during the abolitionist movement was broken, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony aligned themselves with George Francis Train, a proslavery racist democrat from Kansas, who saw white women's suffrage as an opportunity to weaken the push for the Black vote. He funded a suffragist newspaper ran by Stanton and Anthony that used racist rhetoric to advocate for White women's suffrage and denial of the black vote. The core of their argument was that if Black men got the vote, but not women, the woman's position would be worse than before the war since they would be controlled by "intelligent" white men as well as "ignorant" Black ones.

A similar fear was also felt by Black women, including Sojourner Truth. She believed that truly ending slavery for all people required that Black women earn the right to vote, not just men. She believed that it was important to seize the momentum following the Civil War to push universal suffrage through, because if it stopped, it would be a long time before the movement for women's suffrage would be picked up again (Truth, 1998 [1871]). Ultimately, she was right about that. Solidarity in the fight for equal human rights had collapsed by the time the 15th amendment was ratified in 1870. It was fifty more years before women also gained that right with the ratification of the 19th amendment in 1920.

As the coalition between African Americans and White suffragists collapsed, the seeds of a new coalition were being planted in the labor movement. Women initially played a strong role in labor struggles in the 19th century, but as many were removed from their positions in the mills, their replacements assumed the mantle. Immigrants and Black workers all struggled to maintain

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dignity through their work in an age of industrialization but overcoming racism and sexism within the labor movement remained a challenge.

The Industrial revolution had begun by the time Karl Marx was born, and labor struggles against industrialists had been waged before Marx published his earliest writings (Marx, 1978[1852]. But, Marx, with support from Fredrick Engels, rose to become the most influential thinker in the 19th century's struggle for the rights of the working class. Marx's understanding of the world drew heavily from Hegel's dialectic, but differed in his firm belief in materialism.

Marx laid out his perspective on materialism in *The German Ideology*, which was produced through a collaboration with Engels in 1845-46 and was first published almost 90 years later in 1932. They believed that the material world was reality, and that, "the production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men, appear at this stage as the direct efflux of their material behavior (1978 [1846], p. 154)." The material conditions in which people lived shaped their lives and the nature of social interactions within society. They believed that the essence of humanity was not in consciousness, but in its capacity to produce its own means of subsistence through different modes of production (1978[1846]:150).

The mode of production is a term that describes all the factors that go into the transformation of raw materials, or nature, into commodities. The forces of production are key elements in the mode of production and are made up of the means of production and the social relations of production. The means of production includes materials, tools, and the knowledge needed to use the tools. The relations of production are the social relationships within society that enable the means of production to function. The forces of production rely on objective factors, including the

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landscape, the environment, and raw materials. In other words, the objective factors are made up of the physical reality in which production and the relations of production occur. The interrelationship between all the factors that make up the mode of production are closely intertwined, and Marx believed that any changes in the mode of production would have impacts on the other factors.

Marx's materialist conception of history was based in Hegel's dialectical logic (Lefebvre, Dialectical Materialism, 1968 [1940]). Internal conflicts or contradictions are inherent in societies no matter their mode of production. Dialectical conflict between forces and relations of production leads to their destruction and ultimately to synthesis, or the creation of a newly structured society. To Marx, the dialectical conflict occurs as a result of unequal social relations and class conflict.

In *Capital*, Marx described the emergence of economic inequality through his Labor Theory of Value (1978 [1867]). This began with an explication of commodities. At their root, commodities are a thing that satisfies human wants. They are composed of physical matter that comes from nature and labor that comes from people. Every commodity has both a quantity and a quality. These characteristics contribute to the use-value and the exchange-value of the object. The use-value is the utility of the commodity, and only exists because of the human labor that went into it. The use-value only becomes a reality through the use or consumption of the commodity. The exchange-value is the equal value of the commodity in another form, whether it is another bartered commodity or another currency. Since human labor is a component of every commodity, changes in the efficiency of production directly impacts a commodity's value.

When the exchange-value exceeds a commodity's production cost, a surplus value is produced. Class relations and their inherent inequality emerge when people other than the

primary producers of the commodity collects the surplus value. Typically, surplus value is collected by members of the bourgeoisie, the class of people that control the raw materials and the means of production. The Proletariat is made up of members of the working class, who are the primary producers of the commodities from which surplus value is extracted.

Marx's ideology traveled to the United States with his coworker, Joseph Weydemeyer shortly after the publication of *The Communist Manifesto*. He started the first Marxist organization in the United States called the Proletarian League, but as mentioned earlier, labor organization and class struggle had already begun in the Industrializing parts of the country. The formation of socialist and communist institutions was dominated by White men, but White women and people of color also valued its potential to revolutionize society.

By the end of the 1860s, Black unions began to slowly become incorporated into national labor associations. Nine Black delegates were invited to participate in the third national convention of the National Labor Union in 1869. Isaac Myers, one the Black delegates, advocated for uniting the working class across racial lines. He believed that a revolution of labor relations was needed to make sure that all workers would have enough money to support their families, meet their needs, and have a little left that could be saved for sickness and old age (Myers, 1998 [1869], p. 484).

Peter H. Clark was the Black principle of the Colored High School in Cincinnati, Ohio. He went beyond Union membership to leave the Republican Party and joined the socialist *Workingmen's Party of the United States* in 1877. He felt that the republican party had abandoned African Americans following the end of reconstruction and that they were tied to capitalists who exploited workers, no matter their race. That same year, a railroad strike that started in Morgantown, West Virginia, spread through many states. Clark addressed a crowd of

strikers and advocated for their rights to a fare wage following a third 10% cut in worker pay in just a short time. He clearly described the links between the Republican led government and capitalists that owned industry and the railroads. He described the ways in which the government commandeered the railroad during the Civil War, expanded and refurbished it, then returned it to private hands with no compensation from the companies. Then over a decade later, as the railroad workers were squeezed to boost profits, President Hayes had sent in federal troops as strike breakers, killing dozens of people. He used the language of dialectical materialism to advocate for the restructuring of society in a way that would support workers struggle for justice (Clark, 1998 [1877]).

This same year, Lucy Parsons, a multi-racial woman born in Texas, began writing poems and articles for the newspaper of the anarchist organization, the Socialist Labor Party. She helped organize the Chicago Working Women's Union in 1879, which advocated for the rights of working women in the workplace and the voting booth. She saw race and sex as natural facts which were exploited by the bourgeoisie through systems of sexism and racism to break working class solidarity and depress wages (Davis A. Y., 1981).

In 1900, the Socialist Party formed in the United States. By that time, the contributions of white women to the cause had been acknowledged, so they were included in the organization. The Socialist Party advocated for woman's suffrage and organized a march for the vote in 1908 that is still honored as International Women's Day. There were only a few Black members of the Socialist Party. One was Helen Holman she was an eloquent speaker for the socialist cause, but Party leadership did not see the connections between Black labor which was mostly agricultural and domestic labor, with industrial labor, which was the main focus of their party (Davis A. Y., 1981).

Men and women of color were generally not welcome in White dominated labor unions and early socialist party formations, so they advocated for equality and justice in alternative institutions. For Black women, those institutions took the form of the club movement. White women's clubs formed across the country in the late 19th century. They first consolidated in 1890 under The General Federation of Women's Clubs. The few Black women club members at the time were denied acceptance into the federation. This led to the Black women's club movement beginning a couple years later. It was not in direct response to exclusion from the white clubs. It was an organic organization in support of Ida B. Wells.

Wells started her career as a journalist in Memphis, where she sued the railroad over segregation. She later witnessed the lynching of three of her friends, so she started an anti-lynching newspaper. Her life was threatened, and her building was burned down, so she fled to New York City. She analyzed the role of lynching in society and published "Southern Horrors: Lynch Law and All its Phases" in 1892 (Wells-Barnett, 2014). She supported this work with a quantitative assessment of lynchings in the United States called "A Red Record: Tabulated Statistics ad Alleged Causes of Lynchings in the United States 1892-1893-1894" in 1895 (Wells-Barnett, 2014).

Some of the elite members of New York's Black community heard her story and organized a fundraiser to enable her to establish a new anti-lynching paper in the city. This meeting resulted in the formation of a Black women's club. The clubs began to spread from there. Wells helped organize the First National Congress of Colored Women in 1895 to develop an anti-racist and anti-lynching platform. The National Federation of Afro-American Women formed from it shortly after (Davis A. Y., 1981).

Wells traveled to other cities to speak out against lynching and help other clubs get started. In Washington D.C., Mary Church Terrell heard Wells' speech and started a club in the district. Terrell also worked to start other clubs in cities around the country. Just a couple years later, in 1896, she consolidated the clubs under the National League of Colored Women. Mary Church Terrell was a powerful member of Washington Society. She was the first Black Woman to become a University Professor and was also the first Black member of DC's board of education (Davis A. Y., 1981).

Eventually, the two competing national organizations merged and became the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs under the leadership of Mary Church Terrell. Black Women's clubs organized in support of women's suffrage and against sexual violence. They actively opposed the abuse and mistreatment of Black domestic workers and industrial workers.

Most members of the Black Women's clubs were not coming from the working classes. Working women had little time to focus on social activism in an organized setting. If they were able to coordinate their efforts towards any meaningful change, they tended to focus on improving wages and working conditions. Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs both focused on education in Washington DC as a strategy that could produce that meaningful change over time. Cooper was an academically trained intellectual who earned a PhD from the Sorbonne. She saw women as critical components for improving the lives of African Americans as a whole. And she also believed that education was key to women's self-reliance, which was ultimately needed to challenge chauvinism and the patriarchal structure of the Victorian period in America. Burroughs targeted the majority of black women who were still relatively uneducated and lacked access to the resources needed to protect themselves and their children in the early 20th century. She started a school where she trained African American women the skills needed

to get safer, higher-paying jobs in domestic service and hospitality. She argued that the only way they could outcompete White immigrants from Europe was through the mastery of the skills needed to service the wealthiest and most powerful (Johnson, 2000).

Mary McLeod Bethune is another significant voice in her advocacy for the education of women. She established a Normal School in Daytona Florida that eventually grew and merged with another school to become Bethune-Cookman College. She began her running her school out of her home and was able to grow it into an HBCU that continues to operate to this day (Bethune, Training School for Negro Girls [abridged], 1999 [1911]). She faced extreme challenges, nearly closing the school due to lack of funds following heavy rains and floods that ruined the crops the school depended on to generate operations revenue and pay the bills (Bethune, Letter to Julius Rosenwald, 1999 [1915]). She was able to overcome these challenges to establish and grow the school. She became acquainted with and friends to many members of the Black Elite through her fundraising activity, including Mrs. Booker T. Washington and Mary Church Terrell. She expanded on this network throughout the first half of the 20th century to become one of the most powerful Black women in history up to that point. Her initial Philosophy on the education of black girls focused on domestic training and literacy, since she saw the role of women as supporting the household and maintaining an environment that would enable the next generation to overcome the challenges they faced (Bethune, 1999 [1926a]).

One of the greatest challenges she identified for African Americans in the 1920s was competing 'idealisms' regarding self-support and service. She saw class differences within the Black community as one of the greatest challenges to building solidarity within the race. She believed this could only be overcome through "a great federation, uniting all forces to form one huge engine of production (Bethune, 1999 [1926b], p. 158)." The creation of the National

Council of Negro Women is the closest she got to creating this driving institution to consolidate and organize the activities of Black women's organizations across the country to become the most effective force for social change possible (Bethune, 1999 [1935]).

Booker T. Washington may be the most famous African American of the generation following Frederick Douglass. He was educated at the Hampton Institute in Virginia and was later chosen to lead the Tuskegee Institute. He believed that African Americans could gain equality by proving that they deserved it through their hard work, mastery of White social expectations, attainment of technical skills, success in business, and the accumulation of wealth (Washington B. T., 1895). He was the first African American invited to the White House as a guest by Teddy Roosevelt. As late as 1908 he believed that women's right to vote was not needed because their, "influence was already enormous in this country (Washington B. T., [1908], p. 700)." He clearly was not a bastion for women's rights, but he did concede that in this case, "the women know better than men, and [he was] willing to leave it to their deliberate judgement (Washington B. T., [1908], p. 701)."

William Edward Burghardt DuBois was a bit younger than Booker T. Washington. He was the first Black recipient of a PhD from Harvard, and quickly became a respected social scientist who was even hired by the federal government to conduct studies for the department of labor and the census bureau (Grossman, 1974; Du Bois W. E., The Negro Farmer, 1904). DuBois believed in equal rights across race and sex, but he also feared the influence of White women's votes on politics in the United states. As a result, he refused to be actively involved in the suffrage movement as of 1907 (Du Bois W. E., 1907). Du Bois did become more actively engaged in women's suffrage as Black Women's voices calling for change grew louder. Initially

the debate was driven by White Suffragusts who employed racist ideologies to convince White men that women having the vote would secure a White supremacist future (Davis A. Y., 1981).

In 1905, W. E. B. DuBois founded the Niagara Movement with William Monroe Trotter and dozens of other Black men who wanted to advocate the rights of African Americans and to challenge the accommodationist Civil Rights strategy of Booker T. Washington. This national institution initially barred women from becoming members and was constantly struggling with infighting. The organization disbanded by 1910, but it highlights a few important points about the Black intellectual movement at the turn of the 20th century. First, there were many competing theories about society, each resulting in different potential strategies that could be used to improve the lives of African Americans. The Niagara movement was made up of African Americans operating in an accommodationist ideology, but this was not enough to hold it together. Secondly, the Niagara movement highlighted the capacity to build a National organization that could help build solidarity among African Americans and their allies of different races. Lastly, patriarchy was a significant component of many social systems operating within the Black social sphere, making it difficult for Black women to contribute equally in the struggle for social justice.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was established in 1909. It formed out of the aftermath of the 1908 Springfield Illinois race riot. It was a biracial organization founded by men and women. It was initially a majority White organization that was heavily influenced by the descendants of 19th century abolitionists. W. E. B. DuBois, Anna Julia Cooper, and Mary Church Terrell were among the handful of founding Black members. DuBois was the only African American executive in the NAACP when it was founded. He was made the director of publications and research and established the NAACP's journal, *The Crisis*.

Some of the NAACP's early successes were seen in its expansion across the country, gaining nearly 100,000 members after ten years of operation. The wealth of its founders and the large membership provided funding that the Niagara Movement lacked. This capital was put to use in its legal advocacy, helping to successfully challenge the grandfather clause in Oklahoma's voting laws in 1910. In 1915 they ran a nationwide publicity campaign that sought to challenge the stereotypes proliferated through the film *Birth of a Nation*. DuBois' influence in *The Crisis* provided a respected platform for Black intellectual men and women to share their ideas and advocate their positions in a national publication.

The increased ideological differentiation within the turn of the century Black community was happening while Max Weber was building on Marx and Engel's work to develop a more pluralistic understanding of the operation of power within society. He recognized that power was sought for more reasons than financial enrichment. He focused on elements of the social superstructure as opposed to the base, or mode of production, which Marx emphasized. Weber is probably best known for his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* published in 1904. His analysis of religious power in society highlighted that there were different forms of power. Class power was economically determined. It was a phenomena of production and represented the interests and possession of goods and income opportunity. There was also status power, which was socially and ideologically determined. It is a function of social and symbolic networks and was thought to be an estimation of an individual's honor. Weber believed that one way in which status was determined was through the consumption of socially significant goods. As a result, status groups can form in relation to their differential consumption of goods, or their social practices. From there, social stratification occurred, not just economic stratification (Weber, 2009 [1904]).

Party power is a third form, which is politically and legally determined. There were different means of obtaining this form of political power. It could be achieved through a range of activities from violence to the vote. The legitimation of this power comes from political authority. As Weber was writing, there was change taking place in the thinking of many women workers in the U.S. who shifted away from focusing on a struggle for class power and towards a struggle for political power. Similarly, the Black women's club movement focused on developing the social power of Black women during this time. Many had achieved a Petit bourgeois status in some form or another, so they didn't experience the visceral pressure to fight for labor rights (Davis A. Y., 1981). They did advocate for better working and living conditions for African Americans, but their anti-lynching battle was largely fought within the realm of status power, in which they worked to improve the social status of Black people to a level where they would gain their humanity in the eyes of white society.

Another change in party power in America can be seen in the formal establishment of socialist and anarchist organizations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Lucy Parsons was a mixed-race anarchist with Native American, Mexican, and African ancestry. She was a member of The Socialist Labor Party and wrote for their newspaper. She was an organizer for the Chicago Working Women's Union and a founding member of the International Workers of the World (IWW) in 1905. The IWW explicitly supported equal rights across race, sex, and class. Lucy Parsons believed that sex and race were natural facts that were exploited by capitalists to suppress the wages of the working class. Therefore, she believed that ending the capitalist exploitation of the working class was critical in challenging sexism and racism around the world (Davis 1981).

The Socialist Party formed in 1900. This party included women and is responsible for the 1908 march for Women's suffrage that is still celebrated as International Women's Day. They did not have an explicit policy concerning race in America. They focused on the rights of industrial labor as opposed to the rural workforce where a large number of Black workers were still employed in the first decades of the 20th century (Davis 1981). There were a small number of Black men and women that became members, but they were a small minority.

The Communist Labor Party formed in 1919 and then merged with The Socialist Party to become the Communist Party. The Communist Party included women as members and leaders from its founding, but did not have an explicit policy on race. They developed a Black liberation policy that advocated for desegregation to overcome the skepticism of potential Black members across the country who resisted the Socialist party because of its resistance to formalize an emancipatory platform for African Americans (Davis 1981).

Over the first 20 years of the 20th century, power struggles were occurring on all three of these fronts, Solidarity was starting to build between the working class, people of color, and some white women. In the end, the suffragists won a major victory in 1920 when the 19th amendment was finally ratified.

Organic Intellectuals Intersect in the Struggle against Hegemony: 1920 to 1970

Antonio Gramsci was an Italian politician who was imprisoned by Mussolini's regime for his beliefs. While in prison from 1929 until 1935 he wrote thousands of pages in notebooks that have now become a critical set of neo-Marxist texts. He discussed dozens of ideas in these works but he may be best known for his analysis of the relationships between intellectuals and class struggle, as well as his development of the concept of Hegemony. Gramsci believed that the

analysis of social forces was critical for understanding the relationship between the structure and the superstructure (Gramsci, 2000, p. 200). He argues that it was impossible to obtain a holistic understanding of the structure of a society at any time, given peoples' obscured perspective from within the system itself (Gramsci, 2000, p. 191). This results in the potential for the dominant class in society to make an error of judgement that opens a space for opposing forces to effect change.

The hegemonic apparatus used to control society relies on the development of an ideological terrain that reforms the consciousness of society and its methods of knowing (Gramsci, 2000, p. 192). It relies on the reciprocal relationship between the base or structure (made up on the mode of production) and the superstructure (everything else in society) which reproduces and shapes the structure. Gramsci recognized the significance of superstructures and their capacity to produce revolutionary change, challenging Marx's deterministic conception of historical materialism. "The complex, contradictory, and discordant ensemble of the superstructures is the reflection of the ensemble of the social relations of production (Gramsci, 2000, p. 192)." The combinations of these competing superstructures with the structure forms a historical bloc.

There are also competing ideologies present within society at any one time. An organic ideology is one that is necessary for the operation of the structure (Gramsci 2000:199). Other ideologies may not be needed for society to operate, but if one becomes shared widely in society it could produce new superstructures that could influence the production of new social structures in the future.

Each ideology is also supported by a social group that contains members who take on the role of intellectuals. Intellectuals provide discursive ties that hold social groups together and an

awareness of their function in the economic, social, and political fields (Gramsci, 2000, p. 301). Intellectuals that develop alongside the emergence of new social groups are called 'organic intellectuals' (Gramsci, 2000, p. 300). These organic intellectuals must challenge the intellectuals already in existence who are determined to maintain and reproduce the continued dominance of their group, even as economic, social, and political changes take place (Gramsci 2000, p. 302). For Gramsci, "any group that is developing towards dominance [must] struggle to assimilate and to conquer 'ideologically' the traditional intellectuals, but this assimilation and conquest is made quicker and more efficacious the more the group in question succeeds in simultaneously elaborating its own organic intellectuals (2000, p. 304-305)."

It is already clear that Black intellectuals of the 19th and early 20th centuries played a critical role in ending slavery and expanding the rights of suffrage to women. The expansion of workers' rights and Civil Rights grew to become the focus of many Black intellectuals after the 19th amendment was passed. They also had competing ideologies and advocated different strategies to end segregation, eliminate restrictions on voting, expand access to higher education, expand the representation of people of color in elected office, and support Black entrepreneurship. Black intellectuals often operated within social institutions and organizations, becoming guiding forces in the development of organized strategies to effect change.

Many of the institutions established in the late 19th and early 20th century continued to play important roles in advancing the rights of African Americans, women, and the working class between 1920 and 1970. Organizations that were explicitly focused on improving the lives of African Americans included some Labor unions, the Communist Party, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the Black Church, the NAACP, and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). They each continued to play distinct, but significant roles in

the struggles for civil and economic rights. New organizations also formed, like the Nation of Islam established by Elijah Muhammed, the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) headed by Mary McLeod Bethune, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) led by Martin Luther King Jr., and the Black Panther Party founded by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. Their actions diverged and occasionally competed with one another. Their practices were produced by distinct ideologies that emerged from their differential conceptions of the world.

Mary McLeod Bethune continued to push for suffrage rights for Black women, even after the 19th amendment was passed. She knew that there were still many obstacles for Black voters in the south, especially women. Addressing this and other challenges would require the support of White Americans in local actions as well as at the ballot box. Bethune strove to build solidarity between White and Black women. She addressed the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) board to describe how Black representation on the board could build a "stronger sympathetic cooperation on the part of Negro Women and White Women Everywhere (Bethune, 1999 [1920], p. 144)." The following year she described the role that southern White women could have in building racial cooperation. First was changes to the structure of domestic service, emphasizing regular hours, safe sanitary housing, and time for recreation and to visit family. She also stressed the important role White women could play in supporting Black children's welfare by giving their domestic workers the time needed to visit their children's schools and the building of playgrounds and community centers. She sought assistance in improving travel conditions for African Americans which were so abhorrent that it often triggered conflict between White and Black passengers. She also cited the possibility of improved education of African Americans, which she described as essential for maintaining a true democracy. Lynching continued to be a threat to Black people across the country. She urged

white women to intervene to help break up mobs before they committed any extrajudicial killings. She argued that White women could also counter negative Press about African Americans by encouraging the White press to publish stories on the contributions of African Americans as opposed to merely the crimes that were committed by the minority of Black citizens. Suffrage was the final area she identified as a space where White women allies could help to protect the rights of Black women (Bethune, 1999 [1921])).

Bethune was a capitalist who promoted the economic accomplishments of Black women in the early 20th century (Bethune, 1999 [1926b]), but she also saw the ways in which economic class disparity was dividing the black community and advocated for the building of the Black Middle Class to help bridge the divide between the Black Elite and the Working poor. She saw production as the tool that could be harnessed by Black Americans to bridge that economic divide. Over the next 15 years more Black women entrepreneurs established businesses across the country. Josephine Bond Keene, the owner of a funeral home in Philadelphia, recognized the benefits of supporting the businesses of Black women and created a directory of Black women's businesses in Philadelphia in 1939 (Keene J. B., 1939). The popularity of this directory inspired her to assemble a national directory of Black women professionals in 1942. She wrote in her introduction that, "it is my hope that we may come to know and learn to patronize each other, and to feel that we can refer to a directory for this information, thus making our economic situation stronger (Keene, 1942)."

The capacity for capitalism to lift the masses of poor Blacks across the country was not a sentiment shared across the Black community at this time. Socialism played a significant role in the development of many Black Intellectuals and their activities. Lucy Parsons continued to play a significant role in the expansion of socialist ideologies. She supported the International Labor

Defense, that was backed by International Red Aid which was established by the Third Communist International in the Soviet Union. The goal of the International Red Aid network was to support political prisoners in the global class war. In the United States, the International Labor Defense worked to defend the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti. They also were involved in the defense of the Scottsboro Boys, nine black youth that were falsely accused of raping two white women on a train in 1931. Their role in this last case raised the profile of the Communist Party among African Americans (Davis A. Y., 1981).

The White Socialist Ella Reeve Bloor was a member of the Socialist Party. She developed more of a racial consciousness and activism after it merged with the Communist Labor Party to form the Communist Party. She advocated for and supported the travel of Black women so they could speak at the Paris Women's Conference of 1934. Each of the women spoke on a different topic. Capitola Tasker described the violent treatment and lynching of Blacks in the American South. Lulia Jackson Advocated for war against Fascism by using the Black experience to highlight pacifism's incapacity to create positive social change. Mabel Byrd chaired the committee against war at the conference. There was also a representative who was there to speak about the Scottsboro Boys, who became an international example of racial injustice highlighted by International Red Aid and the Soviet Union (Davis A. Y., 1981; McDuffie, 2011).

The Scottsboro Trial had a significant impact on many of the Black Youth in the nation. Claudia Jones was an immigrant that came to the United States from Trinidad when she was nine. She was in High School when the Scottsboro Boys were charged. This is the same time that she joined the Young Communist League and the NAACP. This was the beginning of a lifetime of activism in the United States and in exile in London (Davies, 2007). Jones graduated High

School in 1935, the same year she published her first commentary in a Black Youth newspaper. She became an associate editor of the *Weekly Review* in 1937. She also became the secretary of the executive committee of the Young Communist League that same year.

Jones' public activism increased as World War II was beginning in Europe. She saw the war between Germany and Britain as one between two oppressive powers. She shared the sentiments of many Anti-war African Americans by recognizing Britain was an imperialist nation that still oppressed the Indian people as colonial subjects. She also opposed Hitler, whose Eugenic ideologies she saw and challenged in Americans like Charles Lindberg (Jones C. , 2011 [1940], p. 29). Although she had these concerns, she saw Hitler as a great threat to people of color around the world. She also was aware of some of Hitler's atrocities and the Soviet death toll on the Eastern Front. Despite her support of the war, she did not share in the illusion that the success of Black soldiers would bring equality in the United States. She recognized that after WWI there was an increase in anti-black violence, and she identified the same pattern in 1946 following the return of soldiers from the battlefield (Jones C. , 2011 [1946], p. 60).

Jones argued that a Black Nation formed in the Black Belt of the south should be a guiding principle that shapes the day-to-day struggle for achieving equal rights and self-determination. In this call she challenges other CP officials who argued that Black people of the south did not seem committed to or focused on self-determination or the secession of a Black nation. It is during this time that you start to see her development of ideas that challenge official communist party positions (Davies, 2007). By 1949 she was challenging CP positions on race and the role of women. She also laid out her vision of what has been called Black left feminism that same year (Jones C. , 2011 [1949a], p. 73).

Jones explicitly states that "Negro women – as workers, as Negroes, and as women – are the most oppressed stratum of the whole population (Jones C. , 2011 [1949a], p. 75)." She sees the exploitation of women in a male dominated society as a product of capitalism. For her, the subjugation of women across all statuses is based in women's economic dependence on men. This economic dependence makes them vulnerable to coercion and exploitation out of the consequences they would face if they were to challenge male oppressors. She sees the Communist Party as having an important role in achieving women's equality, including education in Marxist-leninist interpretations of the causes for women's exploitation. This perspective contrasts what she calls a bourgeois feminism that sees the 'woman problem' in terms of male-female conflict (Jones C. , 2011 [1949b]). She sees socialism as a means to achieve equality for women through a legal and economic system in which women are guaranteed equal rights and through which women would be guaranteed the economic security needed to leave abusive relationships and coercive situations.

Claudia Jones was in and out of prison starting in 1948 because of her immigrant status and communist party affiliation. She was eventually convicted of un-American activities along with a dozen Communist activists including Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in 1953. Jones eventually agreed to deportation to England as opposed to Trinidad, where she was denied reentry. She continued her activist organizing in London among members of the Caribbean Diaspora in the United Kingdom. She also advocated on behalf of her comrades in the United States, including Ben Davis, a communist councilmember in New York City who was arrested and tried for violating the Smith act in 1949. After 2 years of appeals he spent over three years in prison and earned his freedom in 1954, the year that is often considered the start of the modern Civil Rights

movement marked by the successful challenge to school segregation triggered by the Brown v. Board Supreme Court Case.

The NAACP also continued its work during the decades after Women technically earned the right to vote. The number of members and chapters grew and it became one of the most important organizations in the continued struggle for equal rights. It was not connected to the communist party, but many of its members were sympathetic to socialist ideals, including W. E. B. DuBois, but the focus of the NAACP was on racial injustice, not economic exploitation. There was overlap in these struggles, like efforts in the defense of the Scottboro Boys in the 1930s. Septima Poinsette Clark became one of the association's more prominent women members as a product of her organization of educational activities. These were inspired by Jim Crow laws that required literacy and constitutional interpretation to exercise the right to vote. These laws greatly reduced the political power of Black and working-class Americans.

Clark's background was in education, and she worked as a teacher on John's Island, South Carolina when she was first introduced to the NAACP in 1917. She spent the next 15 years focused on family life, getting married and having children in her husband's hometown in North Carolina before she moved to Columbia, South Carolina where she was hired as a teacher at Booker T. Washington High School (Charron, 2009).

In the early 1940s she began advanced education in the summers at Columbia University and Atlanta University, and earned both her bachelors and Masters degrees between 1942 and 1945. Through her experiences as a student she met and worked with W. E. B. DuBois and became active in the NAACP. She took on leadership roles in the Charleston NAACP and at the YWCA which was an interracial organization in Charleston, where she was born, and where she returned after her graduate education. In 1956 the South Carolina Legislature passed a law that

forbade public employees from working with Civil Rights organizations, so she was fired for refusing to resign from the NAACP (Charron 2009).

After leaving the public schools in South Carolina she attended and was later hired as a literacy instructor at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, which was a training center for activists. She expanded the literacy program into a citizenship class that trained people to complete important tasks like driver's license applications, voter registration forms, personal checks, and Sears catalog orders. She became the director of workshops at Highland where she met Rosa Parks shortly before the Montgomery Bus Boycott began (Charron 2009).

Clark also started citizenship schools. These were primarily clandestine educational organizations that taught literacy and citizenship skills. This was an essential task in southern states where voting laws designed to restrict Black participation in elections required literacy and constitutional tests before votes could be cast. As the citizenship schools grew they were adopted as an official program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). This enabled them to expand across the South (Charron 2009).

Rosa Parks may be the most popularly famous Black woman activist of the Civil Rights movement. She has often been portrayed as a tired woman whose feet hurt, but she was a calculated agent of the NAACP. She began to be engaged in activism with her husband during the trials of the Scottsboro Boys. She attended Communist Party meetings but never became a member. Parks joined the NAACP in 1943 and became the secretary of the Montgomery chapter. The next year Parks became involved in the notorious case of Recy Taylor who was kidnapped after church and gang raped. The six assailants admitted guilt but were not charged in two separate trials. The NAACP was actively involved in supporting Recy, who continued to be victimized. Her house was firebombed, she faced death threats, and her whole family, along with

friends, stood guard each night at the family home to guarantee her safety (Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, 1944). Parks worked as part of the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor that used the framework of the Scottsboro Case activism to build a network of financial and legal support. Parks helped to relocate the Taylors to Montgomery, Alabama when it was clear that their work would not result in a conviction (Theoharis, 2013).

In the early 1950s Rosa Parks and about a dozen other Black women from Montgomery were able to attend a workshop at the Highlander school. The programs Septima Clark ran there had a significant influence on the success of Rosa Parks and colleagues like Jo Ann Richardson in the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955 (Theoharis, 2013). Park's action occurred in December after a 15-year-old Black teenager named Claudette Colvin was arrested for refusing to give up her seat in March of the same year. The boycott took over a year but finally succeeded in the desegregation of the local bus system. Colvin's federal case ended bus segregation nationwide in 1957. Park's story highlights the importance of institutions working to support Civil Rights and the large network of people needed to effect change in a white supremacist society.

Another key figure in the movement for Civil Rights and Women's rights was Dorothy Height. She first became active as a teenager, before meeting Mary McLeod Bethune and Eleanor Roosevelt at the YWCA where she worked. Shortly after that meeting, she joined the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) at the age of twenty-five. This was the year the NCNW was founded by Mary McLeod Bethune. Twenty years later she became president of this organization and ran it for 40 years until 1997 (Height, 2003). Like Bethune, Height made a clear connection between racism and patriarchy in her understanding of the operation of power.

Dorothy Height continued to work for the YWCA after joining the NCNW and moving to Washington D.C. She worked at the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA on 9th Street NW in Washington

DC. She became a member of the YWCA's national staff when she became the secretary for interracial education in 1944 (Height, 2003). She was instrumental in getting the YWCA to pass the interracial charter in 1946 which began the process of desegregating all community YWCAs, but the process took over 20 years to complete.

Height continued to work for the YWCA for decades. In 1966 she worked with the YWCA to contribute to Lyndon Bayne Johnson's White House conference to secure the rights afforded by recently passed legislation. Dorothy Height served on the advisory committee for the presidential conference. In 1967 the YWCA elected its first Black President, Helen Wilkins Carter, which Height saw as a critical example of the YWCA living up to its mission.

Height was also an organizer during the Civil Rights Movement. She worked to plan the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which is best known for the delivery of Martin Luther King Jr's "I Have a Dream" speech. Despite her tireless activism she was not allowed to speak, confirming the power of sexism within the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. There were also other Black women that were very active in the movement, but were generally pushed to the sidelines or forced to stand in the background.

One Black woman leader who was able to find her way to the microphone was Fannie Lou Hamer. She was born in Mississippi in 1917. Her parents were sharecroppers in the Cotton fields of the Mississippi Delta (Bracey, 2011). She became politically active after meeting members of SNCC in 1962 who inspired her to try and register to vote that summer (Lee C. K., 2006). She lost her job as a result and poured herself into the struggle for Civil Rights from that time forward. She experienced threats, her home and that of her friends were targeted with gunfire, she was beaten by police and by Black men that officers forced to beat (Hamer F. L., Testimony before the Credentials Committee, Democratic National Convention, 1964a). She

always stayed committed to Mississippi and to her community in Ruleville. She worked with the NCNW and spoke at the local chapter meetings there. She also spoke across the country, including with Malcolm X in Harlem where she famously stated that she was "sick and tired of being sick and tired (Hamer F. L., 2011 [1964b])."

It became clear in the mid-1960s that the Civil Rights act was not impacting all those who it specifically cited in the legislation. Some changes could be seen for Black people, but women of all races still faced the same educational and employment discrimination they had before the act was signed in 1964. This led to a multiracial group of women and some men coming together in Washington D.C. in 1966 to establish the National Organization of Women to fight for the end of sexual discrimination.

Betty Friedan and Pauli Murray drafted the Women's Bill of Rights in 1967 and it was enacted by the organization beginning in 1968. There were eight demands for rights that were considered critical if they women were going to be able to achieve equal rights (National Organization for Women, 1968). They specifically sought to address the structures that prevented women from reaching their full potential and gain equality across society. The first was the passing of an equal rights amendment to the constitution. The second was to enforce the provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that bans sexual discrimination n employment. The third was a right to maternity leave and social security benefits for the work of mothers. The fourth was tax deductions for home and child care expenses. The fifth was an expansion of child care centers. The sixth demand was for equal and unsegregated education. the seventh was an expansion of job training programs so that women in poverty could access them and escape their economic position. The eight demand was to guarantee the rights of women to control their reproductive lives.

By 1968 the women and men in the Civil Rights Movement had made significant changes to society, from the end of legal segregation to the passing of the Civil Rights act and the Voting Rights Act. These were major accomplishments, but the changes were less evident in rural settings, like Ruleville, Mississippi or Orange County, Virginia. The struggle continued, especially for Black women who employed diverse strategies to effect changes in the final three decades of the 20th century. The establishment of the National Organization for Women provided a new platform for organizing for women's rights, but society was far from the end of sexual and racial discrimination, including in the organizations seeking to do so.

From Civil Rights to Women's Rights: Black Feminism and the development of the intersectional knowledge project.

The 1970s saw changes in the theory and practice of social power and revolutionary change. Increased analysis and resistance to additional systems of oppression increased during this time and has shaped advancements in social thought ever since. There was a shift from an emphasis on fighting racism to fighting sexism, but these were never truly separate fights, especially for Black women. This is a time when Angela Davis achieved national and international fame and notoriety. Women's organizations grew and splintered, resulting in the production of the Combahee River Collective and their founding statement that still speaks to the struggles of today. Many people active in the Civil Rights movement also transitioned from a national to a local focus to create positive changes in Black communities that would enable them to exercise the rights granted through the Civil Rights Act and the Voting rights act at the federal level.

Some of the Black women leaders of the Civil Rights movement dug in and invested in their own communities, trying to put into action the rights that were won in the 1960s. Fannie

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Lou Hamer was always committed to her community in Mississippi above all else. She developed the Freedom Farms Cooperative in 1969 (McCutcheon, 2019). It was a rural agricultural institution that would provide food, training, seeds, and piglets to members of her local community in an attempt to build wealth within a Black rural context (White M. M., 2017). Hamer understood that starvation was used as a coercive tool against Black residents of Sunflower County who sought the right to vote. When Black residents took steps to exercise their rights they would be fired and blacklisted. This ended their ability to find work locally and forced many to leave the area to find employment in cities (White M. M., 2017).

Hamer sought to use the Freedom Farms Cooperative for three main purposes. First, she wanted to grow the cooperative to a level where the food and nutritional requirements of the Black community could be met. Second, she wanted to create clean, safe, and affordable housing. And lastly, she wanted to support entrepreneurship through the development of a small business incubator. Essentially, she was focused on the production of a Black women's agrarian geography that could resist coercive structures that continued to dismantle black rural communities in the Mississippi Delta (McCutcheon, 2019, p. 220).

She was able to raise funds to purchase over 690 acres by the end of 1971. There were 1500 members of the cooperative, most of which paid dues to help support the organization financially. Subsistence crops were grown to support 1600 families. Other land was set aside to raise catfish, livestock, and to grow commodity crops to help pay the mortgage and other bills. Members of the Coop could also access a tool bank, so they could borrow what was needed to work their land and return it when it was finished (White M. M., 2017).

Hamer also worked with Dorothy Height and the National Council of Negro Women to get the funds needed to start a program where pigs were raised and distributed to help member

families begin to create a self-sustaining revenue stream. These were known as the Sunflower Pigs. Hamer partnered with Heifer International to provide the necessary training, making this the first US-based program the international organization engaged in (White M. M., 2017).

The Freedom Farms Cooperative (FFC) also emphasized education for its member families. Programs were developed for people of all ages. One of the first Head Start programs in Mississippi was at FFC until funding was revoked due to White protest over the Black management of federal funds. Other educational programs were focused on more practical day-to-day skillsets. This included the construction of housing, food preservation, sewing, and child-care (White M. M., 2017).

Employment was another core focus. The cooperative had 40 people on staff. They also had a summer youth employment program and sewing cooperatives to expand access to employment as much as possible. The FFC was never able to meet the employment demands of the Black community, but they did continue to support the local community as well as surrounding black communities through disaster relief programs, the Delta Housing Development Corporation used to provide financing for land and house purchases, a mobile health clinic, and FFC organized clothing, food, and school supply drives to close the gap where government assistance for the working poor ended (White M. M., 2017).

Sadly, the Freedom Farms Cooperative could not sustain itself following multiple disasters, including the loss of crops needed to pay their mortgages. Ultimately the FFC was forced to close after five years of operation. Hamer could not raise the funds she needed from organizations like the National Council of Negro Women who had helped get the program off the ground. The needs of her community were too great for her organization to bear alone. Hamer's attempt to create a radical, self-reliant, Black woman led organization that could

support an entire community suffering under a system of racialized oppression showed that there were alternative paths to self-determination for rural Black communities. She identified the shifting strategies and tactics used by the White elite to subjugate and oppress Black residents of Sunflower Mississippi. She did this through her focus on social support, community well-being, and vocational and intellectual development (McCutcheon, 2019).

Around the time that the FFC closed there was a revolution happening in the Women's rights movement. Many Black women felt that the National Organization of Women (NOW) was unable to address issues related to race in society or within their own organization. Betty Freidan's book *The Feminine Mystique* was written from the perspective of an upper middle-class woman, and it did not speak to the experiences of working-class women and particularly working-class women of color. One organization to split from NOW was the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO). Its members came from women's rights and civil rights organizations. They sought a place for organizing where their voices and perspectives were valued and could influence decisions on what actions must be taken to effect change. Shortly after the NBFO was founded its Boston chapter split away and formed the Combahee River Collective. One of the driving issues was related to the Lesbian identity of many of the Combahee River Collective's founders. They felt that what we now call LGBTQ+ rights were connected to racial, sexual, and economic systems of power and control in the society of the United States of America (Combahee River Collective, 1977).

The Combahee River Collective statement has become an essential document in the history of Black Feminist activism, as well as the development of social and political theory in the decades that followed. Activist and Intellectual Barbara Smith says that this was the first time the term identity politics was used and that it has often been misinterpreted and misapplied since

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then (Smith B. , 2020). What the collective articulated was the ways in which oppressive systems operate in relation to one another. Oppression was not additive or multiplicative. Instead, they argued that the structure of power relations was geometric, and that the position of a person within society dictated the ways in which power operated on and through them (Combahee River Collective, 1977; Smith B. , 2020). This is not too different from the theories of Black Marxist Feminists in the first half of the 20th century (Thompson, 2015 [1936]; Jackson, 1940; Jones C., 2011 [1949a]). Foucault was similarly describing power as the "multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization (Foucault, 1978 [1976], p. 93)."

One of the most significant Black feminist voices in the 1970s was Angela Davis. She was active in the 1960s. She studied at Brandies University where she met Herbert Marcuse. After completing her degree she moved to Germany where she could study with Marcuse full time. She returned to the United States and began teaching in 1969 in California. She was fired from her position because of her political beliefs and association with the Communist Party. After this, she began receiving death threats, and other threats of violence, resulting in the hiring of body guards. One took weapons Davis had purchased and used them in an attempt to free his brother, resulting in a judge being shot to death. Davis was found guilty of acting as an accomplice to the murder. She was set free by 1972 and was soon able to begin teaching again. She differed from much of the Women's movement, which defined the oppression of women as the primary form of oppression, where Davis saw Capitalism as a critical component in the construction of the system that exploits women and their labor (Davis A. Y., 2000 [1977]).

Bonnie Thornton Dill also advocated for a Dialectical approach to the interpretation of Black Women's lives. She felt that dialectical analysis could "make explicit the complex

interaction of political, social, and economic forces in shaping the broad historical trends that characterize black women as a group as well as the particular lives of individual women (Dill, 1979, p. 548)." Dill argues that an interpretation of Black family life and Black women's work required a comprehensive understanding of Black women's history in order to understand the way that power shaped their practices in the past and how that impacts the practices of Black women in the present.

Angela Davis sought to provide some of the historical context in her 1981 publication, *Women, Race, and Class* (Davis A. Y., 1981). This broad history of Black women and their relationship to power in the United States of America demonstrated that the history was there if people would look for it. It also demonstrated that Black women had complex and often conflicting relations to power which were dynamic and shifted as society changed. Old systems of power were challenged and dismantled while new systems sprouted, and older systems adapted.

Bell Hooks also played a significant role in synthesizing and describing Black Feminist theory and its relationship to feminism and society more broadly. In 1984 she wrote *Feminist Theory: from Margin to Center* to position Black feminist theory at Feminism's intellectual core. Ultimately she recognized that "we have all (irrespective of our race, sex, or class) acted in complicity with existing oppressive system (Hooks, 2000 [1984], p. 164)." For Hooks, an oppositional worldview was needed so that people would be willing to leave behind the comfort of their current situation, as oppressive as it may be, and work towards a new system.

Patricia Hill Collins further developed the concept that the unique positionality of intellectuals from across the social spectrum provides important perspectives from which to critique, refine, or develop social theory. She argues that Black women in the social sciences are

in a unique position, which she calls the outsider within (Collins, 1986). She defines Black feminist thought as "ideas produced by Black women that clarify a standpoint of and for Black women (Collins, 1986, p. S16)." She argues that a position as an outsider within enables an analysis of Black women's experiences that would not be possible without establishment social theory, and also enables a positionality that enables a significant critique of that same establishment social theory. She also argues that Black Feminist thought is a social construction that was produced through generations of Black women's social analysis, resistance, and activism from a position that is negatively impacted by multiple systems of oppression operating in conjunction with one another (Collins, 1989). She argues that these interlocked oppressions are produced, change, and are contained within a social organization that forms a matrix of domination (Collins, 2000 [1990], pp. 227-228).

Kimberle Crenshaw also saw the way that multiple oppressions impacted Black women and argued for the development of a Black Feminist criticism that sckowledged and addressed intersecting systems of oppression. She argued against single-axis conceptions of domination that often leave out consideration of the form of discrimination that Black women experience (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140). She showed that Black women's work experience was shaped by multiple intersecting dimensions of oppression that were not appropriately accounted for in legal enforcement of anti-discrimination regulations (Crenshaw, Demarginalising the Intersection of Race and Sex: Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics, 1989). Crenshaw would reinforce the significance of intersectional analysis when she critiqued the legal system's differential response to cases of violence against women depending on the race and gender of the victims and the perpetrators (Crenshaw, 1991).

In the 1990s intersectionality was beginning to spread into discussions among intellectuals in multiple disciplines but it did not become a common concept in social theory during that time. It made most of its impact within feminist/women's/gender studies. It grew out of an anti-essentialist movement within feminist studies that embraced difference, so much so that it became impossible to link people through shared systems of oppression in feminist analysis (Martin, 1994). New complex identities structured by multiple intersecting forms of oppression were investigated. Some recognized that the focus on difference made it more difficult to unite for change, theoretically and practically. Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill developed the concept of multiracial feminism, which "focuses not just on differences but also on the way in which differences and domination intersect and are historically and socially constituted (1996, p. 329)." The emphasis on difference and multiple identities continued to become increasingly influential in intersectional scholarship despite clear warning about the pitfalls and dangers of focusing on difference were spelled out in the 1990s. It generally falls within a methodology common in intersectional studies of the 1990s and 2000s called anticategorical analysis (McCall, 2005)

Another pattern in intersectional analysis by the late 1990s is that Class was often downplayed and undertheorized (Acker, 1999). The roots of intersectionality in Black feminist thought often emphasized capitalism as one of the primary axes of power operating in tandem with racism and gender. Intersectional analysis in the 1990s tended to focus on Race and Gender (Acker, 1999). One contributing factor is likely the complexity of intersectional work, which increases exponentially with every additional system of power incorporated into an analysis (McCall, 2005). Another factor is that the predominant discipline that engaged with intersectional scholarship in the 1990s was women's or gender studies.

