ABSTRACT

Title of Document:	HIDDEN IN PLAIN VIEW: AFRICAN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES AT MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK
	Erika Kristine Martin Seibert, Doctor of Philosophy, 2010
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This dissertation examines how the categories of race, class, and/or gender intersected and informed life in an historic, rural, Southern community. Examining African American landscapes of consumption and production in historic, rural Virginia through the archaeological record is essential for understanding the development of African American cultural reproduction through time. Archaeological landscapes that include very early sites for this region and are comprised of material culture from pre-emancipation deposits can provide a framework for understanding how ethnogenesis worked as a method for the community to survive the harsh realities of slavery, redefine themselves as raced, classed, and gendered individuals with relation to their economy on their own terms, and build a foundation on which they could continually resist and transform the

categories created for them during later periods in history. Sites that date to the mid nineteenth century and later provide information about the shift in these methods from ethnogenesis to racial uplift. Racial uplift during these later periods became the method which the African American families in this area used to connect themselves with citizenship and the American dream through their consumer and producer behavior. This behavior can then serve to illuminate how relationships of inequality became naturalized and institutionalized and how, through these methods, inequality was continually challenged and transformed.

Examining historic and modern twentieth century African American landscapes through archaeological sites can also illuminate the response of the community to a period of intense commemoration by the Confederacy immediately following the Civil War and illuminate the lasting effects of the Lost Cause ideology on modern day race relations. Defining and understanding archaeology through this period not only acknowledges how and why African American history has been left out of modern interpretations, but helps outline new interpretive plans that both challenge visitors to our national parks and attempt a more democratic voice for the National Park Service and for our nation.

HIDDEN IN PLAIN VIEW: AFRICAN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES AT MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK

By

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2010

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Preface:

Identity Politics and the Life Site

A colleague of mine once referred to his "life site." When I expressed confusion about the term, he explained to me that a "life site" is the site an archaeologist works on that for one reason or another changes his or her life. It is the site where a moment in time profoundly impacts the formulation of your identity. It is that spot where, when you look back to it, you discover that there were two paths that you might have taken that seemed minor or insignificant at the time, but resulted in a course that makes you who you are. The place you met your spouse, for instance. The site of a major discovery, or even a small discovery that changed your thinking. The excavation that made you decide to become an archaeologist, that made you realize you wanted to work in the field, that made you realize you hated the field and wanted to work in the lab, where you found your niche. This dissertation is about transformations in identity formation. It is as much about how identities get processed, created, and transmuted in the past as it is about how the development of the identity of historical actors and actresses in the past, changes through time, speaks to us in the present, and revolutionizes how we think and who we are. It is about how one site, one artifact, one archaeologist, can impact many sites, many artifacts, many identities.

Like many archaeologists who go right to work from a Bachelor's degree, I went into the field knowing I was interested in archaeology, material culture, and a variety of topics in historic preservation, but I was not really more interested in one topic than another. You could say I was not particularly passionate about any one topic. That is, until I started working on a project called the Robinson House Site, when I was an archaeological technician at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park in the late 1990s. The site was located on Manassas National Battlefield, and our archaeology team at Harpers Ferry was acquisitioned to conduct investigations at the property and to work with the Robinson family descendants to do an oral history project. What I didn't know when I started that project, is that it would become my life site. It would inspire me to become passionate about telling the Robinson's story and in turn, learning about African American history and archaeology here and elsewhere; it would challenge what I thought about the Civil War, material culture, and landscapes, and it would change what I understood about race, class, gender, and interpretation of the archaeological record.

After working with the Robinson family and excavating this site, I decided to pursue a Masters degree and the analysis of one feature on that site – an icehouse that was used as a trash dump for the family during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, became my masters project. That project further encouraged me to pursue a degree in American Studies where I could use an interdisciplinary approach to understanding multiple aspects of the material culture of the site – including examining more closely the cultural landscape.

The Robinson House project eventually became Chapter 3 of my dissertation, but not before my thinking of the material culture and the landscape evolved significantly. Initially, when I examined the icehouse feature using a minimum vessel analysis for my Masters work, I focused very closely on race and class, building a context that considered broad, national views about consumption and race as well as male African American consumer discourse in the form of debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois about the appropriate roles for African Americans with regard to consumption and production and a larger, national, capitalist agenda. My focus was on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because that is the period that the majority of the artifacts in this feature dated to. In fact, when I wrote my dissertation proposal, I intended to focus solely on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and concentrate on issues of race and class. However, when I started to examine the other sites at Manassas National Battlefield and develop a context that included the influence of Jennie Dean, who founded the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth in the late nineteenth century, I found that I could not ignore the importance of gender roles and their significance in defining consumption and production in rural areas.

Consequently, the Robinson chapter, and the whole dissertation, evolved into an examination of the importance of not just race and class, but women's roles in defining community and identity through production and consumption in a rural, farm culture, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. When examined this way, I found that at the Robinson House site, the analysis of ceramics and glass illuminates consumption patterns which pressed for African-American civil and material opportunities for their whole community as well as the necessity of sexual equality in production and consumption in rural areas for the purposes of racial uplift. The aspirations of the Robinson family, reflected in the goods they consumed, show how the Robinson women understood, redefined, and manipulated accepted patterns of consumption, while their position as a “farming” family provided these women with the ability to negotiate the need to operate within the mass-consumer marketplace. This part of the study also illuminates the roles of African American women in the transition of ideas from ethnogenesis to ideas about how to promote racial uplift for their families and their community.

As noted above, it was the development of the context of women in the community, and Jennie Dean in particular, as well as the examination of other sites that transformed my dissertation into something larger than I anticipated with regard to categories of identity that I was examining and the influence of those categories. That study turned into Chapter 4 of the dissertation and the discussion of Jennie Dean, the Manassas Industrial School, her influence, and how this is reflected in the archaeological record, and in particular, the Nash Site. In Chapter 4, I reexamined the archaeological materials at the Nash site, the ceramics and glass in particular, in a minimum vessel analysis and compared it to the Robinson House site. This analysis shows explicitly how Jennie Dean’s ideas, born from expressions of black capitalism, gender, and racial uplift during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, are expressed materially by these rural farming women and how this material culture both defined these women’s identities and were defined by the identity of these women. Further, it shows the explicit, but often tenuous connection between the archaeological record and ideologies of race, class and gender as this material culture is informed by black capitalism. It shows these local women and their families’, often dramatic, response to this black capitalist agenda based on their particular context.

Another avenue that this expanded thinking about gender prompted me to reconsider was the role of Colonoware and Africanisms is defining the community and in articulating methods that women used to survive under slavery. I had originally decided not to include a chapter on Colonoware, even though I had written about Colonoware at Manassas in my work on the Henry House analysis in 2003. I took it out because when I wrote the proposal I decided that I really wanted to focus on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, because that was really the time period that I was interested in. However, when I started to think more about women and this rural culture, I realized that I, and in fact, most archaeologists, really had not explored the role of women in Colonoware production, even though it appears to be assumed by archaeologists all along the east coast that women were making it. And when I cast Colonoware in that light, it became more of a direct link between methods that women used under slavery to promote community cohesiveness and cultural development, what I call ethnogenesis, and the transformation of those methods into racial uplift during later periods. This became my Chapter 2, because I quickly came to realize that I did not want to leave out the Colonoware and Africanisms chapter because I think it is essential to examine this transformation to understand how racial uplift plays out through the later periods. In other words, it became the beginning of my dissertation – where I wanted to start talking about gender, race, and class in the context of rural farm life through consumption and production and consequently, my dissertation became about a hundred years longer than I had originally intended.

With regard to the development of that context that led me to expand my interpretations of the consumer and producer behavior here, much of my thinking on this development was influenced by the interdisciplinary nature of American Studies and incorporating both methodological and theoretical approaches that reflected that evolution in my thinking. I found myself borrowing from Women's Studies and African American studies as well as historical archaeology and American Studies in the development of method and theory that were applicable to this research. I've used two overlapping methodological frameworks, consumerism and landscape analysis to discuss race, class, and gender as played out through material culture in this rural, Southern area. Again, my background for consumerism and landscape analysis is based in historical archaeology and American Studies, but I've borrowed from multiple disciplines in applying it. Theoretically, I come from a Neo-Marxist background, but have also understood and used ideas from my understanding and the development of poststructuralism, postmoderninsm, postprocessualism, black feminism and intersectional theory. I understand race, class, and gender as social constructs and see identity construction as emerging through ideologies that are informed by capitalism. The introduction, or Chapter 1 of my dissertation establishes my thinking on the methodological and theoretical approaches.

Part of thinking more about interdisciplinary method and theory and considering the use of archaeology in everyday life, prompted me to look again at landscapes of the past and present which resulted in the last two chapters. In chapter 5, I expanded a previous investigation of landscape of just the Robinson House to include ideas about how multiple families and institutions understood and manipulated the landscape in the context of the Lost Cause and the many contradictions of the Lost Cause as they play out materially through the landscape. I examine the Robinson House, the Nash Site and discuss the Manassas Industrial School to show how African Americans could physically reclaim their lost heritage and redefine civic discourse within the confines of raced, classed, and gendered spaces by demarcating a new order on a larger southern landscape. I discuss how the community used the concept of race and transformed it into a means of unification through civic reform and consumer and producer culture as expressed in the built environment and the use of their public and private landscapes. Taking a central role in educational reform and in family and community uplift through their producer and consumer culture were both public and private actions that helped men and women create their own spaces that could reconceive the community and shape a new nationalist civic and private realm. This historic landscape was and is racial uplift writ large.

Finally, because my own thinking about the use of archaeology has been transformed through the writing of this dissertation, I thought it important to document how I think archaeology is essential for promoting African American history here locally, and nationally, and to do this, I thought it was very important to understand how the current landscape at Manassas National Battlefield was created from a Confederate background and significantly influenced both in the past and present by the Lost Cause ideology – so Chapter 6, the final chapter is a continuation of the discussion of the historic landscape from Chapter 5, with emphasis on why we interpret this battlefield the way we do today and how archaeology could change that

– and why I think we must. To do this, I discuss the history of the park as a Confederate park, the modern remains of African American sites on the battlefield and how they are actively hidden in plain view, and lastly, I outline a possible plan for including this history that is based on using public archaeology as a tool for civic engagement. The plan includes potential interpretative agendas that both challenge visitors to the park and attempt a more democratic voice for the National Park Service and for our nation.

To bring this discussion of the genesis of this dissertation full circle, the culmination of my work on these sites has meant so much to me and who I am and defines what I do everyday as an archaeologist. In other words, this project has defined my identity.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my Nana, Ruth Desmarais Martin (11/14/1916 - 11/23/2003) because she always told me that I could be whatever I wanted to be. And to my daughters, Katherine Elisabeth Seibert and Emmaline Kristine Seibert, because you too, can be whatever you wish to be.

Acknowledgements

As with most research of this size, extent, and chronology, there are so many influences to acknowledge and people to thank, it would be difficult to remember all of them, especially with my faulty memory. I ask for forgiveness upfront for those I've left off this list. It was not intentional, I assure you. However, there are a few folks that are at the forefront of my mind at this time that have contributed to this work in some way. Many of them have made this research possible, shaped my thinking, laughed at my ideas, listened to my arguments, commiserated, inspired me, provided perspective, or helped me keep my sanity.

This work would not have been possible without the leadership of the Regional Archaeologist for the National Capital Region of the National Park Service, Dr. Stephen Potter. Without his commitment to the African American archaeological properties at Manassas National Battlefield and to all of the archaeological properties in the National Capital Region of the National Park Service, of which there are at least twelve National Parks and a myriad of historic and other units of the National Park System, there would be no available archaeological data. Dr. Potter has always encouraged me to think critically about these materials and has, without a doubt, pushed me to clarify my arguments, ultimately, helping me connect them to a larger context.

Archaeologists Bob Sonderman and Marian Creveling of the National Capital Region's Museum Resource Center (MRCE), National Park Service, provided access to the archaeological collections and to MRCE's library. They have gone above and beyond the necessary, providing professional, scholarly, and emotional support,

copying reports, going over field notes with me, helping me bag, organize, and rebag collections, discussing interpretations of the material culture, and even offering to come in to work on weekends so that I could complete research. If the collections could speak, they couldn't ask for better caretakers.

Special thanks to all the staff of the Manassas Museum and the Bull Run Regional library, both in Manassas, Virginia, who have helped me research and copy endless, vital documents, and provided background on the interpretation of collections and sites inside and outside Manassas National Battlefield and other, related, local parks and sites such as the Manassas Industrial School.

During my other life as the archaeologist of the National Register and National Historic Landmarks (NHL) Programs for the National Park Service, I have had tremendous support in writing this dissertation from my colleagues including Patty Henry and Caridad de la Vega, both Historians with the NHL Program who have provided professional and emotional support. Beth Savage, former Historian with the National Register Program, NPS, and current Federal Preservation Officer for the General Services Administration (GSA) continues to cheer me on, through good and bad days, in my scholarly research for this dissertation, and in life. Jeff Joeckel, archivist for the National Register Programs has suffered through my complaining over coffee at least two mornings a week. I often dominate the conversation with general grumbling about dissertating, politics, and work. I am lucky to have such co-workers and friends. My managers Carol Shull and Paul Loether have allowed me to be flexible with my work schedule so that I might finish classes and writing.