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McCall identifies three types of intersectional methodologies (McCall, 2005). The first is anticategorical. This is largely associated with those studies that focus on deconstructing social categories to the extent that they melt away and become meaningless because they are too simplistic to be meaningfully applied in social analysis (McCall, 2005; Nash J. C., 2008). The second is intracategorical methodology, which accepts the social categories of analysis, but problematizes them through the intersections of social forces and, highlighting the inadequacy of social categories through the experiences of people living under multiple oppressions (McCall, 2005). The final methodology is Intercategorical analysis, which accepts the social categories as true, acknowledges that there are relationships of inequality between already existing groups, and uses those frames of analysis to interpret the relationships between the categories and inequality (McCall, 2005).

The greatest change for intersectionality in the 2010s was its increased application in movements seeking social Justice (Kalsem & Williams, 2010). This is most clearly expressed in the founding of the Black Lives Matter movement and its emphasis on oppression along lines of gender, race, sexuality, class, religion, age, ability, etc. Black Lives Matter seeks to dismantle all the structures that continue to reproduce the oppression of people across a range of intersecting axes of subjugation. One thing that this applied intersectionality has largely rejected is the anticategorical approach described by McCall. There is an acceptance that social categories mutually construct and reproduce one another in different ways through time. There is an understanding that the categories themselves are shaped by the systems of knowledge in which we operate, but they reject the notion that these categories are in any way "not real." Their reality is clearly expressed in the material differences that exist between people who occupy differing social, political, and economic positionalities. This material reality is measurable, quantifiable,

and observable through time. This is where intersectional materialism has the potential,

especially in archaeological analysis, to contribute to a nuanced interpretation of the past that is

informed by the voices of diverse historical figures and interpreted using the theoretical

contributions of Black feminist theorists.

Appendix B - Review of GIS-based Visual Analysis in Archaeology

Viewshed analysis has been a developing method for the last 30 years. It began with modeling the portions of the landscape visible from an observation point. It has grown to address questions related to intervisibility, visibility networks, and an increasing array of visual characteristics that may be encountered in isolated sections of the landscape (Brughmans, Garderen, & Gillings, Introducing Visual Neighborhood Configurations for Total Viewsheds, 2018). This section traces the development of viewshed analyses applied by archaeologists and positions the total viewshed analysis in this chapter within this broad body of work.

The simplest form of a computational viewshed calculation is calculated from an observation point designated on a raster grid known as a digital elevation model and it is not limited by a visual distance boundary (Gaffney & Stancic, 1991). The algorithm compares the elevation of the observation point with the elevation of every other grid cell to determine if there is a direct line-of-sight, or if the line is obstructed by the elevation of other cells in the raster dataset (Figure 10). An additional parameter included in many viewshed analyses is the height of the observation of target point above ground level. This height can be modified to include the height of a person or a feature of interest like a tower. The determination of visibility requires the exact horizontal and vertical angle of the line-of-sight between the observation point and the target point to determine if the target point is visible.

Figure 26. Image from Wheatley 1995. Illustration of line-of-site on a raster grid (left). Representation of a clear line of site (top right). Representation of an obstructed line of site (bottom right).
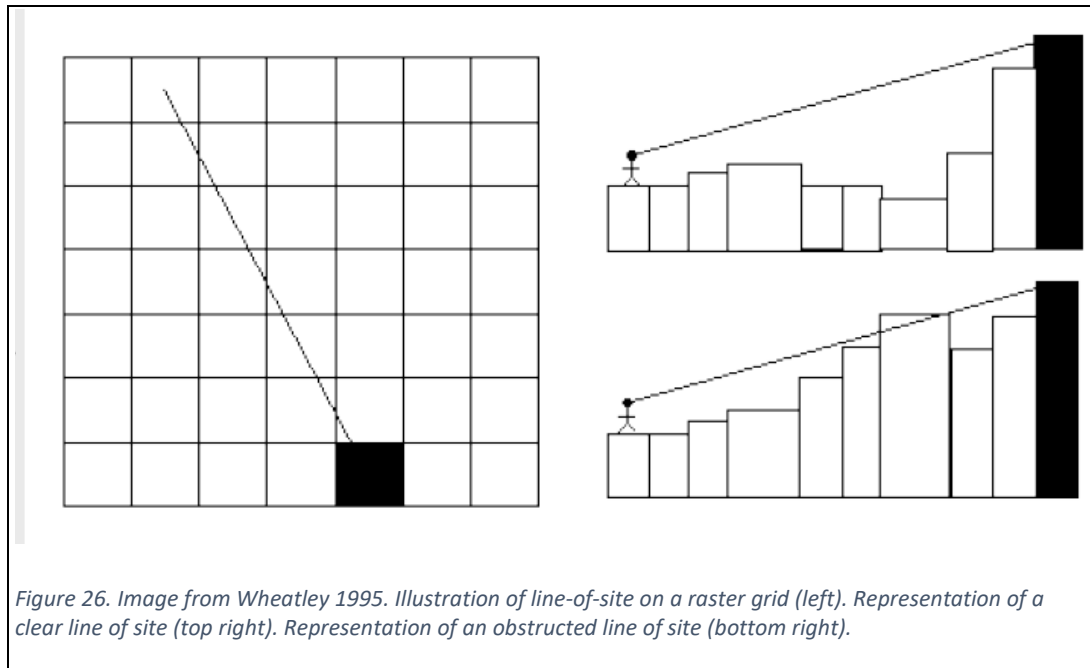
The output of a single viewshed is a new raster map that represents whether each grid cell is visible from the observation point when this calculation is repeated for every grid cell across a raster layer. The output raster cells have a value of 0 for non-visible cells and a value of 1 for visible cells. This raster is often referred to as a viewshed or visibility map but it could more accurately be described as a visual representation of a viewshed model. It represents a calculation of all the points that a person would be able to see from a given observation point. There is some error introduced into visibility maps, so they should not be considered a perfect representation of visible areas (Fisher P. F., 1991).

Multiple single viewsheds can also be calculated and overlaid with one another to identify visual networks, such as those between lookout towers or between plantation houses (Gaffney & Stancic, 1991; Randle L. B., 2011; Delle J. A., 2014). The application of this approach is helpful when trying to determine whether there was visibility or intervisibility between points. One problem is that it does not enable a determination of how well positioned

sites are in relation to the other parts of the landscape. A test may show that a large portion of a plantation or field is visible, but it does not show if there are better locations on the landscape for viewing those areas, or if the rich agricultural soils happen to be located in an area that has high visibility from across the landscape. This analysis would require some way to reject the hypothesis that sites have a greater degree of visibility coverage or intervisibility than randomly placed sites on the landscape.

The single viewshed methodology has been used by historical archaeologists to create rough models of surveillance to test the impact of Panopticism on landscapes (Bentham, 1791; Foucault, 1978 [1976]; Leone, 1995; Whitley, 2008). These have commonly been applied to assess the level of direct panoptic control as a method used against enslaved populations (Randle L. B., 2009; Randle L. B., 2011; Davis C. , 2016).

David Wheatley (1995) developed a cumulative viewshed analysis procedure that introduced new statistical rigor into the analysis of intervisibility. A cumulative viewshed essentially takes multiple classic viewsheds, represented as a raster grid where each cell has a value of 1 if it is visible from the observer point or 0 if it is not visible. A summation function is then used to add the values of the corresponding grid cells from each raster together. The result is a cumulative viewshed map or a raster grid where each cell has a value between 0 and the total number of viewsheds that have been included in the study. For example, if a study includes six viewsheds from plantation house sites then the final raster will have grid cells with a 0 value if they are not visible from any plantation home and a value of 6 if they are visible from every plantation house. In this hypothetical example each observation point cell will have a value that represents the total number of other plantation houses that can be seen/can see the observation point.

An adjustment to these initial results is needed to map the level of intervisibility on the landscape. Simply subtract 1 across the whole cumulative viewshed so that the final map does not include points that are visible from a single observation point, since single point visibility means that there is no intervisibility (Wheatley D. , Cumulative Viewshed Analysis: A GIS-Based method for Investigating Intervisibility, and its archaeological application, 1995). Now the cumulative viewshed has a value of 1 when there is a single case of intervisibility (two sites can see it). This produces a final cumulative viewshed model that can be considered a statistical population. The cumulative visibility attribute values at each site can then be treated as a sample of the total population.

Wheatley created cumulative viewshed models using the barrows in Avebury and the Salisbury Plain. He wanted to test if the barrows were placed in locations that had high levels of intervisibility. He Applied a Kolmogorov-Smirnov One-sample hypothesis tests to the intervisibility model to test his null hypothesis, that barrows were built irrespective of the level of intervisibility with other barrows in the vicinity. The use of a one-sample statistical test compares the sample to the background standard values, where a two-sample statistical test would require the generation of random point features pulled from the cumulative viewshed raster for comparison. The two-sample test has a greater potential for error since it only considers the random sample that is compared (Kvame, 1990).

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov goodness-of-fit test compares the cumulative distributions of the sample (Sites) and the population (background). The difference between the two curves is used to calculate whether the two curves are from the same sample differ significantly from one another based on the significance interval deemed acceptable for the question at hand (typically a p-value < 0.05). Wheatley was able to use this method to test if barrows had statistically

significant levels of intervisibility. They did show a slightly increased level of intervisibility at Avebury when compared to the background, but it was not significant enough to reject his null hypothesis. The Barrows around Stonehenge on the Salisbury Plain did show a statistically significant level of intervisibility that enabled rejection of the null hypothesis, that the sites are distributed irrespective of the number of other sites which are visible (Wheatley D. , Cumulative Viewshed Analysis: A GIS-Based method for Investigating Intervisibility, and its archaeological application, 1995).

This form of cumulative viewshed analysis has been applied to Plantation landscapes in the Atlantic world. Some applications intended to refine the analysis of panopticism. Thomas Whitley used cumulative viewsheds to identify parts of the plantation landscape that experienced greater levels of surveillance from overseer and plantation house locations (2008). Others used cumulative viewsheds to test intervisibility of Plantation houses. Lisa Randle assessed the intervisibility of plantation houses in the lowcountry of South Carolina (2009; 2011). Her results were inconclusive, due to the generally flat terrain and generally high levels of intervisibility in the area under analysis. This made it difficult to determine a statistically significant value for intervisibility in relation to the background data, but intervisibility was present. James Delle used a cumulative viewshed analysis to show the degree of intervisibility between plantation houses in Jamaica that may be a product of costly signaling and/or allow plantation houses to operate as visual networks that enable the rapid sharing of information if a revolt by the enslaved population occurred (2014). These few studies are the most comprehensive application of viewshed analyses applied to plantation sites in the Atlantic world to date. The following discussion addresses viewshed analysis methodologies developed by prehistorians that may be

applicable to research questions that concern historical archaeologists studying the African Diaspora in the Americas.

Lake, Woodman, and Mithen (1998) expanded on the cumulative viewshed analysis presented by Wheatley. They argued for a complete cumulative viewshed calculated for every cell in the grid so that they could determine if Mesolithic sites were positioned in an area that provided ideal locations for tracking game across the landscape. Marcos Llobera called these 'complete' cumulative viewsheds "total Viewsheds," which he argued could be used to interpret the visual characteristics of the landscape (Llobera, Extending GIS-Based Visual Analysis: The Concept of Visualscapes, 2003). He introduced the term 'visualscape' to describe "the **spatial representation** of any **visual property** generated by, or associated with a **spatial configuration** (bold in original) (2003, p. 30)." A spatial representation is the way in which spatial data is classified, stored, and visualized. GIS data in the visibility studies discussed in this dissertation are either raster surfaces or vector data. Raster layers represent continuous data across the entire dataset, such as elevation or visibility. Vector objects are represented as either points, lines, or polygons. A visual property is any measure of a visual characteristic of the landscape. The spatial configuration is the structure and relationship of landscape features that impact visibility. The choice of what to include in the spatial configuration depends on the questions asked and the data available (Llobera, Extending GIS-Based Visual Analysis: The Concept of Visualscapes, 2003).

The characterization of the visualscape requires a dataset that accounts for the visual characteristics across an entire study area. This is what Llobera calls a total viewshed (2003). A total viewshed is calculated in the same way as a cumulative viewshed, but it is calculated for the center point of every grid cell, not just select observation points. The result is a map of the visual

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magnitude of each cell in the grid. Two forms of total viewshed were defined by Jay Lee and Dan Stucky in 1998. The general viewgrid is a total viewshed that represents the number of grid cells that have a view to each grid cell (view to) (Lee & Stucky, 1998, p. 893). The dominance viewgrid is a total viewshed that adds up all the cells that can be viewed from each grid cell (views from) (Lee & Stucky, 1998, p. 893). The total viewshed is a representation of the visual structure of a whole region.

After a total viewshed has been calculated it can be assessed using a variety of statistical approaches. An initial visual inspection may provide qualitative insights. Descriptive statistics and plotting a histogram of the data can reveal further information regarding relationships between sites and the landscape. The presence of sharp peaks may indicate dramatic shifts in visibility as a person moves through space, as has been demonstrated for examples of a ridgeline or upland terrain. Valleys tend to have a visual structure that has less dramatic visual changes and more regular distribution of general visibility across the landscape (Llobera, Extending GIS-Based Visual Analysis: The Concept of Visualscapes, 2003, p. 34).

Total viewsheds can also be used to assess differences in the visibility characteristics of viewing a foreground, middle ground, and background by adjusting the length of the radius used to determine the cells included in the calculation of a total viewshed. The structure of terrain influences the visibility structure at different ranges. In terrain with many degraded ridgelines, such as Virginia's Piedmont, the short distance, or foreground visual structure favors spaces off the ridgetops, while the long distance or background visibility structure favors high points along ridges (see below). These general differences in the visual structure of the landscape may have cultural significance in the placement of sites with different functions, or that are inhabited by people of varying social or economic status.

The computation of total viewsheds enable the characterization of additional landscape structures at a more human scale of analysis. Characteristics like the visual exposure and visual prominence of a feature are relative in the sense that the parts of the landscape that appear to be prominent or exposed is in relation to other nearby points, or the neighborhood. Neighborhood can be calculated in a variety of ways but is typically some form of distance measure from an observation point (Llobera, 2003; Brughmans, Gillings, & Garderen, 2017; Brughmans, Garderen, & Gillings, 2018).

Marcos Llobera defines *prominence* as the visual property that is defined by the value of the target raster cell in relation to the average value of all the raster cells in its neighborhood. Prominence can be determined for a variety of attributes, such as prominence of topographic features in the terrain based on a digital elevation model or visual prominence of features based on a total viewshed. A cell with a high positive value typically represents a sharp hill-top, while a value of 0 is flat, and a location with a negative prominence ranges from shallow depressions to extreme negative values associated with a deep channel (Llobera, Extending GIS-Based Visual Analysis: The Concept of Visualscapes, 2003, p. 37). Forms of prominence can be combined to identify parts of the landscape with specific visual characteristics. Llobera uses the example of identifying areas that have a high visible prominence, but a low topographic prominence. Specific combinations of visual characteristics could relate to a wide array of archaeological questions regarding visibility and the human experience.

Visual exposure is another landscape characteristic that can be calculated using data derived from a total viewshed. Visual exposure is "a description of how much the feature occupies the field of view of an individual at any location (Llobera, Extending GIS-Based Visual Analysis: The Concept of Visualscapes, 2003, p. 40)." Essentially, visual exposure is the

quantitative measure of how much of a feature is visible at a location, not just the presence or absence of feature visibility. It operates under the assumption that the closer an individual moves towards a feature, the greater portion of the individual's view is occupied by it (Llobera, 2003, p. 41).

The analysis of visual exposure can be expanded even further when combined with a map of the slope of the terrain, which is derived from the digital elevation model. This enables a calculation of where visual changes occur, the extent of those changes, and the directional movement that will have the greatest impact on the visual magnitude of a feature from a person's perspective.

The concept of directionality of movement and the differential impact on the visual experience of space was elaborated by Llobera two years later (Llobera, 2005). He described the concept of visual enclosure as one which is dependent upon the direction of movement. He provides the example of moving towards an enclosed space, such as a canyon or a cavern. As you approach and the walls begin to close around you there is an experience of visual enclosure, even before entering the canyon. If you are walking out of the canyon, you will have an experience of visual expansion (Llobera, 2005, pp. 186-187). He presents these methods as tools to explore spatial and visual cognition within a geographic information science framework.

Marcos Llobera also developed the concept and calculation of what he calls *co-visibility*, as an extension and refinement of intervisibility studies that had been conducted up to that point (Llobera, 2007a). Co-visibility describes the area between two or more points where visibility is shared. In essence, these are overlapping fields-of-view. Variations in the degree of visual overlap is one of many factors that could be used to help characterize visual relationships between sites or features of cultural or archaeological significance. The determination of co-

visibility can also be refined to account for shared foreground, middle ground, and background visibility.

There was another contribution to the development of GIS as a tool to test theories put forward by other landscape archaeologists. Phenomenologists in the late 1990s suggested that stone monuments may mimic the landscape in which they are located (Richards J. D., 1998; Bradley, 1998). Mark Lake and Patricia Woodman developed a methodology to calculate an 'impression of circularity' in the landscape at the locations of stone circles (2003, p. 696). A viewshed was calculated for the area around a stone circle. They isolated the furthest points on the viewshed and defined these as the horizon point. A variety of statistics can be calculated for each of the horizon points. The horizontal direction from the viewpoint, the distance from the viewpoint, the elevation, as well as the vertical angle, or inclination. Lake and Woodman calculated the distance, elevation, and inclination at the horizon point every 0.5 degrees. They could then plot the total variation in inclination from the observation point at each stone circle. Taken one step further, they argue that this method can be used to determine not only that there is an impression of circularity but could help characterize the visual structure that produces that perception (Lake & Woodman, 2003, p. 703).

Visual affordance is another concept that has been used to assess visualscapes in archaeology (Llobera, 1996; Gillings, Visual Affordance, Landscape, and the Megaliths of Alderney, 2009). The concept comes from the psychologist J. J. Gibson and was introduced to archaeology by Tim Ingold (Ingold, 1993). Ingold states that "affordances are properties of the real environment as directly perceived by an agent in a context of practical action (1993, p. 46)." Affordance is essentially a property concerned with visual and spatial configurations. Mark Gillings developed visual affordance to aid in the interpretation of Neolithic structures on

Alderney, one of the Channel Islands (2009). This includes the development of another variation on cumulative viewsheds that he called an affordance viewshed. An affordance viewshed is a modification of the total viewshed used to interpret the visual affordance of features considered to contribute to decisions on megalithic structure placements in the past (Gillings, 2009, pp. 344-345).

Visual affordance viewsheds are essentially cumulative viewsheds that are calculated from points that meet a specified spatial criteria. One visual affordance Gillings analyzed was the total view of the sea around the island of Alderney. He took a digital elevation model that included sea level values for a large area around the island to account for the introduction of error along the edges of his visibility maps. Each grid cell in his data was 30 meters square. The center point of each grid cell was used as an observation point. He deleted every observation point outside a 6,880-meter buffer around the island to account for limits to human visual acuity (Ogburn, 2006). Next, he deleted all the points on land because he was concerned with calculating the portion of the view that was of the sea. Then, he ran a cumulative viewshed analysis for every observation point, which were all located in the sea around Alderney. The target point value was set to 1.7m to represent the height of a person. No viewpoint height offset was used. The resulting cumulative viewshed raster was then clipped to only include the values on the island. The resulting raster layer is a model of the total views-to-sea across the entire landscape of Alderney. Or, in the terms of affordance theory, the portion of the view that is afforded to the sea (Gillings, Visual Affordance, Landscape, and the Megaliths of Alderney, 2009). He then used the affordance viewshed to test whether monuments were placed with large affordances to the sea or if monuments were placed near the sea, but with low levels of visual

affordance. Gillings continued to develop the link between visual affordance and phenomenological approaches to the landscape (Gillings, 2012).

The concept of *visibility fields* parallels affordance viewsheds and was developed by Stuart Eve and Enrico Crema (2014). Eve and Crema map the portions of potentially significant landscape features that are visible from the settlement on Lesckernick Hill instead of quantifying the portion of the viewshed that is taken up by the Sea. This included other hills visible in the distance, as well as potential sites related to the extraction of tin. These visual fields were then used to test multiple models of settlement development using a variety of variables stored in GIS layers in a geodatabase.

Gillings continued to develop methods and theory related to visibility that relied on the total viewshed and on Affordance viewsheds (Gillings, 2015). In 2015, Gillings published a paper in which he developed a methodology to map locations that had ideal characteristics for visual concealment and exposure. It was concerned with mapping invisibility. He included five variations on his affordance viewshed analysis. The first analysis identified hidden locations on the landscape, or areas with low view-to values. The second analysis was a general index of invisibleness that mapped the elevation change that would be required to bring invisible cells into view. His third analysis mapped covert spaces, which he defined as areas with low view-to values and high view-from values. Or, put another way, locations that are hidden, but have commanding views of the surrounding landscape. These first three analyses were concerned with mapping visible characteristics across the landscape, but visual characteristics are location specific, so the last two analyses were focused on interpreting visibility for specific locations in the study area.

Analysis four was developed to identify areas where people could spy on the Coombes, or deep drainages that cut through the landscape of Exmoor (Gillings, 2015, p. 5). For this, the slope was used to identify flat areas, then the plateaus were removed, leaving the bottom of the coombes. Next, the same process run for analysis three was repeated to identify areas with low 'view to' values and high 'view from' values using only the points off the plateau. This resulted in a map that identified surveillance locations that enabled tracking game in the bottom of the coombes. The standing stones did not align well with the locations identified in analysis four. The fifth analysis was concerned with how visual characteristics change with distance from a point of interest, and with the direction from which a point of interest is viewed (Gillings, 2015, p. 7). To do this, an area around one of the standing stone sites was identified as an area of interest. Then, ring buffers extending out every 500 meters from the area of interest were calculated for a range out to 7000 meters. This analysis found that the greatest visibility was within the 500-1,000-meter buffer. The second part of this analysis was termed a wedge study, and assessed the visibility of the stone from particular angles. In this study Gillings used 30 degree ranges to identify the direction of approach that would provide the greatest amount of visibility. This analysis shows that the angle that had the greatest amount of visibility is the predicted direction of approach of animals travelling through the coombes. This supports an interpretation that these smaller standing stones may have been used as hunting blinds that hid the hunters from animals as they followed a common direction of movement through the landscape.

These methods have been expanded upon and made freely available to the public in recent years by a team working to develop a tool in the R statistical package for the study of visual neighborhood configurations (VNCs) (Brughmans, Gillings, & Garderen, 2017; 2018).

VNCs were developed to address the problem that viewshed analyses are typically based on the visual properties of a single point, as opposed to the visual character of the area surrounding a point, or its visual neighborhood (Brughmans, Garderen, & Gillings, 2018). The development of this toolkit and the public availability of it through R has expanded access to tools that had not been available through GIS platforms in the past. Benefits of VNC analysis include the capacity to express a diverse range of spatial configurations and to more easily assess multiple hypotheses about visibility that concern the immediate surroundings of a point, the modification of these variables to express spatial configurations in formal and controllable ways, and formally represents and explore hypotheses related to the structuring of space through visual patterns and impacts on human behavior (Brughmans, Garderen, & Gillings, 2018).

Visual Neighborhood Configurations define the locations that are included in the neighborhood based on the research question, theoretical framework, and hypothesis to be tested. The VNC includes the size, shape, and structures of the neighborhood. The size is the area around the focal point that will be included in an analysis. Testing at various sizes will enable an exploration of the sensitivity of the size variable on results. The shape of the neighborhood can be defined in any way. The shape is typically defined as a circle, but the shape can be modified to include neighboring areas with specific characteristics, such as flat terrain, etc. Any shape is possible and is guided by the research question. The structure of the neighborhood is used to adjust the role of different locations within a neighborhood. Different visual properties could be expected depending on how the neighborhood is structured. The structure could be uniform, or could be divided by distance bands, gradual change with distance from the focal point, or directional wedges. The VNC tool also allows the classification of expectation values that are based in theories related to the research question. These expectations can then be compared to

the results to formally express how well the results match the expectations. This enables a more

nuanced interpretation of the ways in which visibility structured the landscape and was

structured by the landscape (Brughmans, Garderen, & Gillings, 2018).

The VNC application also includes tools to evaluate the VNC calculation. One example

is calculating the average visibility of a neighborhood, or extreme high or low values within a

neighborhood. If the neighborhood is divided into groups, then the values of each group can be

evaluated. If a neighborhood is structured by multiple bands, or buffers, then the VNC analysis

tool can calculate the buffer with the highest or lowest average value for each focal point.

Analysis of results based on the stated expectations can also be completed using two variations

of a root-mean-square-error (RMSE).The global RMSE and grouped RMSE will both produce

values close to one when there is no fit with the expectation, and a value close to zero when there

is correlation between the expectations and the observations. The global RMSE is calculated for

an entire neighborhood. Each cell in the neighborhood has the difference calculated between the

observed value and the estimated value. The calculated difference value is then squared, which

removes the possibility of negative values. The average of the squared errors is computed, and

then the square root is calculated. The grouped RMSE is calculated in the same way but is

divided into groups defined by the locations that share a classification based on the VNC

structure. In a grouped RMSE analysis each distance band or directional wedge would be

calculated separately if the VNC was structured using distance bands (Brughmans, Gillings, &

Garderen, 2017).

Brughmans, Garderen and Gillings (2018)(2018) used the same case study as Gillings in

2015, the standing stones of Exmoor, to test their visual neighborhood configuration application.

They were able to test multiple hypotheses related to the stones' placement on the landscape.

One analysis determined where on the landscape the stones would have been most hidden, or the lowest statistical chance of being seen (Brughmans, Garderen, & Gillings, 2018, pp. 18-20). Their second analysis sought to identify covert places, or places that were hard to see, but afforded an expansive view of the landscape (Brughmans, Garderen, & Gillings, 2018, pp. 20-22). Their third analysis of the standing stones was more complex and relied on a structure that enabled an assessment of directionality, distance, and orientation of the standing stones. This enabled testing a hypothesis that the stones were used in hunting or game drives. The VNC toolkit has only been applied in very limited contexts because of its recent availability (Brughmans, Gillings, & Garderen, 2017; 2018; Brughmans, Waal, Hofman, & Brandes, 2018). It has great potential for developing nuanced analyses of visualscapes through time. This is especially important when trying to determine the relationship between dynamic settlement patterns that both shape and are shaped by the shifting visualscape.

Error and Uncertainty in Viewshed Maps

The development of viewshed tools have enabled innovative interpretation of archaeological landscapes, but there are limitations and challenges to their effective application. Many of the challenges were noted in early studies and have been addressed to varying degrees of success (Fisher P. F., 1991). David Wheatley divided errors into two categories. Primary errors are errors inherent in the data used for the analysis. These include errors in elevation values in the digital elevation models, interpolation errors that are introduced when converting contour or point data into raster layers, and locational displacement or georectification errors related to the position of sites (Wheatley D. , Cumulative Viewshed Analysis: A GIS-Based method for Investigating Intervisibility, and its archaeological application, 1995, p. 181). Secondary errors are produced during the calculation of viewsheds. These can be introduced into

individual viewsheds, which in turn impacts the accuracy of later derivatives, from cumulative and total viewsheds to visual neighborhood configurations (Wheatley D. , Cumulative Viewshed Analysis: A GIS-Based method for Investigating Intervisibility, and its archaeological application, 1995, p. 182).

It is important to understand the introduction of error at the foundational level to understand the degree of error that should be considered in later analyses. Many of the earliest challenges with viewshed analyses have been addressed, although there are still obstacles to overcome.

One of the first places errors are introduced is in the digital representation of the space that is being modeled (Wheatley D. , Cumulative Viewshed Analysis: A GIS-Based method for Investigating Intervisibility, and its archaeological application, 1995; Gupta & Devillers, 2017; Verhoeven, 2017). Historically, these models have been based on raster surfaces, which cannot truly represent the complex structure of three-dimensional space. Raster data is considered 2.5-D data, since rasters are two dimensional representations of 3-D space. When elevation raster layers were originally being developed, they relied on digital elevation models with grid cells that were 30m, 90m, or more on a side. In areas with low topographic variation this would not have a significant impact on results, but as the topography becomes more varied there is an increase in the error rate that is related to the structure of the raster surface itself (see Figure 11). Essentially, the edge of one grid cell may have a significantly different elevation value than the same corresponding edge of the neighboring cell. The line of site may intersect with a portion of the raster cell that inaccurately represents the true elevation at that location in space (see Figure 10). The issues related to this grid cell problem have been greatly reduced by the resolution of digital elevation models derived from LiDAR datasets that have a high resolution of elevation

data and a relatively small raster cell size. LiDAR stands for Light Detection and Ranging. It can be thought of as a laser-based measuring system that captures high-density measurements across the landscape. Generally, USGS LiDAR surveys produce data with grid cells that are 1-meter square or smaller, unless their resolution is intentionally reduced to enable more efficient computation of complex algorithms relying on the elevation information.

Figure 27. Three-Dimensional Representation of an Original High Resolution Raster (small cell size) and a Resampled Low Resolution Raster (large cell size). Image from https://www.safe.com/blog/2014/07/raster-master/
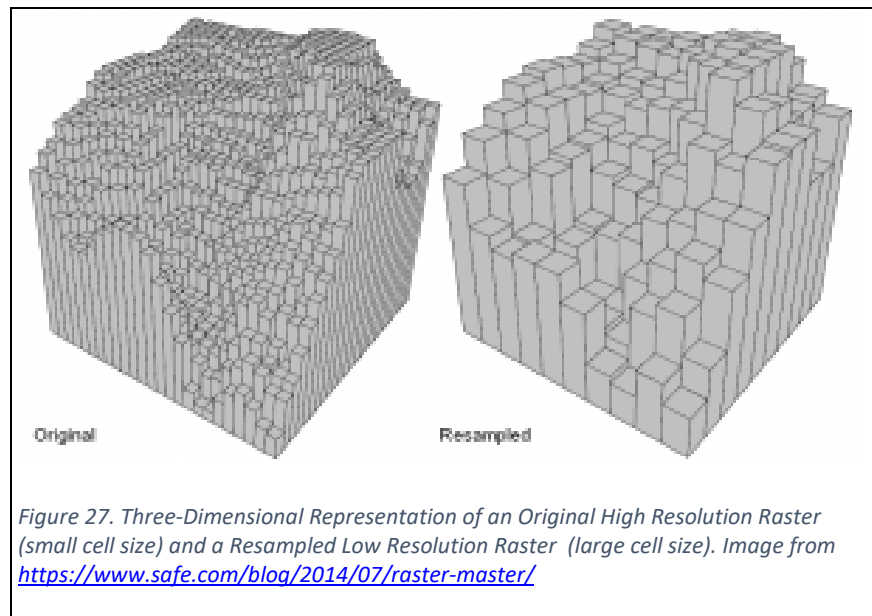
Some quantitative 3-D methods of representing and analyzing space have also been applied to archaeological contexts and questions (Paliou 2013; Dell'Unto et al 2016; Gupta and Devillers 2017; Opitz 2017; Sullivan 2017; Verhoeven 2017). These methods were first developed in the 1990s (Dean 1997) but are just starting to be used more frequently in the last five years due to increased computational capacity. Most 3-D analysis methods were originally developed by architects and urban planners concerned with questions related to human perception in complex spatial structures (Yang et al 2007; Engel and Donner 2009; Rod and Meer 2009; Delikostidis et al 2013).

3-D data is represented in a few formats. Point clouds are points with x, y, z coordinate values. Triangulated irregular networks (TIN) are 3-D digital Mesh surfaces where points are connected with lines or edges forming triangle faces. One benefit of TINs over points clouds are TINs are represented as solid digital objects as opposed to isolated points with empty space between them. Lastly, 3-D models and other forms non-triangular mesh surfaces are commonly used to create digital reconstructions of non-extant structures or in architectural modelling. These types of 3-D models are more common when modeling visibility in a structure than across a landscape.

There are a few reasons that 3-D approaches have not become as widely adopted as their 2.5-D raster-based predecessors. One challenge with all visibility studies, but especially three-dimensional ones, is the computational load required to produce them. This challenge is compounded when calculating 3-D cumulative viewsheds and especially 3-D total viewsheds. Another hurdle to the widespread adoption of 3-D methods is that the digital tools required for these analyses are less widely available. They can also prove more difficult to integrate with other spatial models that archaeologists produce. Lastly, many archaeological landscapes cannot be fully modeled using digital documentation tools such as photogrammetry and laser scanning. This necessitates 3-D digital reconstructions of archaeological spaces which are time consuming and expensive. This can be reduced through highly simplified renderings of 3-D features at a landscape scale, but it is an additional skillset required to complete the analysis. These challenges are quickly being overcome and will undoubtedly revolutionize future visual analyses in the discipline.

One study that may produce significantly different results if a 3-D approach is taken is Gilling's analysis of the visual affordance of the sea at different locations on the island of

Alderney (2009). Gillings' results were inconclusive in his analysis. The inconclusive results could be a product of the impact of perspective, or the 3-D view sphere (Yuang, Putra, & Li, 2007). Gillings did not calculate the total portion of the three-dimensional field-of-view that was taken up by the sea at each point. The total number of visual cells on a 2.5-D raster visualization of sea-view does not equate to the total portion of a visual field taken up by the sea from an observation point. Since visual affordance is a relational property, it must consider the portion of a three-dimensional field-of-view that is taken up by the feature of interest. A combination of Gilling's approach to visual affordance (2009) and Lake and Woodman's calculation of the impression of circularity (2003) could yield a more accurate representation of the visual affordance of the sea in this context. Essentially, calculating and comparing the 'land horizon' and 'sea horizon' for each megalithic structure would enable a calculation of estimated three-dimensional visual affordance of the sea at each site. Running the same calculation for every observation point on land would essentially create a statistical background with which the visual affordance of the sea at each megalithic structure location could be calculated.

A second problem with the classic application of the single viewshed is that it does not consider variables beyond elevation of the terrain that may obstruct views. Vegetation, such as woodlots, are a major example of a variable that would have significant impacts on visualscapes (Rasova, 2018). Denis Dean first addressed this in 1997 using a visual permeability value that was assigned to raster cells and could be used to represent a reduction in visibility as a view passes through a visual obstacle. One problem with this method is that visibility through a wooded area would never reach total and absolute obstruction of the view as it does in reality (Llobera, 2007b). Marcos Llobera proposed the adoption of a new algorithm based in the Beer-Lambert's attenuation law to model impacts of vegetation on visibility. The Beer-Lambert model

was developed to help estimate the probability of a beam of light passing through a thin sheet (1 particle wide), or multiple thin sheets (Llobera, 2007b, p. 801). Ultimately, an algorithm representing the exponential law of attenuation is derived. The algorithm for the exponential law of attenuation can then be calibrated to represent different forms of vegetation. The density of vegetation can be modeled in the raster cells determined to represent vegetation. Modern analogies of vegetative growth can be used to calibrate the density estimates of vegetation in the past. Since it is unclear where exactly vegetation would have grown in the past, stochastic methods can be used to test a wide variety of vegetation placements on the landscape as well.

Additional development of GIS-based analysis of visibility through vegetation have become possible with access to high resolution aerial and terrestrial LiDAR data that can be used to extract vegetation data, including trunk size, location, and density (Murgoito J. J., Shrestha, Glenn, & Spaete, 2013; 2014). Combining LiDAR methods refines results, but correlation with visual field comparisons conducted with a digital camera show significant differences in estimation of visibility. These errors could likely be reduced dramatically with more holistic scan surveys of different types of forest. In the future, results from 3-D visual forest structure analyses will improve the calibration of visual attenuation through vegetation in different environments.

Another class of visual obstruction that is rarely accounted for in most raster-based viewshed analyses in archaeology are human-made structures. 3-D methodologies of visual analysis were developed to handle these elements of the visualscape, but 2.5-D map algebra can be used to adjust elevation values in locations where structures are located on the landscape to approximate their visual impact in raster viewshed analyses. A Raster can be generated that represents the location of structures on the landscape. Each corresponding raster cell can be assigned a value that represents the height of the structure over ground level. This modified

structural raster can then be used to add elevation values to the digital elevation model to account for the visual obstruction created by a structure. This altered digital elevation model is often referred to as a digital surface model (DSM).

Visibility related to weather conditions, most obviously including fog, is usually not considered in viewshed analyses. The portions of a landscape that were visible to a person in the past may differ significantly from the predictions based on simplified landscapes used in the modeling. The exponential law of attenuation can be modified to account for differing fog densities or the impact of precipitation, although I am unaware of any applications of this method. This is likely related to the computational and time demands related to running essentially the same analysis with slight modification of parameters to address differences in weather impacts on visibility. No clear archaeological research question requiring this type of analysis has been assessed using geospatial technologies.

Viewsheds have additional factors researchers should be concerned with when addressing questions related to reducing error in calculations over large distances. The curvature of the earth impacts the visibility at large scales, including the modeling of islands visible on the horizon or large geological or human made structures visible in the background of a landscape. The reduction of visibility resulting from atmospheric attenuation will also impact the accuracy of calculations over long distances. Accurate representations of data for these types of analysis require the use of digital elevation models that have been projected onto an ellipsoidal surface to account for the shape of the globe. This is particularly significant in the study of visualscapes of seafaring people.

Another challenge is what are called edge effects. There may be points outside of the raster grid which are visible from the point(s) in an area of interest. The closer a point is to the

edge of the raster grid, the more likely it is that the number of points visible will underrepresent the reality because of the edge effect (Llobera, 2003). This can be countered by using a digital elevation model that is larger than the area of interest by a distance that is greater than the visual radius distance parameter used in the analysis. This is especially important for any form of cumulative viewshed or total viewshed analysis in which the visibility values of grid cells will be used in statistical analysis.

Lastly, uncertainty in parameter selection has been a challenge to visual analyses in archaeology. Uncertainty stems from human and environmental variability. Environmental variability includes the location and type of vegetation; location, size, and visual impact of structures; and the degree of atmospheric attenuation. Human variables include an individual's capacity to focus, colorblindness, height, and cognitive terrain maps. One way in which this variability has been addressed is through studies to test human visual capabilities in a variety of contexts. Tadahiko Higuchi conducted a thorough analysis of factors related to human visual acuity and the differential impact of color and shape on human visual perception (Higuchi, 1983). He identified eight indices for defining the visual structure of space. This includes a distance index that was developed to consider the qualitative differences in the perception of objects as distances changed. David Wheatley and Mark Gillings introduced Higuchi's work as a framework to inform the calculation of viewsheds (Wheatley & Gillings, 2000). It was also incorporated into the production of 'fuzzy viewsheds' by Dennis E. Ogburn (2006). Fuzzy-viewsheds apply a distance decay function to represent a reduction in the human capacity to distinguish between objects as distance increases (2006, p. 407).

Higuchi's analysis of visual structure in Japanese landscapes is becoming a standard in the selection of parameter values in archaeological analyses of visibility. The regularity of values

applied in archaeological analysis has the benefit of enabling comparison between different archaeological visualscapes across space and time. The major drawback is the inability to account for variations in human visibility among the individuals that would have used their visual capacity to observe past landscapes. This variability can be accounted for through a sensitivity analysis that uses a range of parameter values for each variable. This enables the identification of visualscapes that can identify more 'universal' visual characteristics from ones that may have exceeded human capacity or would only have been observed by those with the sharpest visual acuity in a community. The biggest challenge to comprehensive sensitivity analysis of visualscapes is the time it takes to compute a wide range of visual variation.

Appendix C – Cumulative Distance Plots of African American Homespace Visibility

This Appendix includes charts of the visibility for domestic sites at each time period and

radius used in the assessment of African American domestic site visibility.

1800 (Madison A) African American Domestic Site Visibility

~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 63m
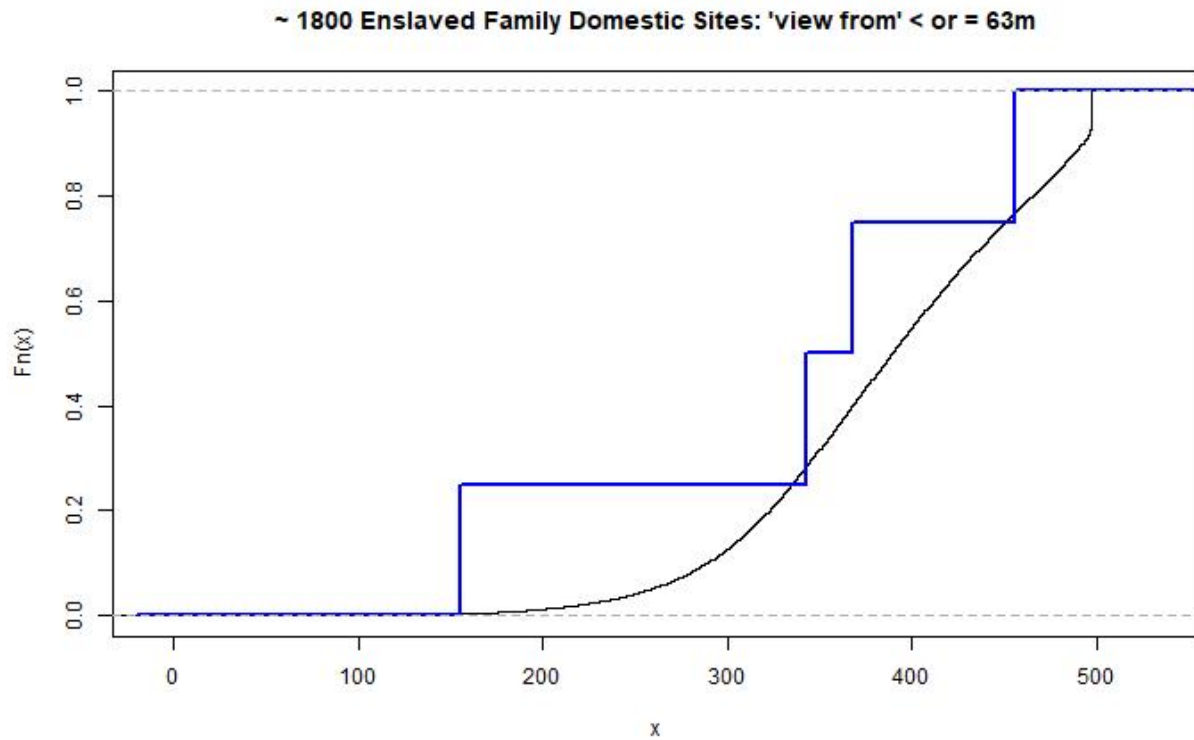
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 125m
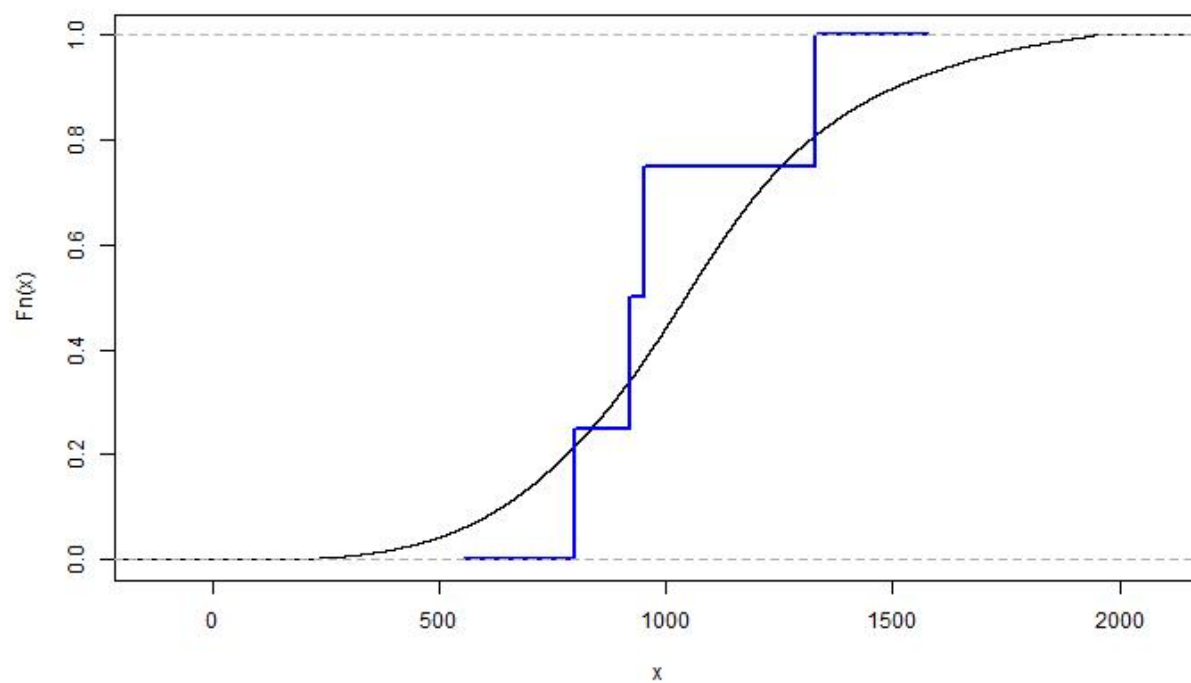
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 250m
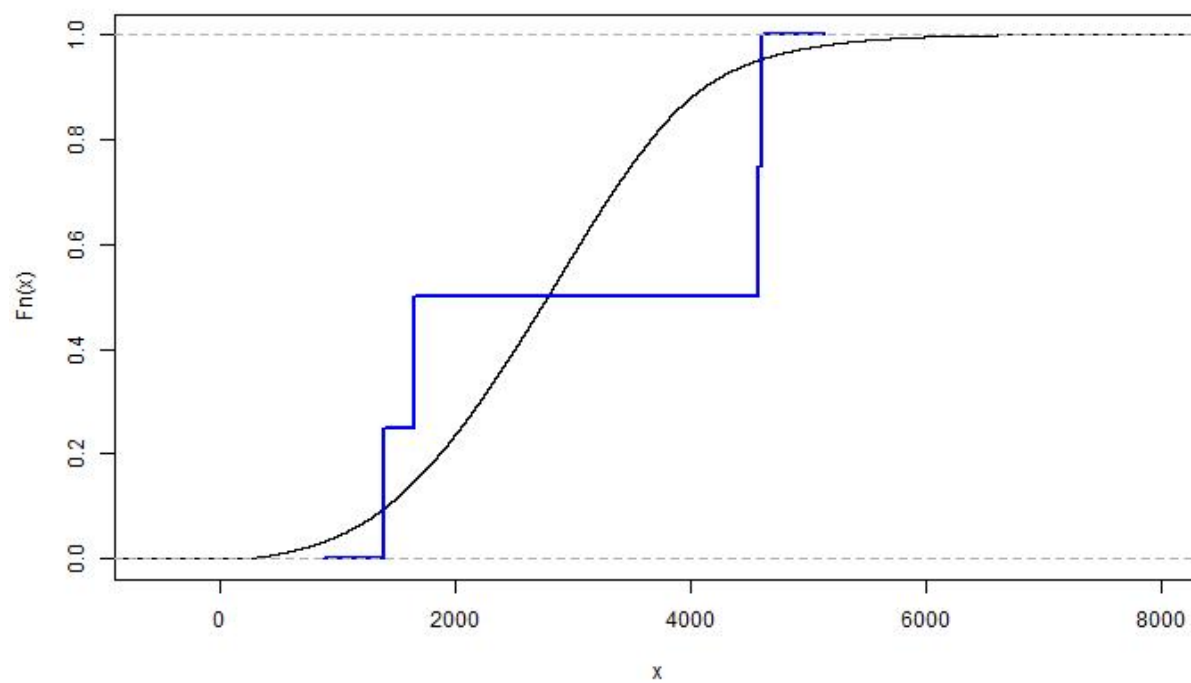
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 500m
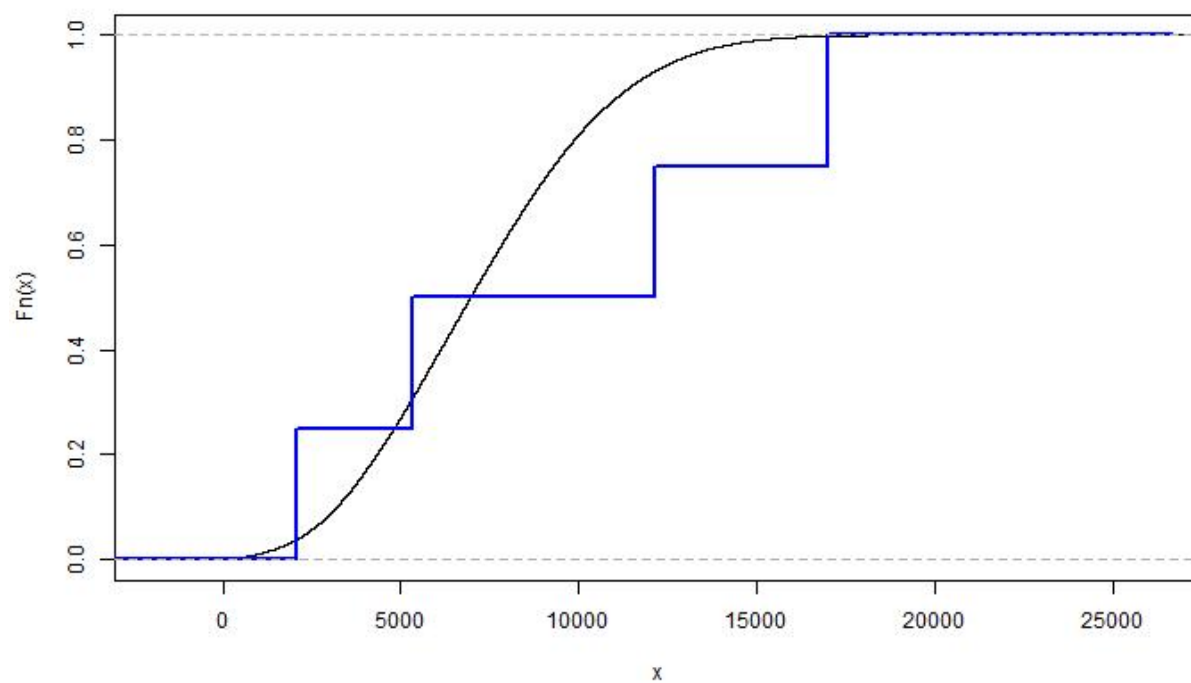
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 1000m

247
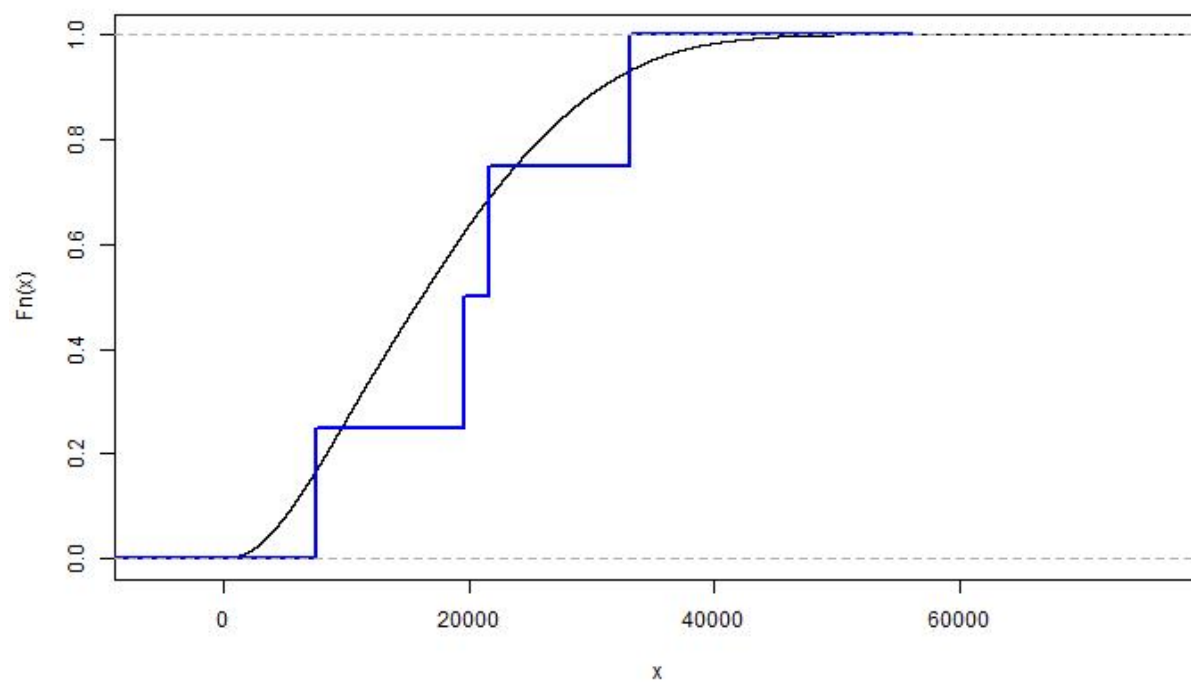
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 2000m
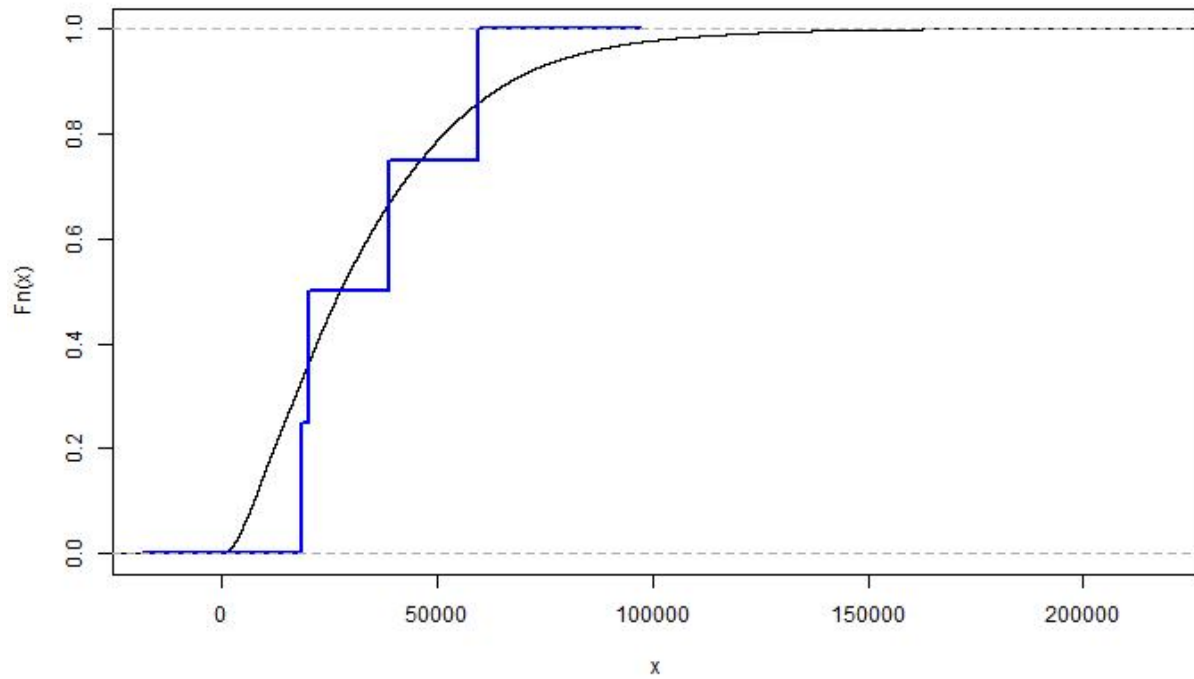
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 4000m
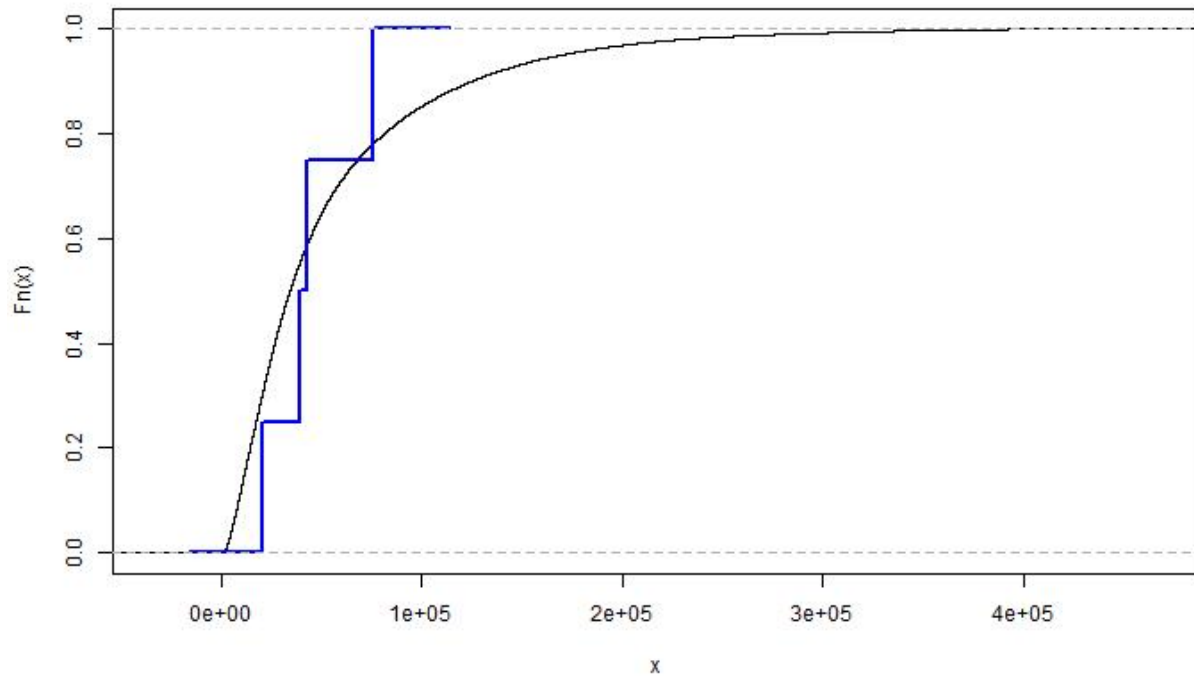
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 63m
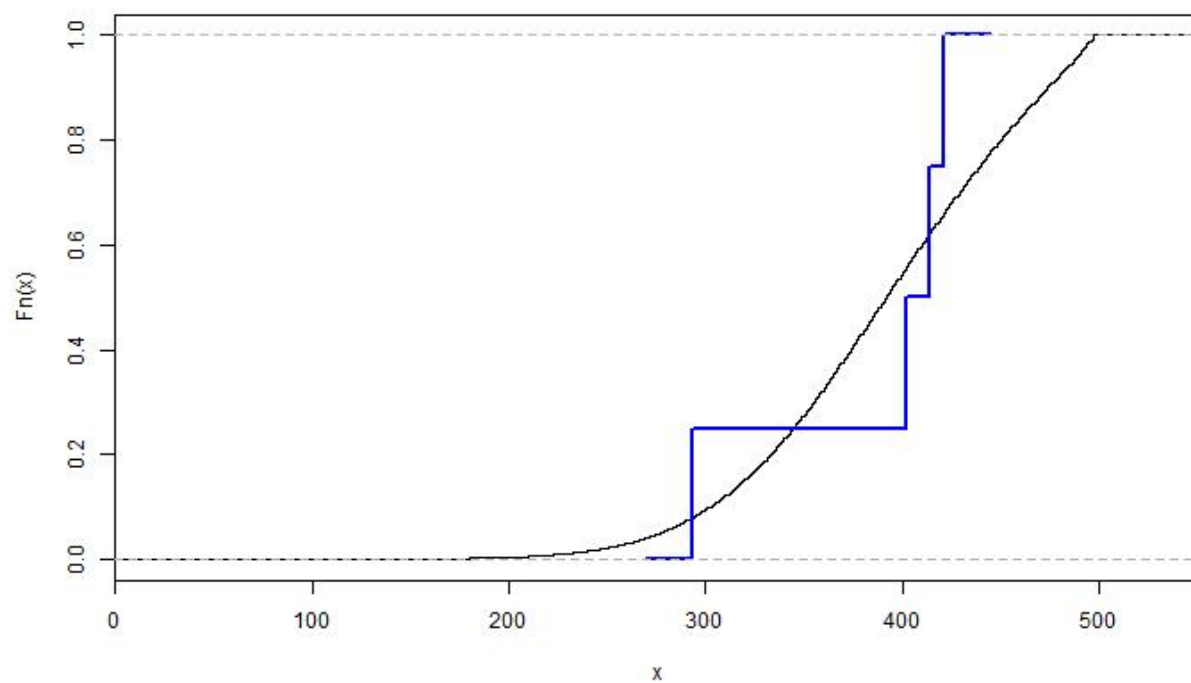
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 63m
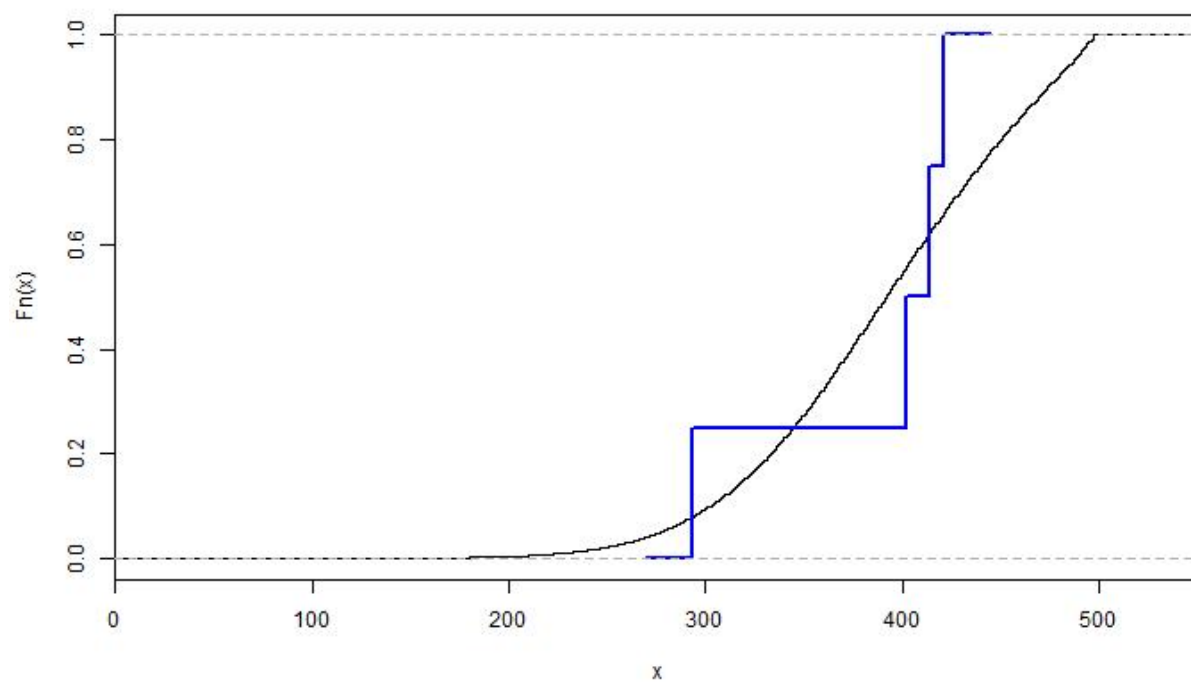
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 125m

~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 250m

250
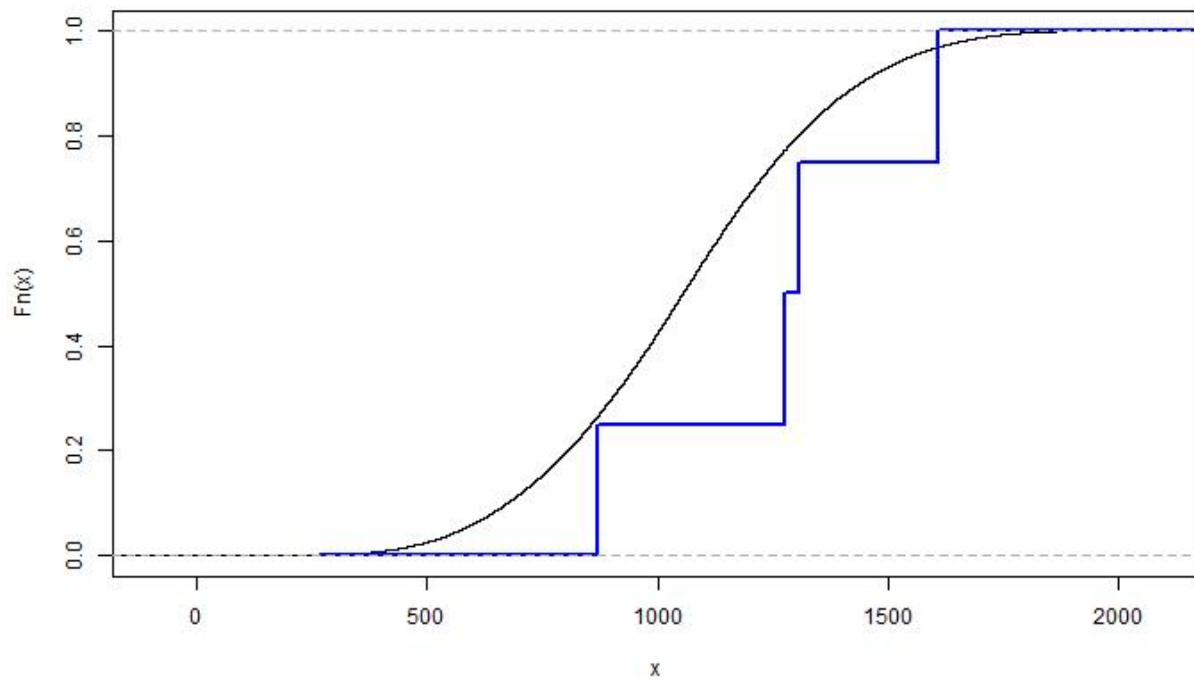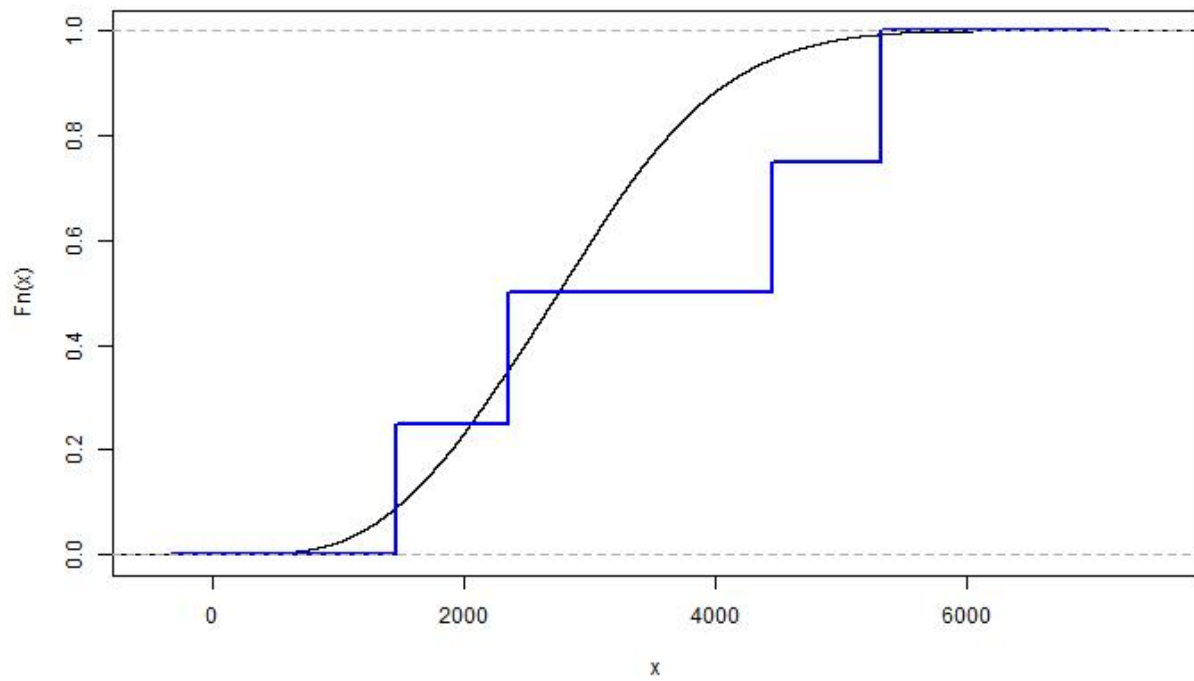
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 500m

~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 1000m

251
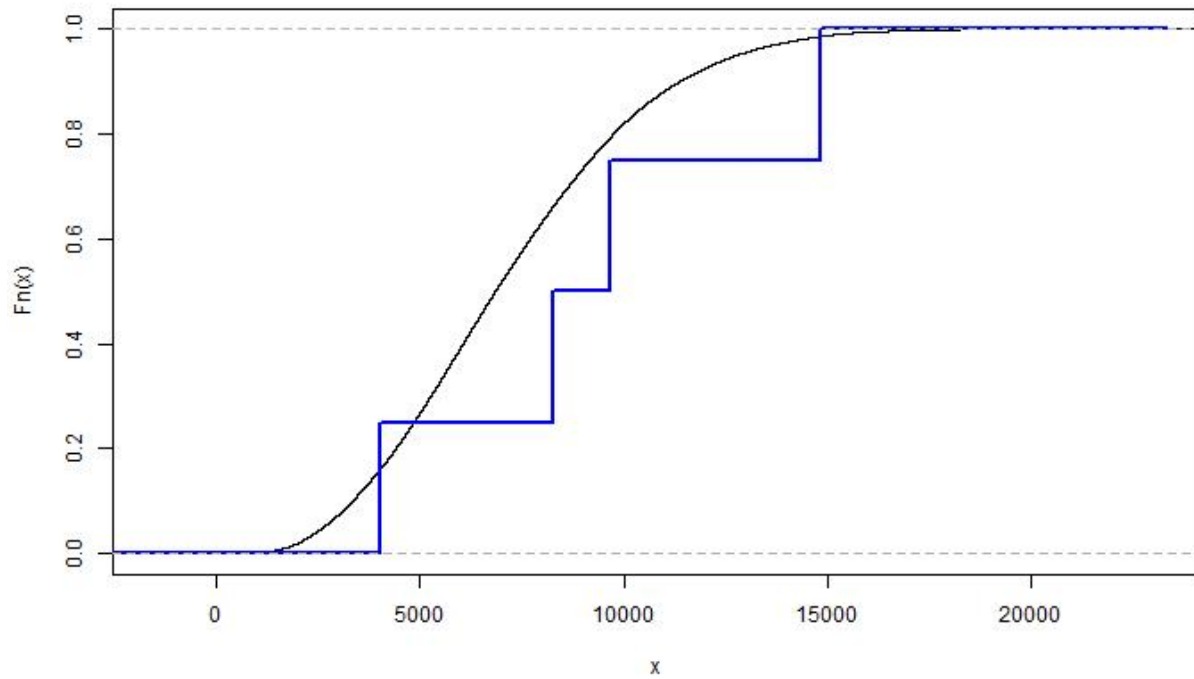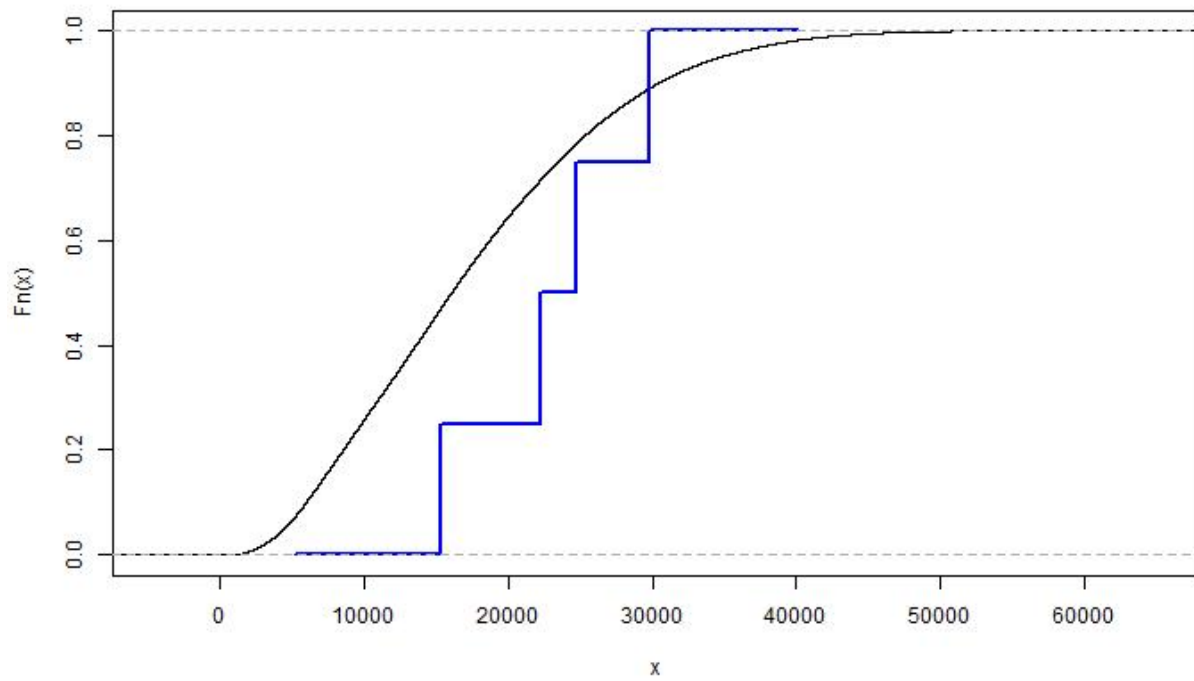
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 2000m
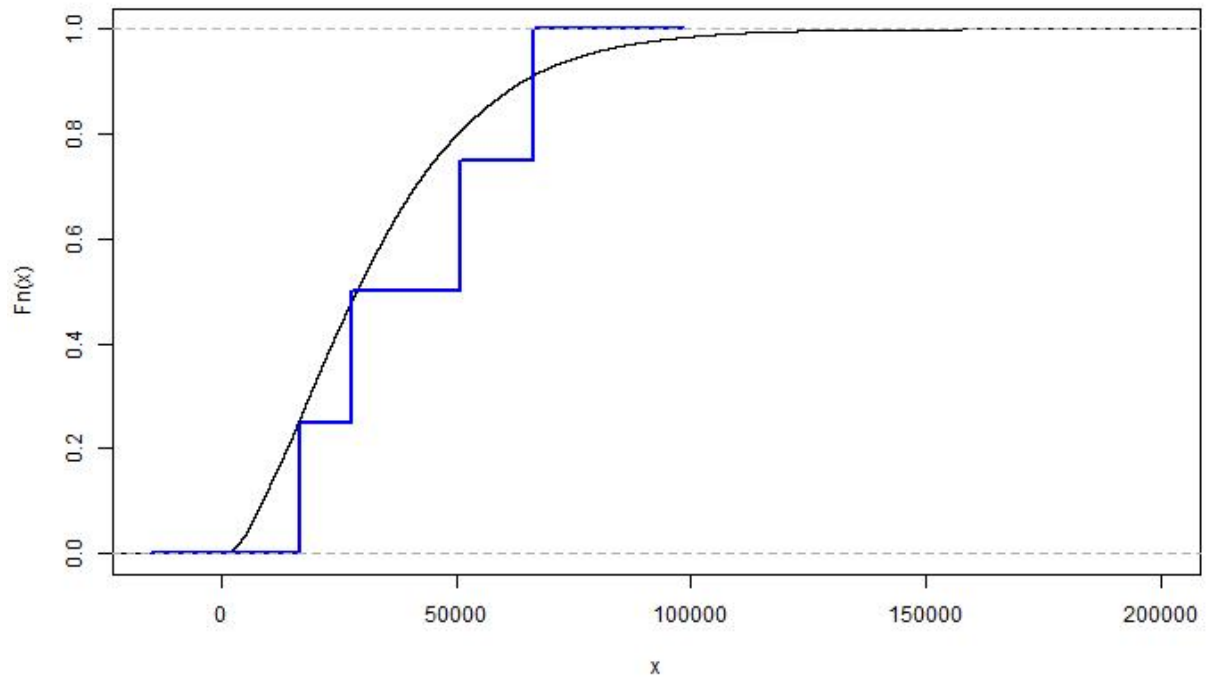
~ 1800 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 4000m
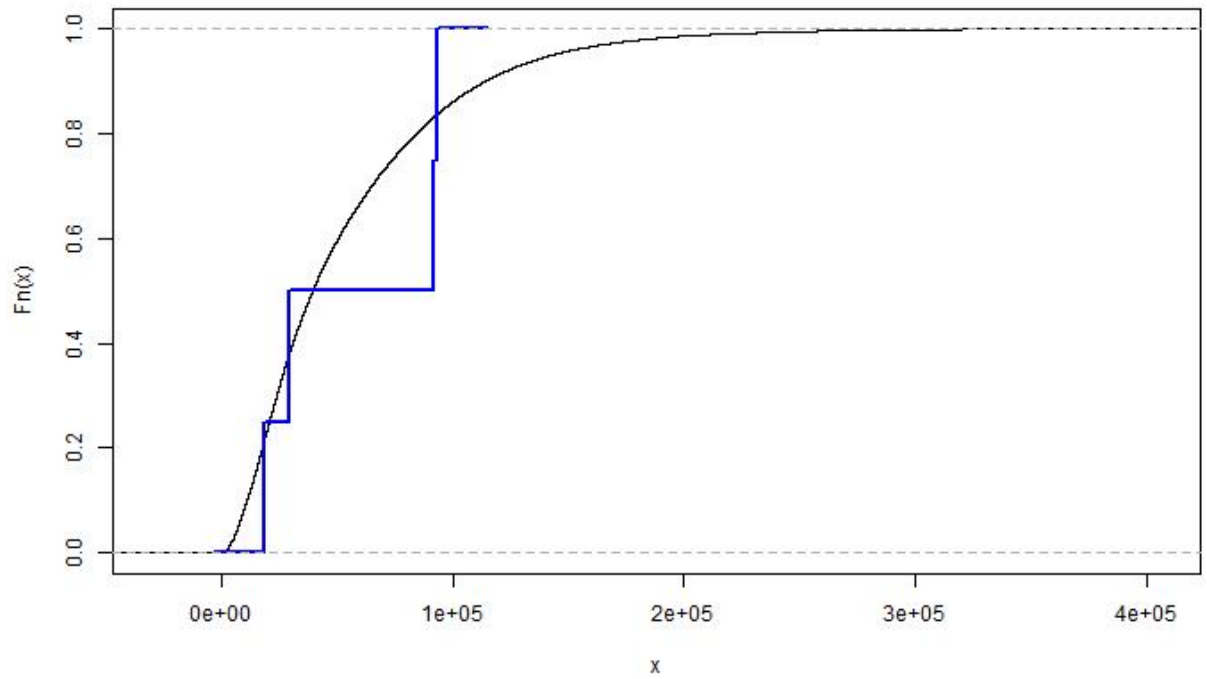
1820 (Madison B) African American Domestic Site Visibility

~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 63m
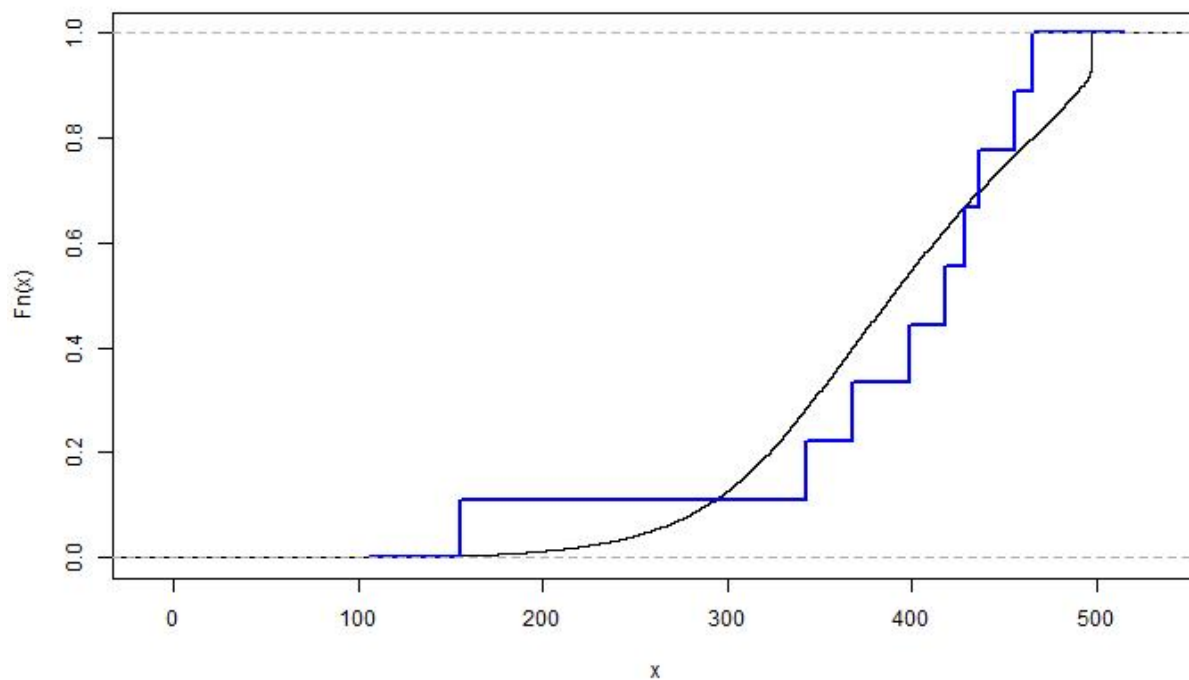
~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 125m
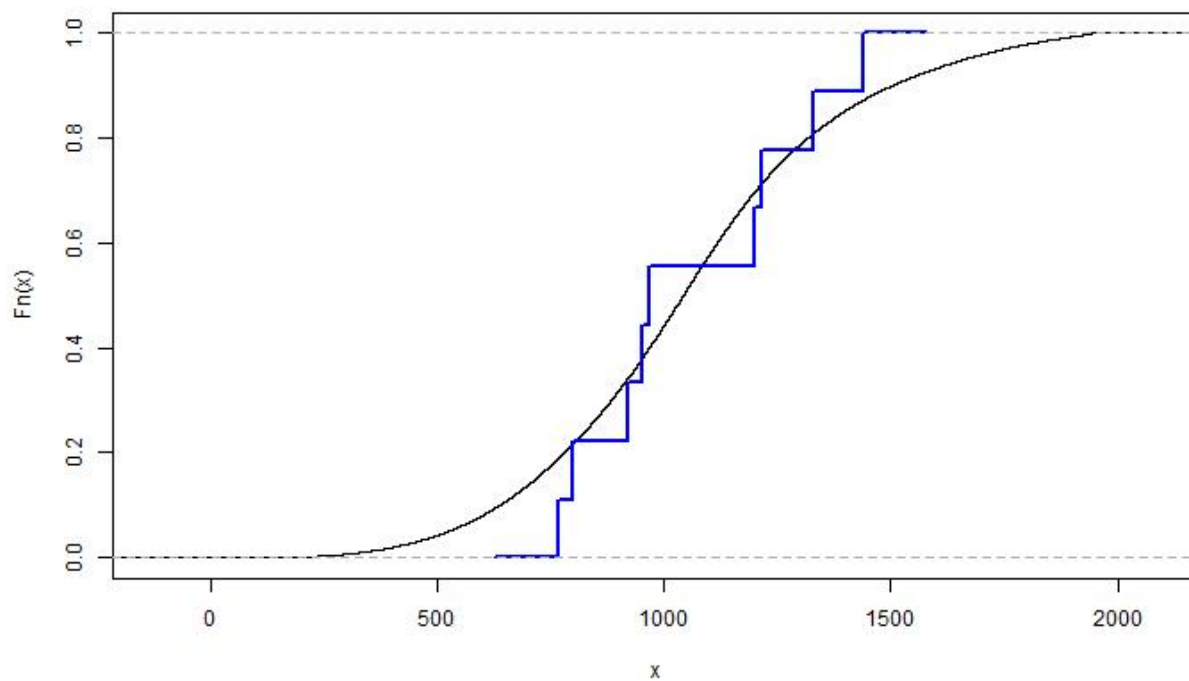
~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 250m
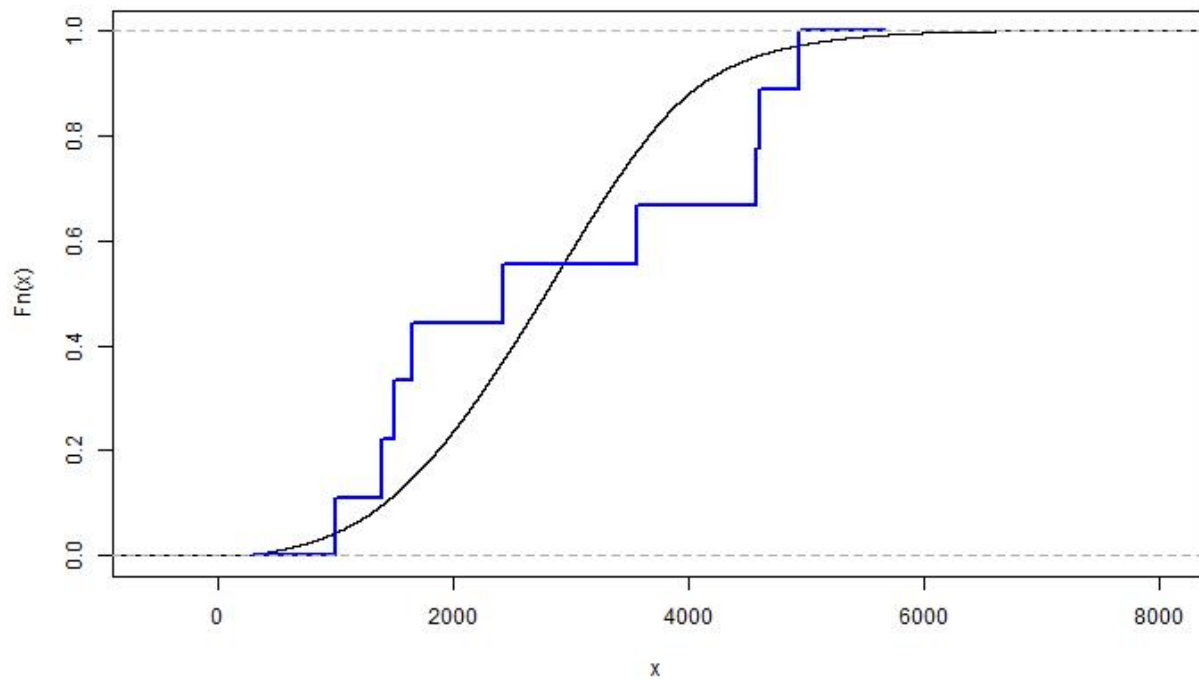
~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 500m

254
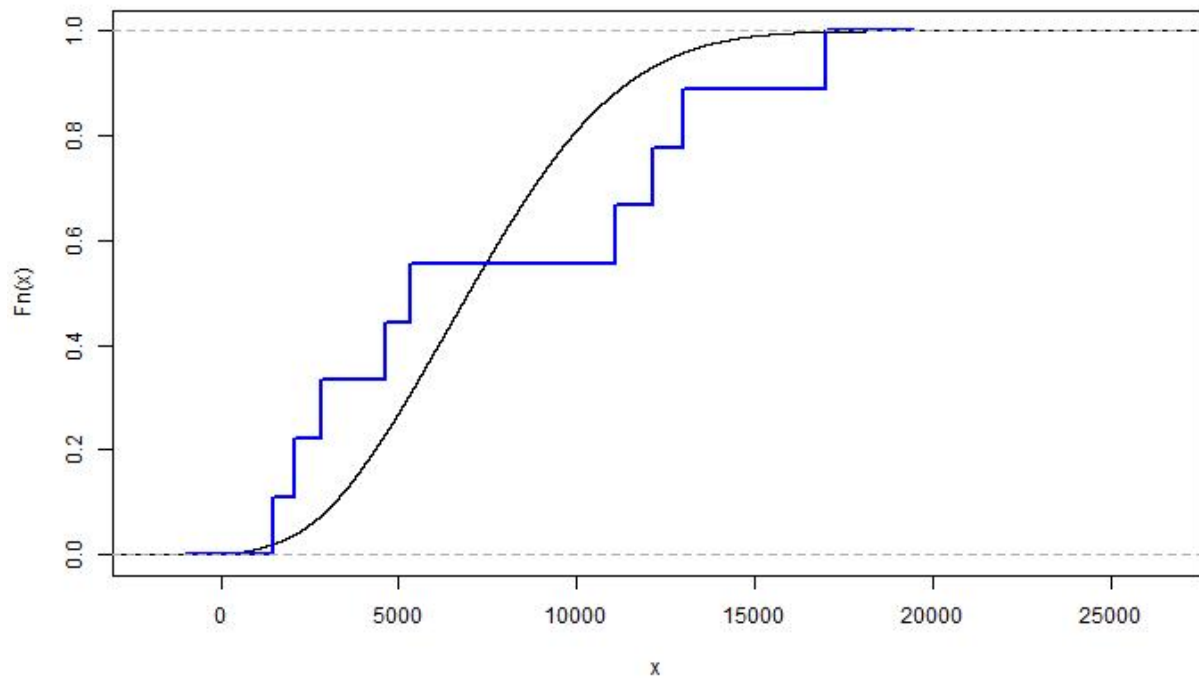
~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 1000m
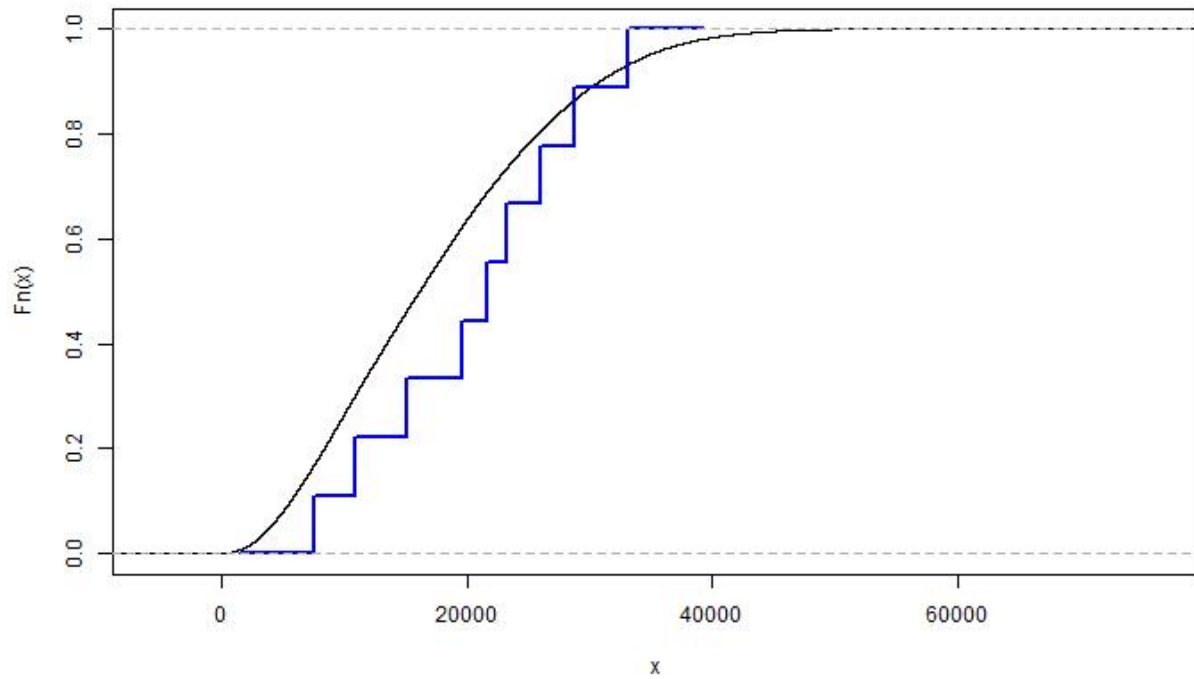
~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 2000m