Alexandra Lord, Branch Chief of the NHL program has offered much needed advice and calmed my nerves before the defense. John Roberts, former Acting Chief of the National Register and NHL Programs, and current manager in the Museum Management Program, NPS has listened tirelessly to my fears and frustrations in writing and defending this dissertation. Dr. Roberts has kindly offered words of advice and described personal experiences that I often think about to get me through tough spots, writers block, and preparations for the defense. His guidance as a manager, professional, scholar, and human being has been priceless, because in all of these areas, he excels.

Mia Parsons, Archaeologist at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park and Site Supervisor for the Robinson House and Henry House excavations has made so many contributions in all areas to this dissertation they are too numerous to list, so I will just mention a few. Her exemplary direction, management, and leadership during my employment as an archaeological technician at Harpers Ferry NHP when we worked on the Robinson House excavations is something I strive to achieve every day. Her skills and good cheer made the crew better archaeologists in the field, and her guidance and analytic thinking made our interpretations of the materials in the lab and beyond a pleasure to work through and develop. Discussions with Mia clarified my thinking, helped shape my arguments, and inspired me to become a better thinker, writer, and person. She has been very generous in sharing her ideas and research. She is the type of manager every archaeologist hopes to work for and the type of employee the National Park Service cannot afford to lose. Also present for our field and lab work on the Robinson House excavations was archaeologist, surveyor, map maker, and comedian extraordinaire, John Ravenhorst. Although he probably wouldn't have considered himself a comic, John's droll, often dry, humor, kept us laughing on the tough days. His memory has picked me up on the tough days writing this dissertation. John passed away from Lou Gehrig's Disease several years ago, but his spirit lives on in many of the graphics in this dissertation that he so expertly made for the Robinson House and Henry House analyses. He is fondly remembered and sorely missed. Volunteer John Imlay was also a pleasure to work with. His experience with Manassas National Battlefield archaeology, Prince William County archaeology, and the Civil War, added great depth to my understanding of the use and meaning of sites, memory, landscapes, artifacts, and archaeology itself to those not formally trained as archaeologists, but for whom archaeology has become a second career. Likewise, the Northern Virginia Relic Hunters Association members who volunteered their time and expertise on the Parking Lots Clearance, Stone House, and Intersection projects also provided tremendous insight into the meaning of material culture, archaeology, and the Civil War. I understand now more clearly how these things can be deeply personal, define broad groups, and become an identity in immensely complex ways, in addition to learning much, much detail about the two battles of Manassas and specific Civil War artifacts.

Several other archaeologists' and historians' work on Manassas National Battlefield African American archaeological properties has been invaluable to this dissertation. This work is built upon theirs and I exuberantly thank those that have gone before and have so generously shared their research and ideas. This includes the work of Matthew Reeves, Jaqueline Hernigle, Kathleen Parker, Laura Galke, Andrew

Lee, Martha McCartney, and the Manassas National Battlefield museum curator James Burgess. Kay McCarron's archaeological work on the Manassas Industrial School buildings encouraged me to understand the relationship between the archaeological materials and the descendant community. Angel Nieves' extraordinary dissertation on the school's landscape (among other things) prompted me to look beyond the school to understand a larger Southern, rural, landscape and African American women's roles in shaping that landscape.

Of course, I am indebted to the Robinson family for sharing their memories, for making the Robinson House archaeological project the most memorable of my life, and for inspiring me to write this dissertation. Mr. Richard Robinson, the great great grandson of Gentleman Jim Robinson tirelessly volunteered during the excavations of the Robinson House site, shared his memories, coordinated with his family for an oral history project, showed us other family sites, and became part of our lives and hearts. It was an honor to work with him, an honor to study and write about his family, and an honor to know him. I only hope this work does justice to the strength and resilience his family has shown for over a century.

Many, many thanks to Teresa Moyer, fellow student, archaeologist, academic, coworker, and friend. I thank her for letting me coerce her into a "dissertation club" and for her coercing me into actually finishing. Discussions with Teresa have certainly provided perspective on many issues with regard to this dissertation and gently prompted me into finishing chapters, graphics, appendices, and putting the final work together. I hope we can celebrate when we are both finished. Thanks also to Jennifer Stabler, fellow student and archaeologist for her insight and support. Just being able to talk with someone that understands the frustration and difficulty of juggling work, school, and family has been so helpful.

The foundation of this text is based on contributions from my Dissertation Committee. John Caughey prompted me to think about myself, as an anthropologist, and the influence of my own identity on this work. Lynn Bolles encouraged me to think much more about women, race, and intersectionality as a method. This dissertation would not be where it is today and I would not be where I am today as a scholar and person if not for the support and guidance of Mary Seis. Mary has inspired me to think critically about racism, landscapes, and a myriad of other topics, encouraged me to broaden my horizons through American Studies, consider the methods, theories, and contributions from other fields, and reshaped my understanding of the meaning and uses of material culture and ideology. The interdisciplinary nature of this dissertation and my thinking reflects her direction and teaching.

Barbara Little has prodded me to be more assertive and clear in my writing and thinking at critical moments during the development of this dissertation. Conversations and counsel from Barbara have imbued this document with a measure of social consciousness it otherwise would not have had. Ironically, the development of my understanding of public archaeology and civic engagement has been an intensely personal process. Barbara has pushed me to transform my own ideas about the usefulness of the discipline and, thus, my own quest for finding meaning in what I do every day, into something that, I hope, adequately expresses how I believe archaeology can make a profound difference in peoples' lives and in how we view the world and our place within it. She has nudged me toward thinking systematically about race, gender, and restorative justice and to connect these ideas with archaeology in the modern world. The last chapter in this dissertation is a document of this journey.

My Chair Paul Shackel has been a constant supporter of my work for so long I barely know where to start in thanking him. I'm not sure what he saw in that young, naïve, field technician, many years ago at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, but I am certainly glad that whatever (probably misguided) spark that was, he didn't dismiss it, but instead, redirected, nurtured and cultivated it. He has allowed me to write a dissertation that reflects my own curiosity about a myriad of topics (probably too many) and provided the direction I needed so that I could order my disordered thoughts and writings into something resembling a dissertation. He has tolerated my obsessive anxiety with kindness and reassurance and persuaded me to keep at it when my morale flagged. He has done all this while being the model of a good teacher, patiently (and very quickly) reading drafts, listening to my ideas (and not laughing when they were confused), promoting the rare flashes of insight, and significantly shaping my thoughts about labor, class, racism, memory, landscapes and materialism.

Finally, I certainly would not be writing this now without the love and support of friends and family. Andrèa Brown Hickman and Tina Baugher were sounding boards for ideas, life insights, and a constant source of emotional support. They continue to encourage me and listen to my ramblings at every "big girls' lunch' (we will have more of those when I am done). My sister in law Catherine Seibert and my mother in law, Anne Seibert have patiently helped with childcare and picked up the ball that I have dropped in the household as I have been writing. My Papa, Normand Louis (Pete) Martin (8/28/1920-2/11/2006), whose picture sits beside my computer, while no longer here in body, has been with me through every word written in this text. His spirit of goodness and generosity rests gently between these pages. His compassion for the powerless and personal experiences of discrimination continue to influence me and provoke my commitment to understanding issues of identity and difference while focusing on a common humanity and the benevolence he taught me, by example, as a child. My husband, Michael Seibert has tirelessly listened to arguments and numerous iterations of every thought in this study. He has suffered my raging at illness, lost time, bad computers, jammed printers and life in general, then gently and patiently attempted to put these frustrations in perspective. He has raised our daughters while I focused on my schooling and career and has been the very best of husbands, fathers, partners, and men. Nothing I can say could ever thank him enough for his dedication and encouragement throughout this process. My daughters, Kate and Emma Seibert are my angels and my daily inspiration. They have given up their mommy on numerous occasions so that I might finish this work. I promise, after this I will be there for every bedtime story and nighttime tuck in. While having children has often made writing this dissertation difficult, I have found that I now have more of a self to write from. Every thought in this dissertation was redefined by my role as a parent and this work, and I, have been made better for it. Above all, I hope to make these last three proud.

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Chapter 1: Introduction: “My visit in that negro home was one of the most interesting of my experiences on the battle-field” (Johnson 1904:243)

Highways and Byways of the South

> The last forenoon that I spent on the battle-field a shower overtook me, and I made haste to the nearest shelter. This proved to be a house that in ante-bellum days was the dwelling of a negro, “Ole Jim Robinson.” He was free himself, but he married a slave, and therefore his children were all born into bondage. Two of them he bought. The house at the time of the war was a small log cabin. It has been added to since, but the older portion is practically what it was, and there are numerous bullet-holes in the weather-boarding. Some of the trees, too, in the yard still bear the scars of battle. Ole Jim Robinson’s son now lives in the house and cares for the little farm that goes with it. . .
>
> I was in the family living room – a cluttered kitchen with broken and grimy plastering, and, conspicuous among its humble furnishings, a bed and two tables beneath which was a medley of pots, kettles, boxes and odds and ends. A fireplace served to do all the cooking, for the Robinsons had no stove. At one side of it was a pile of wood and chips and on the other side a basket covered with a bag – the temporary quarters of a brood of young ducks. Two clocks stood on the mantle with a lantern between them. One clock did not go and the other was far from correct. “In slavery times we never had no

clocks," said the woman, "so I never learnt to take care of 'em, an' I doan' have anything to do wid 'em now. My ole man, he doan' tend to 'em very good either, 'an sometimes dey'll be unwound three or four days."

In one corner was a bureau, and on top was the family library consisting of a Bible and a recent subscription-book life of Queen Victoria. I asked the woman if she had read the latter, and she replied jocosely : "Good gracious of Father! I cain't read. What talkin' about! I never went to school an' I doan' know nothin' much. I been workin' in de cotton patch nearly all my life either hyar or down in Georgy. I was raised hyar, but after I marry, I an my ole man was sol' an' took down in Georgy."

"Where were you in Georgia?" I inquired.

"Well, dat gets me. 'Deed I cain't tell you' to save my life. I done forgot, but hit was a right smart step from hyar. My master dar was a good man, but his wife was a rattlesnake. Sho's you born she was! She said I'd been sp'iled, an' so I got my back whipped."

The shower that had interrupted my rambling was soon over, but it was then noon and I was hungry. I asked Mrs. Robinson if she could get dinner for me. I was quite ready to eat whatever her larder afforded, and she hustled around in preparation, and two little boys, Jimmy and Albert, her grandsons, helped. She adjusted the smouldering sticks in the fireplace and had Jimmy fan the embers into a blaze with a turkey wing. "Albert," said she, pointing to the chips, "yo' put on dat trash dar. Make has', or the kittle won't boil till night. God knows it won't. Dis gemmen's hungry. Well, I do think in my soul yo' won't hurry to save no one's life. Now bring in some brush from the yaird."

She mixed up a pan of batter and went to the door to see why Albert had not returned. The wind had blown down a big limb from a cherry tree near the house during the previous night, and the youngster was breaking off dead twigs for the fire and at the same time eating green cherries. "Albert, yo' come hyar!" she exclaimed severely. "If yo' don't, I'll half kill yo'."

The boy approached reluctantly, and she knocked from his hands the cherries that he still retained. "I reckon I'll have to be po'in' the medicine into you all de time if you doan' leave dem cherries alone," said she.

Meanwhile the fire had been getting low for lack of fuel, and she went out herself to see about the wherewithal for its replenishing. The woodpile was reduced to one long, tough stick; but she chopped off an end and scraped up a few chips and presently had the fire briskly blazing. Then she took a spade minus a handle that served as a fire shovel and poked some coals out on the hearth. Over the coals she set a long-legged griddle which she had Jimmy wipe off and grease. He seemed to be expert at this task, and I hinted that he could probably do the cooking for the whole family if necessary.

Jimmy giggled, and his grandmother said reprovingly: "Wha' yo' laughin' at? I'll take sompin' and knock yo' down. If I 'pen on you fo' a cook, I reckon I'd pe'ish."

At length the "flam cakes" were fried, the tea was ready, and she had Jimmy crawl under the bed and exhume some knives, forks, and spoons from

> a box. These he handed up one at a time, and she wiped each in turn and placed it on the table. She also provided a remnant of cold ham, and a little white sugar in a broken bowl. Yet the meal, though rude and long delayed, was not unpalatable, and my visit in that negro home was one of the most interesting of my experiences on the battle-field [Johnson 1904:239-243].

The passages above are taken from a 1904 travelogue, *Highways and Byways of the South* written by Clifton Johnson and describe life at one of the turn of the century African American farms in rural Virginia discussed in this dissertation. Johnson was a travelogue writer, who, like many writers of the time, toured the South after emancipation, romanticizing the agrarian way of life in order to justify the continuation of the social order that existed in the South prior to the Civil War. (See for example, Butterworth 1887; and Ralph 1896). As this example shows, these travelogues continued well into the twentieth century, promoting the racial ideology reflected in Jim Crow segregation, depicting African Americans as inferior and poor, but content.

These travelogues, however, provide a window into both the Lost Cause ideology as well as the African American response to it. What is more, when contextualized, these texts, along with other lines of evidence, illuminate not only information about what life was like for such African American families, but the complex ways in which race, class, and gender inform daily life and, ultimately, sought to negate the hegemonic order throughout the rural South.

For instance, Johnson's text is obviously laden with racial stereotypes, including the speech with which he depicts Mrs. Robinson's responses, however, when race, class, and gender are placed in the center of the interpretation, it problematizes the author's view and examined with additional lines of evidence, a new understanding is revealed.