~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 4000m

~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 63m
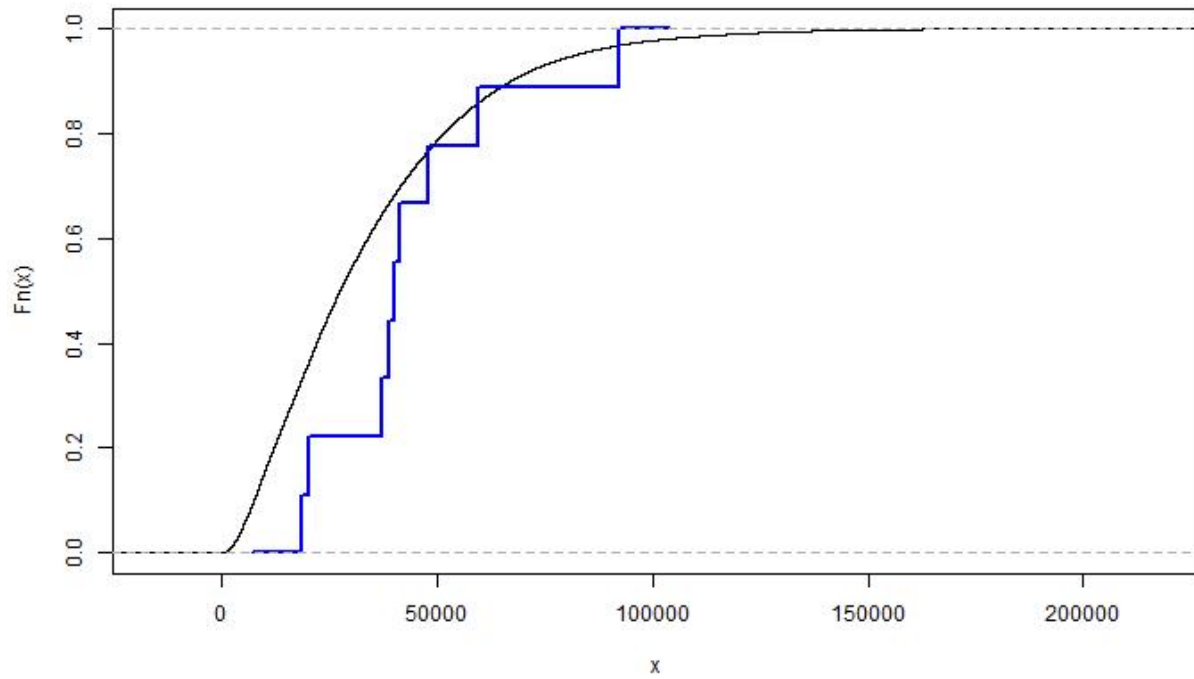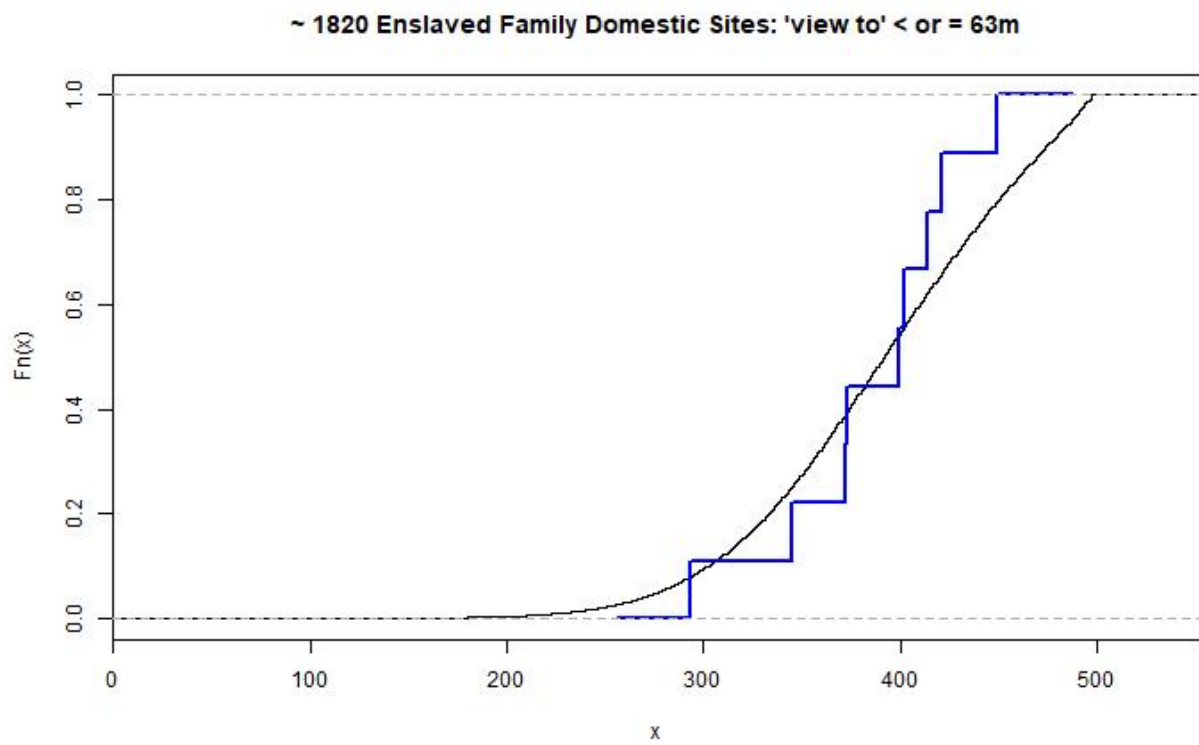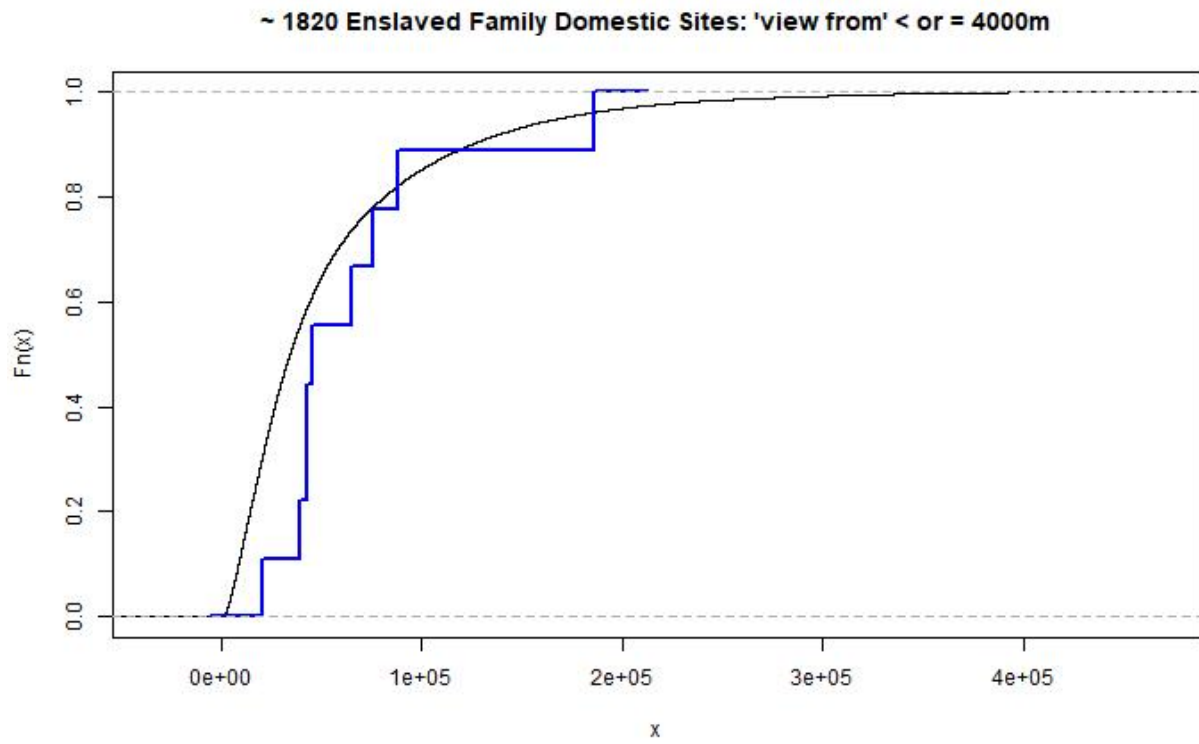
~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 125m

~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 250m

257
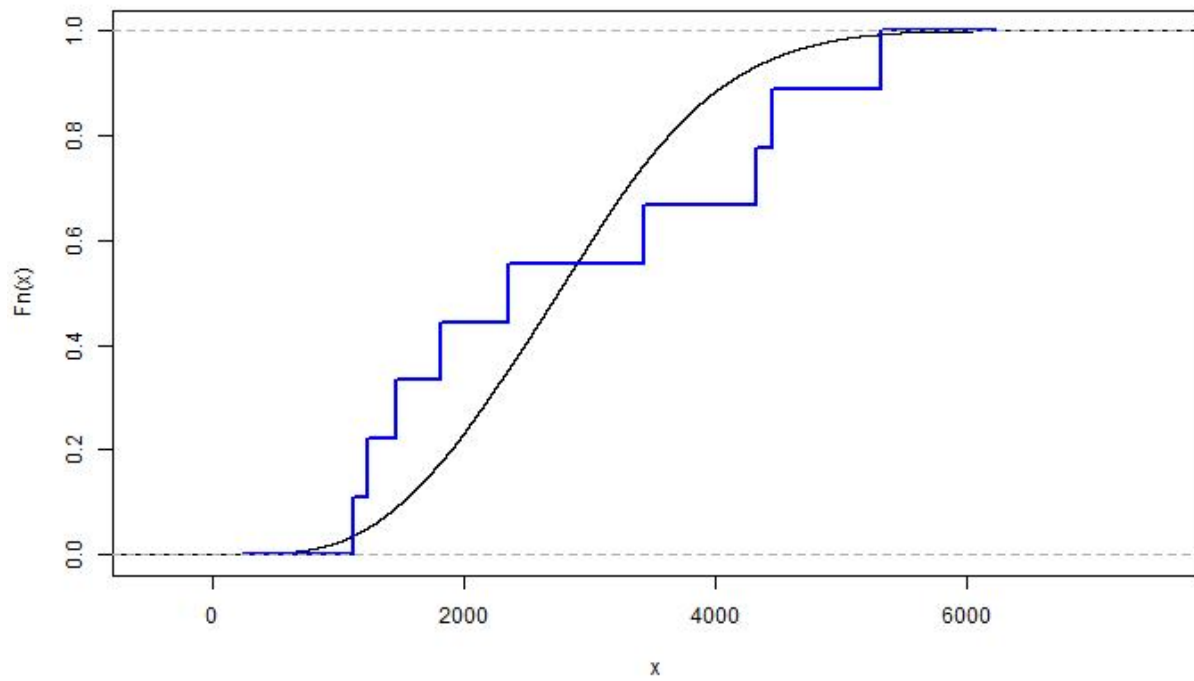
~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 500m
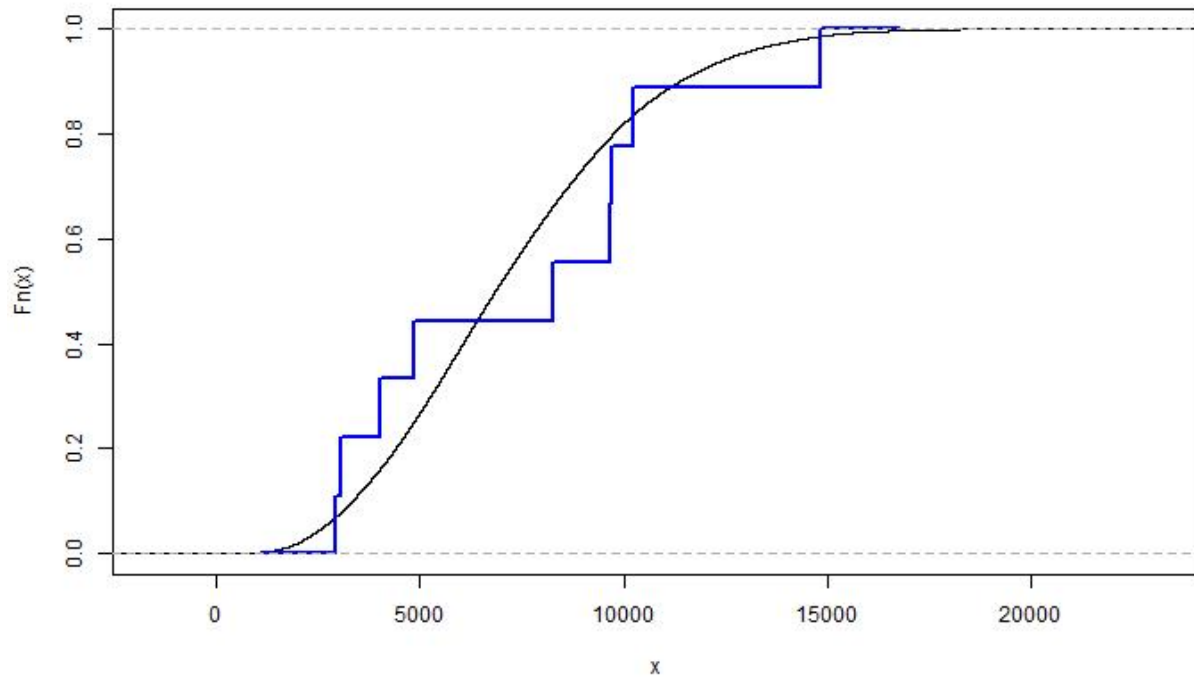
~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 1000m
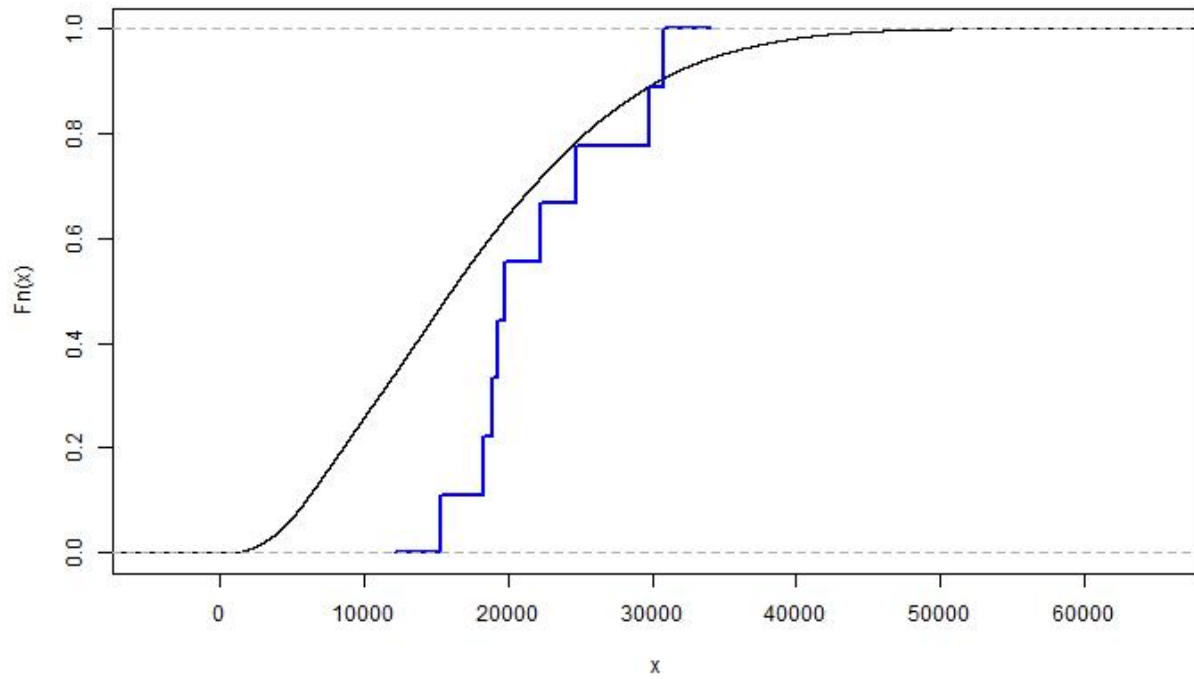
~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 2000m

~ 1820 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 4000m

259
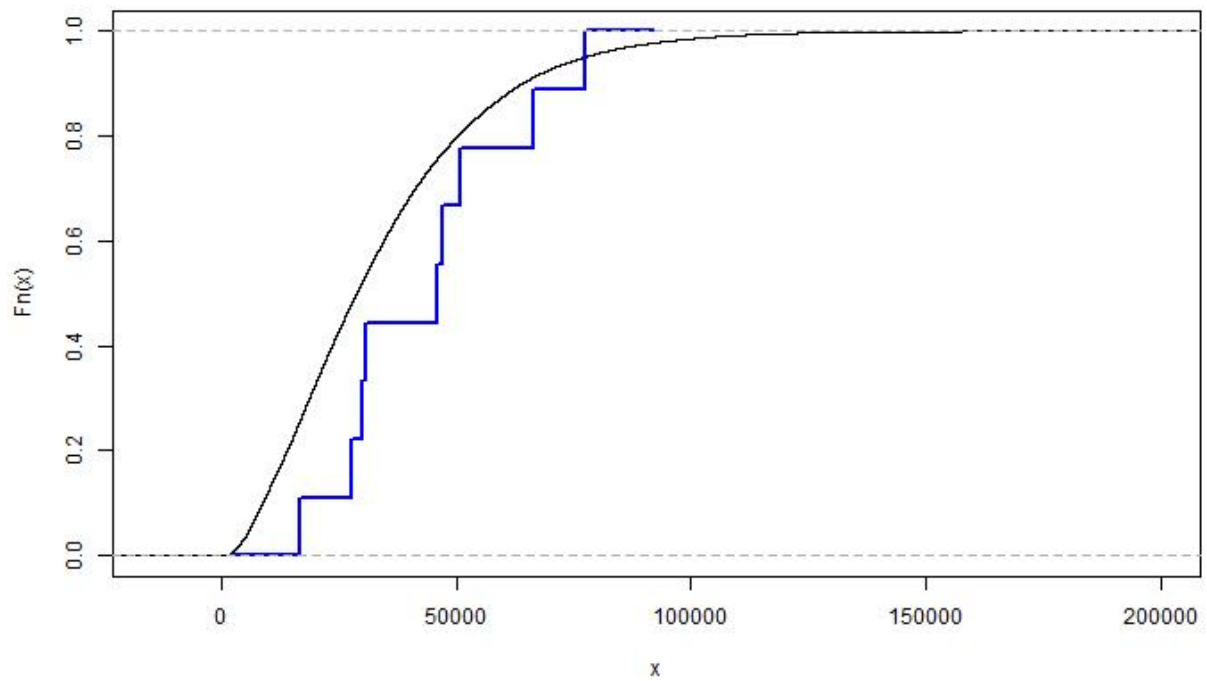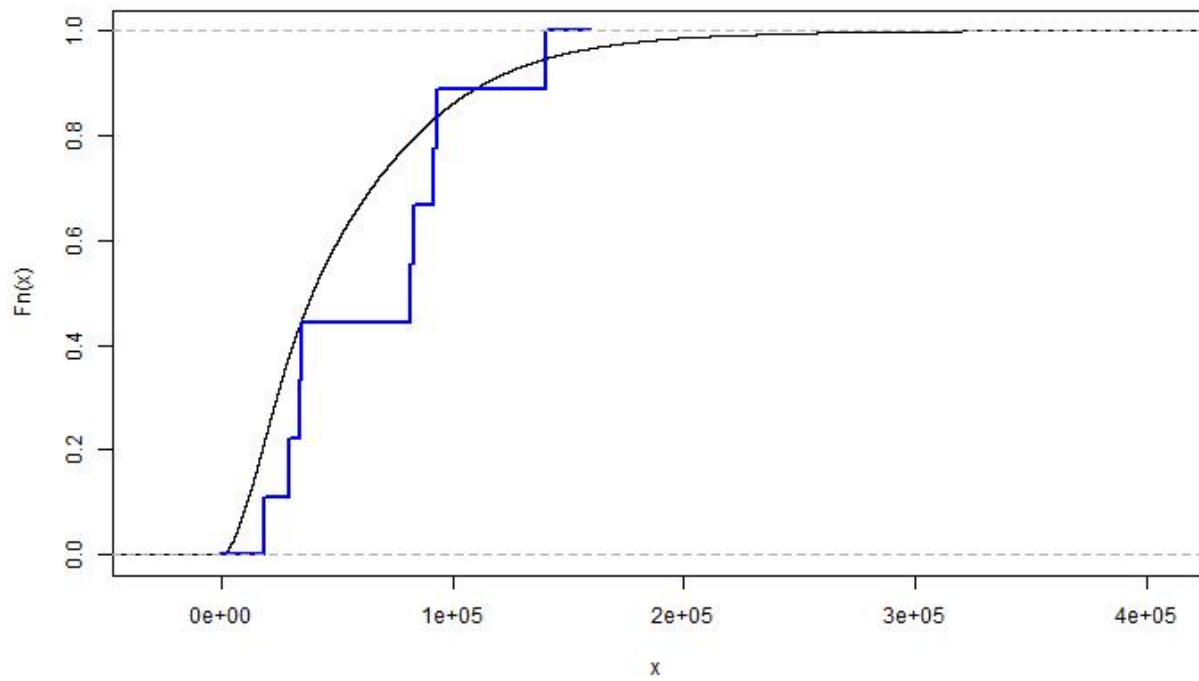
1840 (Madison C) African American Domestic Site Visibility

~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 63m
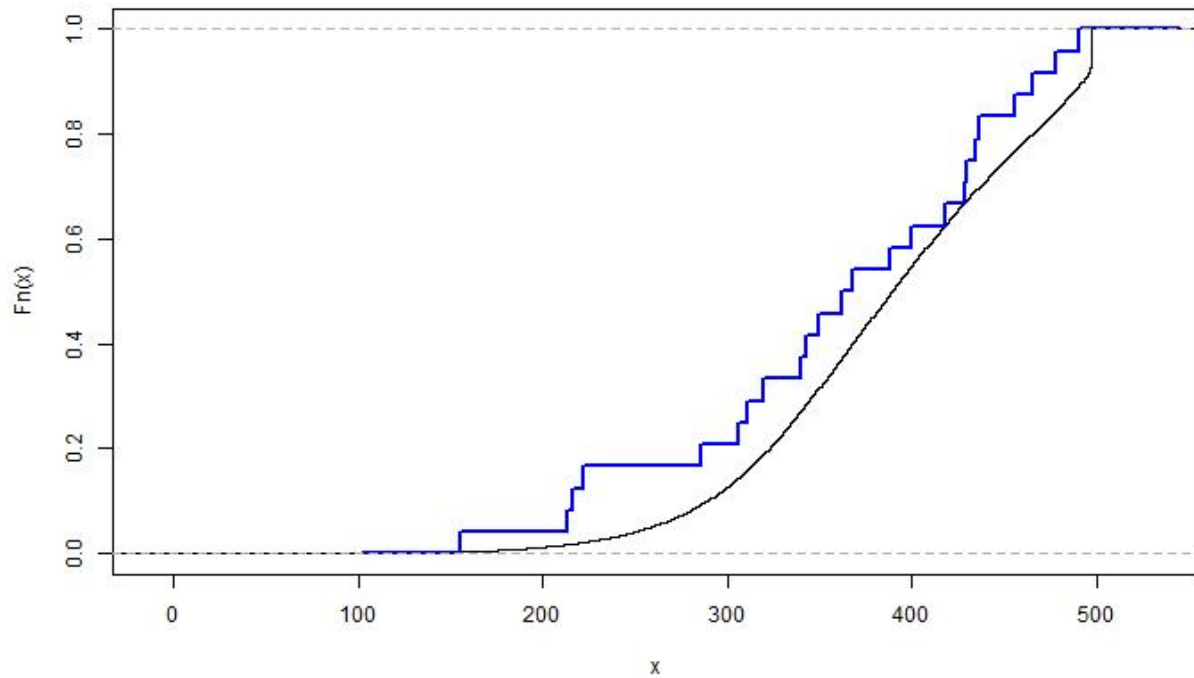
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 125m
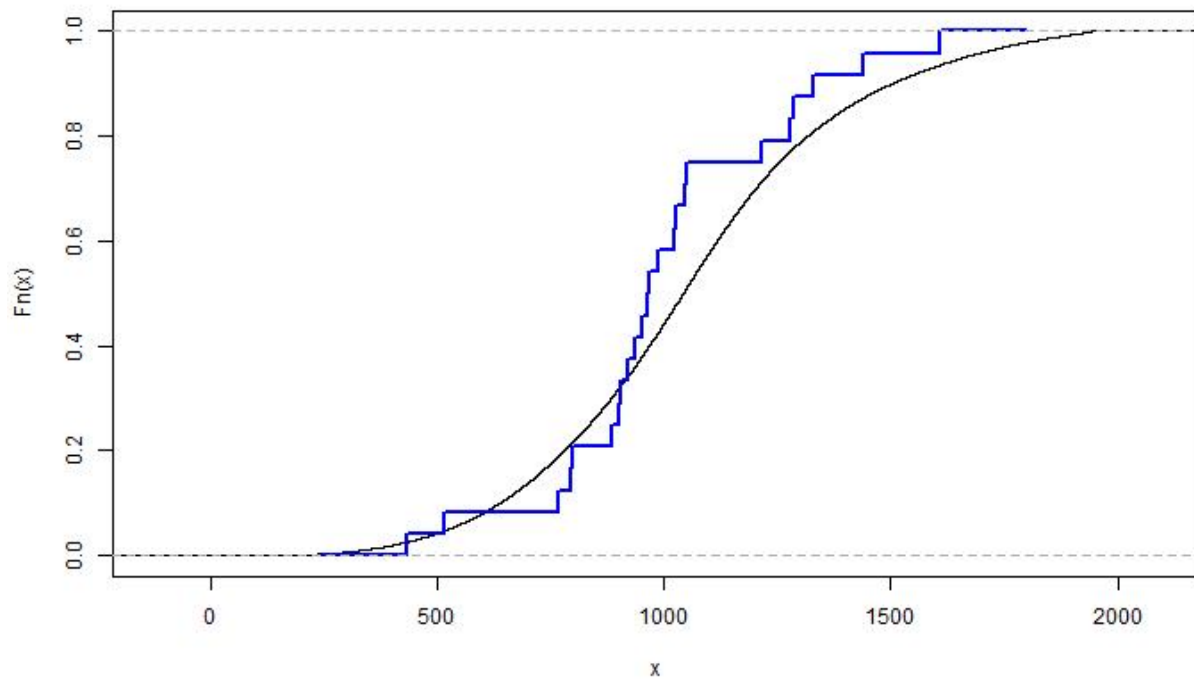
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 250m
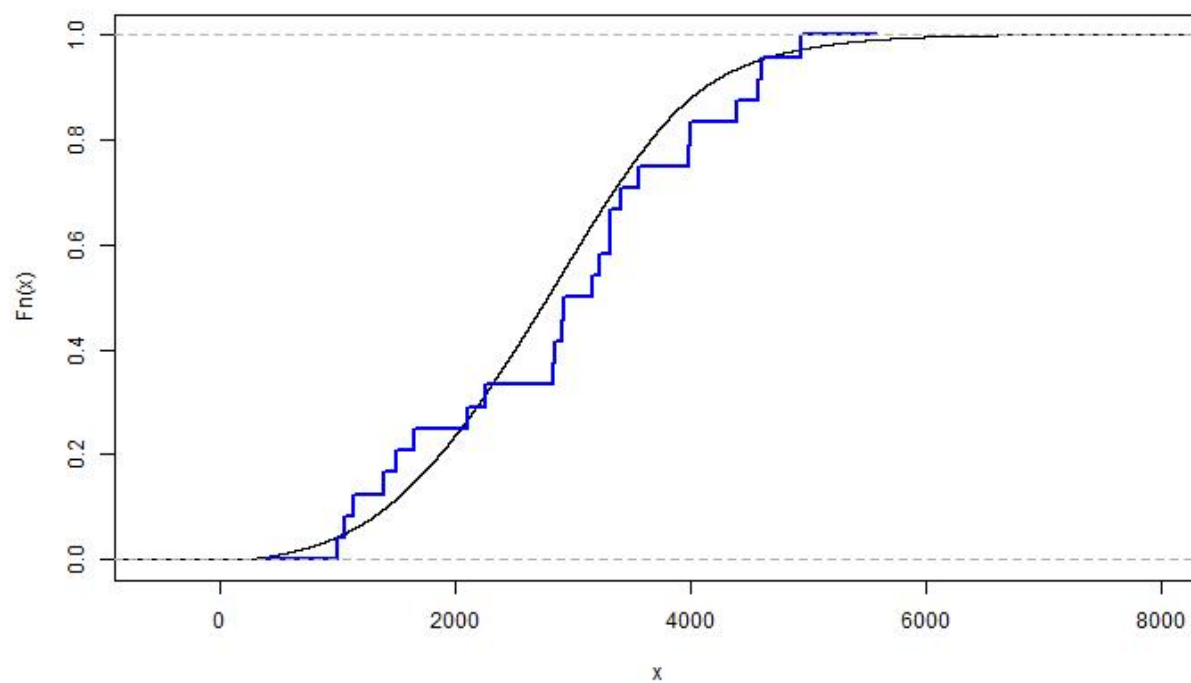
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 500m
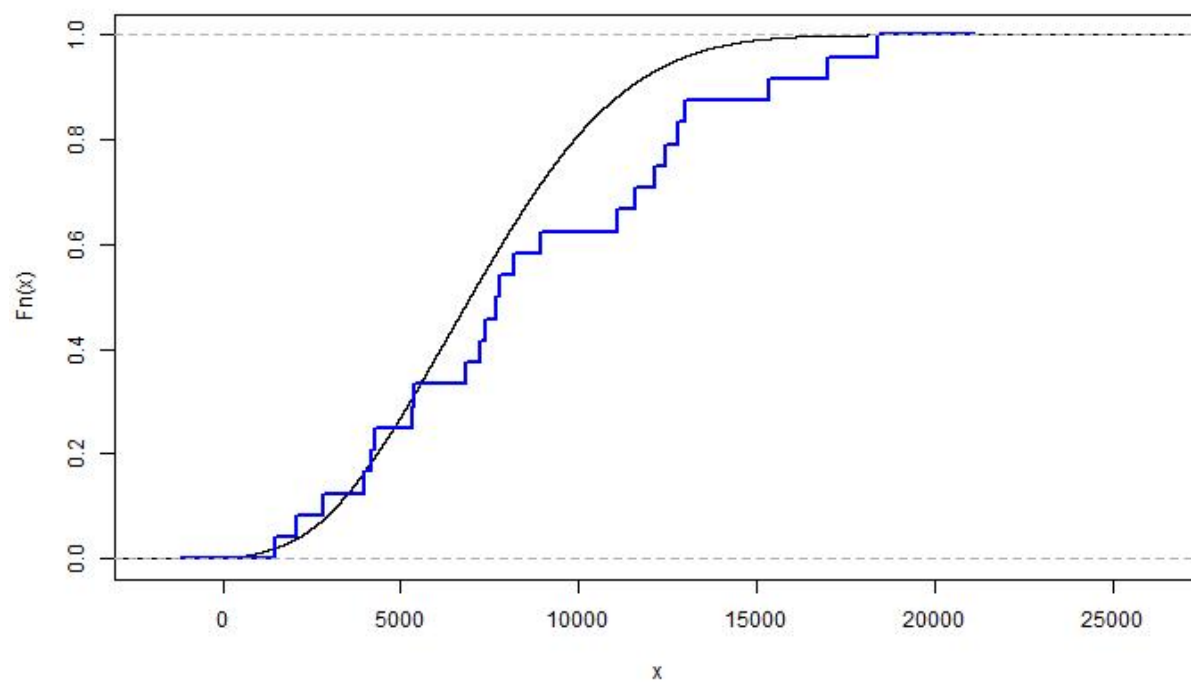
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 1000m
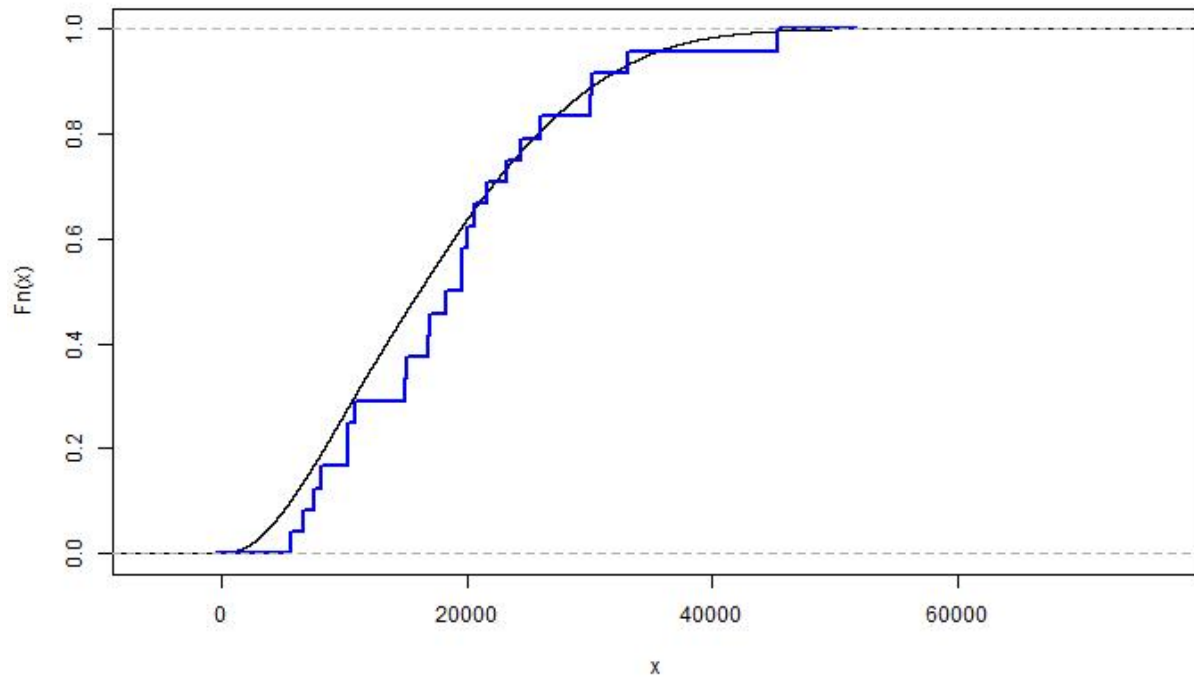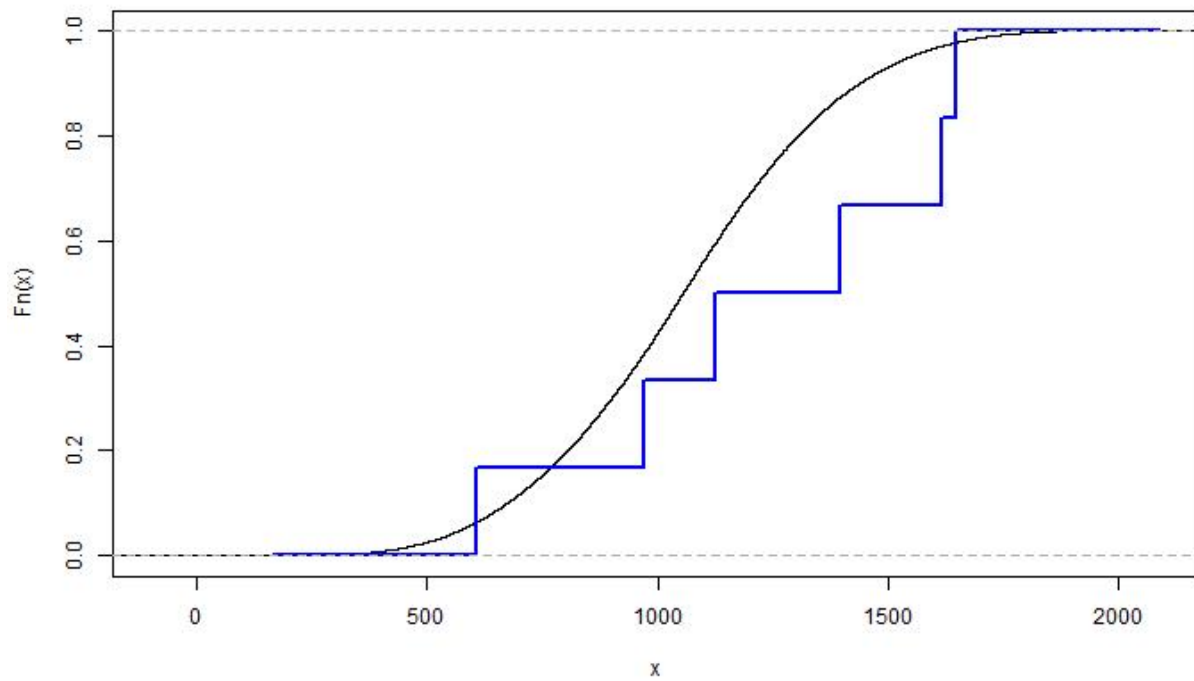

~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 2000m
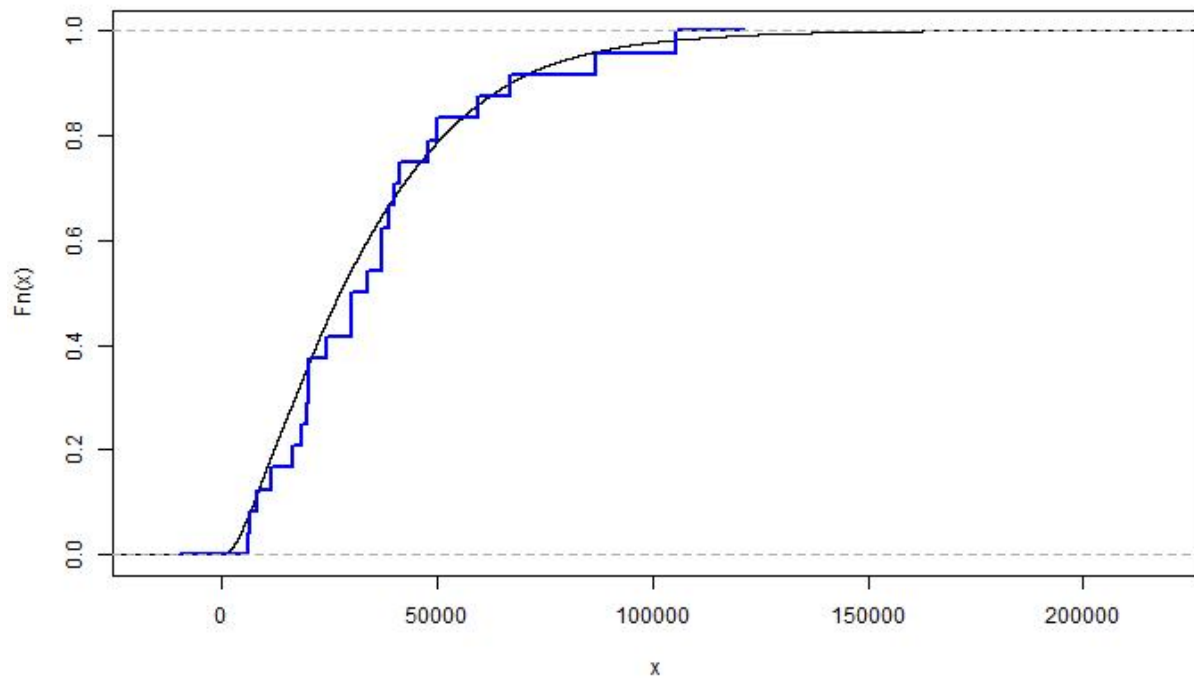
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 4000m
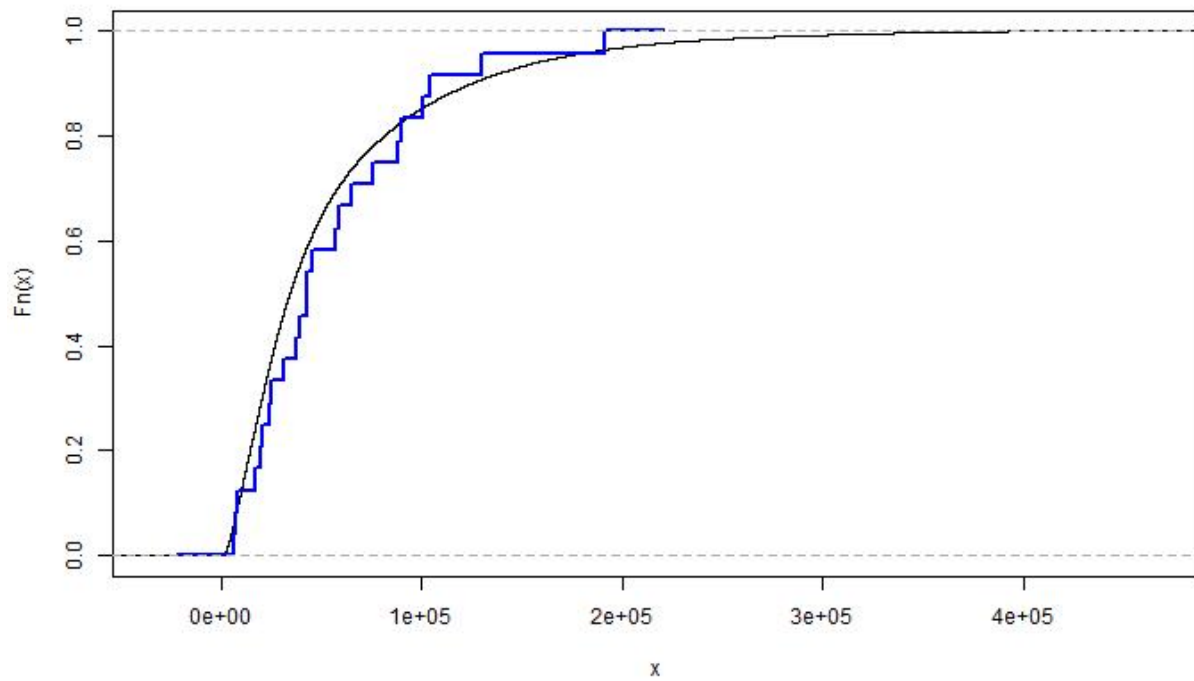
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 63m
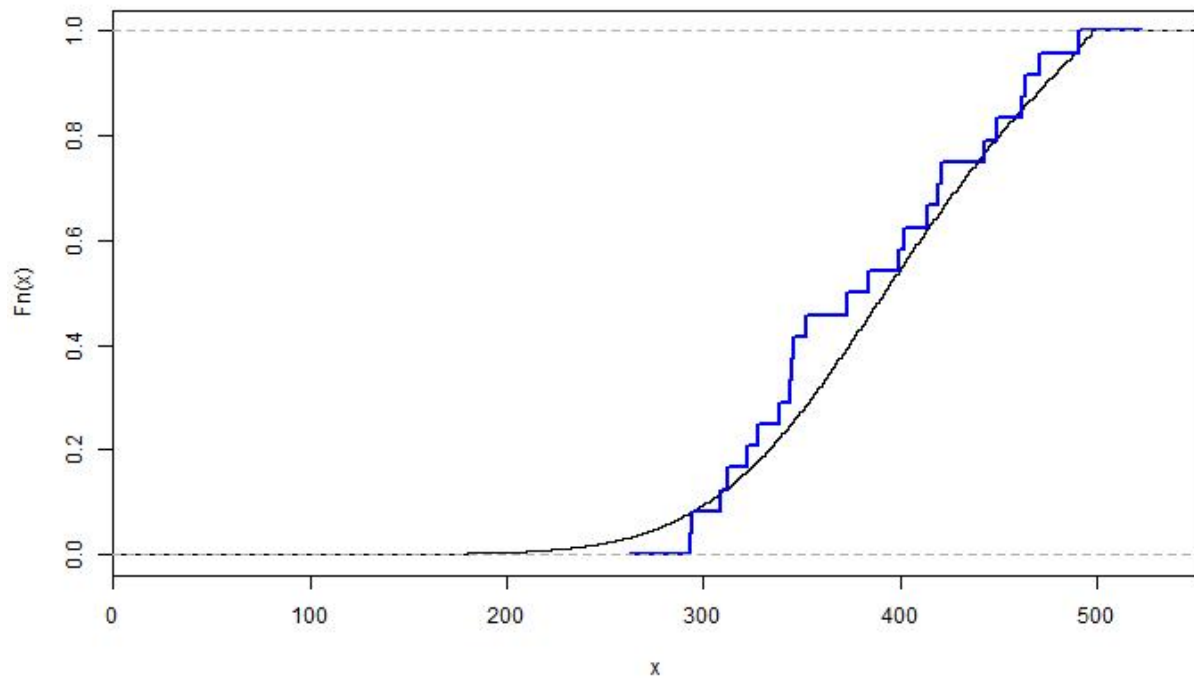
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 125m
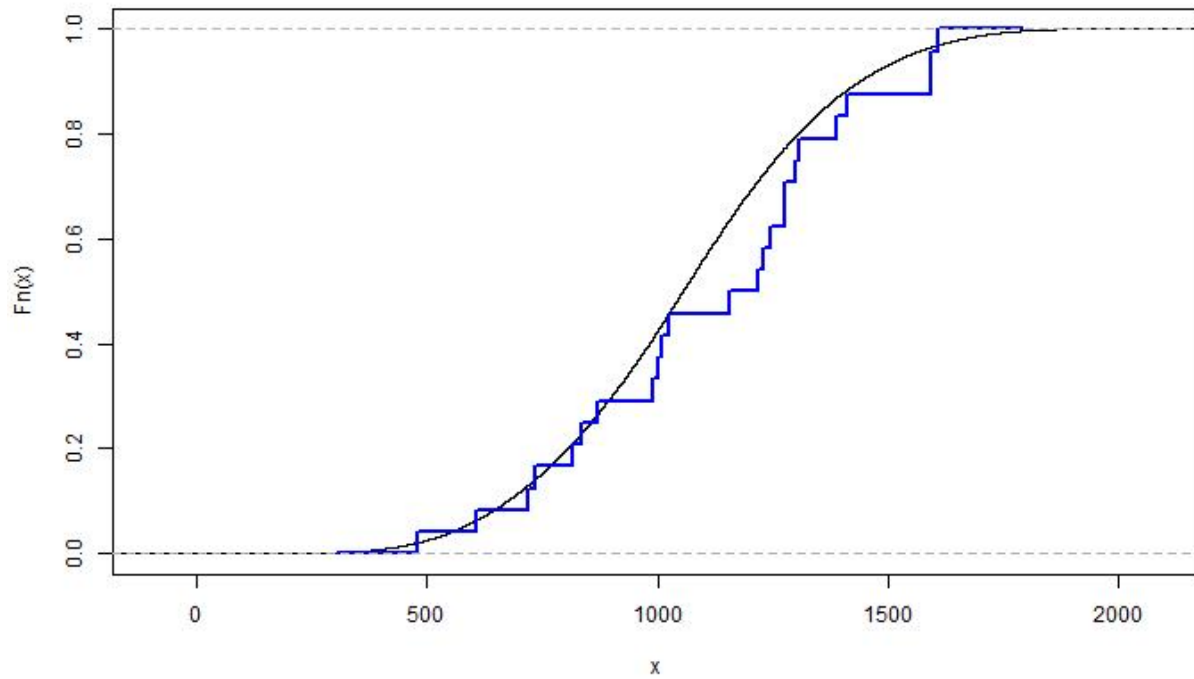
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 250m
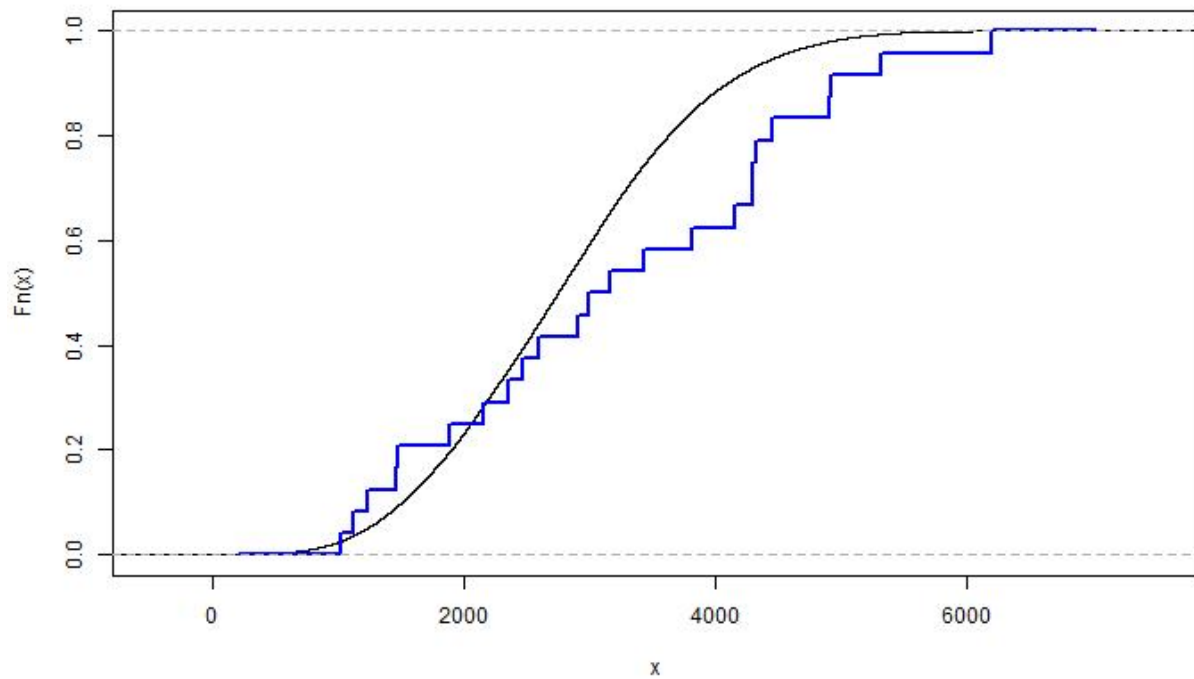
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 500m
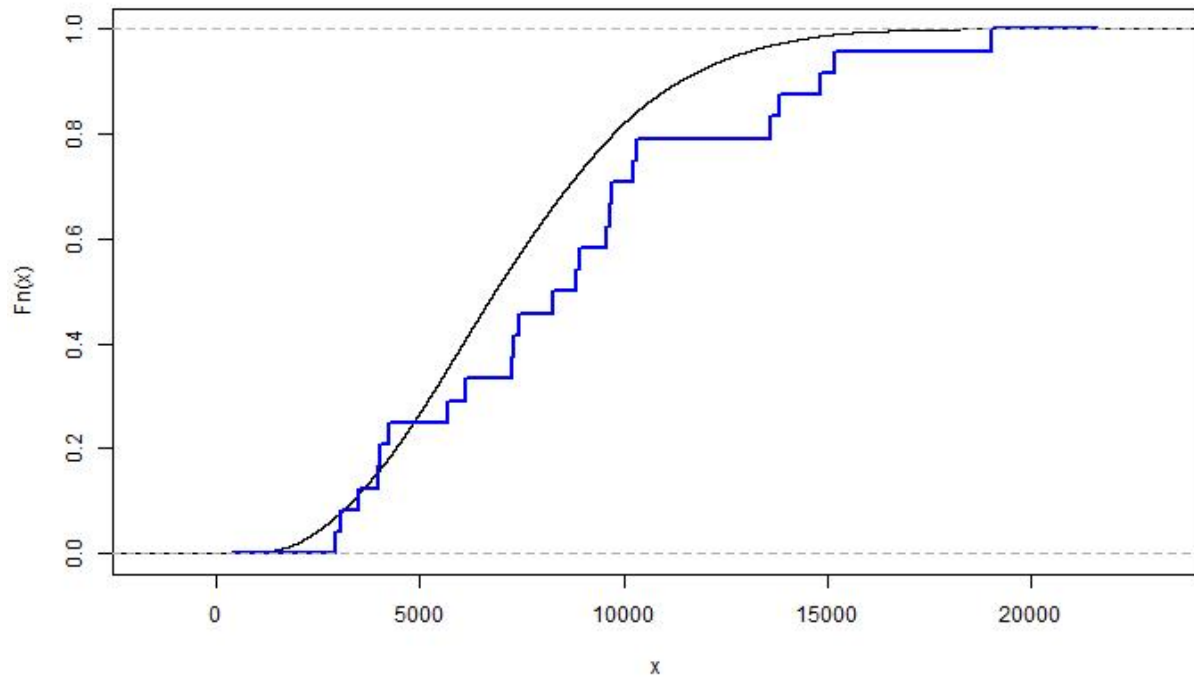
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 1000m