Johnson, for example, describes the Robinson's home as a "little farm," but only cursory glances at the tax records during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal that it was anything but "little." While alive, James Robinson was one of the wealthiest African Americans in the county. Even after his death, when the land and farm itself was divided amongst his wife and children, with regard to size, this farmyard, the outbuildings, and land ownership of the plots by the Robinson family, far surpassed most of their white neighbors.

Johnson describes the room to which he is shown (which he assumes serves as the family living room/kitchen) as "grimy," "cluttered," "broken," and "humble," and his meal as "rude." However, archaeological investigations suggest that the room to which Johnson was probably shown was either the original portion of the house or a small lean-to shed addition (HPTC 1995; Parsons 2001:54). By 1904, the house had been enlarged, such that it is more likely that he was shown to a smaller room on purpose. Denied privacy as slaves for so long, it is not surprising that the Robinson family chose not to provide Johnson with a tour of their entire house (Smith 1999:46). Likewise, seeing the larger rooms would have ensured that Johnson knew that this family farm house was larger than many of the white farmsteads he had visited whilst on the battlefield. Fear of violent retaliation for blatantly flaunting their wealth was very real in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries for it challenged the perceived social order which Johnson was clearly promoting (See Brundage 1993, for example). Further, archaeological evidence also shows that the farmyard was regularly swept and kept clear of debris and that the buildings were well kept, organized, and clean (Parsons 2001). Oral histories also indicate that the Robinsons kept many animals and had access to abundant farm plants and wild foods like berries and walnuts that were canned for colder times of the year (Parsons 2001:87, Appendix B). If Johnson's meal was "rude," it is likely also intentional. Also telling is that he expects to be fed at the Robinson farm and offers no compensation. In the beginning of the chapter Johnson visits the Matthews' farm, also located on the battlefield. Home of a white middling farmer and his family, Johnson offers to pay the Matthews' for their hospitality in feeding him to which they respond, "We don't never charge nothing to nobody," and the family was described as providing "true Southern cordiality" (Johnson 1904:236).

Perhaps just as interesting as the issues of race and class that these passages reveal are the issues of race and gender. Virtually absent from the encounter and interview is the owner of the farm, James Robinson's son, probably Alfred Robinson, though we know he is there because he is mentioned in the beginning of the section as coming, "in out of the rain soon after I did" (Johnson 1904:240). The majority of this section of the chapter is focused on the family matriarch. Only mentioned as "Mrs. Robinson" once, she is alternatively referred to throughout as "the woman," "his wife," "she," "Mother" and the "grandmother." There is no doubt that she filled many roles, but it is also clear that she has a leading role in the running of the family and farm, and more importantly, passing on to her grandsons how to survive within Johnson's imagined "South" that was dependant on the ideology of white supremacy while her family was so clearly rejecting it.

Her palpable trope is also transparent to the twenty first century reader. What is illuminating is that she, not her husband, takes full authorship and the responsibility for promoting it. Rather than the servile, uneducated 'mammy' that Johnson so obviously wants to imply through his interview with her, she reads as a woman intelligent and wealthy enough to own a bible and subscription book (which were not inexpensive, See: University of Pennsylvania 2009) of the life of Queen Victoria (potentially Craik 2007 [1887]). Further, the archaeological record indicates that the women of the Robinson family owned matching sets of expensive tableware that show an intimate knowledge of Victorian dining and domestic standards of the time (Martin Seibert 2001a:89). At this time in the Manassas area, the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth had been established, which many Robinson family members attended (probably including her grandsons, her granddaughters, and many, if not most, of her African American neighbors; See Lewis 1994). The Sunday school movement and African American churches were also common and well attended in this locale (Lewis 1994).

Meanwhile, she is clever enough to withhold information from Johnson. She denies knowing anything, in fact, saying, "I doan' know nothin' much," claiming she doesn't remember where she lived in Georgia, making sure to mention that her master was a "good man," (and also throwing in the title of gentleman or "gemmen" when referring to Johnson) and revealing that she was whipped by his wife because she was "sp'iled." She, in fact, acts as a shield between Johnson and her grandsons, at the same time teaching them to critique the role into which she has been cast.

That African American women in this community protected their family in order to prevent possible violent retribution for rejecting the social order and the Lost Cause (which must have been even more precarious for the Robinson family since their wealth must have been clearly visible in the size and extent of their farm) is not surprising. That they took on the role as mothers and wives to their race as an answer to both male and white hegemony, to be the glue in an imagined community that sought to continually recreate itself in order to survive for more than a century, and to be the propagators of such ethnogenesis and later, racial uplift for their communities while interrogating the capitalist agenda when they were compelled to act to within it, is extraordinary.

Hidden in Plain View: African American Archaeological Landscapes at Manassas National Battlefield Park explores the intricate interdependencies (Radway 1999) of race, class, and gender as they play out historically over a century, by examining the landscape and material culture of six African American archaeological sites that are located in what is today Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia, part of the National Park Service, and one site that is outside the park. This research also reveals the consequences of Lost Cause ideology on American race relations both in the past and in the present.

African American history is underrepresented in interpretations at Manassas National Battlefield Park. Despite this fact, the park is one of the most appropriate places to highlight our diverse American history for two reasons: one, the park's difficult Confederate past provides the opportunity to discuss how far we have come and how far we have to go in American race relations and two, the diverse range of African American archaeological sites that span over a century can cover a variety of relevant topics specific to highlighting a vibrant African American past that can help us understand their role in this locale and the nation, challenge preconceived notions of slavery, emancipation, race, class, and gender, and face the difficult questions we must ask of our future. In the following chapters, I will discuss the archaeological research that has occurred here and that can occur here that is at the forefront of the sub-discipline of African-American historical archaeology and in American Studies including Colonoware and Africanisms, African American landscapes, racial uplift and ethnogenesis. Finally, I will discuss how this research can be presented to the public through public archaeology and civic engagement. It is essential for archaeologists both to incorporate history that has been ignored as well as justify the role of archaeology in our history and civic life.

Defining the Community/ies and Identifying the Sites

Manassas National Battlefield Park (often referred to throughout as "the park") is located approximately 26 miles southwest of Washington, D.C. and almost six miles northwest of the center of the modern day town of Manassas, Virginia (Figure 1). This area of the Virginia Piedmont has been used by several different cultural groups for at least the last ten thousand years. Native Americans hunted buffalo in the area and regularly burned the forests creating plains here (Zenzen 1994:60). During the middle to late seventeenth century, English colonial settlers moved here from the Tidewater area, displacing the Native American population.

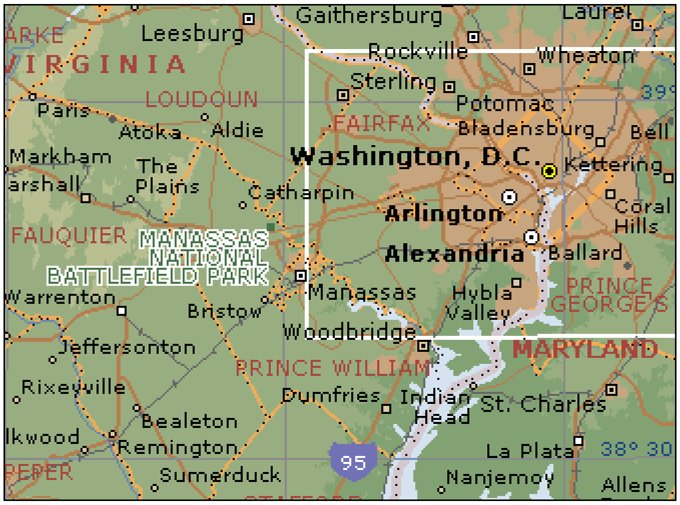

ARKE
IRGINIA
Leesburg
Gaithersburg
Laurel
Rockville
Wheaton
Sterling
Potomac
39°
LOUDOUN
Paris
Atoka
Aldie
FAIRFAX
Bladensburg
Bell
Markham
The Plains
Washington, D.C.
Kettering
arshall
Catharpin
Arlington
Coral Hills
FAUQUIER
MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK
Alexandria
Ballard
Warrenton
Manassas
Hybla Valley
PRINCE GEORGE'S
Bristow
Woodbridge
MARYLAND
Jeffersonton
PRINCE WILLIAM
Rixeyville
Dumfries
Indian Head
St. Charles
Bealeton
lkwood
Remington
95
La Plata
38° 30
PEPER
Sumerduck
Nanjemoy
Allens

Figure 1: Location of Manassas National Battlefield Park (from Google Maps).

Native Americans found themselves in competition for land for hunting and farming and were also exposed to European diseases causing their population to dwindle. These factors pushed Native groups into smaller and smaller settlements throughout Virginia that eventually made survival difficult. Throughout the the nineteenth century state and federal policies legally removed all of the remaining Native American settlements and reservations except for two: the Pamunkey and the Mattaponi. These two were the only tribes that withstood termination and today remain two of the oldest reservations in the country (Boraas 2003; Potter 1994).

By 1720, the Native American population had been eradicated by competition, policy, and disease in the Manassas area and Robert "King" Carter had amassed approximately 100,000 acres and divided it into leased tracts. Carter formed a network of large plantations worked by African slaves. (Zenzen 1994:60). Enslaved Africans provided labor for the grain crops produced in this area and also held a wide variety of other labor roles such as personal servant and artisan (Reeves 1998:2.2).

Eventually, free African Americans and freed African slaves represented a significant portion of the population.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century the rise in agricultural production spurred a network of roads and small towns (Reeves 1998:2.2). By the nineteenth century, the Warrenton Turnpike and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad facilitated occupation in this area and westward (Zenzen 1994:60). The location of the railroad line and its junction at Manassas proved an important strategic position and drew Union and Confederate troops here in July of 1861 for the Civil War's first major land battle, which lasted approximately 10 hours (Zenzen 1994:60). Union and Confederate troops met for a second time here on August 28-30th, 1862, in what came to be known as the Battle of Second Manassas, though it was a battle of much larger scale and numbers than the first battle, lasting almost three days. Both battles are considered Confederate victories. Almost immediately after the first battle, soldiers from both the North and the South, as well as other citizens, started erecting monuments on the battlefield in an effort to memorialize those who had died, as well as promote a particular memory of the Civil War (Martin Seibert 2001b; Shackel 2003a). In the 1920s some of the area that is the modern day battlefield became a Confederate Park and in the 1930s that area was acquired by the federal government and added to a previously acquired area called the Bull Run Recreational Area to become Manassas National Battlefield.

The railroad line mentioned above that drew troops here during the American Civil War was called Manassas Junction and it remained little more than a railroad crossing until years after the Civil War when the area immediately around the junction began to grow and become more intensely populated. Nevertheless, the areas around the town, even today, remain somewhat rural in nature with both horse and animal farms within five to ten miles of the city center, though sprawl and housing developments continue to spread.

The term "rural" has had many definitions through time – and its definition is often dependant on the discipline defining it. Generally, rural is often defined as "countryside" or areas of the United States where the population is low or spread out rather than concentrated and may denote access to goods and services. It is often defined in opposition to areas that are "urban." Further, historians often discuss the term as it relates to the transformation of an agrarian society to an industrial society from the Reconstruction Period through the 1920s (See Ayers 1992; Hounshell 1984; Hughes 1989; Marx 1964; Schlereth 1989, 1991). As the town of Manassas grew in population in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the town itself and concentration of housing and other goods and services became visually separate from the surrounding countryside – including the area that was to become Manassas National Battlefield. In 1873 the town was incorporated and by 1892 it became the county seat of Prince William County, Virginia, replacing Brentsville. In this dissertation, my focus is on sites that can be termed "rural" or outside of the area closest to the Manassas City center with one exception – the Manassas Industrial School. However, the school was historically located on the outskirts of the city and many of its students came from the surrounding rural areas.

I use the term "community" throughout the dissertation in several, generally broad ways, as anthropologists tend to do. Current writings about community often harkens back to Tönnies' late nineteenth century work *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (translated as Community and Civil Society, Tönnies 2001 [1887]), but many more famous nineteenth and twentieth century theorists have also attempted to define the term, including Marx (1973 [1857-1858]:496), Durkheim (1964 [1933]) and Weber (1978), to name a few. While I do not present a full history of the term here, I note that present examination of the term borrows from these earlier definitions above, yet remains decidedly vague. Community denotes a mode or scale of social life. Additionally, communities often promote social capital (see Little 2007:2) or the idea that social networks have value and can promote an understanding of each other's needs and values. Gold (2005) raises some primary issues that are useful for this project when considering the concept of community. First, there is often a positive "valence" attached to the term by modern users. Second, she notes that the term holds emotional potency. Third, the term is fuzzy, slippery, dense and thick. Lastly, "it [has] comforting qualities which are not merely psychological but practical: community is not only a haven but a solution" (Gold 2005:5). It is especially this last point that is useful to this examination of African-American life in Manassas during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries here. I argue that the African-American "community" effectively creates itself through a series of social bonds and kinship ties both within and outside black, white, and "mulatto" racial designations, including men, women, and children, and often, location, in order to induce both a safe space from the harsh realities of slavery and later racial discrimination under Reconstruction and Jim Crow, as well as a means to survive it, and more, rise above it.