265
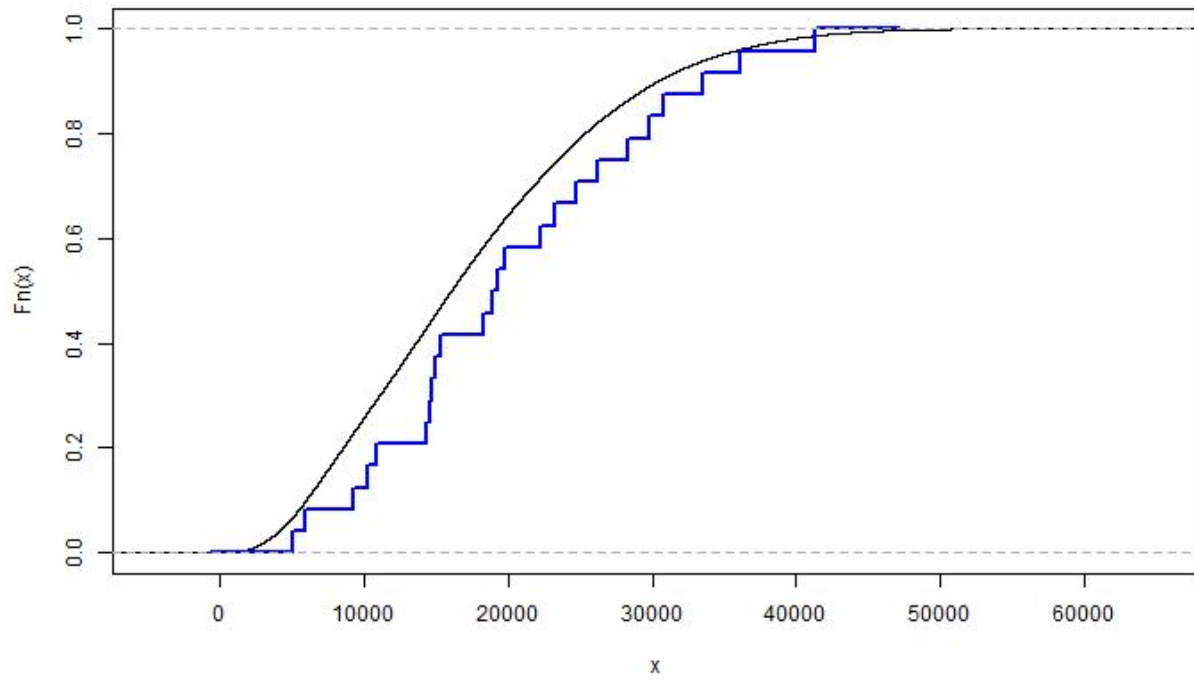
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 2000m
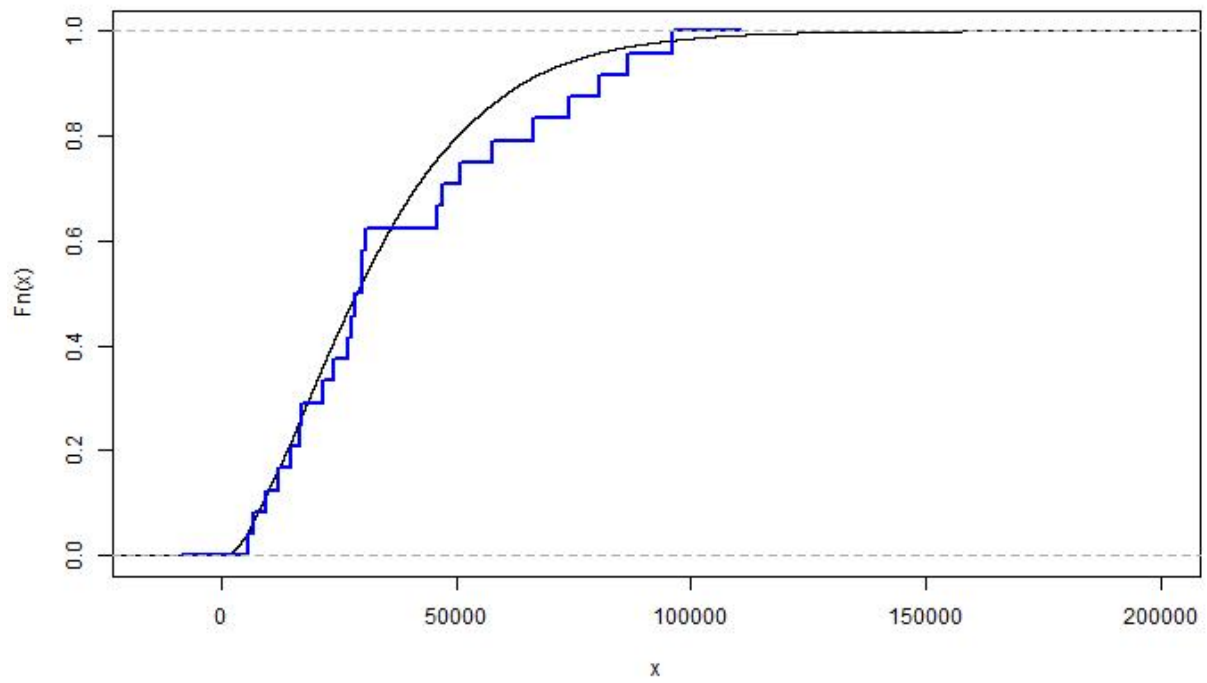
~ 1840 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 4000m
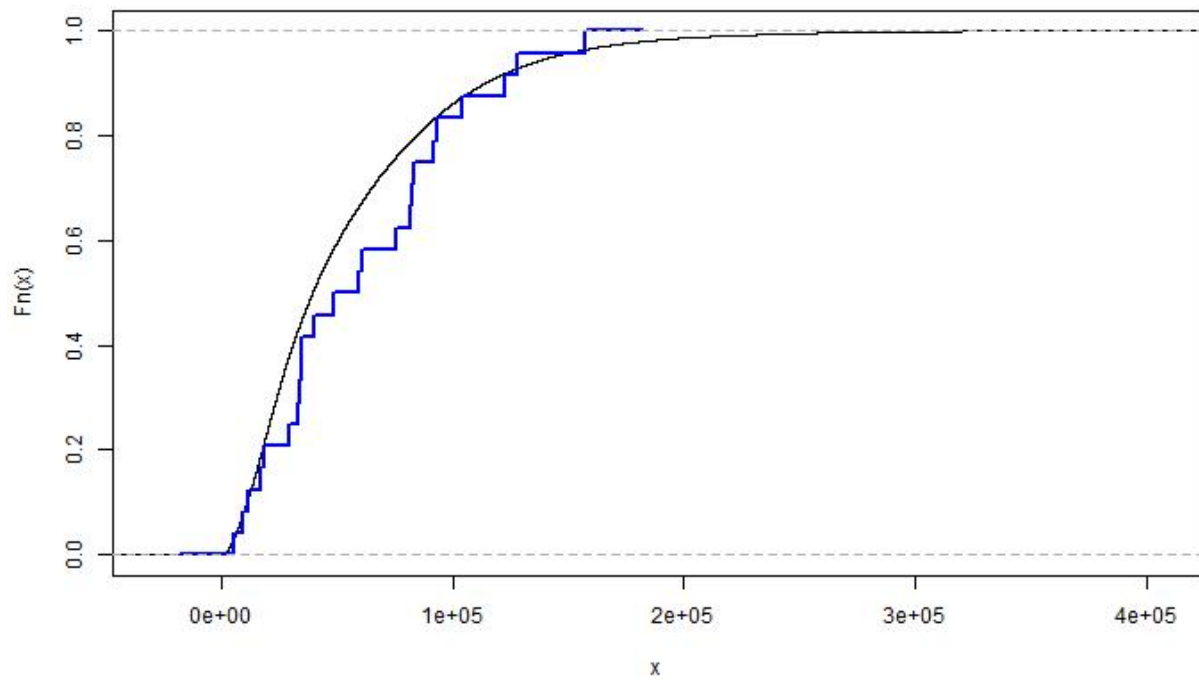
1860 (Late Antebellum) African American Domestic Site Visibility

~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 63m
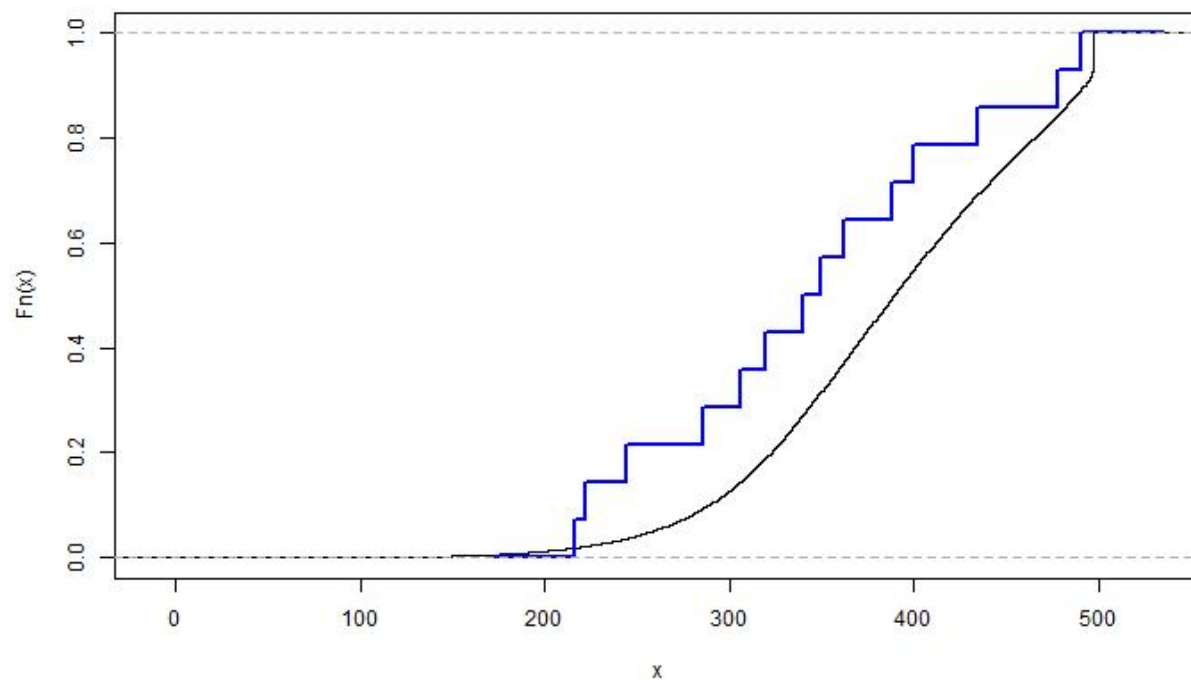
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 125m
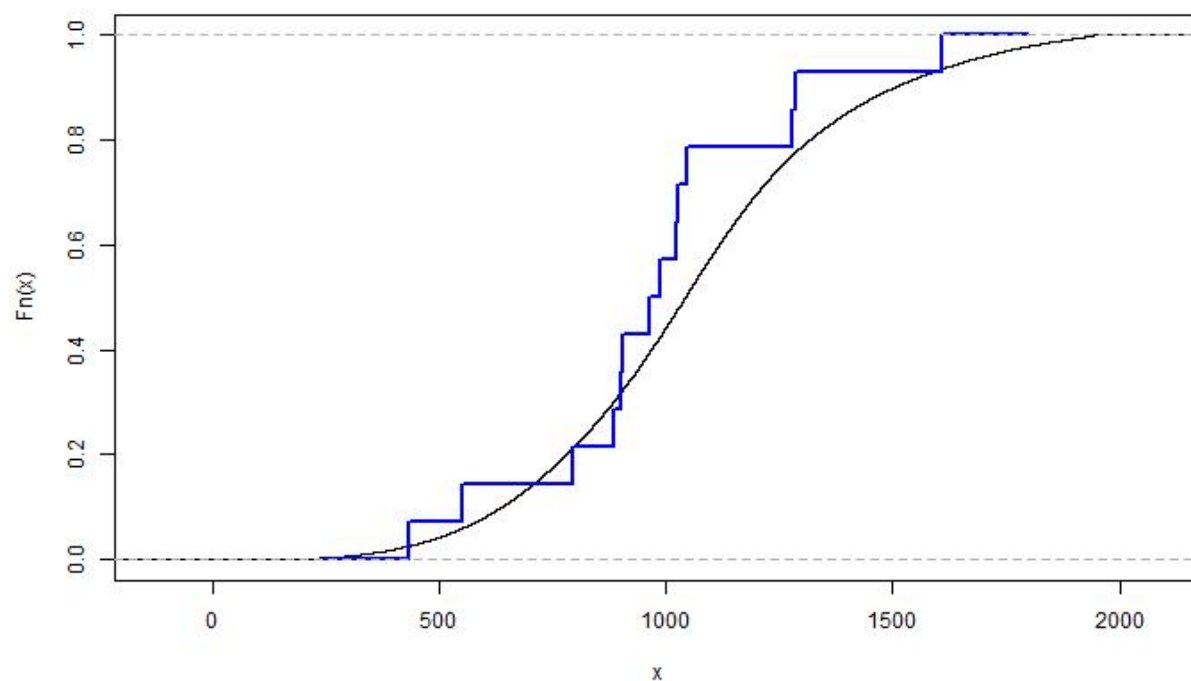
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 250m
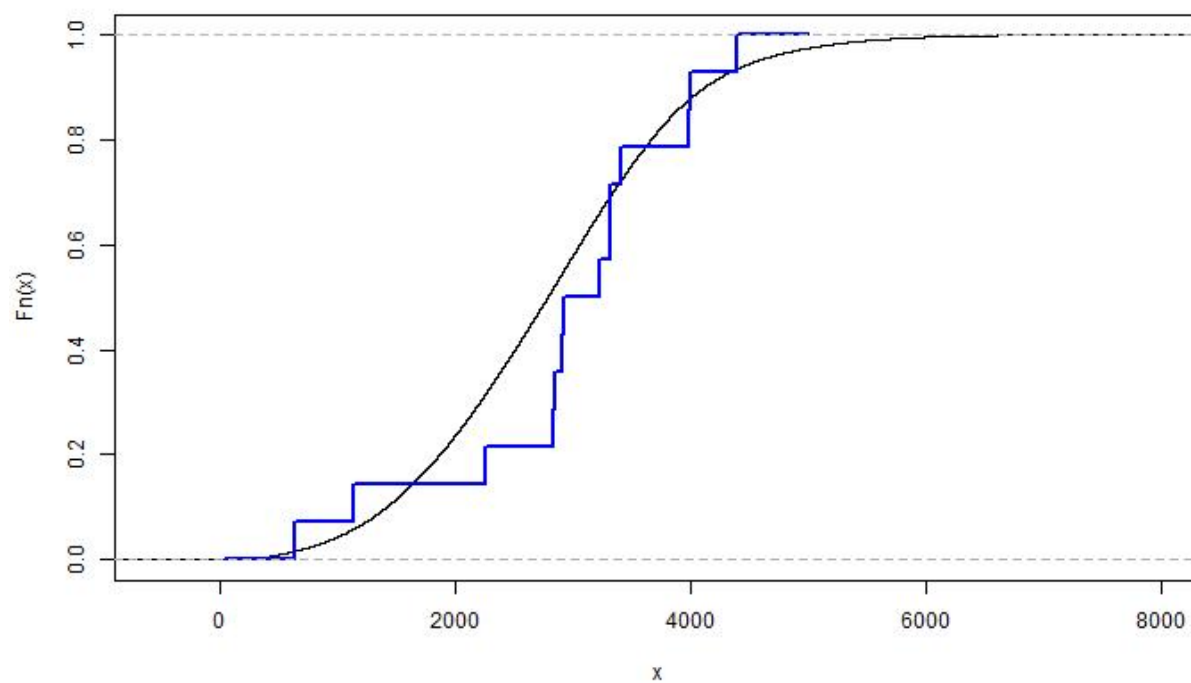
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 500m
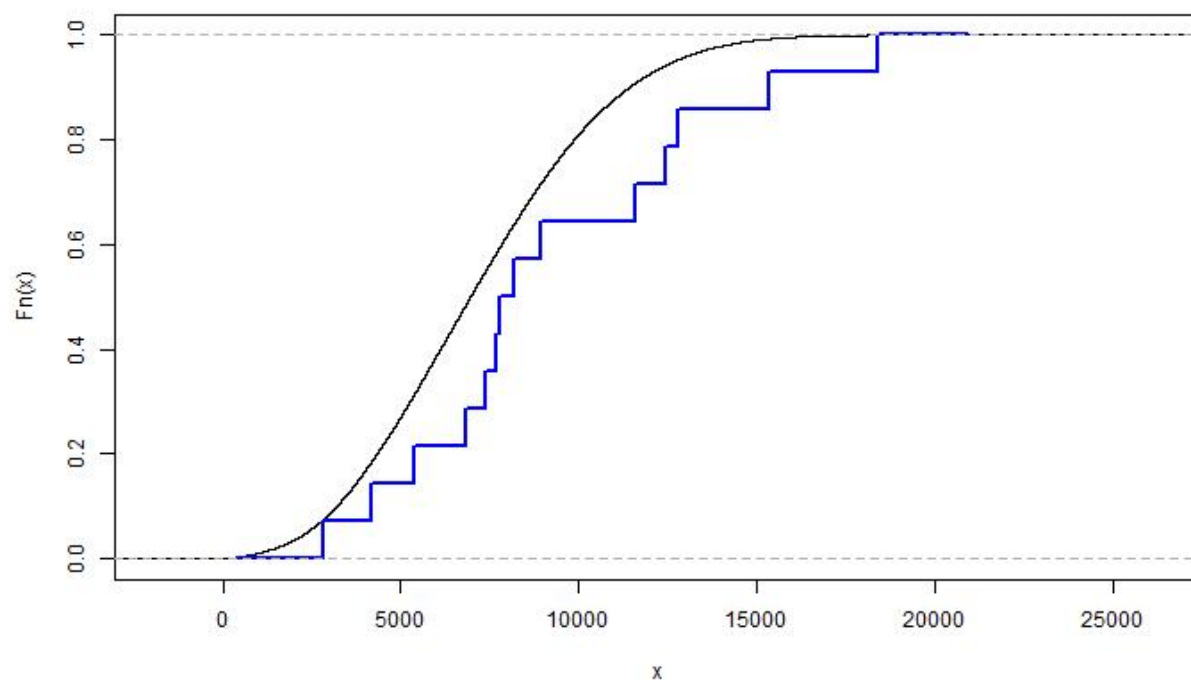
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 1000m
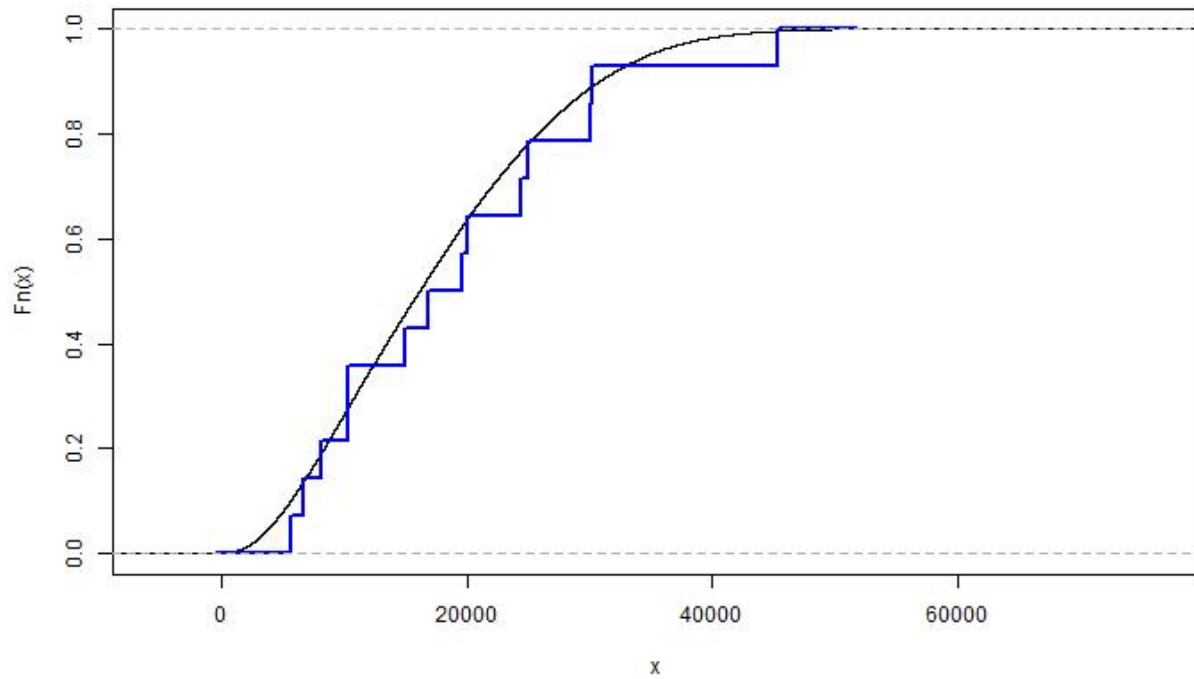
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 2000m
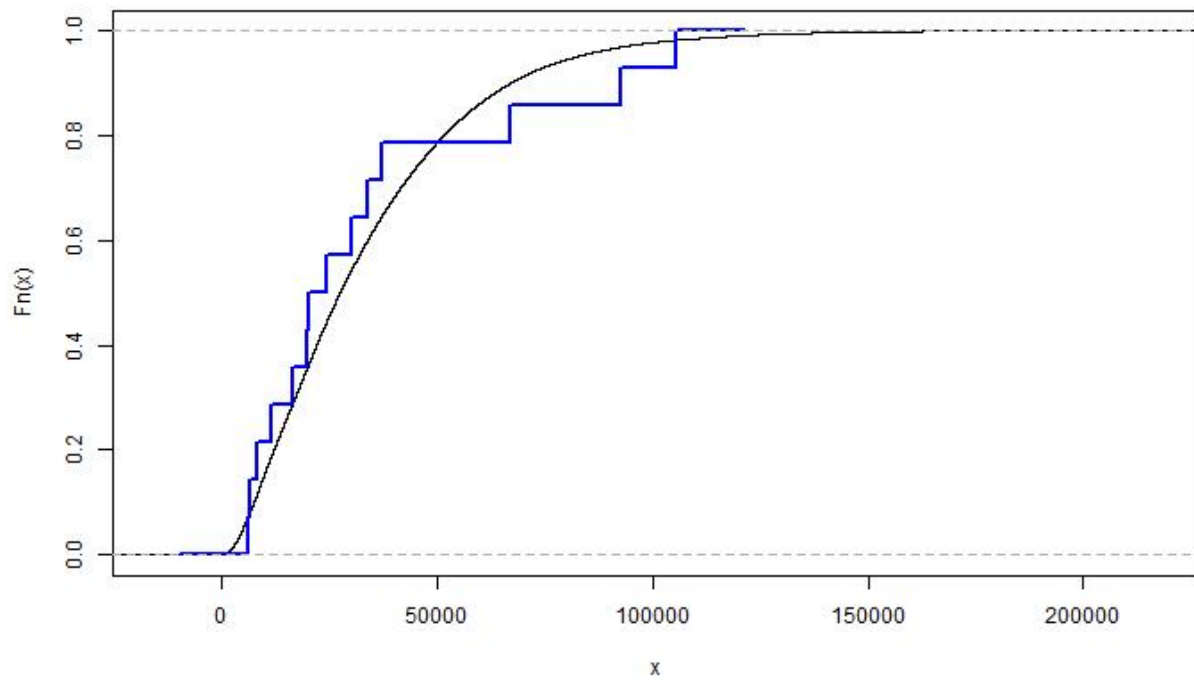
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 4000m
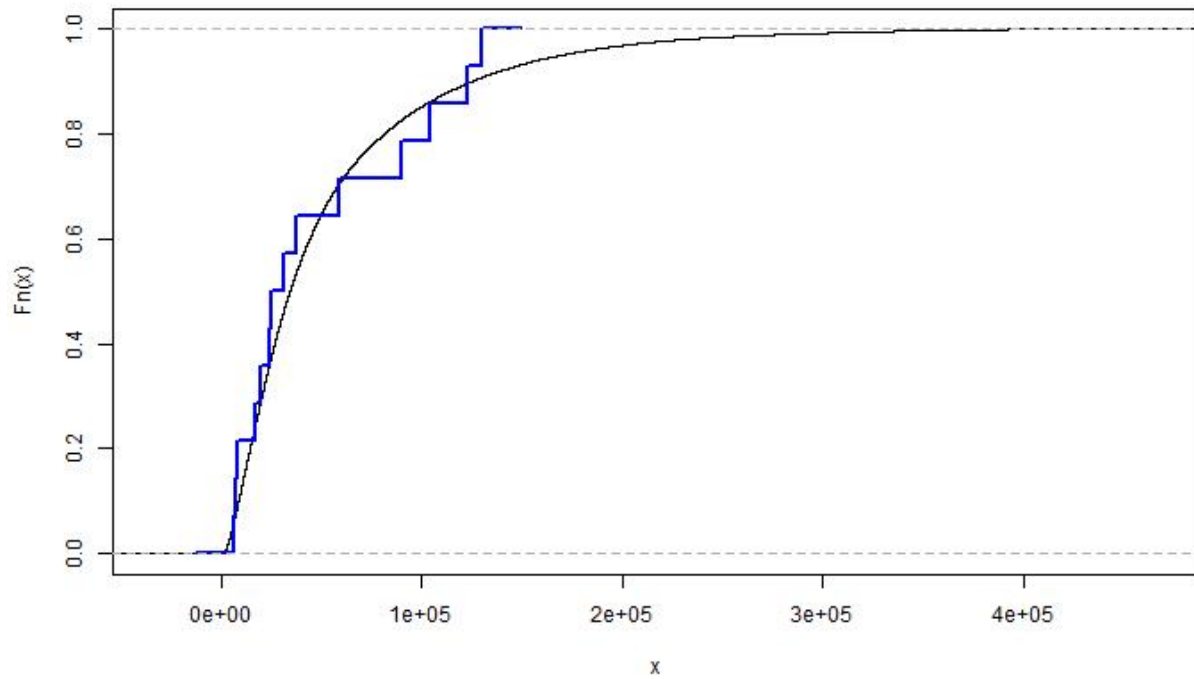
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 63m
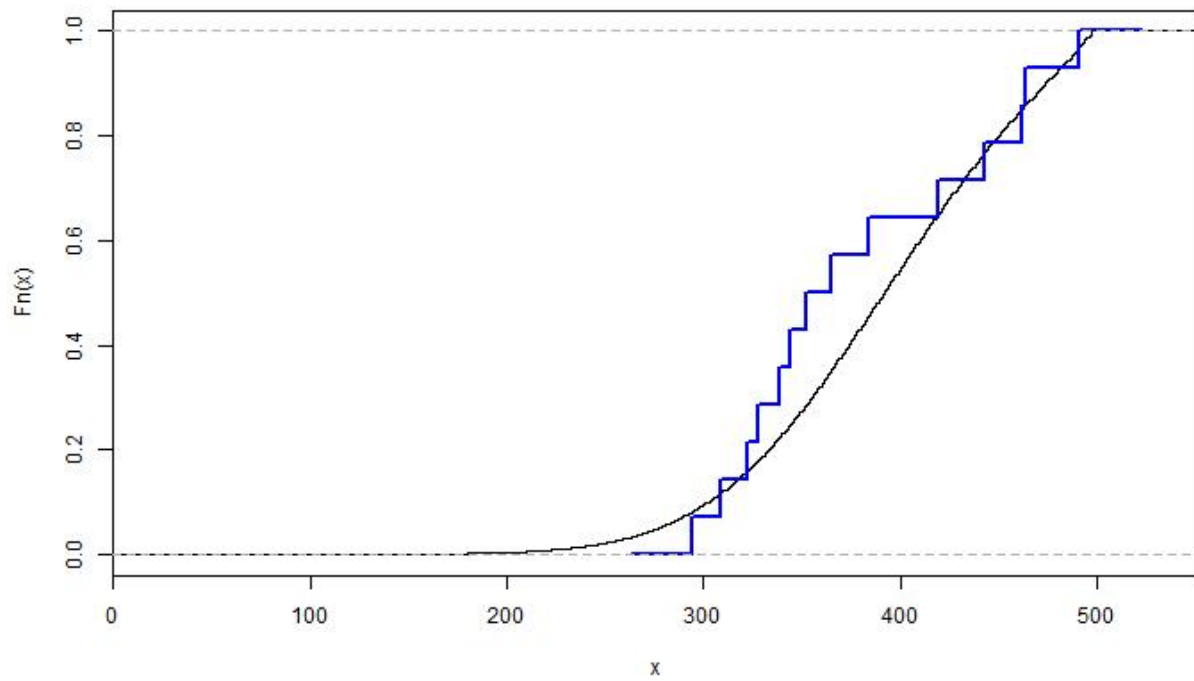
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 125m
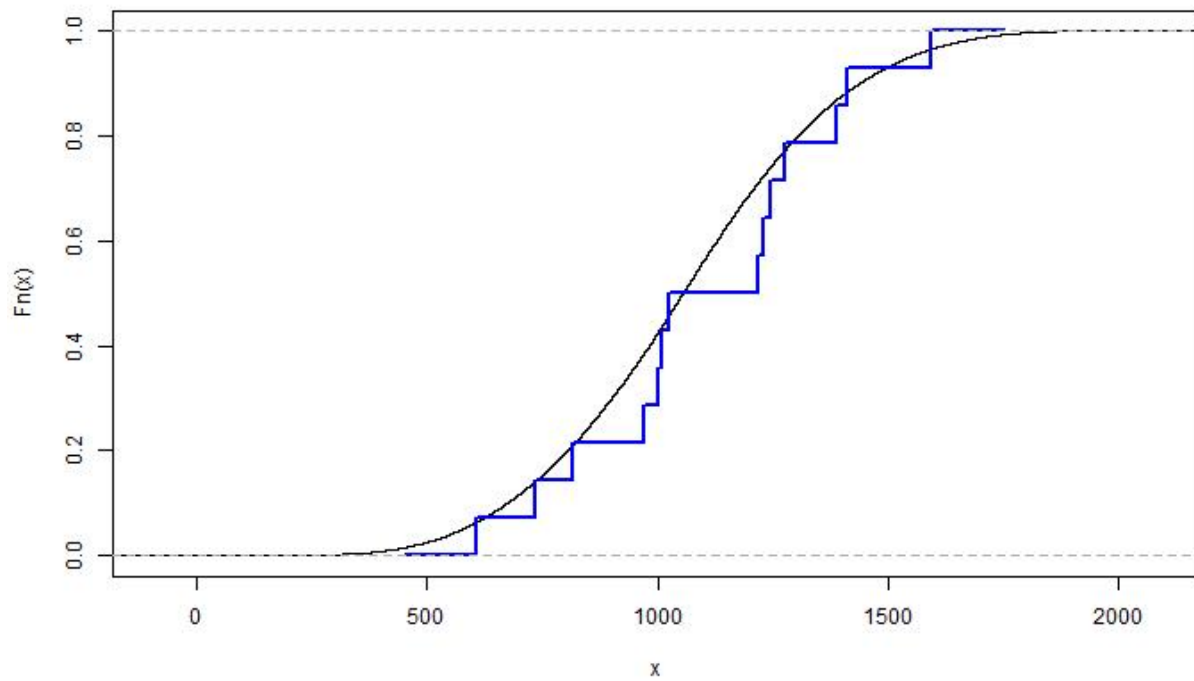
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 250m

271
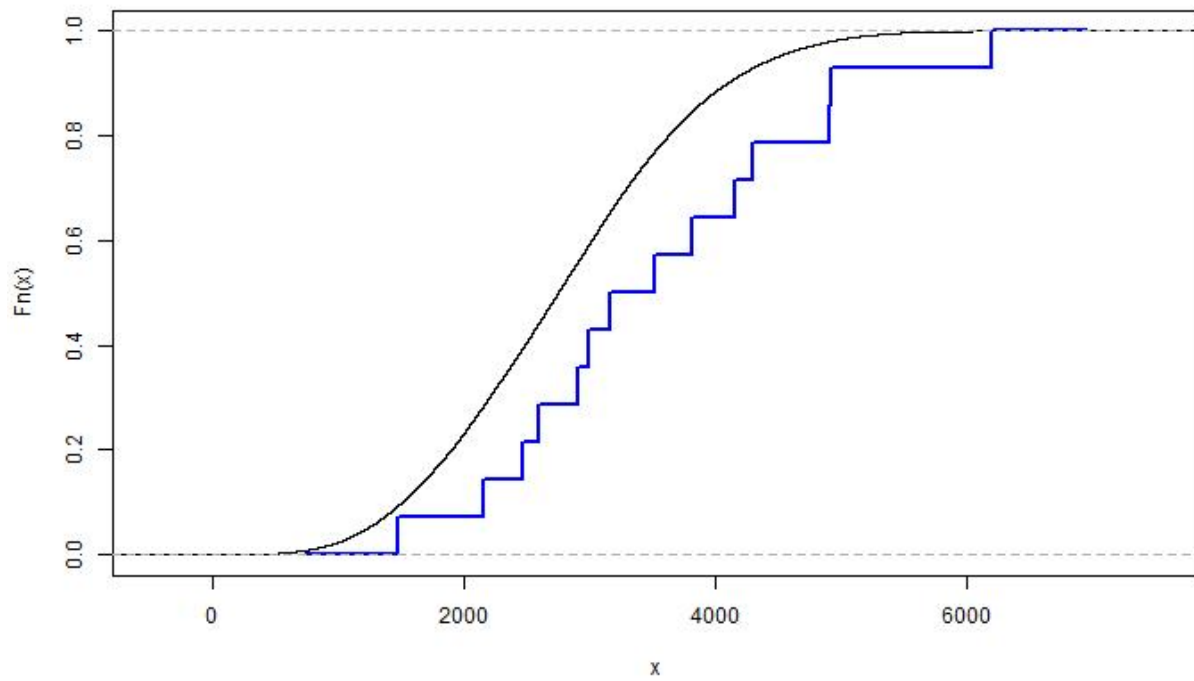
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 500m
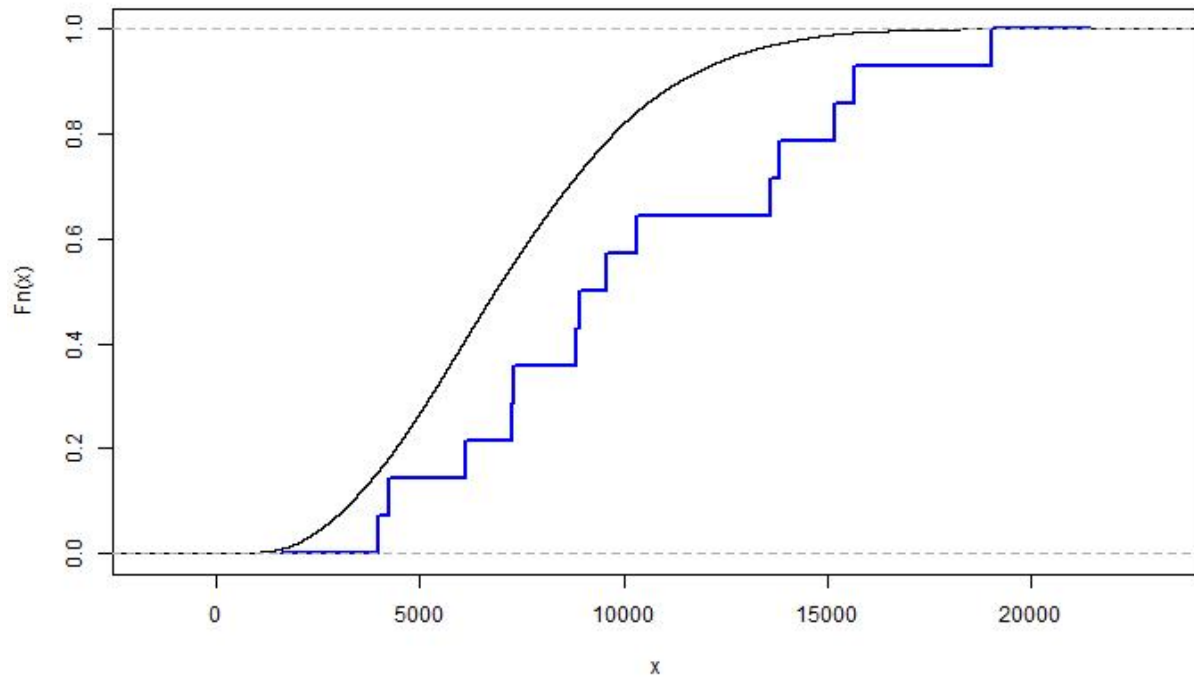
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 1000m
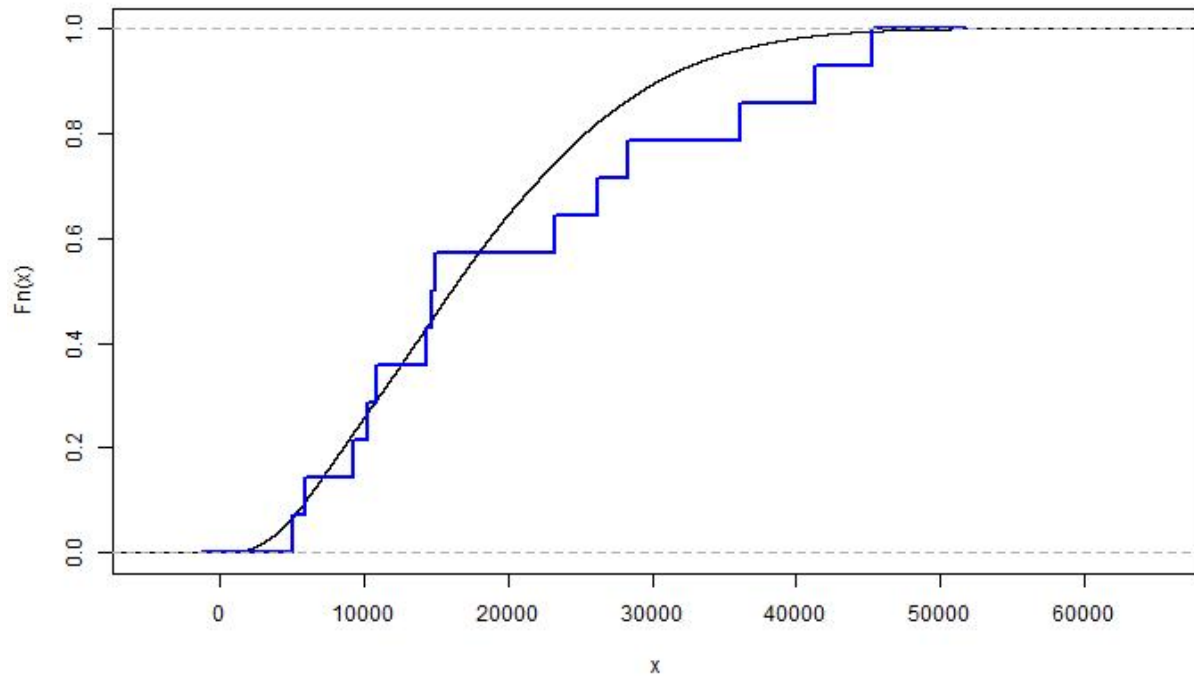
~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 2000m