I define this African-American community, for the most part, by shared experience, place, and through a racial designation (African American). Historically and today this racial designation is a social construction, a topic explored in the text. I also note that "place" may be fluid and changing and often spans generations. One issue that Gold does not address, and I use quite frequently, is that often geography and place define community, or at least are a part of that definition. In this work, both the modern and historic African American community is found within and around the city of Manassas as a subset of what I call the "Manassas area," or sometimes the "Manassas community," or the "local community" (these include residents of any racial background or age). It includes historically, the Manassas Junction and the city it grew into, as well as the network of farms and small towns that radiate from that city center including Groveton, Sudley (or Sudley Springs), Catharpin, and to a lesser extent the "villages" of Tudor Hall, Centerville, and Brentsville. The modern boundaries of Manassas National Battlefield are within this area; however, I do not put definitive boundaries on the geographic extent of the community as many from the historic African American community left the immediate area (for various reasons, including, historically, the failure of the tenant farm system and for employment, see Parsons 2001:Appendix VII., VII.12; and some to "cross over" racially, personal communication with Oswald Robinson 1998), and also because the descendant "community," or genetic descendants of the historic African American community, are alive and well, and may or may not live in the geographic area living as far away as Washington D.C. and Ohio (see Parsons 2001: Appendix VII; personal communication with Richard and Oswald Robinson 1998 and 2000-2004). Nor do I put boundaries on the time period of the community as it can refer to the historic period or the modern depending on the context of the discussion.

This lack of boundaries, while potentially overwhelming, is essential to the discussion as the families and community members considered in the dissertation that lived, worked, or were educated, on the seven archaeological sites identified below had ties far beyond the physical boundaries of the place they lived. These physical and emotional ties, as I will show, were a fundamental aspect of their survival and identities.

There are several other types of communities discussed in this work to a lesser extent and are defined more by common interest than geography. They include memorial associations such as the Southern Historical Society (SHC), the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV). These groups may constitute a single community dedicated to Southern and/or Confederate history and its promotion both in the past and present. The historic preservation community which includes professionals and non-professionals interested in preserving the past, including, but not limited to, the National Park Service and Manassas National Battlefield Park employees, and the archaeological community, consisting of both professional and amateur archaeologists are two other communities mentioned herein. Many members of these groups claim membership in one, several, or all of these communities. The common thread in this work is that members of these communities that I discuss have a relationship to the seven archaeological sites discussed in this work.

These seven archaeological properties provide the material evidence for the majority of my arguments. They were chosen because of their rural nature, the insight they can provide into understanding race, class, and gender as well as how we can understand the consequences of Lost Cause ideology on race relations. They were also chosen because as a whole, they represent a great deal of the breadth of African-American experience in this rural area for over more than a century. The sites date from 1770 to 1966 (Table 1) and include the Nash Site, the Henry House, the Hooe Dependency, Brownsville, Pohoke and Portici, the Robinson House (all within the boundaries of the park), and the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth (outside the park).

Sites	**Date Range**
Nash Site	1860-1900
Henry House	1818-1861
Hooe Dependency	1800-1830
Brownsville	1770-1900
Pohoke and Portici	1800-1863
Robinson House	1840-1936
Manassas Industrial School	1894-1966

Table 1: Sites and Date Ranges

Finally, the topics they can address highlight some of the most important work taking place in the subdiscipline of African-American historical archaeology and in American Studies. Each of the sites is discussed in detail in the chapters in which they are used. Additionally, the final chapter describes how the properties are interpreted today and I include additional information on other sites mentioned in the dissertation as well as those within the park boundaries where African American history and/or archaeology can be interpreted.

Methodological and Theoretical Approaches

With a disciplinary background in Anthropology, Archaeology, and American Studies, the approaches in these areas have guided the conception and execution of this work. However, this dissertation also borrows from Women's Studies and African American Studies as well. This multidisciplinary approach has promoted two overlapping frameworks -- consumerism, and landscape analysis, to guide the discussion of identity politics and representation as well as a combination of theoretical approaches including postmodernism, poststructuralism, postprocessualism, Neo-Marxism, and black feminism/intersectional theory. These theoretical approaches are discussed throughout as they relate to the methodological frameworks described below; however, intersectional theory (and its development from black feminism) is not often used in historical archaeology and it deserves some additional attention here.

This work and my position in relation to it have been significantly influenced by intersectional theory and its growth from black feminism.   Intersectional theory is often categorized as a “theory” (see Dill and Zambrana 2009:1) and thus it is often referred to as a “theory”, as it is in this work; however, it is more of a model for a field of study that combines “theoretical interventions that are foundational to an interdisciplinary intellectual enterprise,” that focuses on intricate interdependencies, or the ways in which socially constructed categories such as race, class, gender, and sexuality interact and inform various aspects of society – such as material culture and/or consumer behavior – and even more specifically, manifest themselves as inequality (Dill and Zambrana 2009:1). Ritzer (2007) has explained intricate interdependencies and intersectional theory as the ways in which women [or people], “experience oppression in varying configurations and degrees of intensity” (204; see also Radway 1999).

Intersectional theory has its background in black feminism, particularly of the 1960s and 1970s and the “re-visionist” feminist movement that challenged the notion that gender was the primary factor that determined women’s fate (hooks 1984). More specifically, women of color disputed the idea that “women” were a homogenous category that shared the same life experiences and that middle class white women did not accurately represent the feminist movement as a whole.

The term “intersectionality theory” gained popularity in the 1990s when Patricia Hill Collins introduced it (see Mann and Huffman 2005:61). An important idea introduced by Hill Collins at this time reflects the importance of considering racialization whilst also considering the interdependencies of other categories of analysis such as class and gender (Collins 2000:42). Perhaps the most influential use of intersectional theory that has come from black feminism, for this dissertation, is

Hill Collins use of Neo-Marxist feminist theory (which focuses on dismantling capitalism as a way in which to liberate women, see The Radical Women Manifesto 2001) in conjunction with intersectional theory to examine the work/family nexus for modern black women. In her article, “Gender, Black Feminism, and Black Political Economy,” (2000) Hill Collins examines the intersections of consumer racism and gender hierarchies and how this creates disadvantages in the labor market which, in turn, informs black women’s unique experiences. While Hill Collins analysis centers on modern women’s lives, if applied to historical actresses, her ideas of the work/family nexus can be seen as early as the colonial period and as intimately connected to ethnogenesis and racial uplift, as I will show.

Ethnogenesis and racial uplift are two terms I use frequently in the context of intersectional theory. I define ethnogenesis as a process of self-invention in which a group, in this case, the African American community in Manassas, defines itself as ethnically distinct from a larger social landscape (Thompson 1978). Ethnogenesis has been tied to both nation-building and religion (Thompson 1963, 1978, 1991), and in this dissertation I discuss the development of racial uplift and nation building in the twentieth century as a progression from an earlier project of ethnogenesis during the nineteenth century. Racial uplift is a movement by middle class and black cultural elites during the early twentieth century which espoused self help and service to all African Americans in the hope that the African American community’s (or the nation’s) moral and material progress would wipe out white racism (Gaines 1997).

Methodological Frameworks – Identity Politics and Representation through Consumerism and Landscapes

This area of northern Virginia contains several significant museums and outlets for public history such as the Jennie Dean Memorial site, the Manassas Museum, and the National Park Service's Manassas National Battlefield Park. As such, the Applied/Advocacy approach in American Studies, often called Public Archaeology and more recently another approach called Civic Engagement, in Archaeology, can provide important frameworks for integrating an African-American history of production and consumption, illuminating the social history of the area, and creating an avenue for restorative justice.

Growing from the examination of resistance as seen in the material record (Epperson 1991), and from a long history of an archaeology for the public (See Little 2002, and especially, the Introduction, "Archaeology as a Shared Vision" for a synthesis of the history of public archaeology) recent studies that offer this approach explore the use of material culture to lobby for racial equality within American society (Epperson 1999b; Little and Shackel 2007; Potter 1994).

Some of these investigations explore the idea that past racial ideologies which defined African-Americans as poor or belonging to the lower economic classes have been a vehicle to deny certain rights to this group both in the past and the present. As a consequence, modern groups may depict their position in society as historically inevitable or self inflicted (Friedman 1992). These studies often overlap with examinations of landscapes, contested memories, the creation of racial identities, and the political uses of material culture and archaeological research (Armelagos and

Goodman 1998; Babson 1990; Blakey 1997; Blakey and LaRoche 1997; Epperson 1999a, 1999b; Harrison 1999; Leone and Potter 1999; Little and Shackel 2007; Martin Seibert 2001b; Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997; Mullins 1998; Orser 1999; Patten 1997; Shackel 2001; Singleton 1997).

While dated, Horton and Crew's chapter, "Afro-Americans and Museums: Towards a Policy of Inclusion" (1989), still remains an excellent example of the ways in which we can advocate the integration of African American history, and some methods for doing so. The authors provide a context for understanding how and why such history was excluded and subsequently included in museum exhibits. They also chronicle and critique early exhibitions of African-American material culture from 1888, through the Civil Rights era, the bicentennial, to the late 1980s. The authors use both exhibits as well as statistics from museums on attendance and exhibit theme to illuminate areas where both scholarship and public historians could improve while remaining cognizant of real-world problems such as lack of financial and/or scholarly assistance.

The most useful part of the chapter, however, is the suggestions the authors make on how to improve integration of current African-American scholarship. One strategy, they argue is to expand museum collections by establishing contacts within black communities. Secondly, professionals can make more use of existing collections and use living history exhibits to effectively broach difficult topics by engaging visitors in question and answer sessions, and making use of traveling exhibits. Thirdly, they argue to make more use of the active voice in exhibits, emphasizing that African-Americans not only participated passively, but are an integral part of the past. Finally, they suggest engaging more African-American scholars in discussing integrative history.

Although Horton and Crew make useful suggestions, they do not elaborate on how African communities can become involved and the problems or politics of this involvement (see Blakey and LaRoche 1997; Epperson 1999a, 1999b; McDavid 1997; McDonald et al. 1991; Little and Shackel 2007; Mullins 2008 for more on the politics of involvement) nor do they do deal fully with how scholarship gets appropriated by scholars, upper, middle, and lower level managers, historic preservation professionals, and the public itself.

A trend within the Applied/Advocacy Approach, Public Archaeology and Civic Engagement, focuses on the politics of identity. Identity politics is a theme in American Studies and Historical Archaeological scholarship that examines the intersecting ways that people are embedded in multiple and conflicting discourses and institutions. There are three main thrusts that dominate this work: studies in postcolonial and transnational research, studies in gender and sexuality, and race and ethnicity studies.

In American Studies, identity politics has grown from a critique of the “myth-symbol” school whose practitioners promoted one distinct “American” culture as well as other earlier and later movements in American Studies that, “sought to counter the notion of American exceptionalism,” by critiquing racism, classism and sexism and placing the United States in an international context (Radway 1999:5).

The popularity of identity politics, particularly in historical archaeology, can also be seen rising from the “new social history” in conjunction with the Civil Rights movements of the 1960s, when African-Americans, women, and other ethnic and minority and/or oppressed groups began to celebrate their cultural heritage, prompting scholars to examine race, ethnicity, and gender as frameworks for understanding, culture, history, and their expression in the archaeological record (see for instance Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Bower and Rushing 1980; Bridges and Salwen 1980; Cleland and Fitting 1968; Deetz 1978; Ferguson 1980; Griffen 1959; Schulyer 1980).

Research in history, American Studies, and Historical Archaeology began to rework traditional interpretations to include the "people without history," or those that had been intentionally left out, or that had few written records to reveal their history (Wolf 1982; for examples of the rise of social history see: Demos 1970; Gardner and Adams 1983; Isaac 1982; Schlereth 1983; and Thatcher Ulrich 1990).

Over the last decade, scholars using identity politics as a methodological framework emphasize that while each of these issues, such as race, class, and gender, may be examined independently, the notion of identity politics can be more fully examined and understood if they are examined in relation, connection and dependence to each other (in historical archaeology for example, see Meskell 2002; Orser 2001). This relation of interdependence and connection is what Radway has called, "intricate interdependencies" (Radway 1999:10).

Intricate interdependencies are the most current forms of identity politics and this idea is used in work that promotes intersectional theory (discussed above). Radway defines intricate interdependencies as, "a range of radically intertwined relationships that have been brought to the fore in recent attempts to rethink nationalism, race, culture, ethnicity, identity, sex and gender" (Radway 1999:10). As noted above in the discussion of intersectional theory, it is the focus on *dependant* relationships that sets this work apart from earlier works in any discipline. It can be identified in this dissertation as any discussion focusing on two or more relationships between race, class, culture, sex, ethnicity, nation and gender.

An excellent and influential example of such work that also emphasizes the role of the researcher, or reflexivity in scholarship is Ruth Frankenberg's, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (1997). The goal of the book is to examine white womens' place in the racial structure of the U.S. today through life history interviews. Frankenberg views white women's lives as sites for the reproduction of racism and for challenges to it. Using feminism, racial theory and postcolonial theory, Frankenberg examines whiteness as material culture and subjective location, exploring childhood, interracial relationships, discursive repertoires on race, and the construction of culture and identity. Further, she examines the ways in which region, class, generation, and ethnicity continually and relationally subdivide the terrain of lived experiences of whiteness, touching briefly on how gender and sexuality intersect with whiteness. Whiteness, she says, "signals the production and reproduction of dominance rather than subordination, normativity rather than marginality, and privilege rather than disadvantage" (Frankenberg 1997:236). Finally, and most importantly, Frankenberg argues that the women she interviewed for this project actively negotiated whiteness in two ways: color and power evasion, which dominate discussions of race today, and race cognizance. Race cognizance, a more recent development, and what she would offer for thinking through these issues, although she does not state this explicitly, shares two linked convictions that people who have race cognizance are aware of: 1) race makes a difference in people's lives, and 2) racism is a significant factor in shaping contemporary U.S. society.