~ 1860 Enslaved Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 4000m

273
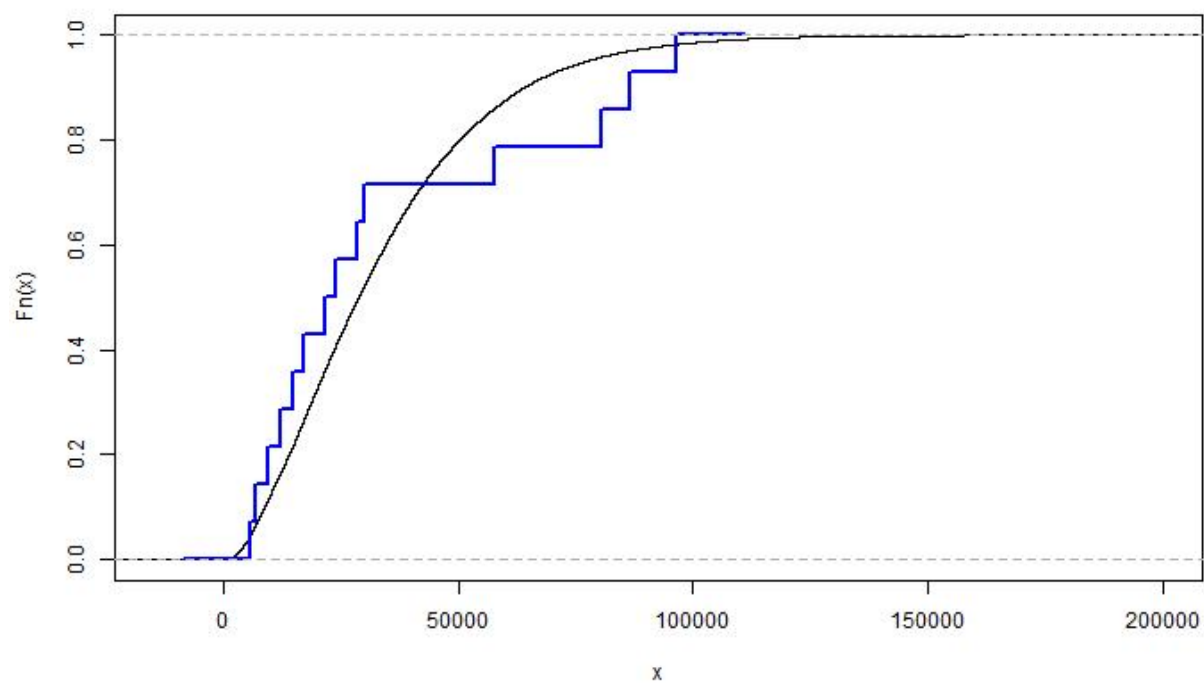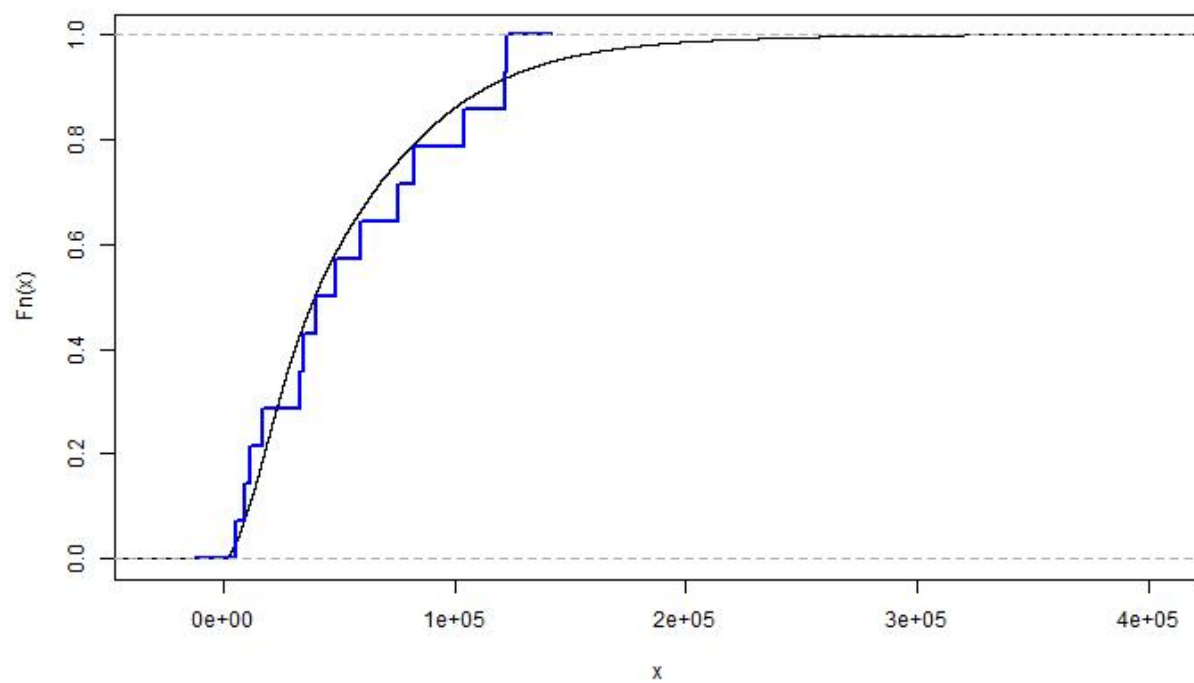
1880 (Late 19ᵗʰ Century) African American Domestic Site Visibility

~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 63m

~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 125m
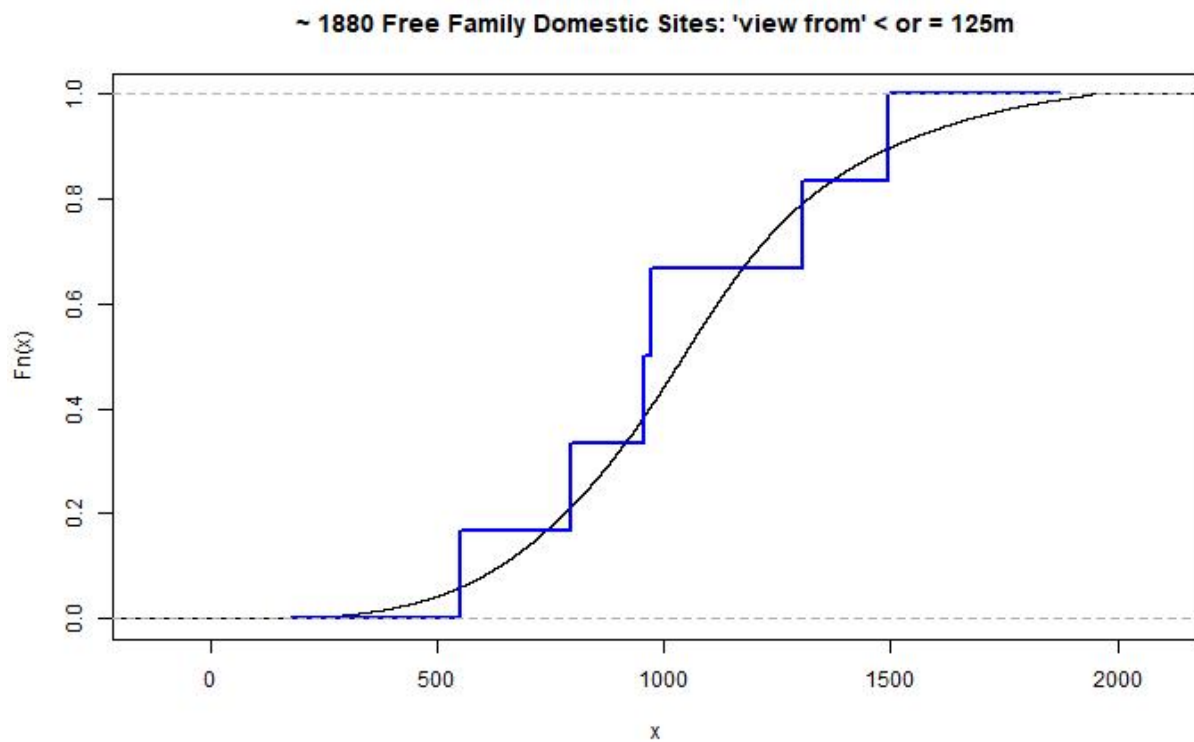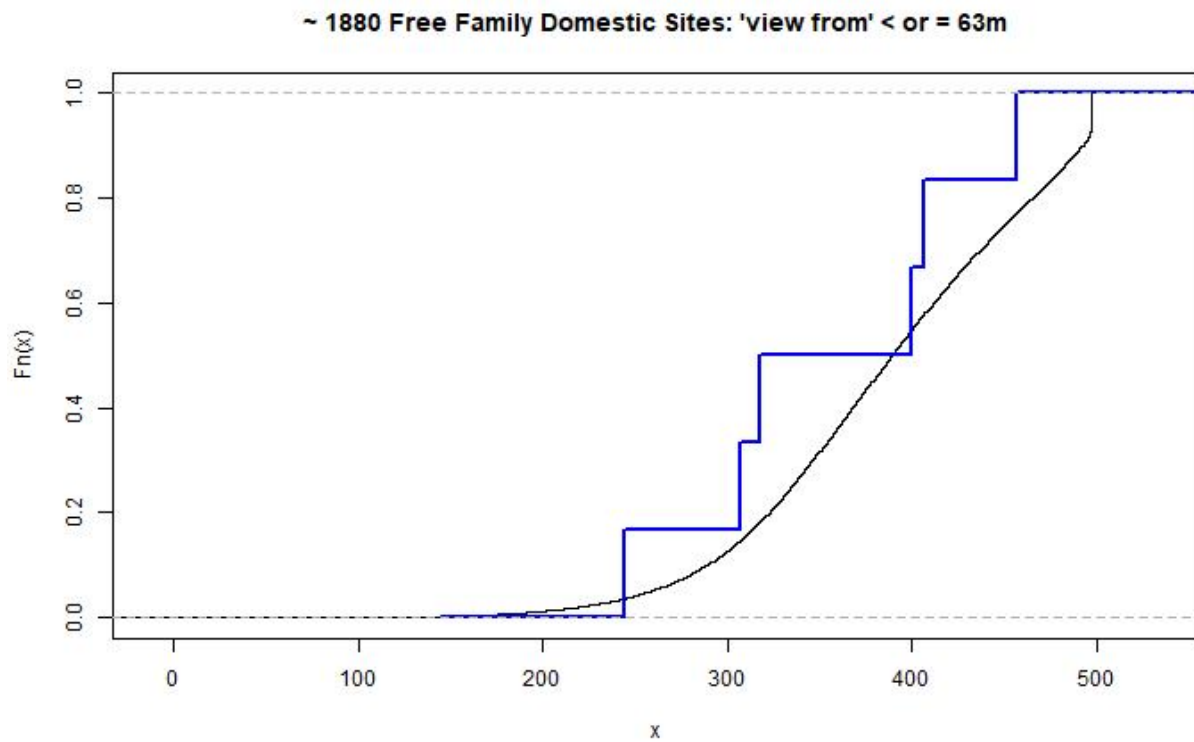
~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 250m
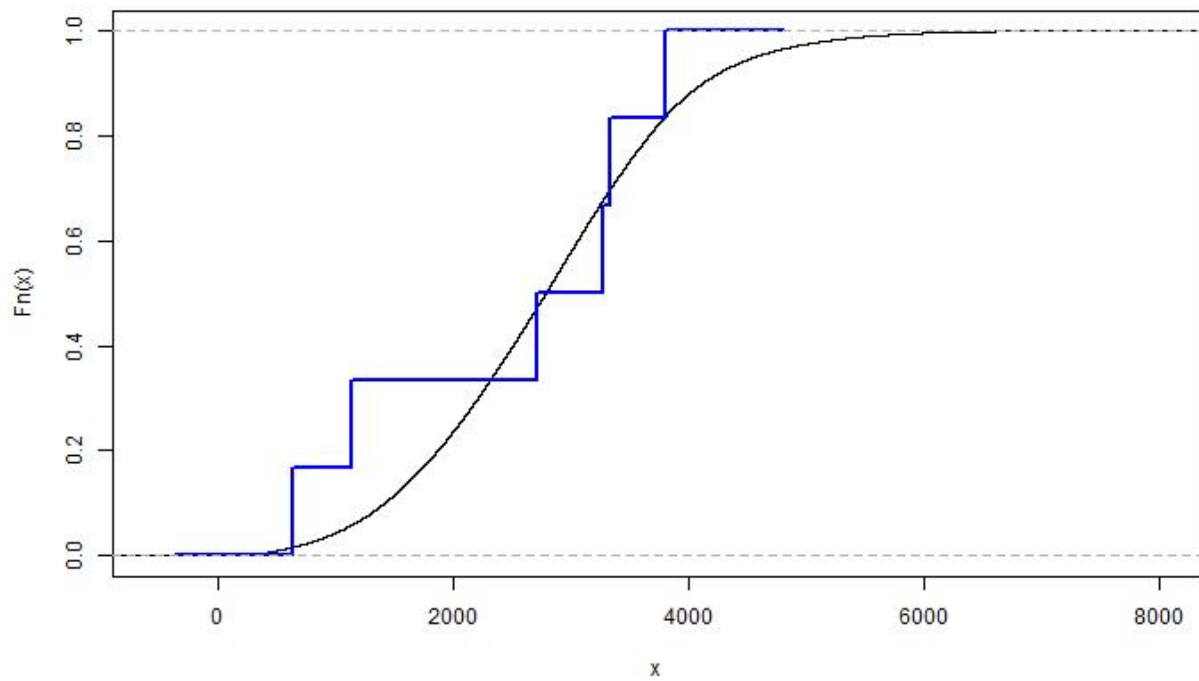
~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 500m
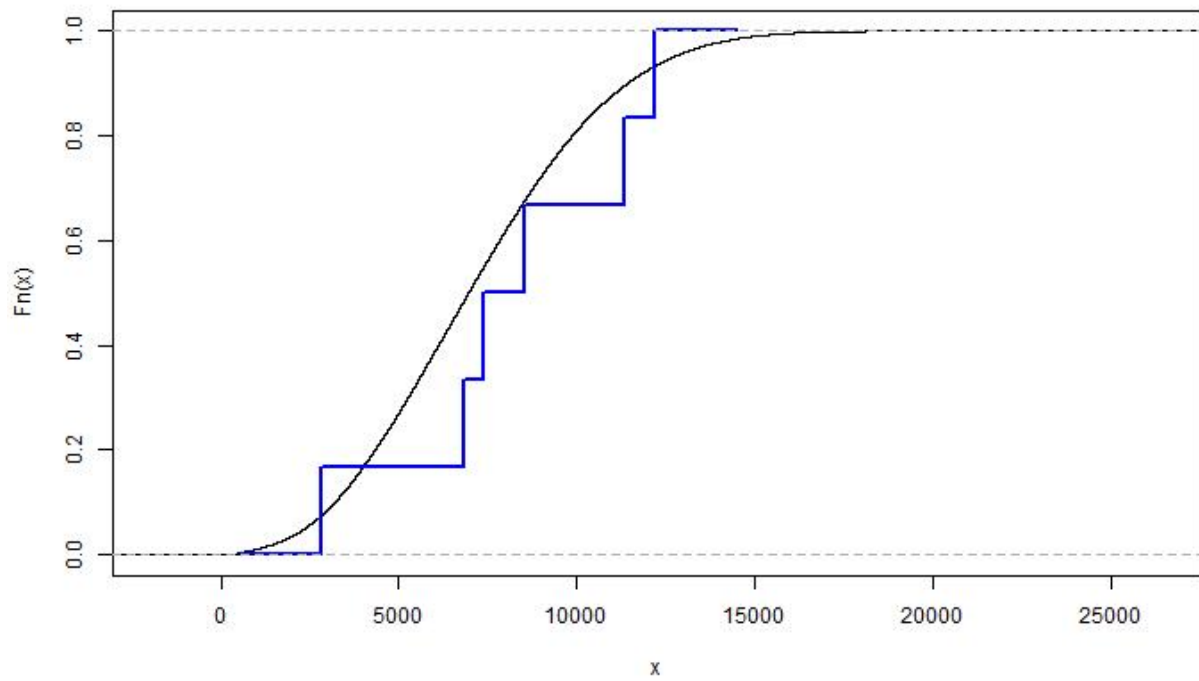
~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 1000m
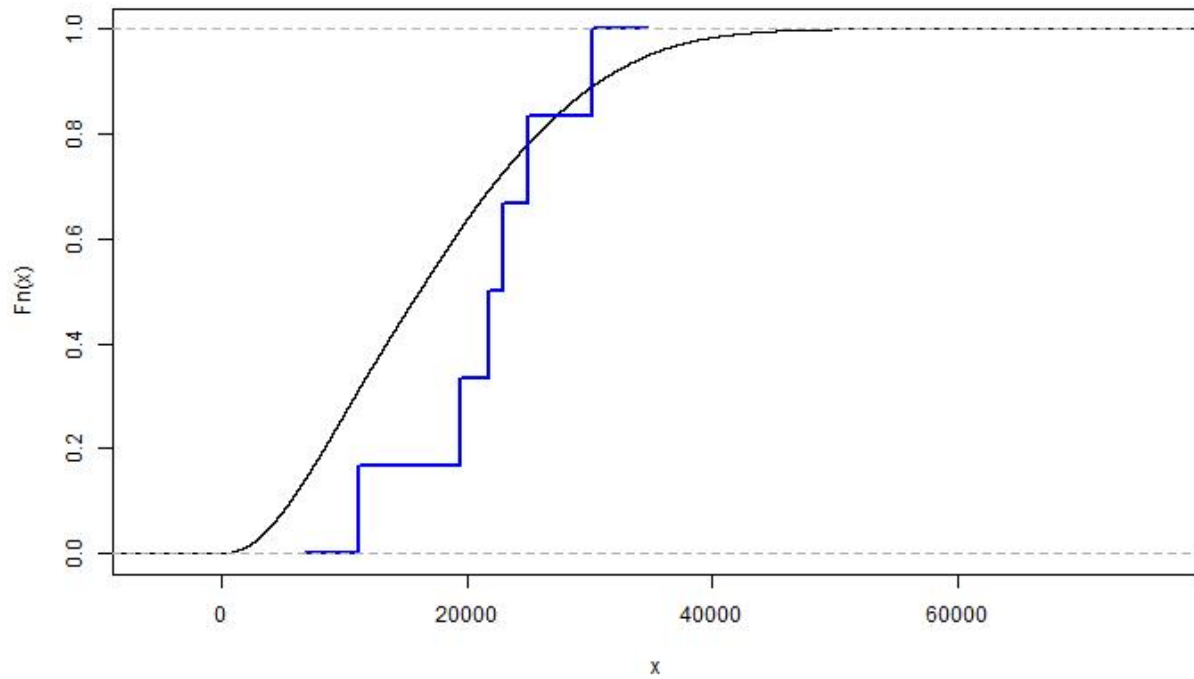
~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 2000m

~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 4000m

~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 63m
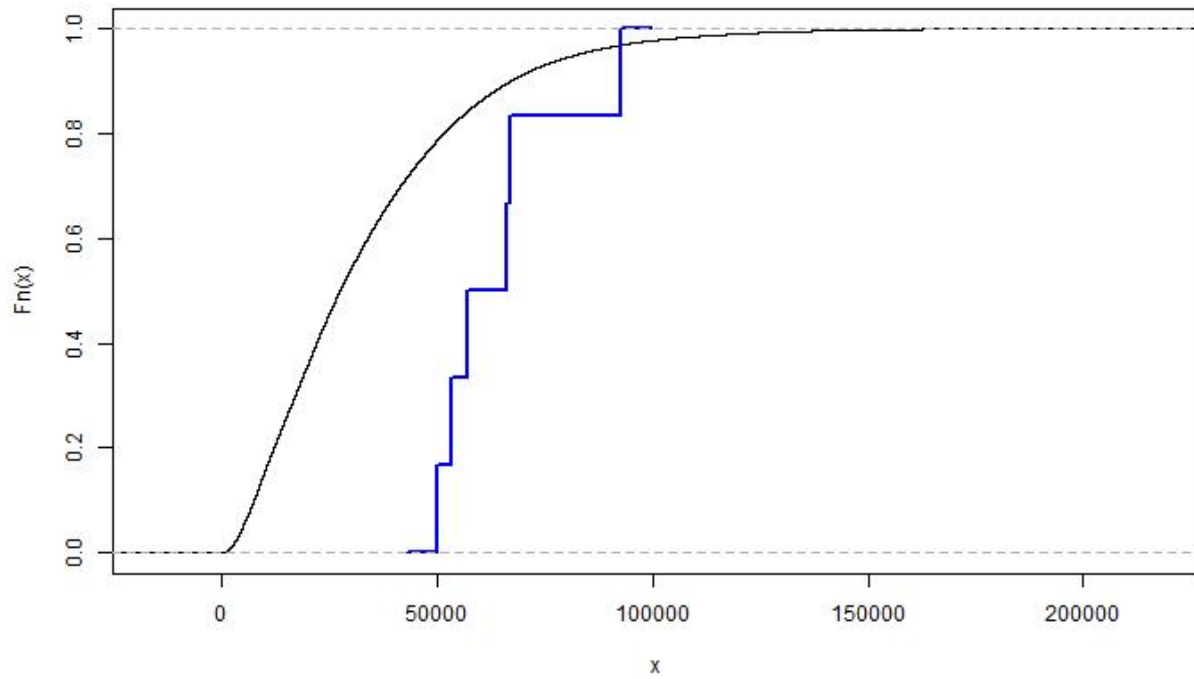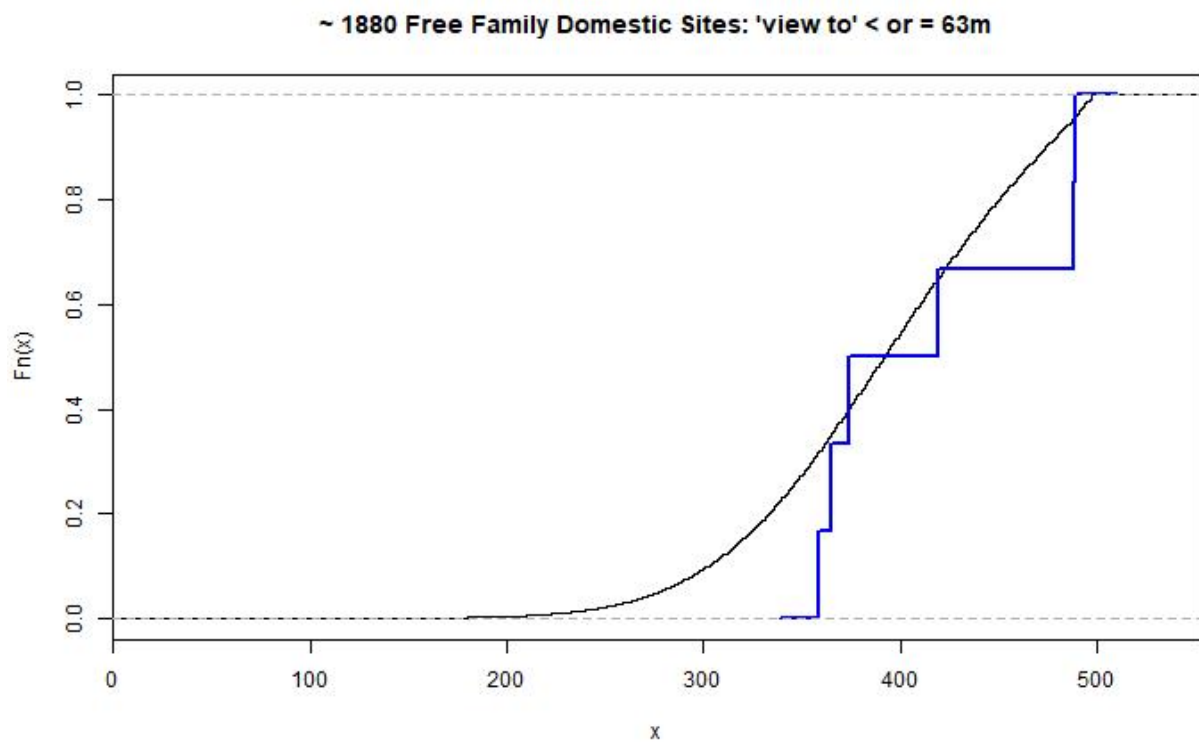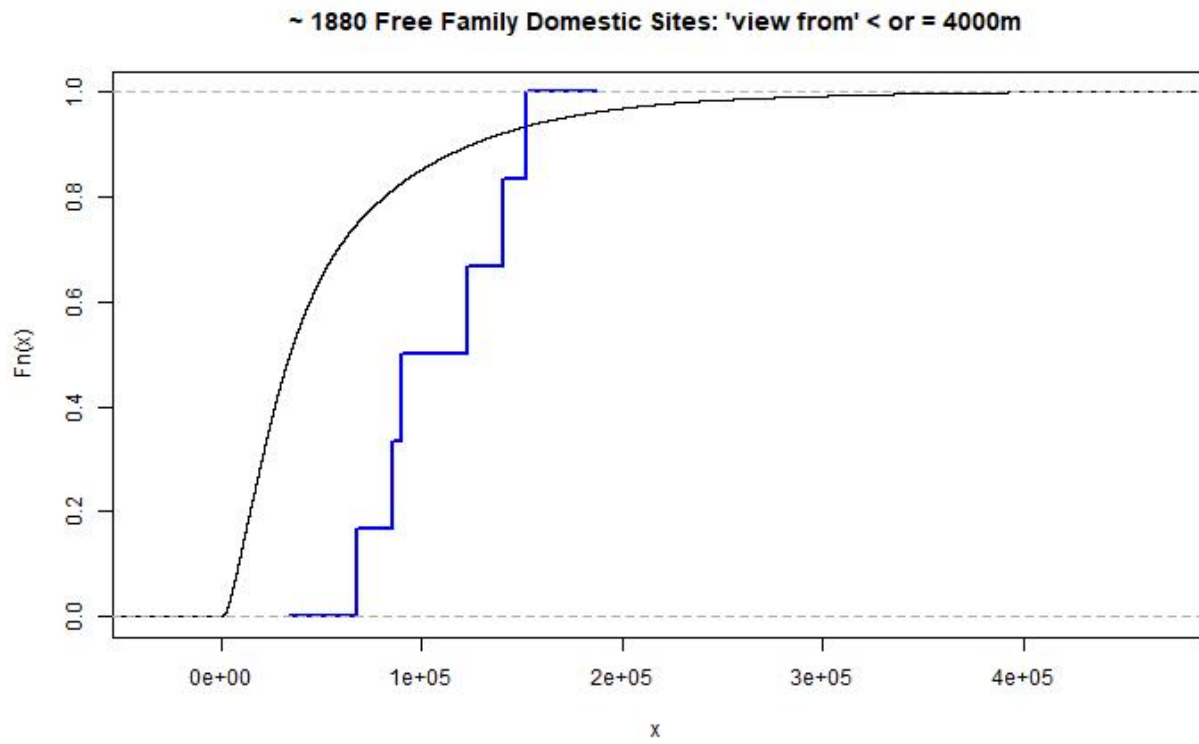
~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 125m

~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 250m

278

~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 500m

~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 1000m

~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 2000m

~ 1880 Free Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 4000m
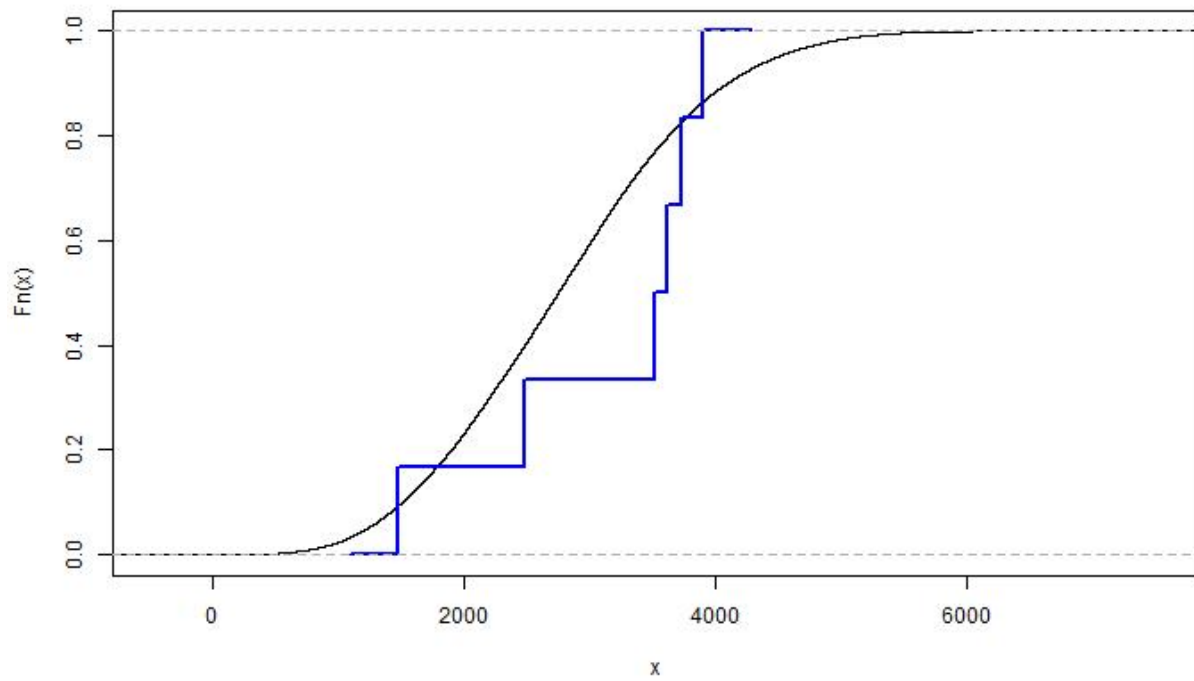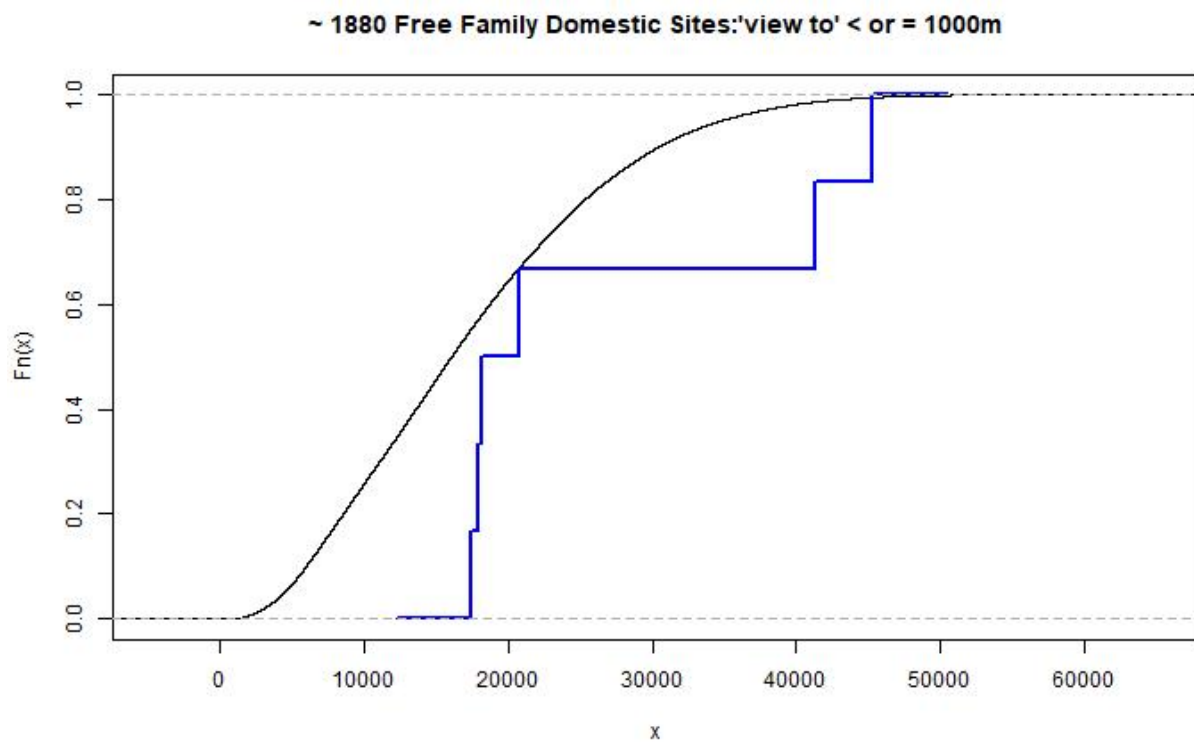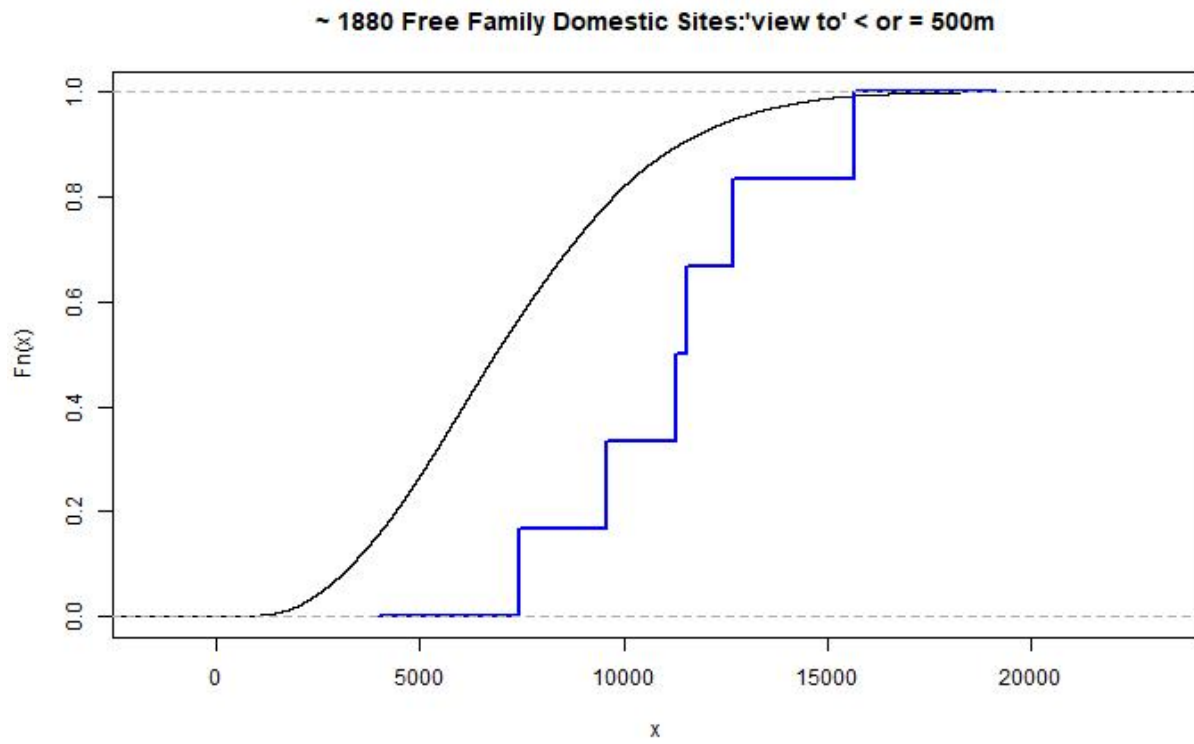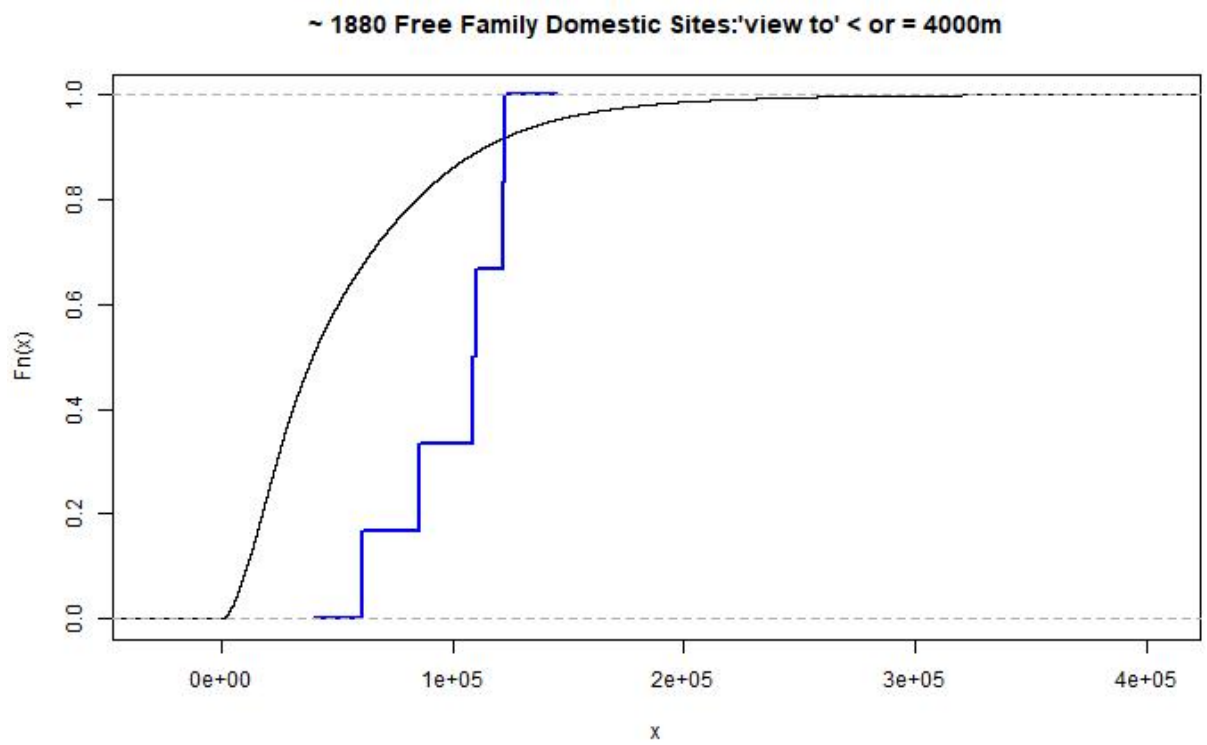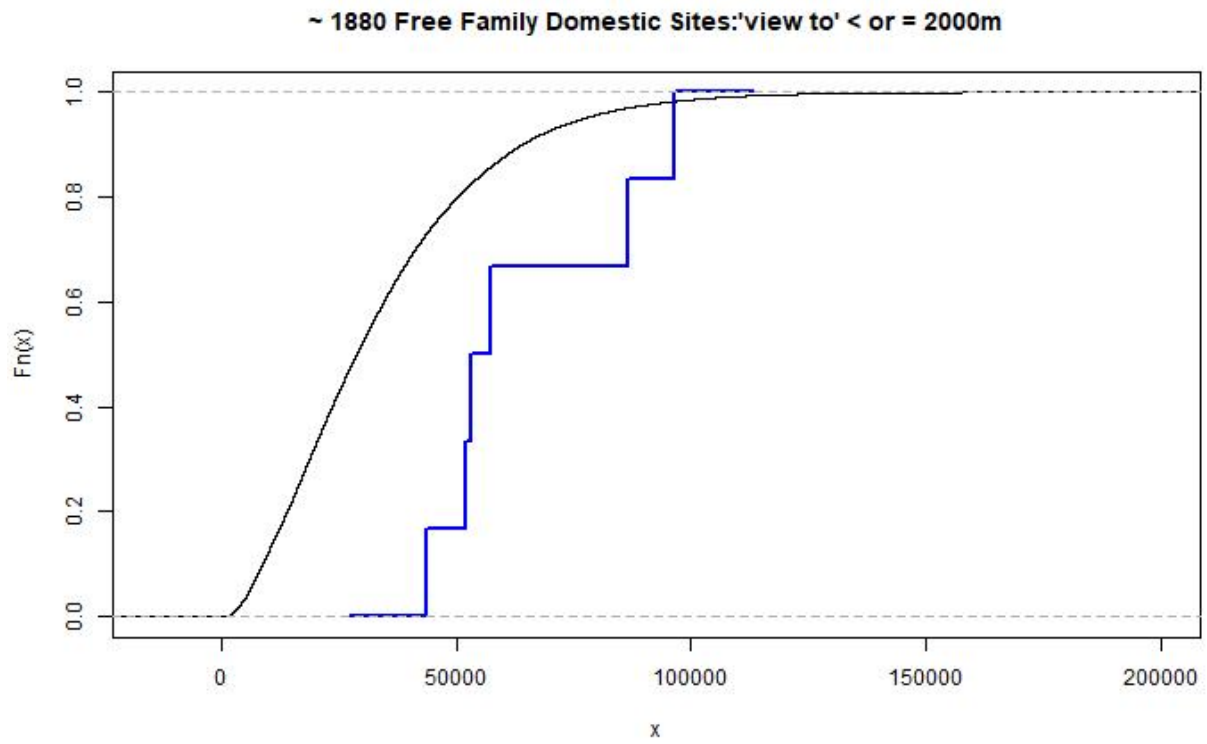
1910 (Dupont A) African American Family Domestic Site Visibility