Perhaps the main critique of the book is that Frankenberg never tells us how her British background contributed to her perspective on this work, particularly because she does touch on issues of colonialism. However, her use of ethnographic interviews does prompt scholars to examine their own position in relation to their subjects. For instance, she says, ". . . the oppressed can see with the greatest clarity not only their own position but also that of the oppressor/privileged, and indeed the shape of social systems as a whole" (Frankenberg 1997:8). How then, as a white, female, middle class archaeologist studying the historic African-American community, can I reconcile myself as a "raced," person in relation to the subject matter?

In a dissertation about identity politics and as an anthropologist, it would be a glaring absence to not address how my background influences this work. There are two ways in which to consider my position with regard to this research – the first is to understand my relationship to the materials – how I interpret them and what perspectives I use in addition to my own (if any) and the second is to understand how others view this research with regard to white privilege.

Certainly my perspective as a woman has prompted me to think more closely about the women I have studied in this research; however, my position as a *white* woman has significantly impacted how I have come to understand African-American women's roles both through the colonial period during slavery, through the public and private spheres of black colonial and Victorian women's lives, and the necessity for these historical actresses to step beyond what was decided was the "white norm," through all of the time periods represented at these sites. My understanding and interpretations come from an examination of the critique of white women's feminism and particularly the works of Patricia Hill Collins (1998, 1999), Kimberle Williams Crenshaw (1998), and bell hooks (1981, 1984, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1995), and other authors and historians who have taken that critique and applied it to historical settings such as Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (1992) and Elsa Barkley Brown (1989; and Barkley Brown and Kimball 1995).

In historical archaeology, despite the fact that there are works that address African American women (see for instance, Galle and Young 2004), studies that apply the concepts of black feminism have been somewhat lacking; however, there are a few excellent exceptions and they include the work of Maria Franklin (2001a; 2001b) and Nancy Muller (2001; 1994). Additionally, whiteness studies – an area of study that often falls under the race and ethnicity strain in the overarching framework of identity politics, has had an influence on the ways in which I interpret the materials.

Whiteness studies, growing from a critique of racial identities that has lasted over a century (see DuBois 1898, 1899a, 1969 [1898], 1972 [1915], 1986 [1903]; Martí 1977 [1898]; Washington 1992 [1899]; and Baldwin 1998 [1965] for a mid century critique), is the arena of inquiry focused on the social construction of whiteness and the connection to class and status that frames the construction of those racial identities (i.e., white equals good, pure, rich, and black, defined in opposition to white, equals defeated, ruined, bad, backwards, and poor). Most significantly my influence has been from writers such as George Lipsitz (1998a), David Roediger (1998) and Richard Dyer (1995). In historical archaeology, these studies have been influential as well (see for instance, Bell 2005; Epperson 1997, 2001; Paynter 2001).

What I have taken away from both black feminist studies and whiteness critiques in both American Studies and historical archaeology as it is applied to this study are several overarching ideas and goals that frame my interpretations: 1) as a researcher I have developed an understanding of my position as a white woman, I understand myself as a member of those groups and accept that this will affect my interpretations; 2) because I am aware of these things, I can work to help others understand the effects of classed, racialized and gendered pasts, their connections, and how it affects the present, to promote action for social change; 3) since I am not a member of the oppressed group I am studying, I can incorporate as much information from the African American community as possible with regard to framing the research and interpreting the findings; and, 4) I can take responsibility for my interpretations, be confident in my belief of their validity, while at the same time be open to their critique, understanding they may be distorted by hegemony.

The second way in which to consider my position with regard to the materials is to understand others' perceptions and acceptance of my work in both scholarly and non-scholarly situations. For instance, in some situations with members of Confederate groups I have worked with as well as with other preservation professionals there has been resistance to these findings and in some cases, denial that they exist and are valid. I have also found that access to certain documentary collections was more or less difficult depending on how I framed my research agenda. Finally, because of the issue of access it begs the question of white privilege. White privilege is the idea that there are social, political, cultural, and a whole host of other types of, advantages accorded to white people in society (see McIntosh 2004, Lipsitz 1998a). In other words, I did eventually gain access to the documentary records that I needed, but would I have gained access if I were African American instead of white? I don't know the answer to this question, but I suspect it may have been even more difficult, where for me, it was just uncomfortable. Throughout the research and writing of this work, the modern perceptions of this analysis and the topic of white privilege has prompted me to assign additional importance to the topic and make connections between white privilege of the past and present. This has resulted in a final chapter that explores these issues.

Consumerism as a Framework for Identity Politics and Representation

Consumerism, consumer, consumption, commodities, materialism, material culture, consumer culture, consumer behavior, production and producer are all terms that describe the complex processes and relationships between people, things/goods/objects, their creation and use-life, and ideas and meanings. Researchers across disciplines have defined these terms in various ways focusing on one or all, following the life of an object or service through one aspect (such as production) or many (production, consumption, reuse, abandonment).

Generally, consumerism is thought of as cultural phenomena, an overarching term which defines the processes where humans (acting as consumers, among other identities that humans may have) create (produce), buy, trade, sell or have some kind of relationship to goods and services based on institutions and ideas. It often centers upon economic, symbolic, and/or ritualistic values that some have argued are based on abstract notions such as taste (Bourdieu 1984), fashion (McKendrick et al. 1982), social status, and/or pleasure (Campbell 1987). Consumption, often seen as the opposite of or “parallel to” production (to make, to produce), is the action through which the process of consumerism takes place (Smart Martin 1993:142). The method of consumption by humans (consumer behavior) is the use or using of goods and services and the cycles they may make through the economy and our lives. In this dissertation, I, as other scholars have, often include the act of production or producing in the definition (often the initial or first action) of the term “consumer behavior” (see Lury 1996; Miller 1991; and Smart Martin 1993), though, admittedly, it can be seen as a separate action. For the purposes of this discussion, however, production and consumption are actions that, because of historic, rural farm life, are very much blurred, combined, and sometimes even inseparable. Consumerism, here, is discussed as a process of both production and consumption.

The emergence of modern consumption, or the consumer revolution (see McCracken 1990, 2005; McKendrick et al. 1982) and all its complex relationships is itself an artifact about which many scholars in social scientific and historical inquiry have devoted much thought for at least the last century. Weber (1930), Marx (see for example, Marx 1967 [1867]), Simmel (1978 [1900]), Sombart (1967[1913]), and

Polanyi (1957 [1944]), have addressed aspects of this revolution, while other scholars have used the ideas of Veblen, (1912) Braudel (1981), Bourdieu (1984), Gramsci (1971), and Hegel (1977) to understand and explain it.

Following these ideas, the study of consumerism as a framework for understanding and interpreting the archaeological and other material records has been an interdisciplinary pursuit. Several trends and problematics can be identified over the past thirty years as the major thrusts of this multidisciplinary scholarship. These include consumption as a negative (Douglas and Isherwood 1979) or positive force (McCracken 1990, 2005); material culture as key to understanding consumer behavior (Appadurai 1986; Bushman 1992; Miller 1991), and in the same vein, material culture as a status marker, or marker of group and/or individual identities (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Lury 1996); identification of the time period(s) in which the consumer revolution took place (Williams 1982; Fox and Lears 1983, Horowitz 1985; Leach 1984; Lears 1989; Carr and Menard 1979; Horn 1979; Jordan 1979; Kelly 1979; Walsh 1983; Menard 1974; Walsh and Menard 1974; see also Carr and Walsh 1991, 1977; Carson 1990; Carson et al. 1994; and Shammas 1993), the construction of meaning and changing meanings of material culture for groups and more recently, for individuals (Lury 1996; McCracken 1990, 2005; Miller 1991, 1998); the role of changing fashions and/or style as a means of stimulating demand and economic growth (Smart Martin 1993:142); and the power of consumers and/or producers for understanding supply and demand and/or changing manufacturers (Blaszczyk 2000).

Until recently, the break from traditional Marxist interpretations that privileged production and producers and held a disinterest in “bourgeois and nonutilitarian goods and services” and mass produced items was the common thread which tied much of this scholarship together (Agnew 1993:23; Smart Martin 1993:142; see also Appadurai 1986; Campbell 1987, McKendrick et al. 1982; see Miller 1991 for interest in mass produced items). Many scholars emphasized the importance of understanding consumerism as a process of both consumption and production (Lury 1996; Miller 1991; Smart Martin 1993). More recent work again examines the relationships between producers and consumers, emphasizing the power of the producer to understand how consumers created demand for products (see Blaszczyk 2000).

While most scholars agree that material culture can have multiple meanings (see for instance Appadurai 1986; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Lury 1996; McCracken 1988; Miller 1991, 1998; Smart Martin 1993), an important thrust of this work centers on the power of the consumer (and producer) to define group and/or individual identities (see, for instance, Paul Mullins’ work that focuses on race and class in urban areas 1996, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, see also Manring 1998), there continues to be disagreement about when the consumer revolution actually occurred. Scholars have placed it anywhere from the sixteenth century to the mid twentieth.

During the 1980s, two schools of thought on when the consumer revolution actually took place came to light: some believed the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was the birth of modern consumer society and another set of scholars believed the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the crucial moment.

Those that concentrate on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries focus primarily on how people experienced consumer culture and the mass production and marketing of goods, particularly in urban areas. They argue that evidence of cultural and economic transformations can be seen through the rise of the department store (Blaszczyk 2000; Smart Martin 1993:149; Williams 1982). Others have explored how consumption became a cultural ideal through the ideas of dominant and elite institutions (Fox and Lears 1983). Still others have explored power relationships, the rise of the middle class, gendered consumer experiences, and advertising (see Horowitz 1985; Leach 1984; Lears 1989).

The plethora of authors that argue that the major consumer revolution occurred during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have focused more on the affordability, availability and desirability of goods (for this argument see Smart Martin 1993), particularly in rural areas. Notably, several prominent Chesapeake historians have examined the documentary record as a means to understand consumption in the early modern period through economics and demographics (Carr and Menard 1979; Horn 1979; Jordan 1979; Kelly 1979; Reber 2003; Walsh 1983). Much of this work examined consumption in relation to such topics as settlement systems, population growth, mortality, rates of immigration, economy, labor systems, and agricultural markets (Menard 1974; Walsh and Menard 1974; see also Carr and Walsh 1977, 1991; Carson 1990; Carson et al. 1994; and Shammas 1993).

Nevertheless, there are few works which probe how these ideas filtered into and played out throughout the rural provinces, particularly in exploring the relationship between the early modern period (eighteenth century) consumer practices and later mass consumption (See the works of Purser 1992; Schlereth 1989; Handsman 1981; and McMurry 1988 for notable exceptions to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century studies and Groover 2003 for rural production and patrimony amongst white families and 2008 for general research designs) and few have been willing to place the intersections of race, class and gender at the center of consumer culture in rural areas. Researchers tend to privilege one facet of identity (race, or class, or gender) over another in understanding the ideas which compelled and created consumer behavior (see, for instance, Orser 1988; Stine 1990; or Groover 2008 for a synthesis).

Historical archaeology has a unique capacity for addressing questions surrounding changing consumption practices and archaeologists have established a base of scholarly work, primarily in examining the relationships between race, class and/or gender within Neo-Marxist, post-processual, and post-structuralist frameworks, which serve to illuminate how relationships of inequality were institutionalized through consumer behavior. In this dissertation, I hope to show how the African American community sought to confront and erode those relationships, and the development of the methods they used to do so from the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries.

Part of historical archaeology's capacity to capture information about consumer behavior is the abilities of the discipline to systematically analyze the results of that behavior using the archaeological record. One method of analysis is the use of Minimum Vessel Counts, also called Minimum Vessel Analysis (or MVCs/MVAs). In this work I use MVC's frequently to try and get a clear picture of the types and quantities of glass and ceramic items consumed by a household through time. This type of study provides information on consumer choice and market access and, when analyzed, their relationships in local, regional, and/or national contexts in order to study consumer behavior within frameworks of race, class and gender. Such an analysis requires identifying the minimum number of unique glass and/or ceramic vessels that exist in an assemblage, and may focus on one type of glass or ceramic vessel, such Colonoware, a traditional African pottery type, glass and ceramics from a particular part of a site (like a trash pit or well), or on an entire collection, at one or more sites. The type and specific information about the MVC's done in this work will be detailed in the chapters in which they are used.

Landscapes as a Framework for Identity Politics and Representation

Through the development of what Schlereth termed "The Environmental Preoccupation," material culture scholars for at least the last three decades have examined landscapes considering both the built and natural environment (Schlereth 1983; see Conzen 1979; Cronon 1996; Jackson 1984; Lewis 1979; Meinig 1979; Tuan 1977) more recently within frameworks of power, gender, race, and class (although landscape has been studied since at least the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Sauer 1963[1925]; Turner 1921 [1893]).

Several volumes have addressed both the methodological and theoretical development of this focus (see Groth and Bressi 1997; Alanen and Melnick 2000; Duncan and Ley 1993; Hayden 1995; and Korr 1997). These studies set out the goal of this approach which is to understand, “how people used everyday space . . . to establish their identity, articulate social relations, and derive cultural meaning” (Groth 1997:1). Today, the study of the landscape has coalesced into a distinct specialization particularly concerned with addressing the landscape as a culturally constructed artifact.

Analyses in archaeological research have also developed over the last three decades by studying how people manipulated and used the landscape, examining otherwise unattainable archaeological, floral, and phytolith information to reconstruct formal and garden landscapes on larger plantations for instance (see for example, Kelso 1990; Pogue 1996; Strutt 1999) and also by studying material and cultural relationships as manifested in the landscape (Delle 1994, 1998; Epperson 2001; Hood 1996; Hudgins 1990; Kelso 1990; Martin et al. 1997; McKee 1996; Pogue 1996; Shackel 1994; 2001; 2003a). In the Chesapeake, among the most influential contributors are scholars out of Annapolis, Maryland who have researched town-scale analysis and Georgian-elite manipulation of eighteenth century landscapes (See Leone 1984, 1988; Shackel 1994). Elizabeth Kryder-Reid’s (1994) study of a garden in Annapolis demonstrates the intentional control of space as it reflects the gardeners knowledge which served the, “colonial elite to communicate and negotiate their social identity” (Kryder-Reid 1994:132; See also Kryder-Reid 1998; Leone and Shackel 1990; Little 1998; Shackel 1993; Yentsch 1990; outside of Annapolis See Brown and

Samford 1990; Hudgins 1990; Luccketti 1990). Recent investigations examine how memory and created meanings play out in the construction and interpretation of landscapes (Shackel 2001, 2003a).

Today, within the subdiscipline of African American historical archaeology, these studies often overlap with investigations that examine contextualized identities such as ethnicities or "Africanisms," (see Ruppel et al. 2003) and expand the idea of status or "class" as being subjectively created and manipulated (Ferguson 1992; Galke 1992a; Heath 1999a, 1999b; Mullins 2001; Orser 1998; Shackel 2009).

In American Studies, Korr, whose model I use extensively, defines a cultural landscape as, "a cumulative record of the work of humans and nature in a certain place, as shown first, by tangible and intangible evidence that reflects the beliefs and values of the peoples in that place at different times, and second, by the reciprocal effect that the people of that site and its artifactual and natural components had on one another" (Korr 1997:2).

In Korr's article, *A Proposed Model for Cultural Landscape Study,* he draws on the scholarship of earlier works influential in studying landscapes (see Sauer 1963 [1925], Upton 1991; Lewis 1979; and Meinig 1979) seen especially within the disciplines of cultural geography, to evaluate what he sees as problematic with these approaches and develops a new systematic model of landscape evaluation. He goes on to suggest a study model with five operations: description, boundary identification, consideration of the relationship between humans, artifacts and nature, perception analysis, and comprehensive cultural analysis. The strength of the model is two-fold. One, it is useful for thinking about what is absent from a landscape, and two, he elaborates, in a poststructuralist manner on what Lewis, Ryden, Williams, Vlach, and others have pointed out and that is that landscapes can be perceived differently by different communities, groups and individuals through time, or examining cognitive and/or cultural perceptions of both material and natural objects. He asks, "What intangible meanings, associations, and functional delineations accompany the components of a landscape, and how do these offer additional insights into individuals' and groups' beliefs and values" (Korr 1997:8)?

The Chapters/Organization of the Dissertation

In order to highlight the vast breadth of significant issues in African American historical archaeology that the archaeological materials from the site studied in this dissertation can address, the chapters of the dissertation are organized topically and chronologically. Although new topics and time periods are introduced in each chapter, many of the topics and time periods in each chapter overlap. Each of the chapters, however, contributes in some way to understanding how race, class, and/or gender intersect and informed life. Each of the chapters addresses how identity is central to the creation of an imagined African American community through ethnogenesis and later, through racial uplift, and ultimately, how these methods sought to confront the racial ideology of slavery and later the Lost Cause. Finally, I examine how understanding these issues can work in favor of racial equality today.

In Chapter 2, *Africanisms, What Are They Good For? Examining Ethnogenesis and Power Relations within the Manassas Community*, I use a minimum vessel analysis performed on Colonoware at the Henry House site, comparative information on Colonoware at several other Manassas sites, and information about artifacts found at many Manassas sites that have been interpreted as reflective of an “African identity” including mancala and other gaming pieces, blue beads, Chesapeake pipes, quartz crystals, ebony and bone finger rings and their inter and intrasite relationships to discuss their informative power when considered as both a collective, diasporic identity as well as a localized product that reflects production and consumption with regard to power relations – both national and local, and their relationship to an emerging capitalist consumer culture. This chapter examines some of the earliest material culture associated with African Americans in the rural Manassas area and provides a framework for understanding how ethnogenesis worked as a method for the community to survive the harsh realities of slavery, redefine themselves as raced, classed, and gendered individuals with relation to their economy on their own terms, and build a foundation on which they could continually resist and transform the categories created for them during later periods in history.

In Chapter 3, *Setting the Stage: A Background for Constructing Women’s Production and Consumption in Rural Areas - The Robinson’s Case Study*, I use a minimum vessel analysis on glass and ceramic artifacts recovered from an abandoned ice house that was later used as a trash pit on the Robinson House site to discuss the influences of major, male African American thinkers, black women writers, travelogues and etiquette books, on the creation of a “new” rural, African American consumer. I argue that ethnogenesis during the post-emancipation and Reconstruction period was transformed into racial uplift as a method with which the African American families in this area used to connect themselves with citizenship and the American dream through their consumer and producer behaviour, and that

African American women began to redefine African American male thinkers' ideas according to their specific, gendered, raced, and classed situations.

In Chapter 4, *Jennie Dean, Identity Politics, and Women's Role in Racial Uplift Through Consumption and Production in Rural Areas,* I use a discussion of the life and work of Jennie Dean, a local African-American woman and activist who built the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth, and a minimum vessel analysis of the artifacts recovered from the Nash Site to continue the discussion of how Jennie Dean, and in turn, the African American women in this community reappropriated the "male" ideas of black capitalism. I look at how the women in the community used nation building for their gender in order to define themselves as propagators of racial uplift through their consumer and producer culture, claiming both the right to citizenship and the landscape for themselves and their families during the Jim Crow period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In Chapter 5, *Historic African-American Landscapes and the Contradictions of the Lost Cause Ideology,* I use a landscape analysis of three African American archaeological properties to examine the ways in which the African American men, women, and children sought to intentionally confront and contradict the Lost Cause as it played out on the Southern landscape during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I argue that ideas of race uplift and nation building were not created only as a response to freedom, segregation and Jim Crow, but were part of a long tradition of ethnogenesis in which families and the community remade and reinforced identities for survival that were honed throughout the pre-emancipation eras. Studying the larger African American landscape through several sites can also examine the response of the community to a period of intense commemoration by the Confederacy (both the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy), immediately following the Civil War on this battlefield.

In Chapter 6, *African American History - Hidden in Plain View: Parable, Power, and Public Archaeology at Manassas National Battlefield Park*, I continue with a discussion of the landscape and examine how the memory of the battlefield's Confederate past has, both in the past and present, infiltrated interpretative programs at this National Park effectively silencing the African American voice and reifying the myth of the Lost Cause. Examination of the visible and non-visible remains of the numerous African American sites on the battlefield, and how they are maintained and interpreted (or not), will show how they are actively, "hidden in plain view." This chapter outlines a possible plan for including this history that is based on using public archaeology as a tool for civic engagement. The plan includes potential interpretative agendas that both challenge visitors to the park and attempt a more democratic voice for the National Park Service and for our nation.

Interpreting the life and culture of the rural African-American community in Manassas entails drawing on multiple lines of evidence including documentary as well as material culture and multiple disciplines. Identity politics and representation, outlined above, is central to this study of the world of goods with which to interpret African-American life in this area of Virginia within the methodological frameworks of consumerism and landscape analysis. Theoretical perspectives including Postmodernism, Poststructuralism, Postprocessualism, Neo-Marxism, and Black/Feminism-Intersectional Theory enable this research to focus on the myriad ways that race, class, and gender are dependent upon one another within systems of power such that a discussion of these issues can help us work toward understanding race relations in the past and present and, ultimately, a better future for our society.

However, whether or not the reader chooses to use this work to further an understanding of inequality, the research also invites you to meet these families and, in some way, intimately experience what their lives may have been like through an examination of their material culture and landscape. And like Clifton Johnson notes, such knowledge cannot help but be one of the most interesting of experiences at this battlefield.

Chapter 2: Africanisms, What Are They Good For? Examining Ethnogenesis and Power Relations in the Manassas Community

Ethnogenesis in Perspective

In Chapter 2, I use a minimum vessel analysis performed on Colonoware at the Henry House and compare it to other Manassas sites that have been interpreted as reflective of an "African identity." These items include mancala and other gaming pieces, blue beads, Chesapeake pipes, quartz crystals, ebony and bone finger rings. I discuss their informative power when considered as both a collective, diasporic identity as well as a localized product that reflects production and consumption with regard to power relations – both national and local, as well as the emerging capitalist consumer culture.

Over the last decade, archaeologists have been rethinking older notions of acculturation and creolization and their role in identity formation and how archaeologists' unique data can help better describe and understand these ideas and their influence on the development of modern complex societies (Singleton 1999:1). Much of this work in archaeology has focused on examining the localized cultural products of power relationships through human interaction and the construction of group and political identities. Recent archaeological studies have used one of two models or paradigms. The first is a modification of a commonly known linguistic definition of acculturation (see Deetz 1977; Ferguson 1992) in which archaeologists argue that the anthropological concept of acculturation has been debased and that a less ethnocentric model of social interaction methodologically founded on the linguistic paradigm of creolization is more meaningful (Wilkie 2000). More commonly, however, archaeologists are moving beyond the simplicity of this model, focusing less on the linguistic analysis (though still acknowledging its value (see Gundaker 2000), and more on the interaction, construction of identity, and particularly conflict, in their examination of cultural exchange. These models often reject approaches that neglect local cultural organization and those that reduce such exchange to a universal encounter between different groups (Gundaker 2000, Hauser and DeCorse 2003). Interestingly, even models that promote local contextualization tend to ignore gender as an organizing (or even contributing) factor for understanding transformations in cultural identity in favor of overarching statements that center on race and ethnicity. While it is necessary to understand acculturation within a racialized paradigm, ignoring other aspects of identity and how, for instance, men, women, or children experienced or created such transformations differently (or similarly) may skew our understanding of self empowerment through creolization for individuals, families, and even communities as a whole. This is seen most clearly in archaeological studies specifically about African American women that discuss hybridization of identities without so much as a mention of gender or male hegemony (see for instance, Armstrong 2003; 2008:128; Hauser 2006; however, there are a few examples that include gender, see Galle and Young 2004 and several that discuss Colonoware, albeit they have not been expanded upon meaningfully for more than a decade, Ogata 1995; Bograd and Singleton 1995:29-30).

I prefer to use the term ethnogenesis rather than creolization or acculturation in this dissertation for three reasons. First, I prefer to move away from these terms as they both have been somewhat problematic (see Mullins 2008) and, despite the usefulness of the second model, above, come with an excessive amount of disciplinary baggage, including a lack of focus on gender and to some degree, class. Second, the occurrence of Colonoware and other "African" materials in strata that date to the nineteenth century here in the Manassas community, rather than in earlier contexts found in the Chesapeake, along the eastern U.S., and in the Caribbean, points to a period of use that is later than Colonoware and other types of "Africanized" artifacts found elsewhere (see for instance, Espenshade 1998, 1999; Ferguson 1992; Henry 1980; Kennedy and Espenshade 2001; Lees and Kimery-Lees 1978; Marcil 1993; Moer et al. 199; Wheaton and Garrow 1989).

Ethnogenesis is a more dynamic term that can encompass changing and merging forms of identity that while realizing the diasporic experience and the horror of the Middle Passage and eighteenth century enslavement, also recognizes the emergence and continuity of a local culture forged from capitalistic endeavors based on raced, classed, and gendered oppression, for almost a century before these artifacts were deposited.

The third and final reason has to do with the definition of the term. Ethnogenesis is defined as the process through which humans come to understand themselves as ethnically distinct from a wider social landscape from which their group emerges (Hill 1996). This definition recognizes that while a group might accept that they have a commonality of past and/or purpose, they might also "reinvent" and/or reimagine themselves based on a variety of factors including local political and/or social development, power relationships, class, gender and ethnicity, and capitalist economies. This definition also encourages this study to disentangle issues of ethnicity and race while factoring in differences in gender and class.

Understanding the construction of race, for the archaeologist, is often interwoven with issues of class. Likewise, the idea of race is frequently conflated with ethnicity. This has been a significant obstacle for archaeologists who frequently cannot distinguish between ethnic commonality and racial designation. However, it has become clear, in recent years, that archaeologists must be able to provide attention to the differences between ethnicity and race to outline a perspective for understanding racialization that has archaeological relevance. Recently, archaeologists have attempted to do this by reexamining and redefining issues that have long been areas of research within history and anthropology including the study of racializing the "other," focus on ethnogenesis and identity formation (see Bell 2005; and Hudson 1999 for ethnogenesis studies and Orser 2007 for identity formation and racialization). Additionally, and as noted, the function of gender and class within this paradigm, particularly at a local level, can bring into focus the many, layered, ways that oppression infiltrates society and the agency that became necessary to live with it and overcome it.

This chapter is divided into five sections. First, I will provide a brief history of the subfield of African American historical archaeology, within which the study of Colonoware ceramics and other types of artifacts commonly associated with African Americans that have been recovered at Manassas have been most intensely studied. Second, I will provide additional information on the study of Colonoware specifically. Third, I will describe the sites where such artifacts were recovered with a focus on the Henry House, whose minimum vessel analysis of Colonoware ceramics is detailed in this chapter. Next, I will analyze the Colonoware from the Henry House site and finally I will interpret the meaning of these artifacts.