~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 63m

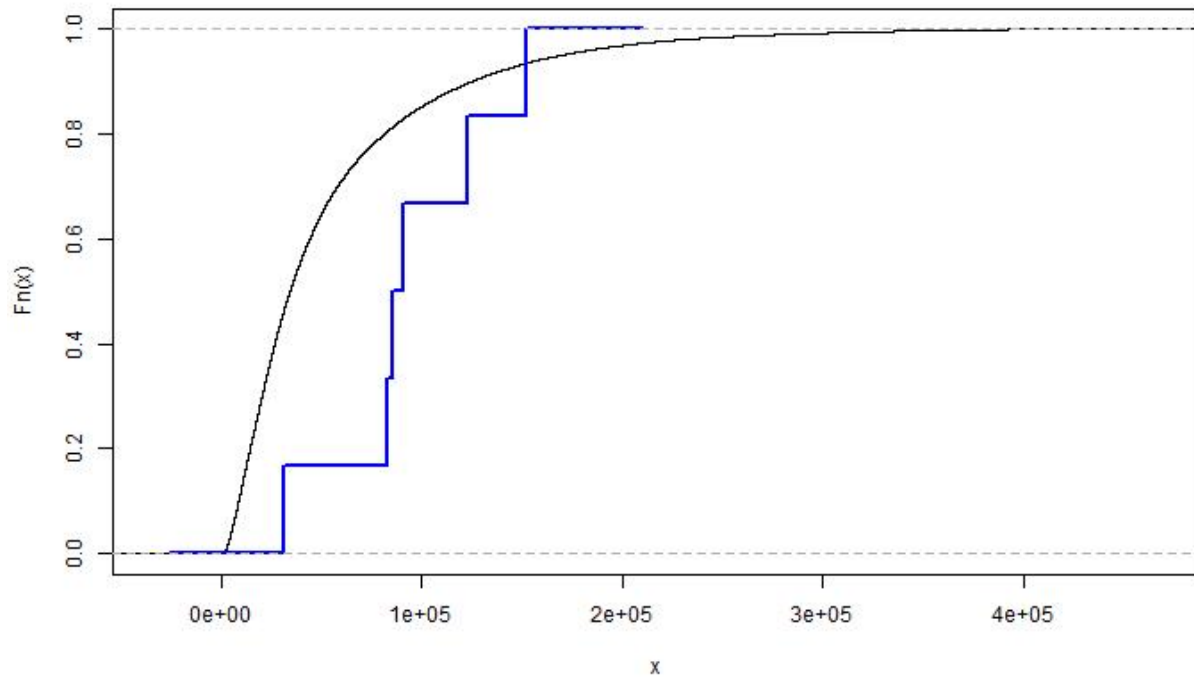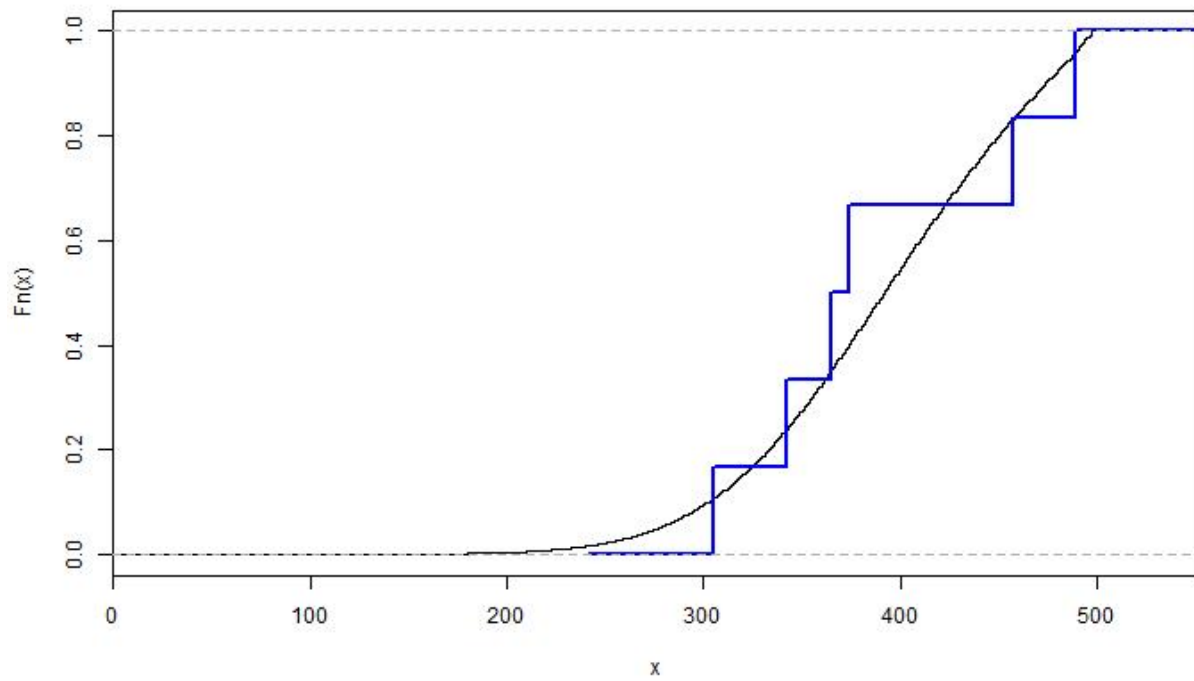### ~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 125m
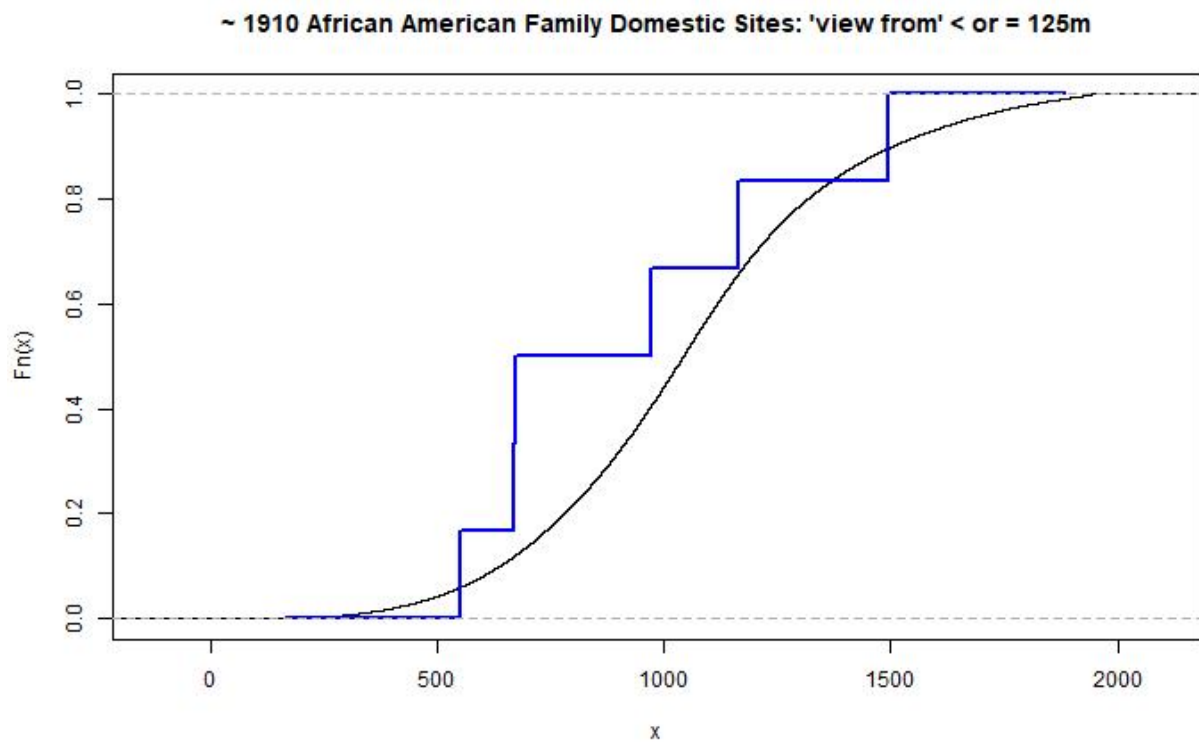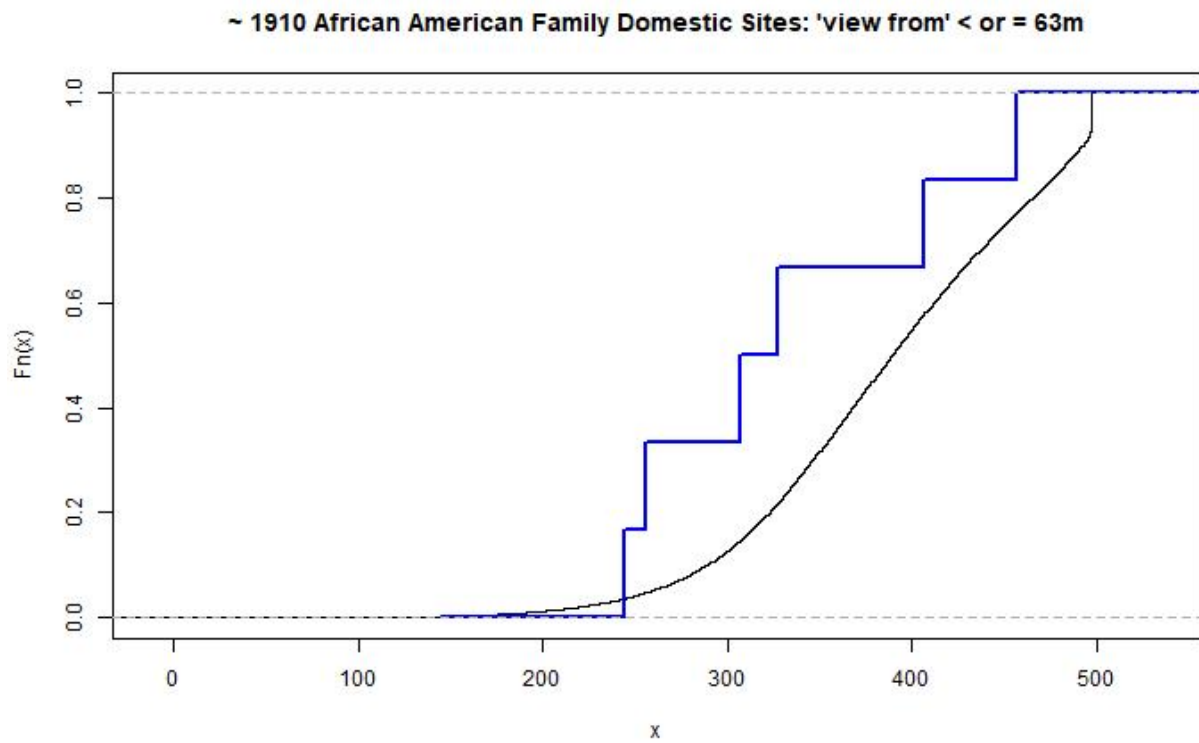
~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 250m
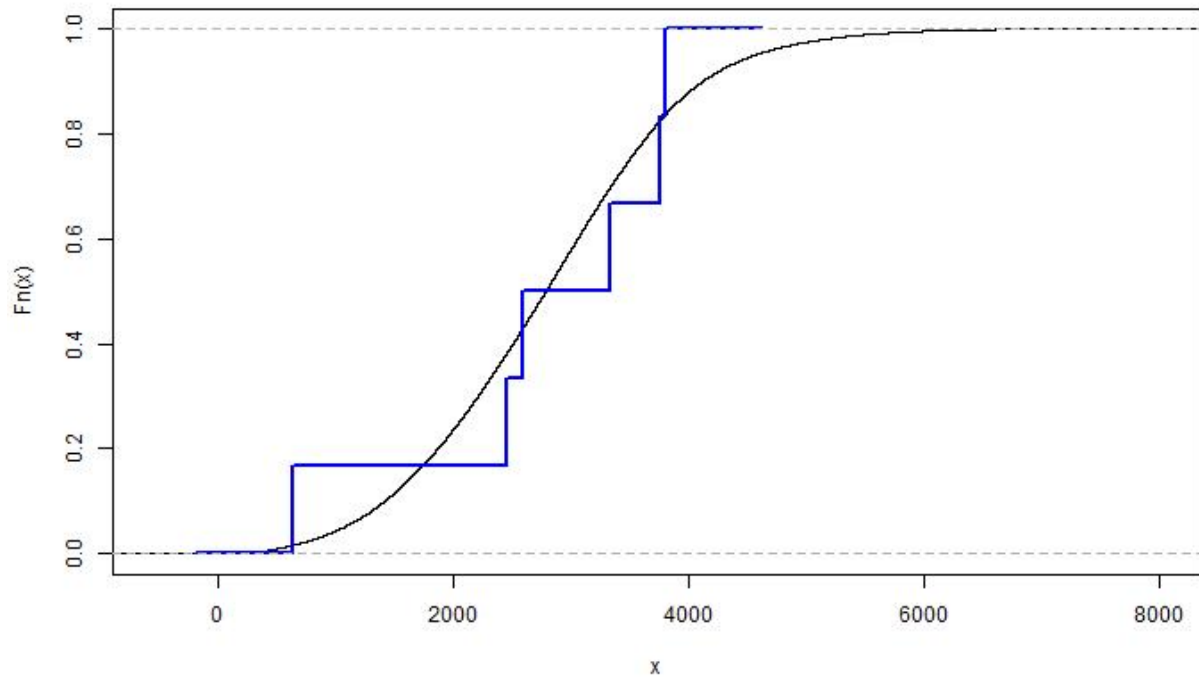
~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 500m
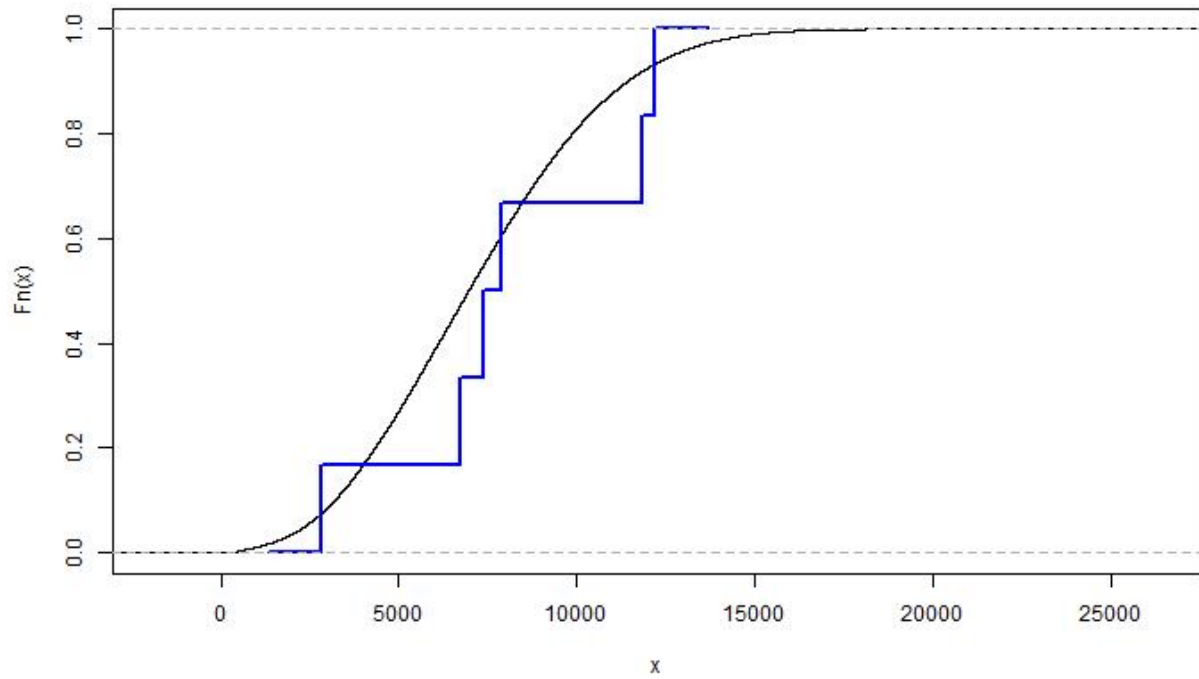
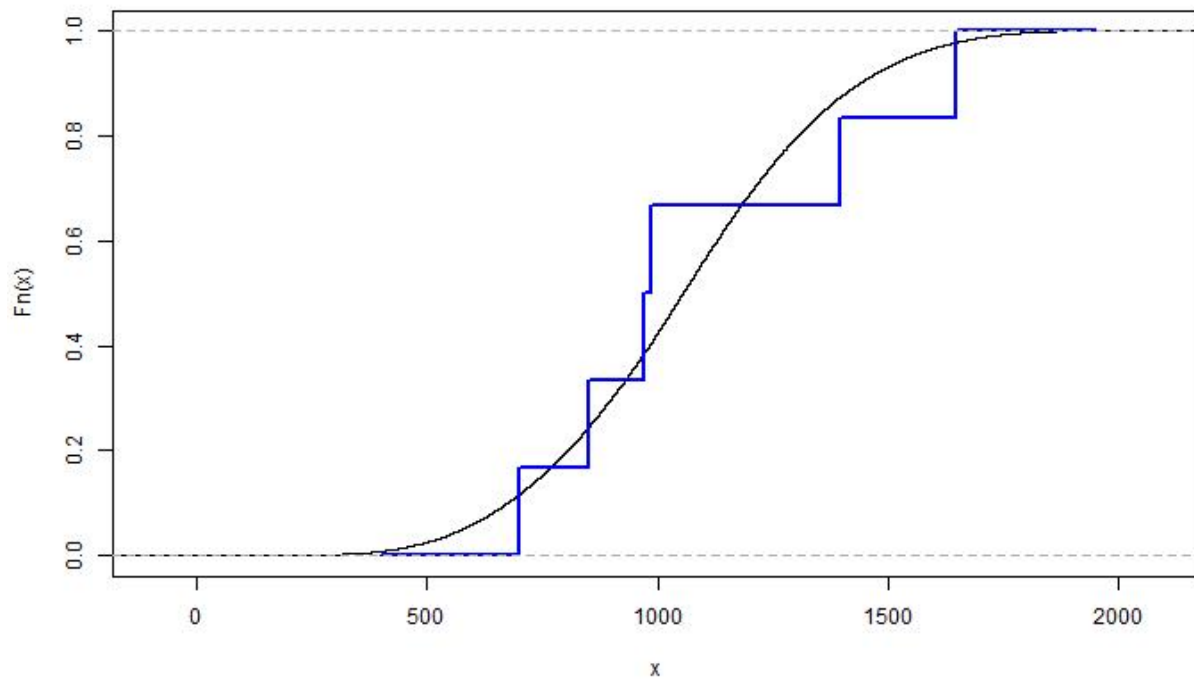## ~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 1000m
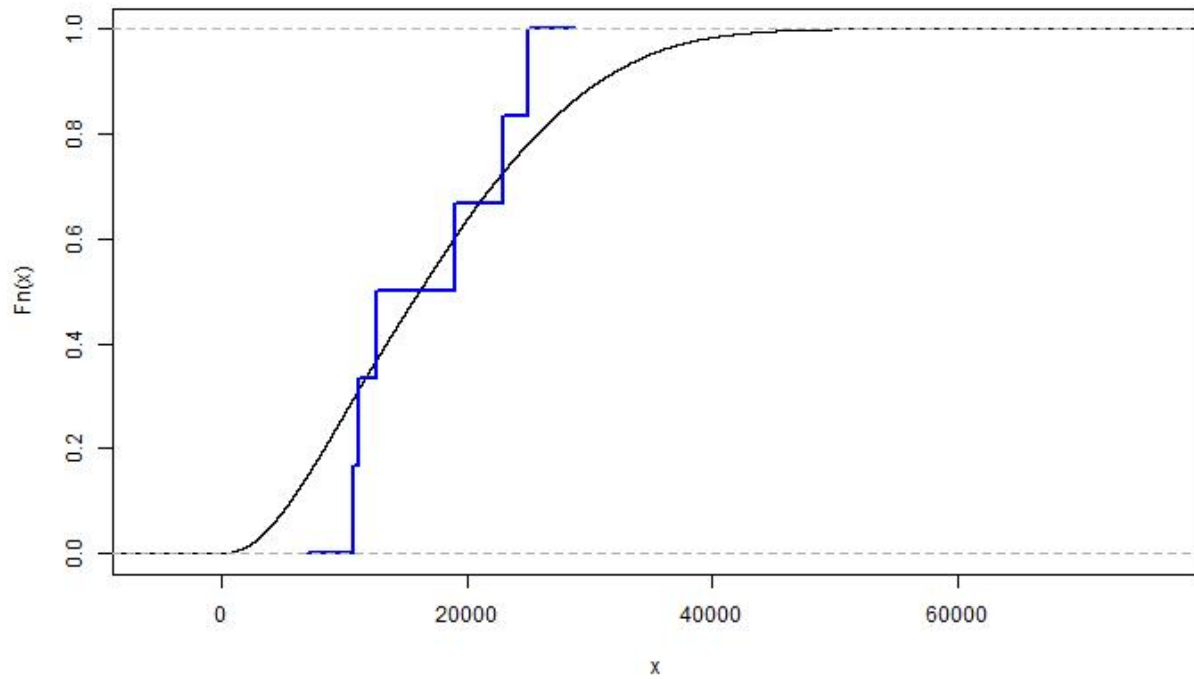
~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 2000m

283
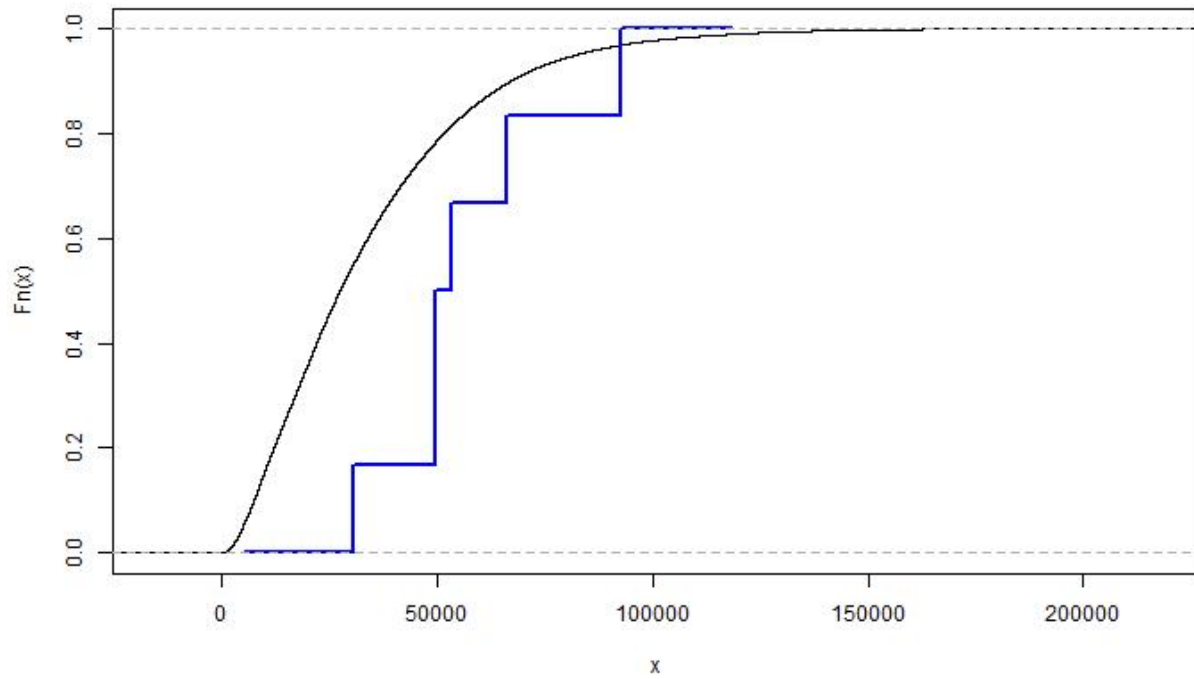
~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 4000m
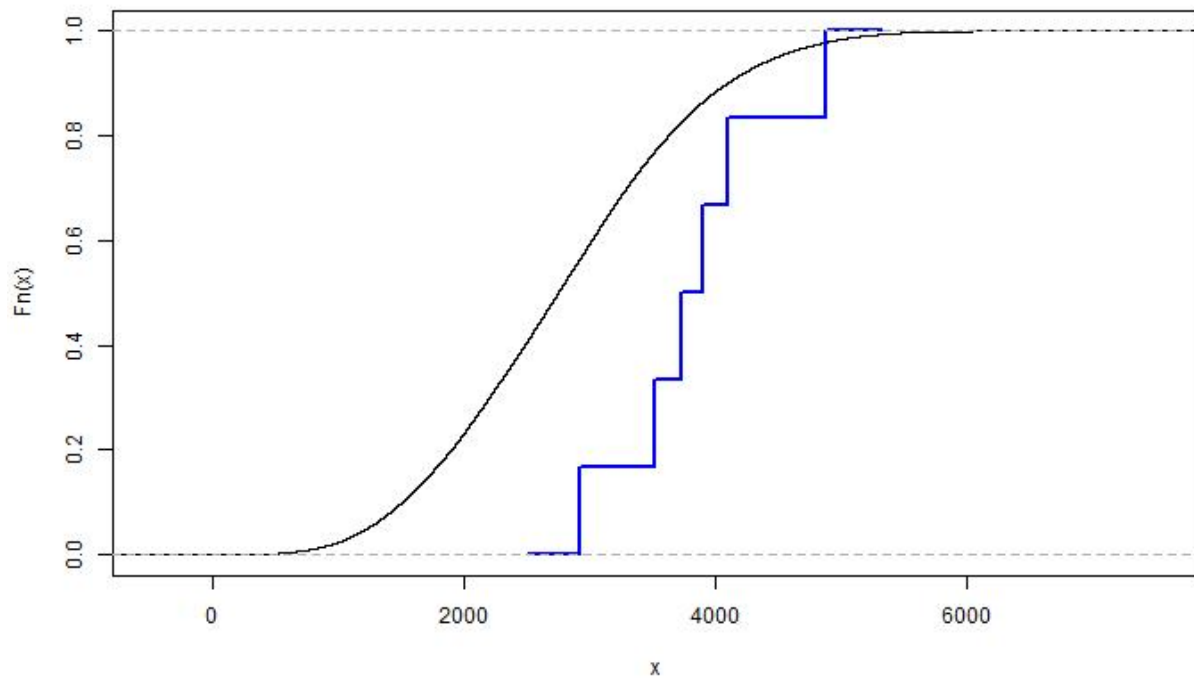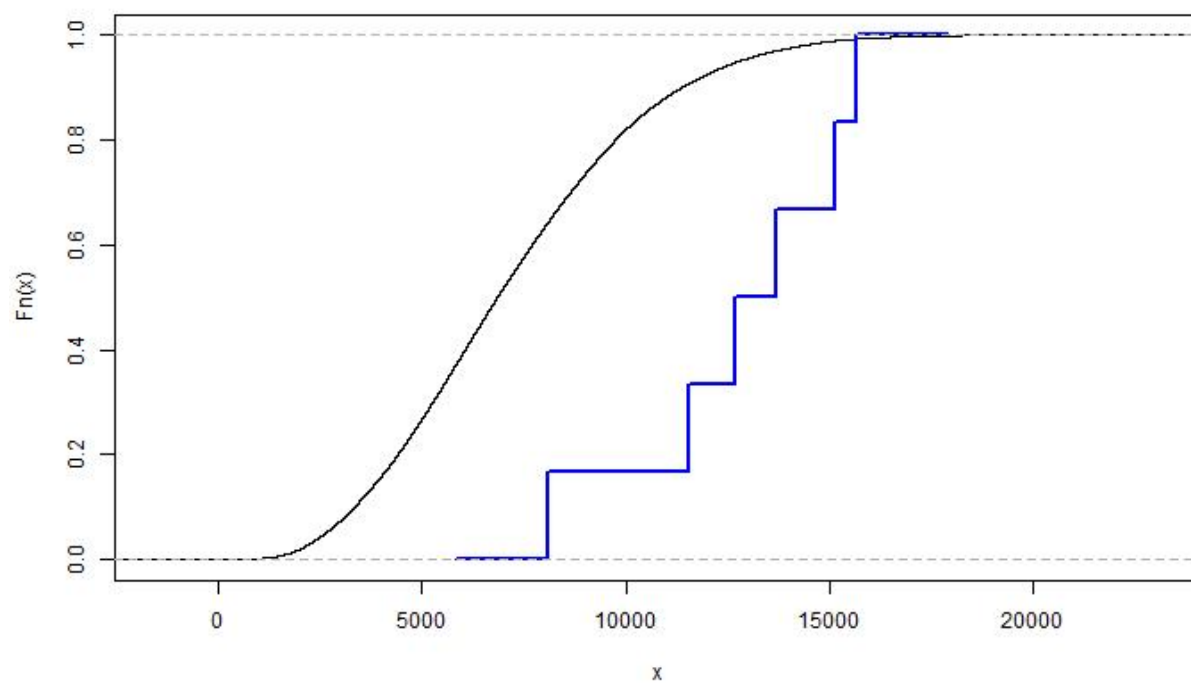

~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 63m

~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 125m

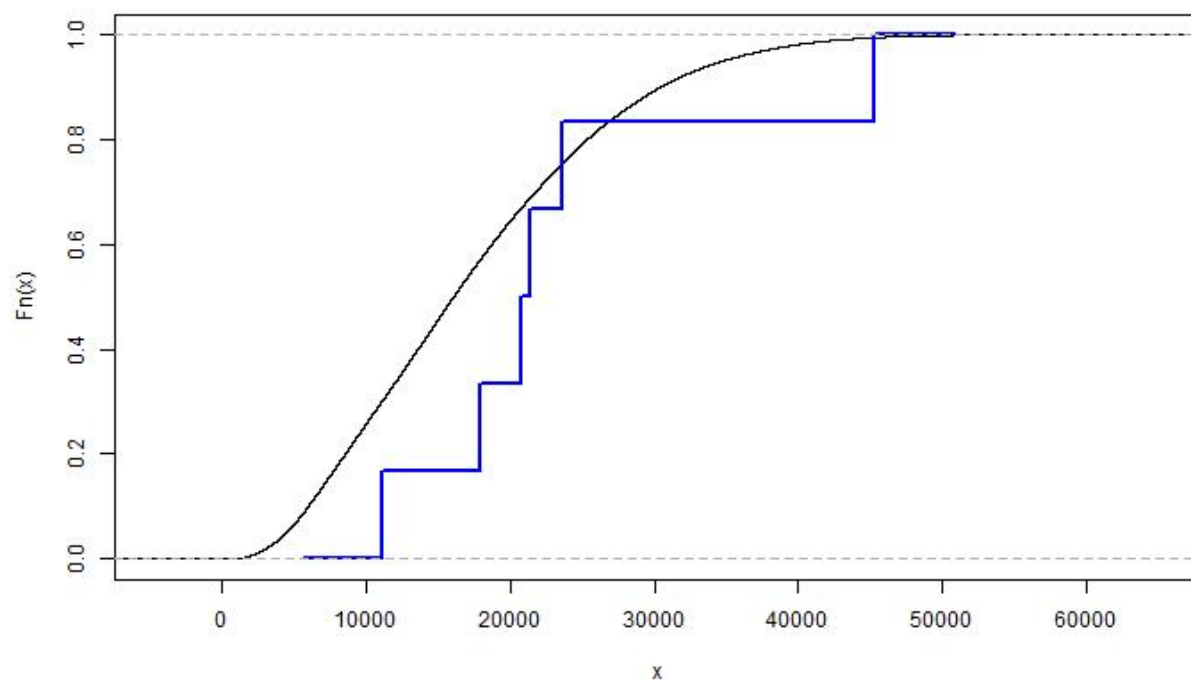## ~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 250m

~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 500m

~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 1000m

~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 2000m

~ 1910 African American Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 4000m
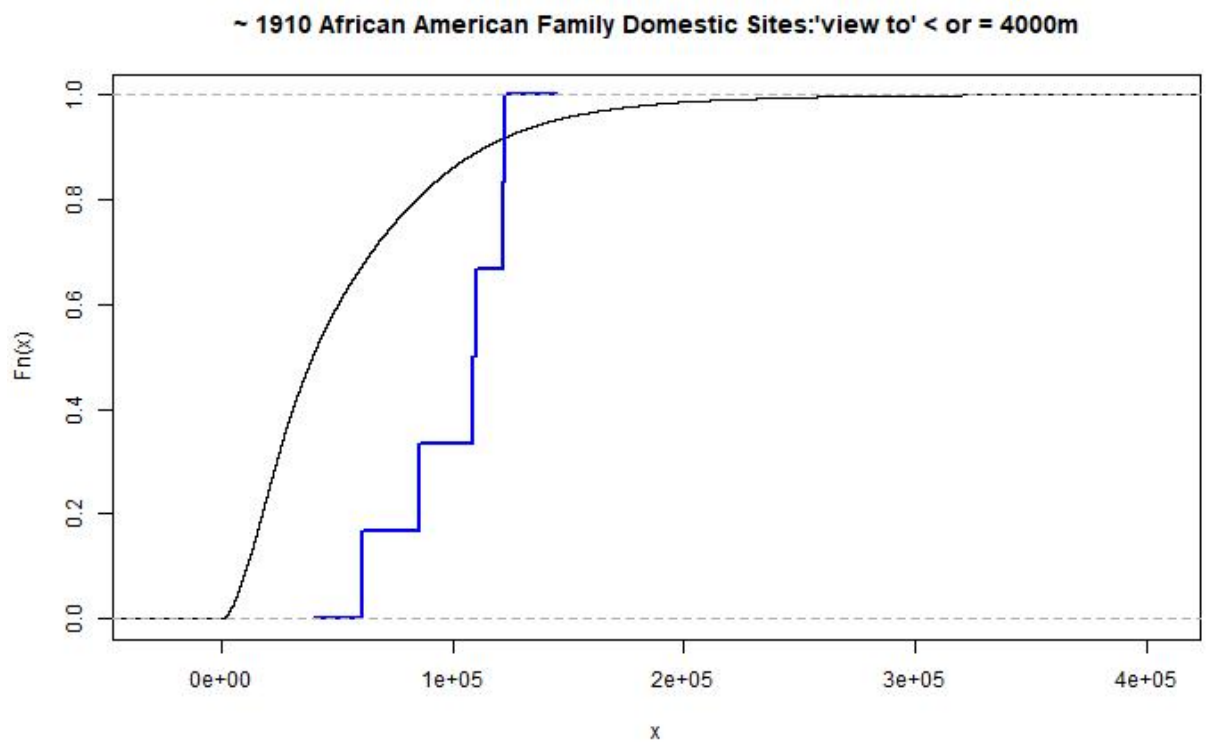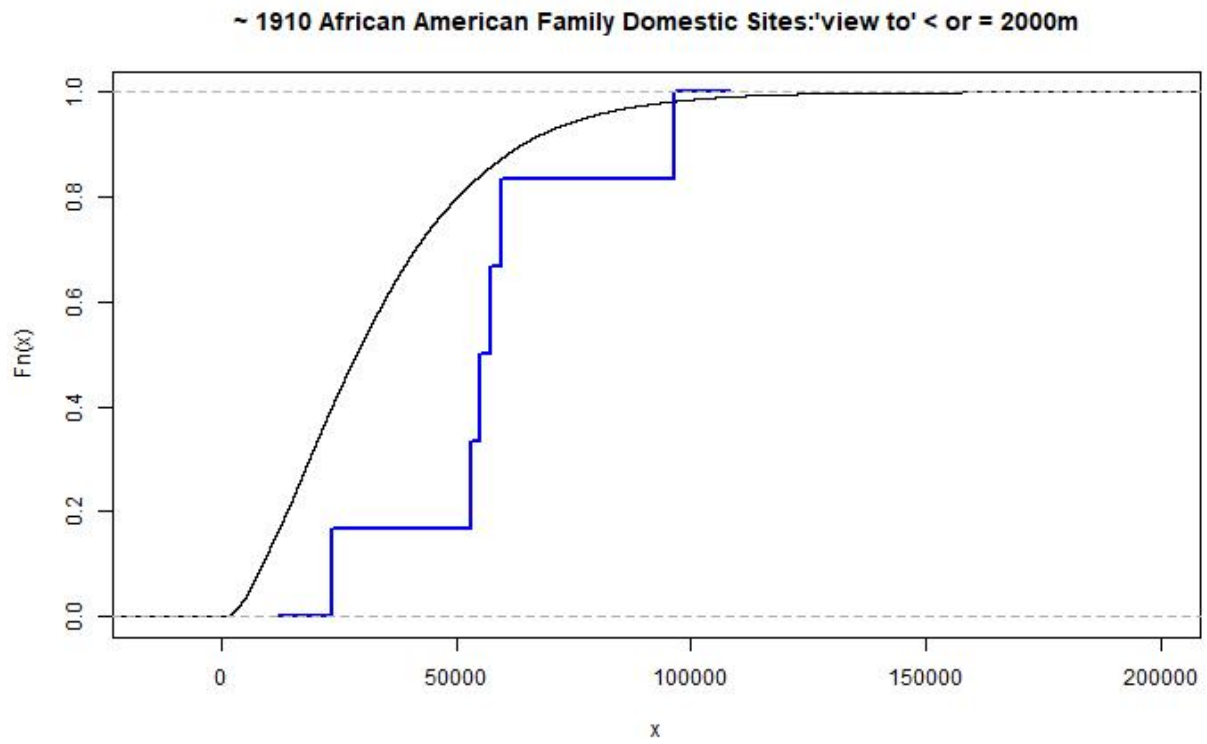
1940 (Dupont B) African American Family Domestic Site Visibility

~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 63m

~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 125m
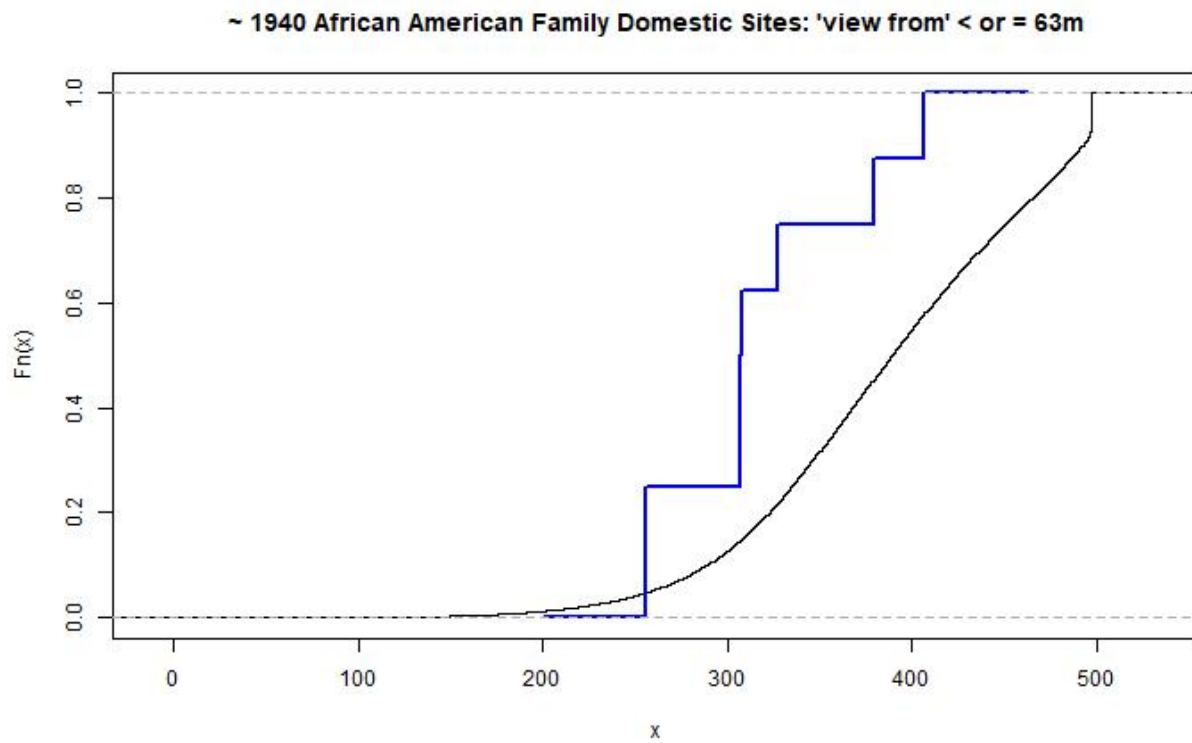
~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 250m

~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 500m

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~1940 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 1000m

~1940 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 2000m

290

~1940 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view from' < or = 4000m

~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 63m

291

~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites: 'view to' < or = 125m

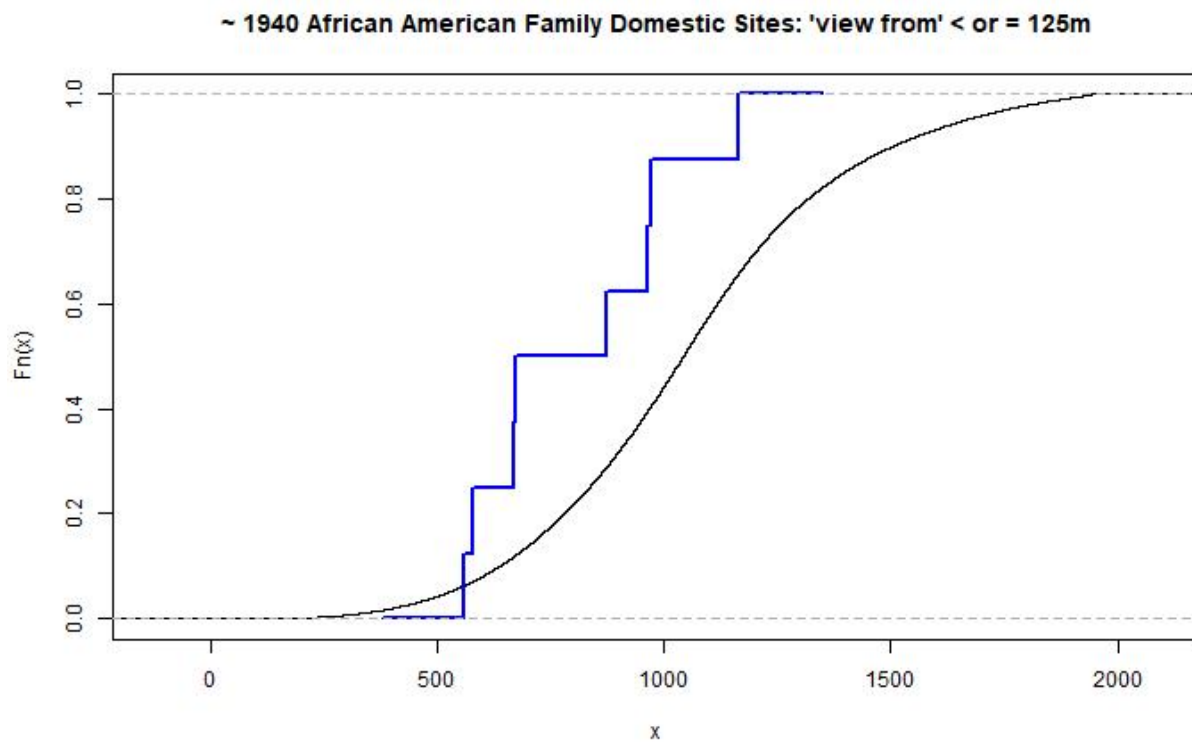~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 250m