African American Historical Archaeology

African-American material culture and lifeways have been a particular focus within historical archaeology for at least the past four decades. Considering that it has been estimated that between 11 and 12 million Africans, principally from West-Central Africa, the Bights, and the Gold Coast in Africa were sold into slavery, globally, between the 15th and 19th centuries, and four fifths of that number during the period of 1700-1850 (Bograd and Singleton 1995; Lovejoy 1989:369-373; Wolf 1982), it is not unusual that African-made and African-American-made material culture has been recognized as a fruitful area of study, nor that larger issues such as slavery and emancipation, labor, equality and inequality, ethnicity, race and racial ideology have driven such work.

In the Americas, slavery developed differently during different periods and places. For instance, the Spanish imported African laborers to the Americas in the 16th century, mainly to Mexico and Peru; European nations established large sugar operations in the Caribbean during the seventeenth century; and British North America imported slaves as early as 1619 (possibly earlier) for tobacco crops, then later for rice, cotton and other staples. African slaves labored not only in the fields, but in urban settings, factories, mines, at craft industries such as shipbuilding, and domestic services. As Berlin and Morgan (1993) note, labor shaped Africans' lives in the Americas, just as much as the character of society was shaped by a unique African-American culture.

The transition from slavery to freedom after emancipation began another struggle for African-Americans who strove to achieve the same rights and privileges as white citizens; however, the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras saw increased racism, discrimination and social inequalities. The long, complex history of the African experience in America is shaped by the cultural exchange that happened between Africans, Europeans, Native Americans, and other ethnic groups as well as the circumstances of slavery and emancipation (Sobel 1987).

The long African presence in America makes it an especially fruitful topic in historical archaeology. Over the past several decades archaeologists who have studied African-American life have researched such topics as slavery and resistance, the creation of race, class in slave communities and urban settings, free, affluent and impoverished African-American communities, landscape studies, the politics of identity, living conditions, housing and spatial relationships, foodways, artifact patterns, ethnicity, and gender, and have examined regions such as the Caribbean, the South, the Gulf Coast, the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake, and the Northeast. The study of African Americans and the great migration, on the frontier, and in the west and far west has developed as well (see for instance, King 2006; King 2008; Bastian 1999; Bates 1992; Baumann 2001, 2007; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992; Shackel 2009; Wood 2007, 2009)

The development of this particular focus within historical archaeology and the trends studied by archaeologists through time have arisen from a multitude of social and political forces throughout the latter half of the twentieth century and the development of the discipline as a whole during this time.

The study of Africanisms and Colonoware in particular, and African-American historical archaeology in general, grew out of a tradition during the 1960s and 1970s when social and civil rights movements in the United States prompted a celebration of America’s diverse ethnic heritage. Work within material culture research during these eras focused on identifying sites, material culture, and research questions specific to an African identity.

Charles Fairbanks (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Fairbanks 1984) is often identified with pioneering this work in historical archaeology. He published studies on the Kingsley slave cabins in Florida and began a wave of interest not only in understanding archaeology from a non-Western perspective, but also in studying plantation life (Ferguson 1992:xv; Singleton 1985:1). In the late 1970s, however, studies specifically geared toward the study of slavery began to appear (Kelso 1984, 1986), and during the 1980s, Virginia and the Chesapeake region became a leader in interpreting historical archaeological findings concerned with African-American life (Leone 1994; Leone et al. 1995; Samford 1986). Besides Fairbank’s work in Florida, archaeologists in Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, and other areas of the South, along the east coast, and in the Caribbean, were conducting preliminary archaeological research on African American sites in the 1970s and early 1980s as well (Handler and Lange 1978; 1979; Mathewson 1972; 1973), including research on sites in Massachusetts (Deetz 1977; Bower and Rushing 1980) New York (Bridges and Salwen 1980; Schuyler 1974, 1980) and New Jersey (Geismar 1980).

Outside of archaeology, in material culture studies, John Michael Vlach has published a plethora of articles, chapters, and books, as well as curated museum and on-line exhibits (see for instance the Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts Catalog 1978 and Back of the Big House, museum exhibit 1994-1995; online 2009), that deal specifically with identifying African inspired material culture in architecture, decorative arts, folkart/folklife, life in general and the cultural landscape (Vlach 1993a; 1993b; 1991; 1990; 1986). Sobel's 1987, *The World They Made Together*, took such research one step further and examined in depth not just the presence of such material culture, but the affects of African values and perceptions on Europeans during the eighteenth century in Virginia. Other prominent researchers broadened Sobel's work further to examine African perceptions of the landscape and included the work of historians and other scholars such as Upton (1988), Gundaker (1998, 1996, 1993, 1994), Isaac (1982), and Westmacott (1991, 1992). (See also Borchert 1986; Brown 1989; Campbell and Rice 1991; Holloway 1990; Horton 1993; McDaniel 1982; Upton and Vlach 1986; US DOI 2001).

Scholarship throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium has critiqued some of these studies in historical archaeology and material culture which framed interpretations using "Africanisms," or searching for ethnic markers in the material record without considering the complexities of racial categories. These critiques of "ethnic marker" studies reveal that scholars often attempt to interpret the meanings of such artifacts assuming that ethnic boundaries are stable rather than "fluid," variable and subject to manipulation (Ryder 1999). McGuire has suggested that the study of race and ethnicity in historical archaeology should examine these boundaries and how they are transformed (1982:161; see also Delle et al. 2000; Mumford 1997; Perry and Paynter 1999; Singleton and Bograd 2000). Other researchers have suggested the use of oral histories and ethnographic evidence will help develop an appropriate context and can bring a legitimate perspective to such work (see for example, Gregory 1998).

Further, this critique emphasizes that the examination of Africanisms or ethnic "patterns" without appropriate contextualization runs the risk of, ". . . misrepresenting how the material correlates of particular [African-American and/or other ethnic communities] may have been manifested" (Singleton 1990:72), emphasizing the need for interpretation using the idea of multivalency. Smedly (1999:690) has also argued that, "Scholars in psychology, anthropology and other social fields need to examine in much greater depth the reality of "race" as identity in our society [and] explore not only the consequences but the parameters of social correlates of "racial" identity."

Multivalency (or multiple meanings) is the idea that an object or set of objects may, "take on strikingly different meanings for different social groups, with dominating groups often totally ignorant of the meaning system of subordinated groups" (Perry and Painter 1999:303; see also Howson 1990; Tilley 1989). This critique inspired new ways of looking at material culture and are an extension of what Orser (1988) called issues of "economics and power." This "new" way of looking at material culture associated with African-Americans identified abstract ideas such as ideology, domination and power seen as materially manifested and/or expressed in material relationships (Brown and Kimball 1995; Edwards and Howard 1997; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Mullins 1999).

Until very recently, the idea of multivalency has not been a primary research concern in the study of Colonoware; however, the debate over who made the pottery, Native Americans, or African-Americans, particularly in the Chesapeake region, has inspired new research directions in African-American historical archaeology in general and Colonoware in particular (see Singleton and Bograd 2000). A brief background of Colonoware research and this new research agenda is provided below.

Colonoware Research

Colonoware is a low fired, often locally made, unglazed earthenware that has been associated with Native American and African-American potters along the east coast of the United States and in the Caribbean during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As recovered in archaeological investigations, Colonoware has taken many forms including, but not limited to, bowls, jars, jugs, mugs, plates, and pipes. In the Middle Atlantic/Chesapeake region and in Virginia, Colonoware has been found on free African-American and enslaved African sites most commonly in the form of shallow bowls and pipes, with a small percentage found in forms that resembled English vessels such as handled cups, porringers, pipkins and chamber pots. There is an underlying assumption that Colonoware is made by women (Ferguson 1992, see also Kennedy and Espenshade 2001; Ogata 1995), but it is rarely discussed at length or explored with regard to gendered consumption and production of this item. The assertion that Colonoware was made by women potters is supported by the ethnographic record (see Ferguson 1992:2, 39-41).

Some archaeologists have argued that the production and consumption of Colonoware ceramics represent a traditional African potting technique indicative of the continuity of an African identity (Deetz 1988:365; Ferguson 1999; 1992; 1982; 1980). Others have challenged the assumption that Colonoware ceramics were made exclusively by African-Americans or that Colonoware represents an African identity by those Africans who made it (Galke 2009). These authors argue that Colonoware may have been made by local Native American populations and appears on African-American sites possibly as part of a trade and/or barter system typical of both Native American and African communities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Mouer et al. 1999); or that free African Americans who were rejecting slavery also rejected or refused to use the ware since it was typically made and used by slaves (Galke 2009).

Several authors have dealt with the meaning of this pottery within local contexts or the role of the production and consumption of Colonoware within local settings or larger regional and/or national (and even international) contexts (see DeCorse 1999; Henry 1980; Mouer, et al 1999); however, few have examined the production and consumption of Colonoware in relation to broader consumption patterns of enslaved and especially free Africans and African-Americans temporally (see Berlin and Morgan 1995; Galke 2009; Heath 1999; McDonald 1993; Morgan 1983; for example), as the product of an individual (see Kennedy and Espenshade 2001), or Colonoware’s relationship to potentially ritualistic materials and a larger, connected landscape of labor, economy, consumption and/or production, class, or status (enslaved or free). Further, while it is assumed that Colonoware is made by women (Ferguson 1992:2; Kennedy and Espenshade 2001, Ogata 1995; Bograd and Singleton 1995), very few have explored how the gender of the maker of Colonoware affects use and meaning (see Ogata 1995), how that might play out in the archaeological record, the implications of gender in the production and consumption process, and the effects of status or class on these women potters with regard to Colonoware. Rather, past research has tended to treat pottery made by enslaved Africans as the product of a people, region, or site (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001:1).

In addition, Colonoware in the Chesapeake and in the Piedmont area of Virginia particularly, appears to be made during the early to mid nineteenth century, or even later, whereas in other regions of the United States and in the Caribbean, the majority of Colonoware has been studied in eighteenth and early nineteenth century contexts (Ferguson 1992; Kennedy and Espenshade 2001).

With regard to the production and use of Colonoware by women, as noted above, this is supported in Ferguson's (1992) study using ethnographic data. Although gender is not a focus of his study, oral histories done in the 1930s (WPA 1986; Rawick 1972) detail former enslaved Africans and African Americans remembering their mothers and grandmothers making traditional African clay pots and bringing this skill with them to the east coast of the United States from Africa. Additional research since that time also discusses women as the producers of Colonoware including Bograd and Singleton (1995), who, at that time, called for more research into this topic (see also Crane and Singleton 1995), Ogata (1995) who uses a variety of ethnographic and historical data to attribute the production of Colonoware to women (including information about pot making in modern and historic societies in Africa), and Kennedy and Espenshade (2001) who conclude that women made Colonoware on several plantations in South Carolina (and probably elsewhere) because of where the ceramic was found (i.e., it was found in spaces where women worked or lived almost exclusively) (for discussion of modern and historic African women potters in African and in the Southern United States historically, see: Crane 1993:47; Herbert 1993; for models in Polynesia and U.S. prehistory where women produce ceramics that have been applied to Colonoware, respectively, see Marshall 1985 and Rice 1991). Following these studies, I believe that a strong case is made that African American women made Colonoware in the Manassas region.

Also, from Ferguson's (1992) study, it is interesting to note that he concludes that Colonoware was used more often for cooking in South Carolina than in Virginia. In Virginia, the majority of Colonoware must have been used for something other than cooking. This is based on his analysis of charred vessels. In Virginia only one of fifty vessels was charred (Ferguson 1992:104).

Throughout the past two decades of archaeological research performed at Manassas National Battlefield Park, Colonoware has been recovered from both free and enslaved African sites. In addition to the Henry House collection of Colonoware, Portici/Pohoke, Brownsville, the Robinson House site, and the Hooe Dependency Site (Parsons 2001**;** Galke 1992b; Parker and Hernigle 1990; Reeves 2003), have all yielded Colonoware artifacts in various forms, however, with the exception of the Henry House (Martin Seibert 2003) and a recent article by Galke (2009), analysis at these sites has been limited to processing and identification.

A thorough examination of Colonoware ceramics at Manassas sites can lend further insight into several overarching themes of Colonoware research in this region, including, the temporal and spatial spread of the Colonoware tradition (Henry 1980), the uses of Colonoware (Ferguson 1992), the examination of a distinct African-American economy (or the “economy of slaves” - see Heath 1999a; Schlotterbeck 1995), or issues of ethnogenesis (acculturation or creolization, see Mouer et al. 1999). Interestingly, typically Colonoware is found on sites of enslaved Africans and African Americans. At Manassas, Colonoware has also been found on the site of a free African American family. This find extends the definition of who used, produced, and consumed Colonoware and challenges the interpretation that it is only made and used by enslaved Africans and African Americans. Further in this locale, the study of Colonoware brings to light important issues pertaining to the definition of the African American community and the role of African American women in ethnogenesis in light of local and national contexts and structures of power relations and economy.

Despite the lack of research into the relationship of Colonoware with broader consumption patterns, and the disagreement over who actually made this ware, as noted above, it continues to be an important research topic within historical archaeology (see Mouer et al. 1999; Singleton and Bograd 2000; Espenshade 2001, Mullins 2008).