~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 500m

~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 1000m

~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 2000m
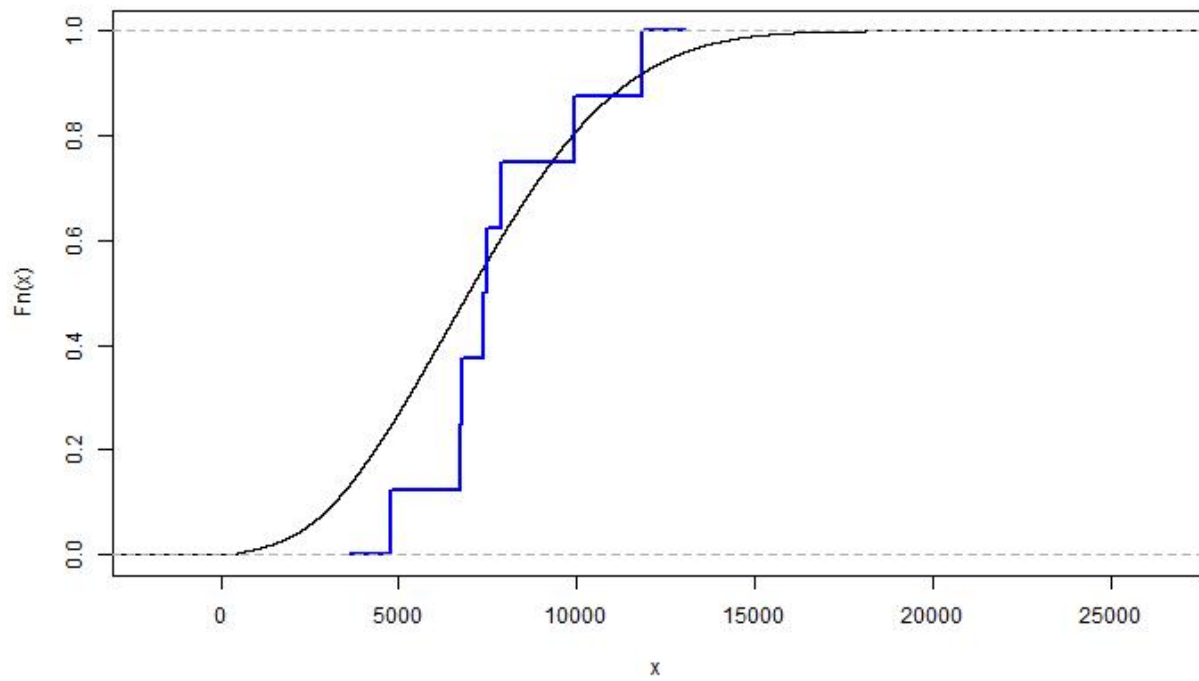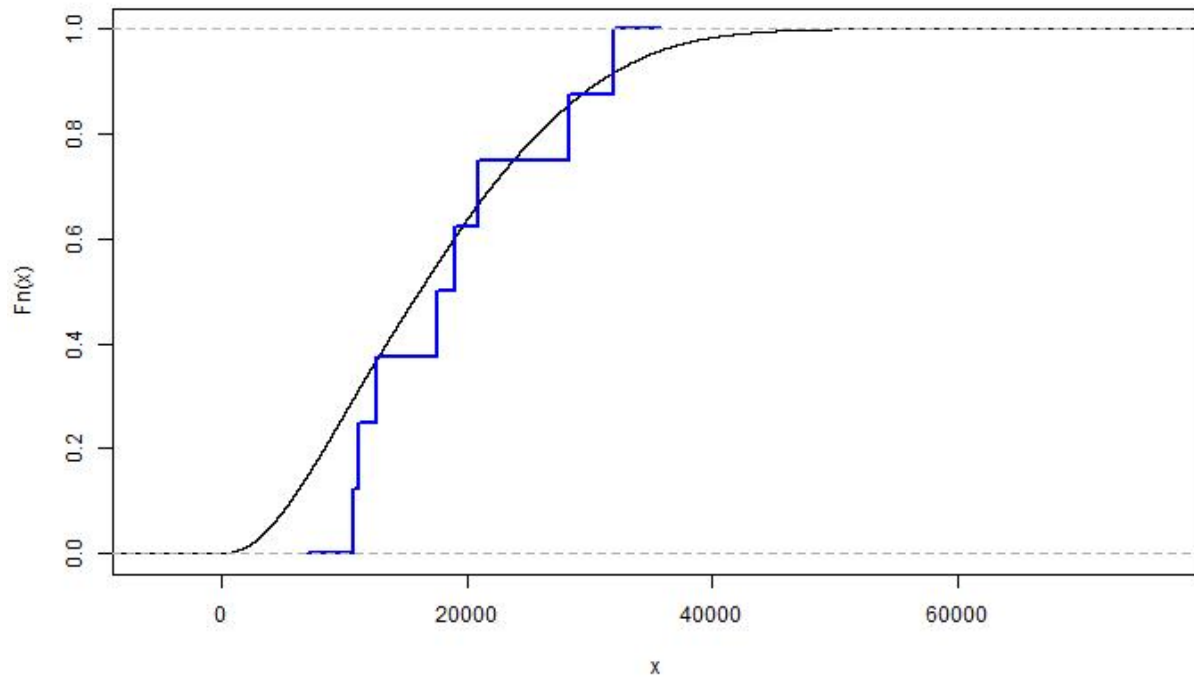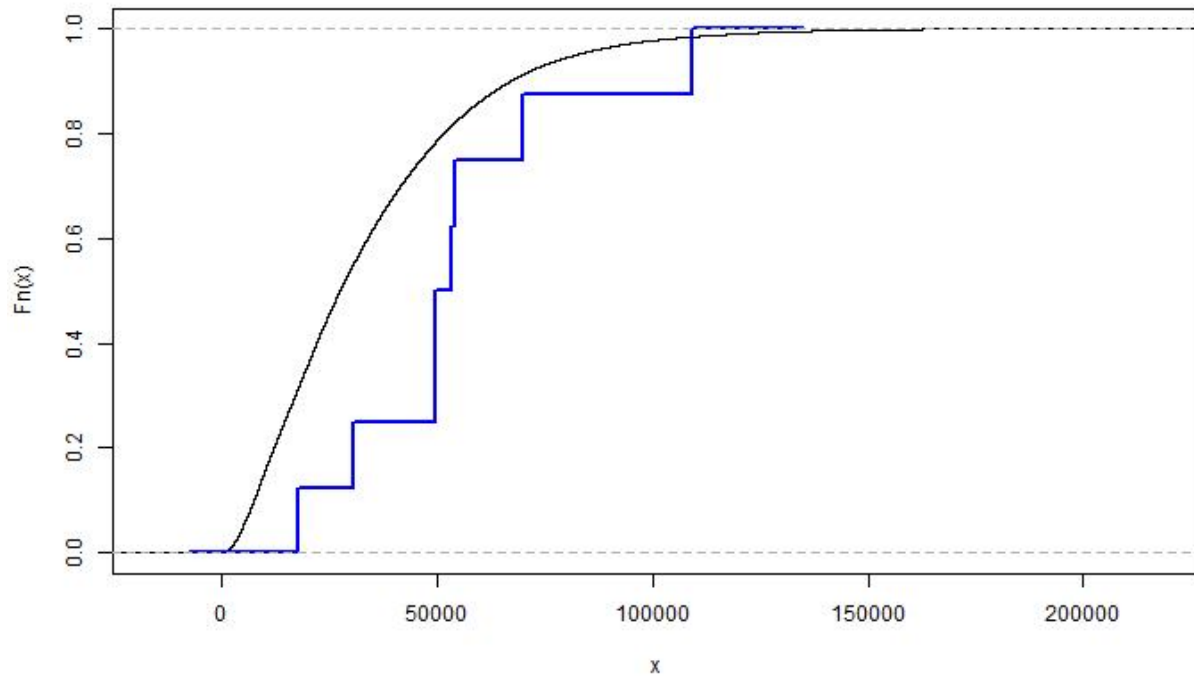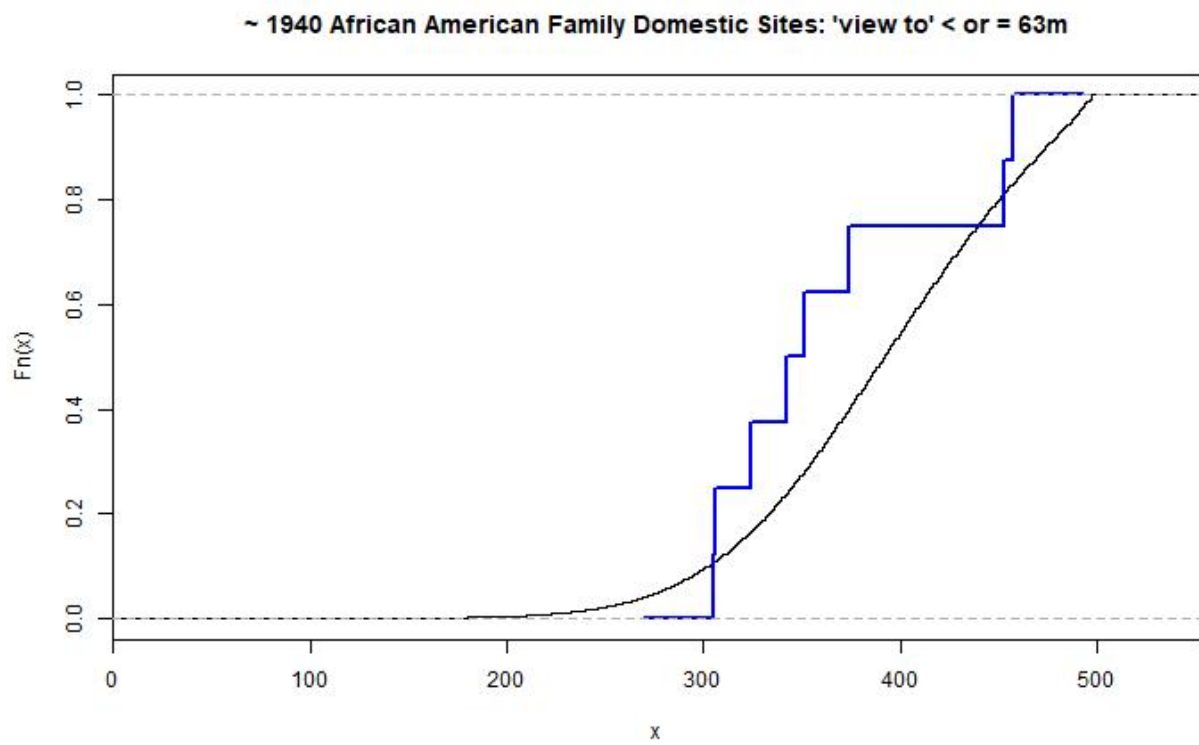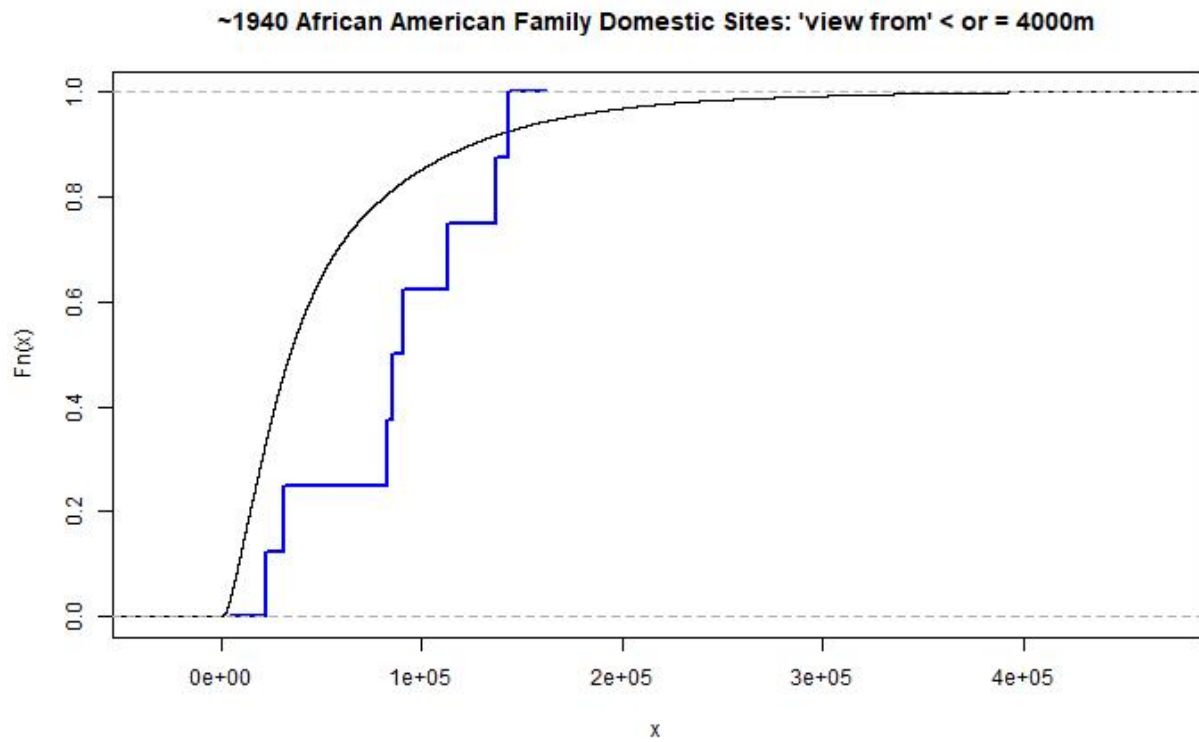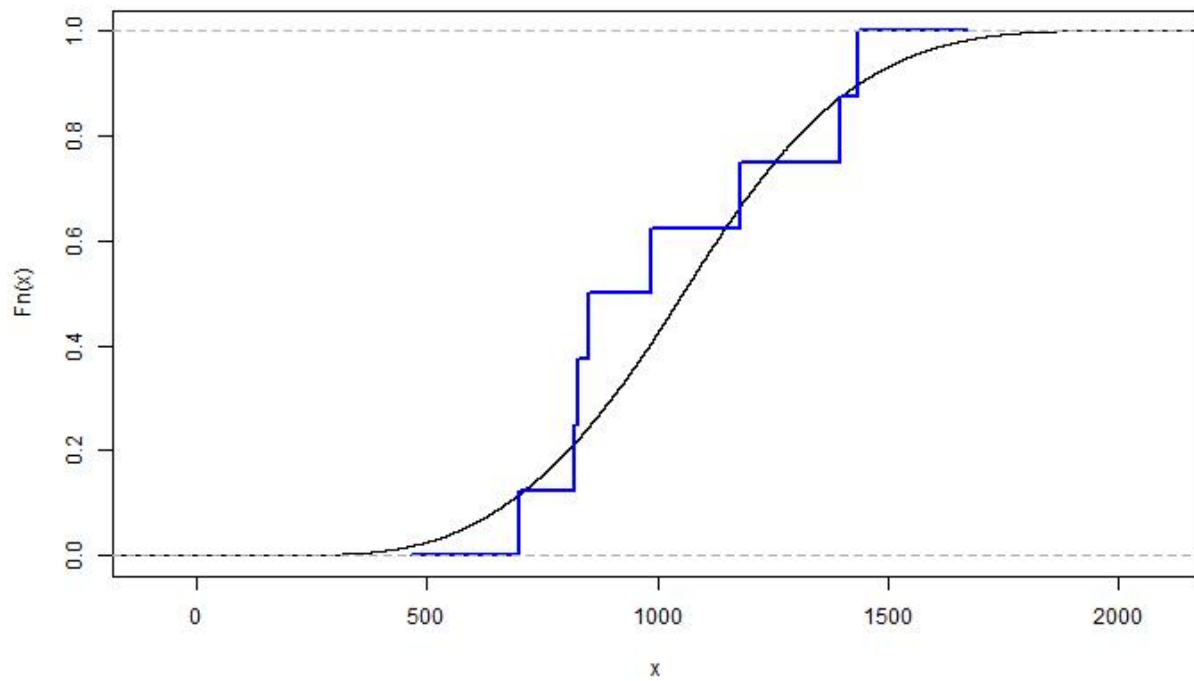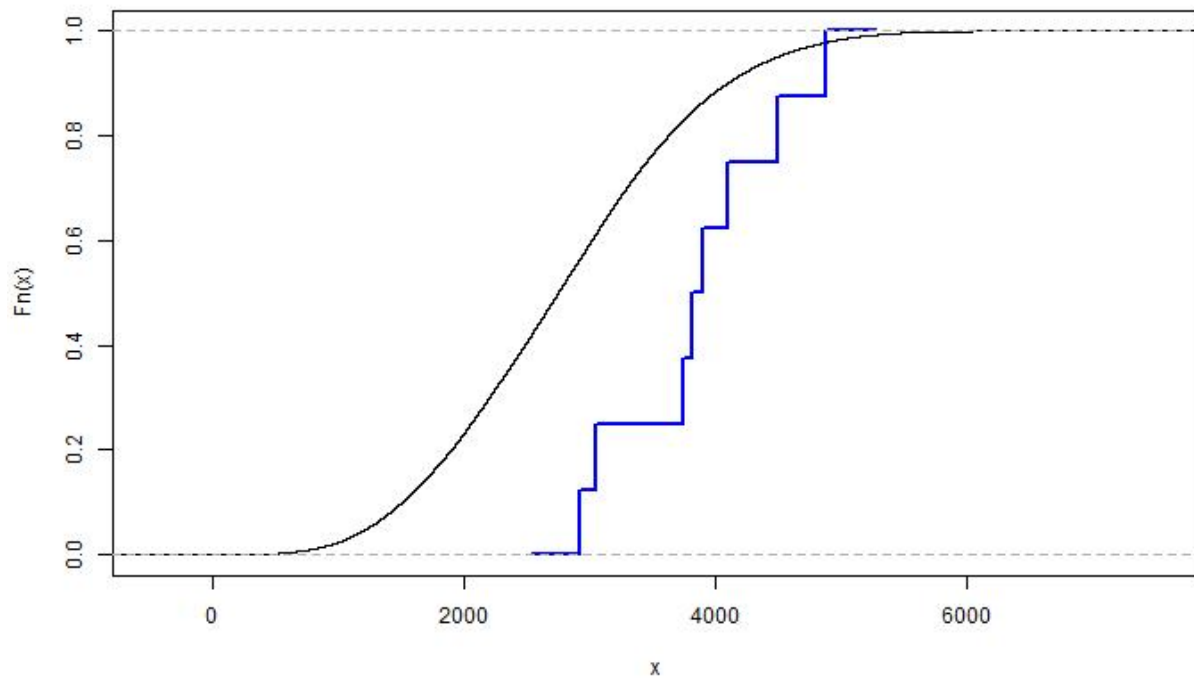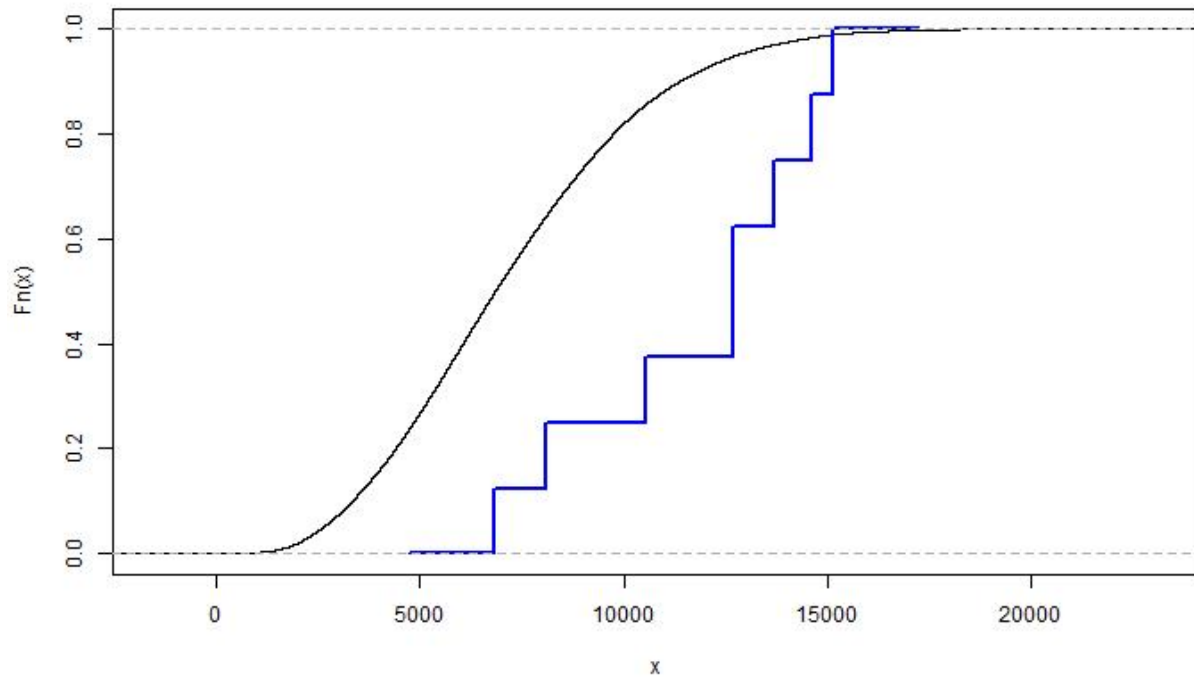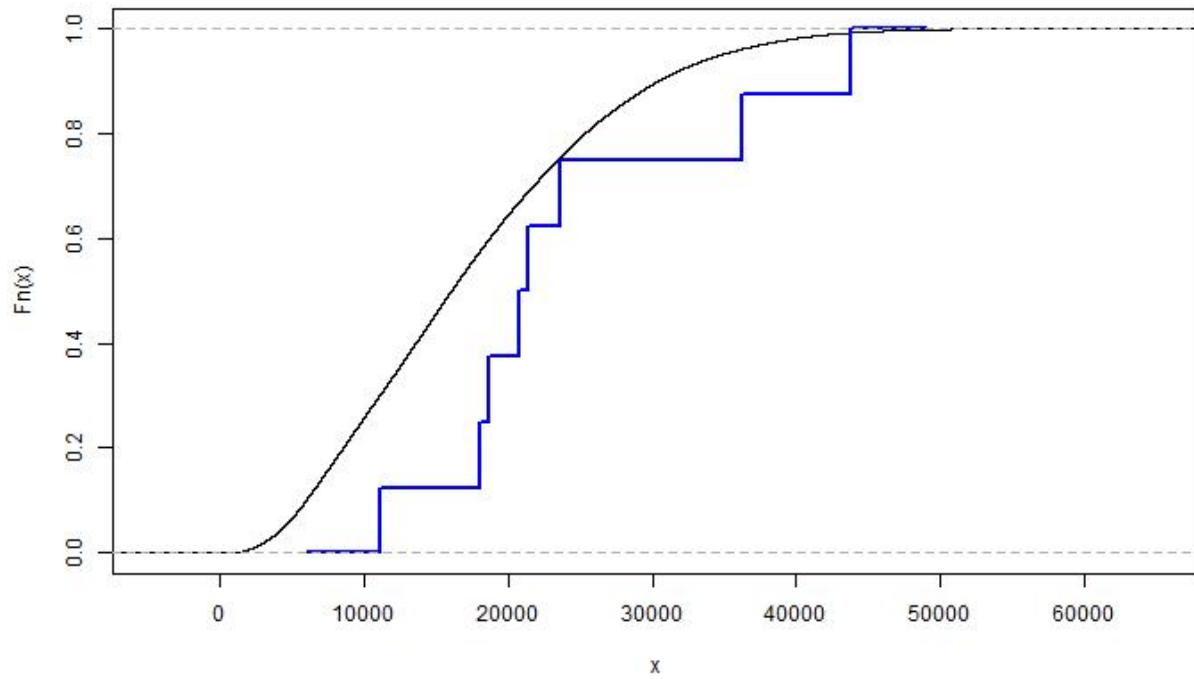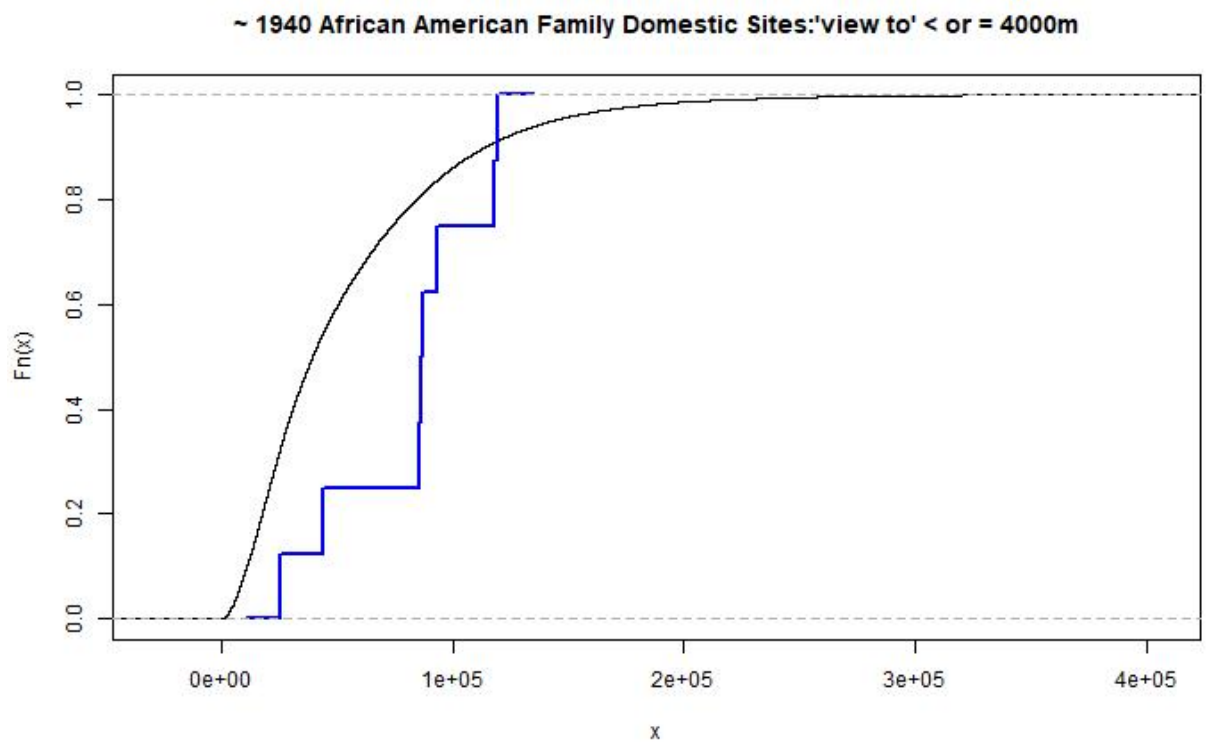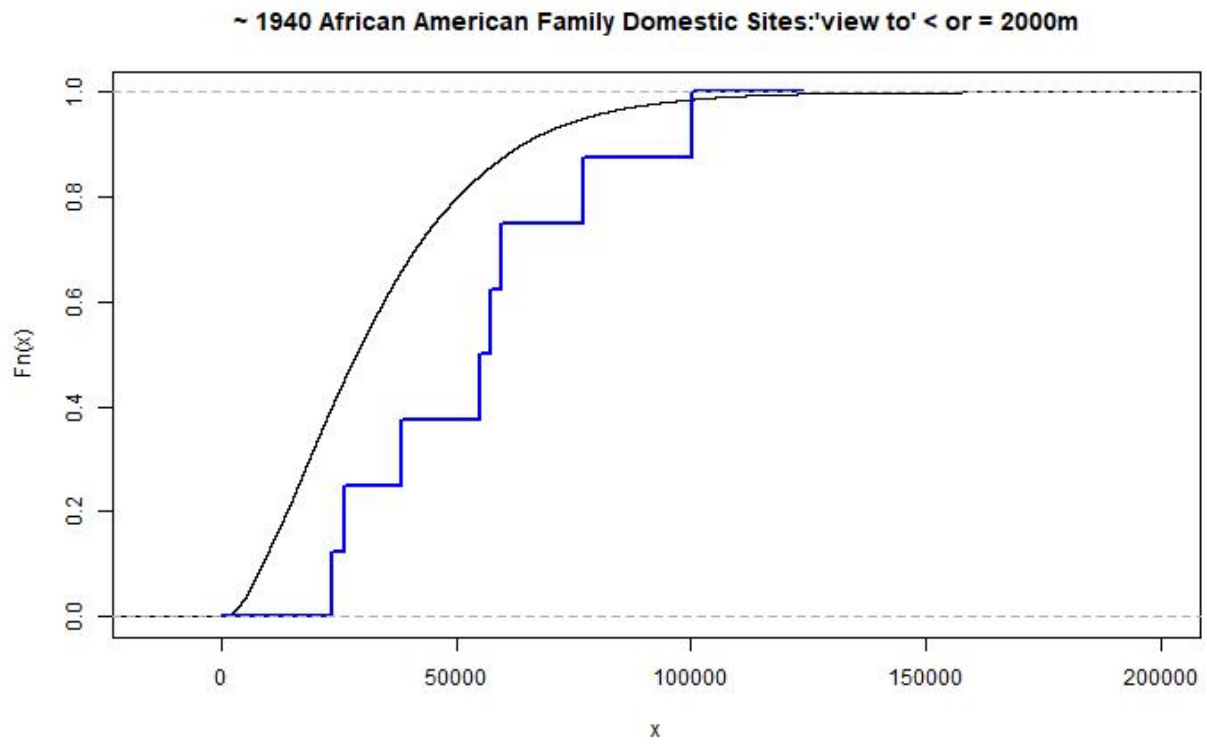

~ 1940 African American Family Domestic Sites:'view to' < or = 4000m

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Appendix D: Changes in African American Domestic Site Visibility Through Time.

Kolmogorov – Smirnov test results and Cumulative Distribution Function Plots

View to African American Domestic Sites through Time				
r	First Date	Second Date	D-Value	p-value
63	1800	1820	0.30556	0.9583
63	1820	1840	0.23611	0.8588
63	1840	1860	0.1131	0.9999
63	1860	1880	0.5	0.2445
63	1880	1910	0.33333	0.8928
63	1910	1940	0.29167	0.9324

View from African American Domestic Sites through Time				
r	First Date	Second Date	D-Value	p-value
63	1800	1820	0.41667	0.7222
63	1820	1840	0.27778	0.6934
63	1840	1860	0.16071	0.9764
63	1860	1880	0.21429	0.9905
63	1880	1910	0.16667	1
63	1910	1940	0.20833	0.9984

View to African American Domestic Sites through Time				
r	First Date	Second Date	D Value	p-value
125	1800	1820	0.30556	0.9583
125	1820	1840	0.11111	1
125	1840	1860	0.11905	0.9996
125	1860	1880	0.35714	0.6576
125	1880	1910	0.33333	0.8928
125	1910	1940	0.20833	0.9984

View from African American Domestic Sites through Time				
r	First Date	Second Date	D Value	p-value
125	1800	1820	0.30556	0.9583
125	1820	1840	0.19444	0.9655
125	1840	1860	0.095238	1
125	1860	1880	0.2619	0.9355
125	1880	1910	0.33333	0.8928
125	1910	1940	0.25	0.9829

View to African American Domestic Sites through Time				
r	First Date	Second Date	D Value	p-value
250	1800	1820	0.27778	0.9831
250	1820	1840	0.23611	0.8588
250	1840	1860	0.19048	0.9054
250	1860	1880	0.35714	0.6576
250	1880	1910	0.33333	0.8928
250	1910	1940	0.25	0.9826

View from African American Domestic Sites through Time				
r	First Date	Second Date	D Value	p-value
250	1800	1820	0.16667	1
250	1820	1840	0.22222	0.903
250	1840	1860	0.14881	0.9896
250	1860	1880	0.28571	0.8828
250	1880	1910	0.16667	1
250	1910	1940	0.25	0.9829

View to African American Domestic Sites through Time				
	First	Second		
r	Date	Date	D Value	p-value
500	1800	1820	0.22222	0.9992
500	1820	1840	0.19444	0.9655
500	1840	1860	0.17857	0.9406
500	1860	1880	0.35714	0.6576
500	1880	1910	0.33333	0.8928
500	1910	1940	0.20833	0.9984

View from African American Domestic Sites through Time				
	First	Second		
r	Date	Date	D Value	p-value
500	1800	1820	0.19444	0.9999
500	1820	1840	0.26389	0.7521
500	1840	1860	0.14881	0.9896
500	1860	1880	0.28571	0.8828
500	1880	1910	0.16667	1
500	1910	1940	0.20833	0.9984

View to African American Domestic Sites through Time				
	First	Second		
r	Date	Date	D Value	p-value
1000	1800	1820	0.30556	0.9583
1000	1820	1840	0.375	0.3161
1000	1840	1860	0.19643	0.8846
1000	1860	1880	0.57143	0.1287
1000	1880	1910	0.16667	1
1000	1910	1940	0.20833	0.9984

View from African American Domestic Sites through Time				
	First	Second		
r	Date	Date	D Value	p-value
1000	1800	1820	0.19444	0.9999
1000	1820	1840	0.22222	0.903
1000	1840	1860	0.10714	1
1000	1860	1880	0.35714	0.6576
1000	1880	1910	0.5	0.4413
1000	1910	1940	0.25	0.9829

View to African American Domestic Sites through Time				
	First	Second		
r	Date	Date	D Value	p-value
2000	1800	1820	0.27778	0.9831
2000	1820	1840	0.31944	0.5163
2000	1840	1860	0.19643	0.8846
2000	**1860**	**1880**	**0.71429**	**0.02753**
2000	1880	1910	0.16667	1
2000	1910	1940	0.20833	0.9984

View from African American Domestic Sites through Time				
	First	Second		
r	Date	Date	D Value	p-value
2000	1800	1820	0.30556	0.9583
2000	1820	1840	0.31944	0.5163
2000	1840	1860	0.17262	0.9548
2000	**1860**	**1880**	**0.78571**	**0.01119**
2000	1880	1910	0.5	0.4413
2000	1910	1940	0.125	1

View to African American Domestic Sites through Time				
	First	Second		
r	Date	Date	D Value	p-value
4000	1800	1820	0.27778	0.9831
4000	1820	1840	0.18056	0.9833
4000	1840	1860	0.11905	0.9996
4000	1860	1880	0.64286	0.06214
4000	1880	1910	0.33333	0.8928
4000	1910	1940	0.16667	1

View from African American Domestic Sites through Time				
	First	Second		
r	Date	Date	D Value	p-value
4000	1800	1820	0.41667	0.7222
4000	1820	1840	0.30556	0.5741
4000	1840	1860	0.22619	0.7562
4000	**1860**	**1880**	**0.71429**	**0.02753**
4000	1880	1910	0.16667	1
4000	1910	1940	0.16667	1

Visibility through Time
View from African American Domestic Sites < or = 63m

Visibility through Time
View from African American Domestic Sites < or = 125m

297

Visibility through Time
View from African American Domestic Sites < or = 250m

Visibility through Time
View from African American Domestic Sites < or = 500m

298

Visibility through Time
View from African American Domestic Sites < or = 1000m

Visibility through Time
View from African American Domestic Sites < or = 2000m

299

Visibility through Time
View from African American Domestic Sites < or = 4000m

Visibility through Time
View to African American Domestic Sites < or = 63m

300

Visibility through Time
View to African American Domestic Sites < or = 125m

Visibility through Time
View to African American Domestic Sites < or = 250m
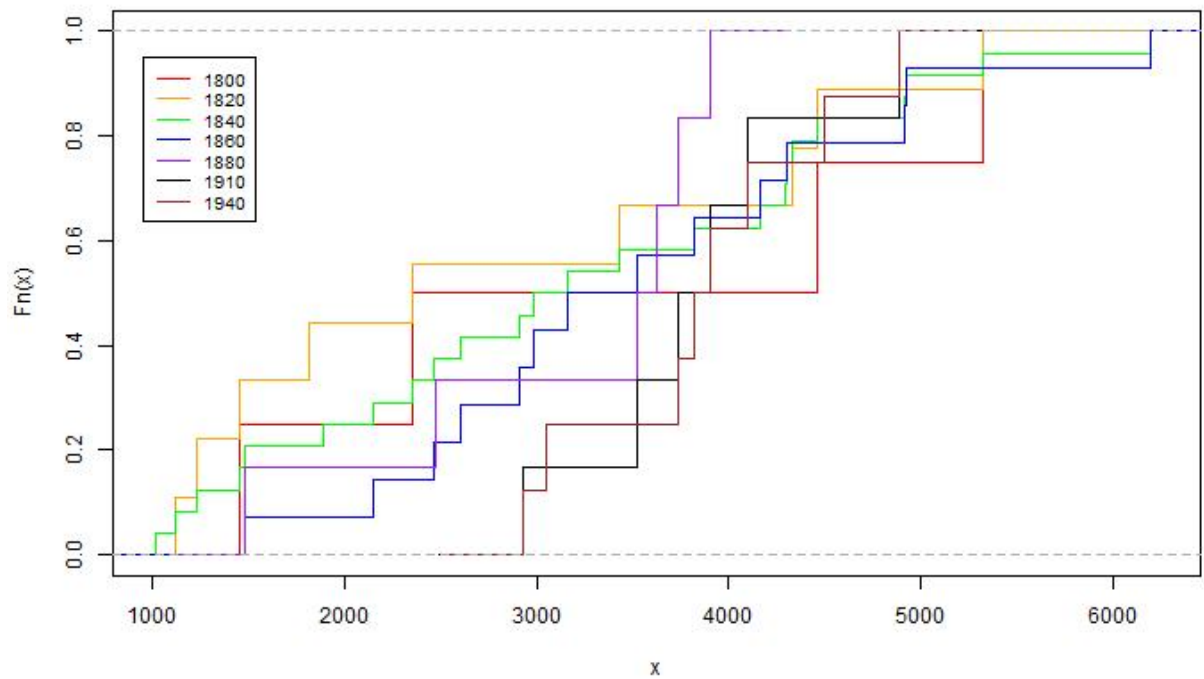
Visibility through Time
View to African American Domestic Sites < or = 500m

Visibility through Time
View to African American Domestic Sites < or = 1000m

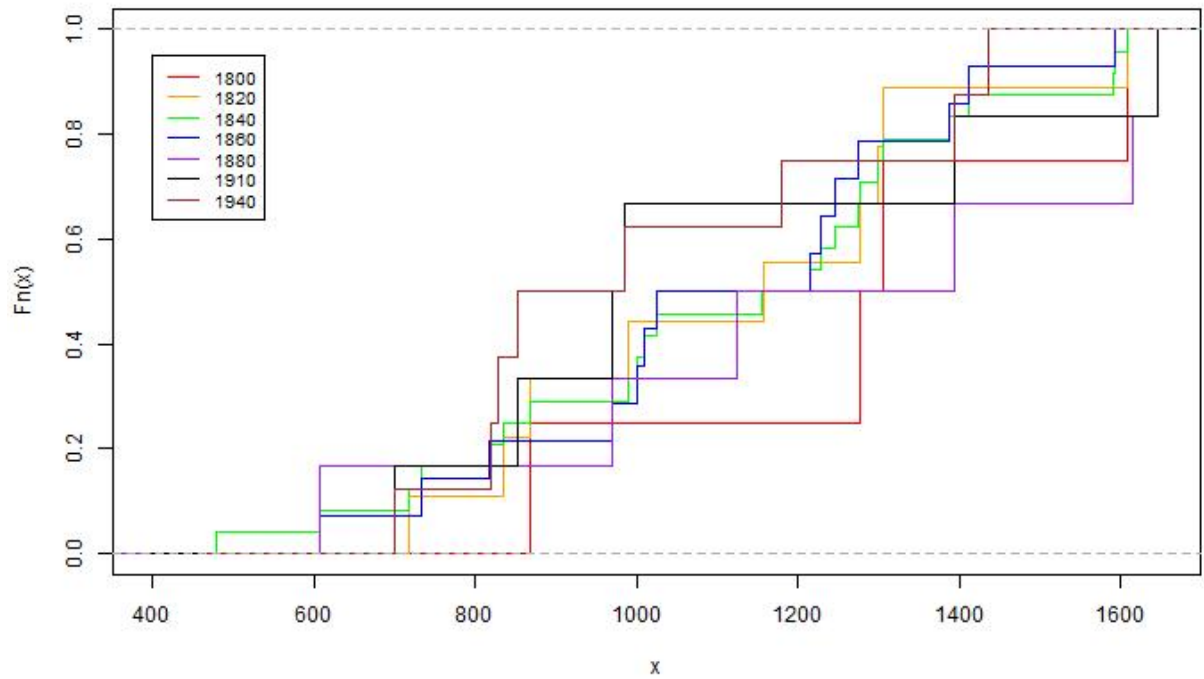## Visibility through Time
View to African American Domestic Sites < or = 2000m

Visibility through Time
View to African American Domestic Sites < or = 4000m

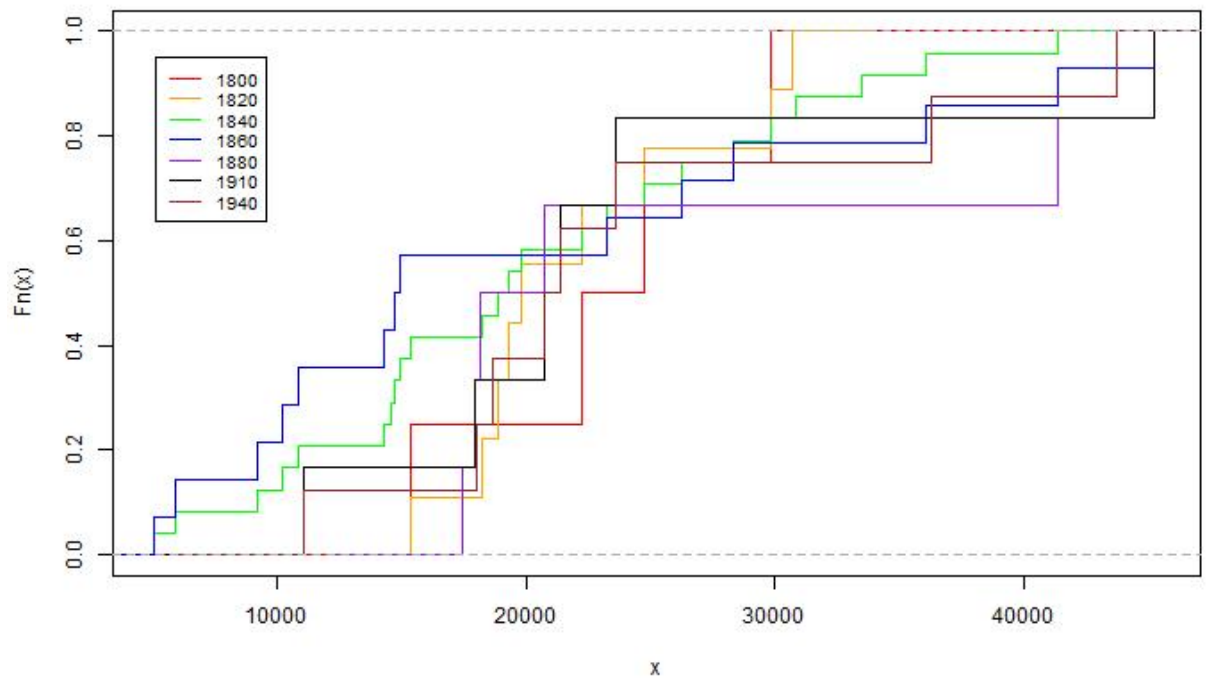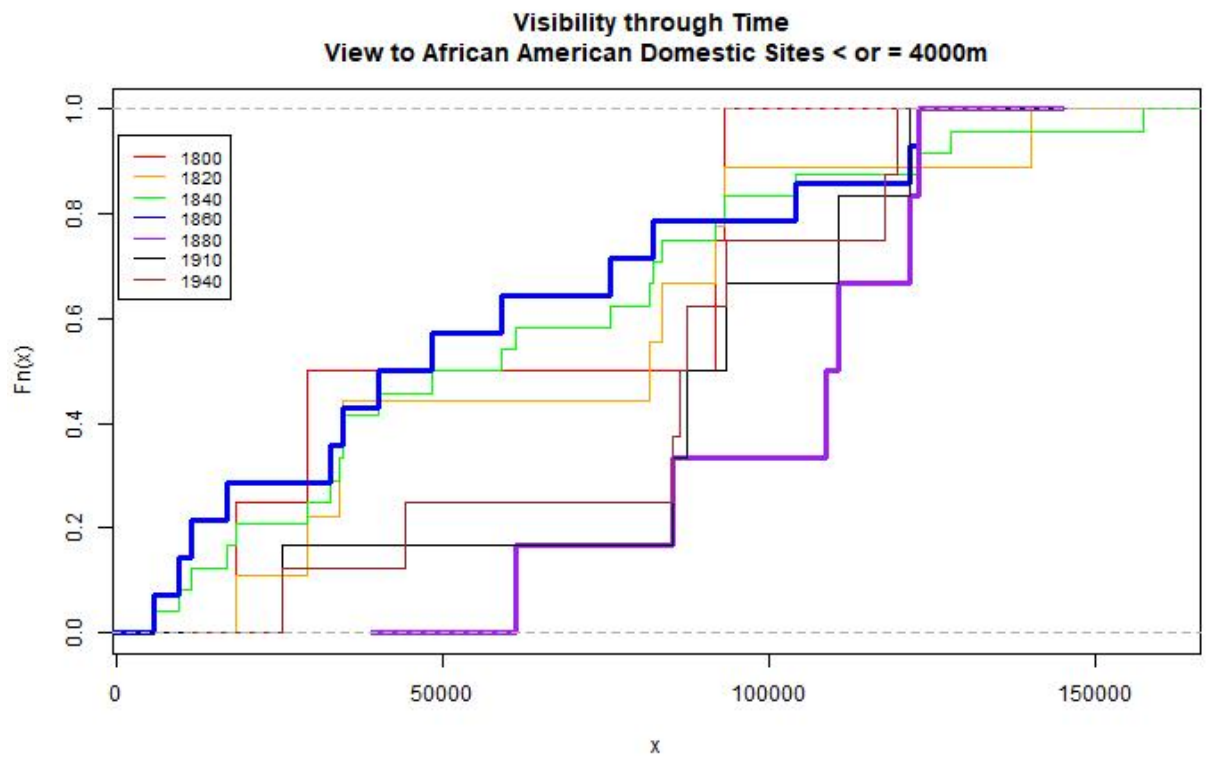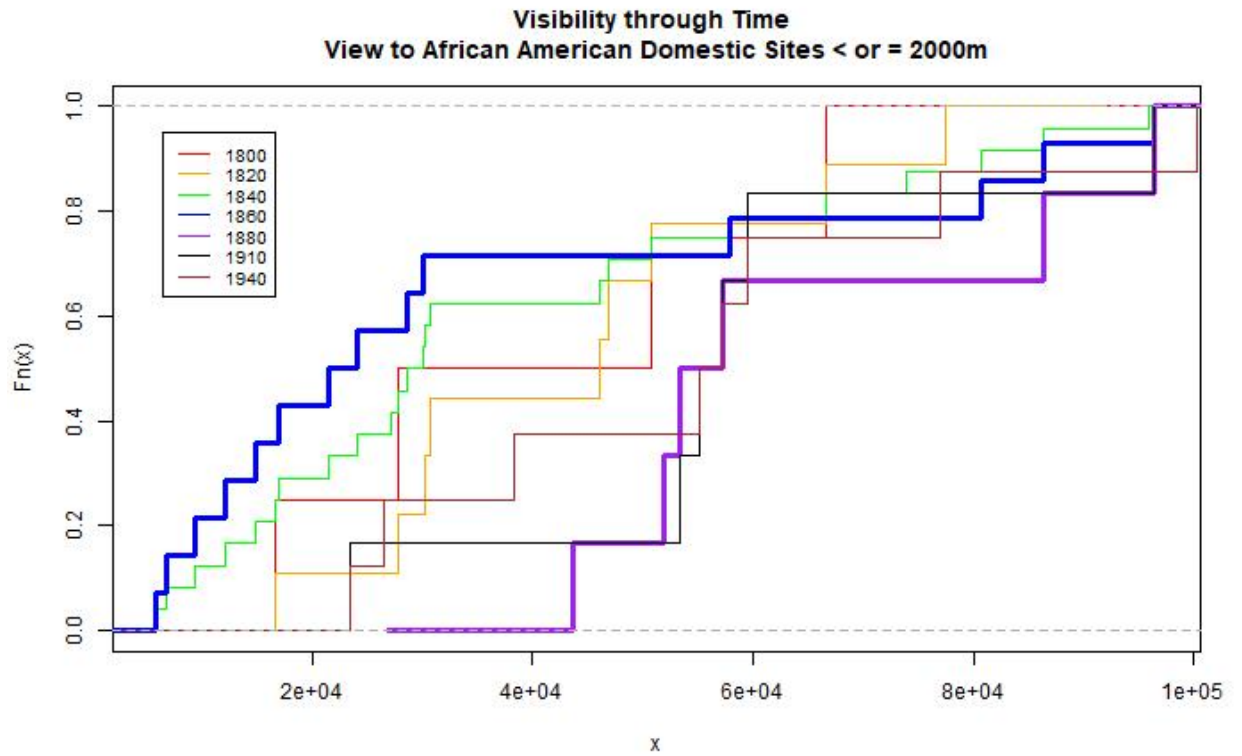

303
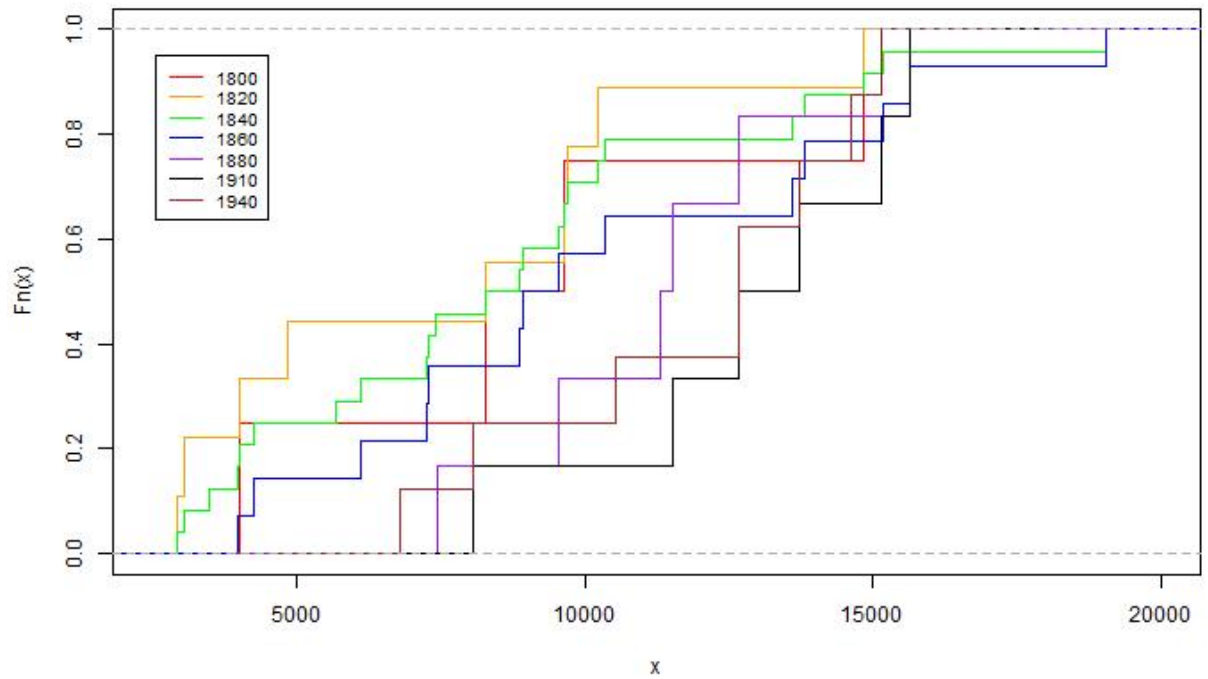
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