It was Ivor Noël Hume who first identified this type of earthenware and introduced the term, “Colono-Indian ware,” in his 1962 article, “An Indian Ware of the Colonial Period.” From sites in Virginia, Hume had identified locally produced, smoothed or burnished unglazed earthenware and suggested that American Indians were producing the ware and possibly trading or selling the ceramics to enslaved Africans. Some of the vessels Hume had identified resembled English forms including handled cups, porringers, pipkins and chamber pots and thus he suggested that the American Indians who had produced the ware had been, “exposed to European contact” (Hume 1962:4).

Throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, archaeologists in Virginia and Maryland identified the ware and associated it with historic period American Indian manufacture (see for example Barse 1985; Binford 1965; MacCord 1969). Mouer et al.’s 1999 essay provides an excellent review of this literature and the conclusions drawn from these and other studies.

The assumption that Colono-Indian ware was made exclusively by American Indians during the contact period went unchallenged until the mid to late 1970s when archaeologists in South Carolina, most notably, Leland Ferguson, found large quantities of the ware on plantations where African-Americans were the predominant population group. Additionally, the majority of the wares were found in forms resembling cooking pots and serving bowls rather than in European forms. This suggested to Ferguson and other researchers that the ware was made by African-Americans (Ferguson 1982; 1980; see also Wheaton and Garrow 1989, 1985; Wheaton et al. 1983).

In 1992, Ferguson published his studies using the term, “Colonoware,” rather than “Colono-Indian,” in his landmark book, *Uncommon Ground, Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800* (1992). Ferguson developed an extensive context in which he used demographic evidence of the Congo-Angolan peoples from Africa to the east coast of the United States, and showed the significance of Colonoware to water and Kongo cosmology, specifically linking the form of the ware to foodways of African peoples and the uses of the ware to both foodways and traditional African religious practices.

Interestingly, Ferguson's interpretations were originally derived from Colonoware recovered in South Carolina; however, he also studied Colonoware recovered from Virginia. He suggested that these wares, mostly from the Pettus and Utopia plantation sites, were made by African Americans and that further study should be done on plantations that were remote, that is, where African-American populations may not have had access to towns where they could trade or purchase wares made by American Indians (1992:46--50). Since that time, other archaeologists working in Virginia, including those that have worked on sites on Manassas National Battlefield, have suggested that Colonoware recovered at specific sites has been produced and consumed by the African-American community (Deetz 1988; 1993:80-93; 1999; Parker and Hernigle 1990:230--235; Emerson 1988; 1994; 1999).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, researchers have approached the study of Colonoware from many different perspectives with different research agendas. As early as 1980, scholars were examining the temporal and spatial spread of the Colonoware tradition (Henry 1980; Ferguson 1992; Espenshade 1998; Heath 1999b), or just generally, identification methods and uses of the ware (Ferguson 1992, 1995, 1999; Lees 1980; Lees and Kimery-Lees 1978). In addition to Ferguson, both Orser (1994) and Wilke (1997) have examined the use of Colonoware as it is symbolically related to African-derived religious practice. One of the few authors that examine gender with regard to Colonoware, Ogata (1995) has approached the topic by studying the use of Colonoware by African-American women for medicinal purposes. Perhaps most recently, scholars are beginning to study Colonoware as the product of an individual (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001).

Several authors have examined the ware as a measure of acculturation and/or creolism (Armstrong 1999:176-177; Ferguson 1980; Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Peterson et al. 1999; Solis MagaZa 1999; Steen et al. 1996; Wheaton et al. 1983; Wheaton and Garrow 1985), or as a measure of resistance (Marcil 1993), however, the debate over who made the ware, American Indians or African Americans has spurred the call for a "redirection," in how these artifacts are studied with a particular focus on multivalency.

As Singleton and Bograd (2000:6) note, "the debate over the production of Colonoware has been shaped by two different research trajectories in which different kinds of questions are being addressed." Those that study Colonoware as a product of American Indians are often concerned with the impact of European culture upon American Indian communities. Those that study African-American made Colonoware, mostly on plantation sites, are more interested in using this material culture to examine the construction and continuity of an African identity. Both, however, are attempting to grapple with, as Orser (1996:122) has argued, the impulse of European Americans to colonize the New World and their view that Europeans were superior to all non-Europeans.

Further, Singleton and Bograd note that the search for the ethnicity of the makers of Colonoware "is misguided because, like all typologies, such research merely classifies or labels action but fails to analyze it" (2000:8). There is growing evidence that both groups, American Indians and African Americans, were capable of producing and consuming these wares, so how then, can both groups of researchers continue to study these artifacts in a meaningful way without fueling research directed toward establishing who produced Colonoware when this type of research may limit the interpretive power of historical archaeology?

Because of the limitations of searching for ethnic markers in the archaeological record (see Mullins 2008), and because African-Americans frequently appropriated European American material culture for their own use, several authors have argued that the focus of Colonoware and other research on African-American sites and material culture should examine the meaning of such wares to their users, or the examination of, "how this artifact was used, appropriated, and transformed by its makers and users. In this way, Colonoware becomes the catalyst for understanding identity formation, cultural interaction and change under colonialism" (Singleton and Bograd 2000:9). Interestingly, this focus on use, meaning, and multivalency opens the door for other research topics, such as how European Americans may have used this ware, or how African-Americans may have had different uses and meanings for European American material culture and practices (like the use of European American ceramics to play mancala, for instance).

For example, archaeological studies conducted by Paul Mullins in Annapolis, Maryland, examines how African-American consumers negotiated post-Civil War racism through a complex range of everyday consumption tactics that simultaneously evaded anti-Black racism and secured African Americans the modest yet very meaningful privileges of American consumer citizenship. In one example from the study, African-American consumers chose to purchase higher priced brand-name packaged products to avoid the risk of local shopkeepers substituting inferior or under-weighed goods. Mullins' findings not only confounded pattern identification methods (i.e., looking for Africanisms), but show the value of placing the idea of multiple meanings as well as race at the center of an analysis (Mullins 1999b:173).

While artifacts found at the African-American sites in Mullins' study (see also Bastian 1999) may have been the same as or similar to artifacts found at European American sites, when interpreted in a way that focuses on the relationship between race and material culture, it became clear that there were multiple meanings and uses of seemingly every day or mundane items.

Colonoware found at the park could have multivalent or multiple meanings when interpreted by archaeologists by placing issues like race, class, and gender in the center of an analysis. For instance, while many interpretations of Colonoware could (and have) centered around using these vessels as food containers, when examined within a context that considers the gendered production of the ware, and the stratigraphic, archaeological, and historical context of the artifacts and community, interpretations can move beyond simple "implied" modern function (i.e., bowls hold food) to examine other possible meanings and uses (such as ritualistic meaning, ethnic or group solidarity, and survival under capitalism). Even within the African American community here there may have been multiple meanings and a variety of uses for Colonoware. It has ritualistic meaning which can be shown as a way in which the African American women actively created an ethnic identity and a bond for their community. Additionally, the fact that it is found at so many sites can be seen as a way in which African American women helped other African American families survive during difficult financial times.

The Sites

The lives of the majority of African-Americans living in the Manassas area during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is undoubtedly tied to the plantation/agricultural context, which dominated this area throughout much of its early history. Several archaeological studies cover the early settlement and establishment of plantations in this area as well as African-American history in Virginia and the Chesapeake (see for example the excellent regional, plantation, and local histories found in Galke 1992b; Parker and Hernigle 1990; Parsons 2001; Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003; and Reeves 1998).

During the early eighteenth century, Robert “King” Carter claimed several large portions of land along Bull Run for family members. In the 1720s Carter had amassed approximately 100,000 acres and divided it into leased tracts. Carter formed a network of large plantations worked by African slaves (Lee 2003; Zenzen 1994:60). Enslaved Africans provided labor for the crops produced on Carter’s and other plantations and later middling and smaller farms and also held a wide variety of other labor roles such as personal servants, artisans, and mechanics (Reeves 1998:2.2).

It is also interesting to note that milling complexes were established along the area's water ways to process grains and lumber (see Reeves 1998: 2.2; Conner 1975), and by the end of the eighteenth century 50 water powered grist and saw mills were operating in the county (Reeves 1998: 2.2; PWCHC 1982:13). It is possible that African-Americans worked in these mills as enslaved Africans or were hired out to do such work. Reeves (1998) also notes that in small communities such as Sudley and Groveton, and on smaller farms there was a need for local craftspeople to perform specialized services such as smithing. Some of these services may also have been provided by African-Americans during the nineteenth century and particularly after emancipation when enslaved Africans who had performed such skilled tasks on plantations and other farms were then able to pursue employment. For instance, Andrew J. Redman, who was formerly enslaved on the nearby Brownsville plantation, bought his freedom from William M. Lewis before the Civil War. Redman bought two acres from John T. Leachman and his wife in February of 1871. The lot Redman bought was situated on the southwest corner of the Warrenton Turnpike and Wellington Road and contained a blacksmith shop, which Redman operated and maintained (McCartney 1992:123, see also Chapter 5).

The Henry House, originally known as Spring Hill Farm, is associated with the Carter family and dates from 1818-1861. After the Civil War the house was used as a Confederate Museum. The site is located on Henry Hill, north and in view of, the Manassas National Battlefield Park Visitor Center (and is within park boundaries). The site is south of Rt. 29, the Warrenton-Alexandria Turnpike, and east of Rt. 234, Sudley Road. Today the site consists of the Henry House, an outbuilding to the north of the house, the Henry Hill Monument, the Henry family cemetery, Virginia rail fence surrounding the yard space and the monument, a lane entering from the west at Sudley Road, an historic road trace that connects the site with Rock Road, east of the house, and several trees and shrubs in the immediate yard area (Parsons and Ravenhorst, 2003:xiii). Excavations here took place in 2001 and 2002 and were done by the Harpers Ferry Archaeology Program, part of the National Park Service, as clearance for a rehabilitation of the structure for use as a "Discovery Center," about the two battles of Manassas.

Spring Hill Farm may have been first developed under a lease agreement with Joseph Brown, George King and/or John King during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is known that a man named John King purchased two enslaved Africans in 1801 and appears to be the head-of-household in the 1810 census for Prince William County. A man named John King was also a witness to Landon Carter Jr.'s will in 1798 establishing some connection to that family (Lee 2003:5).

Additionally, oral history suggests that a man named King built the original farm house. Despite this evidence, however, the identity of the first developer of the house and land remains elusive and it is unknown if, though not out of the realm of possibilities, the first tenant at Spring Hill Farm may have owned enslaved Africans and whether they resided on the property (Burgess 1997:86).

More is known, however, about Elizabeth Carter, great-granddaughter of King Carter, who occupied the property from approximately 1818 until 1822. During that time anywhere from as few as three to as many as 23 enslaved Africans were owned by Elizabeth and undoubtedly toiled on Spring Hill farm in the production of the crops (wheat, rye, and corn), improving the property, caring for livestock, as craftspeople, or as personal and/or house servants (see Table 1 in Lee 2003:8). Upon her death, however, Elizabeth instructed the disposition of those enslaved Africans she owned.

Judith Carter Henry, Elizabeth's sister, and her family moved to Spring Hill Farm after Elizabeth's death around 1825 and although not as successful financially, continued to work the farm agriculturally. The Henry family owned fewer enslaved Africans than did Elizabeth Carter (see Table 1 in Lee 2003:8), but those they did own probably served in similar roles doing field and house work. Interestingly, The Henrys were taxed on the service of a free African-American in 1853, possibly someone hired by the Henry family, perhaps as a house servant. It is unknown if this is the same hired "servant," identified as Lucy Griffith or Rosa Stokes, that was present with Judith Henry during the first battle of Manassas in 1861, during which Judith Henry died and the servant was wounded.

Not surprisingly, the accounts of Judith Henry's death during that first battle focus much more on Henry than on the experiences of the servant, undoubtedly a woman, as Henry lived alone, who may have been there with her. Very little, in fact, is known about the servant; however, it is interesting to speculate, based on information about free African-Americans in the area hiring out or "bounding/binding out," family members, (see Chapter 3 and Parsons 2001: 35--36; 41) that this woman servant may have been from a local African-American family. This speculation also reminds us that despite the fact that the majority of the African-American population, particularly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were enslaved, free African-Americans also resided in the area during the antebellum period, and the post-emancipation African-American community consisted of many diverse families that included wealthy, middling, and poor tenant farmers and landowners, teachers, laborers, domestic workers, and others (see Lewis 1994; Parsons 2001).

The majority of the analysis for this chapter is on Colonoware recovered at the Henry House; however, I discuss Colonoware found at other sites as well as other types of Africanized material culture. These other sites are briefly described here and will be discussed in more detail in other chapters that focus more on analysis at those sites.

The Nash Site: The Nash Site was the home of Philip Nash, his wife, Sarah, his father-in-law Neson Ewell, and his 5 children, during the mid to late nineteenth century. It was located on a portion of the Brownsville plantation which was owned for most of its history by the Lewis and Leachman families (the owners of Sarah and Philip before emancipation). The site is located along Rt. 29, the Warrenton-Alexandria Turnpike, on a parcel of land owned by the National Park Service as part of Manassas National Battlefield. This location is considered part of the community of Groveton, which is approximately six miles outside the town center of Manassas, Virginia. Today, the remains of the dwelling consist of the stone chimney footing and stone piers to support a structure, and these have been greatly encroached upon by the surrounding wilderness (Galke 1992a:8). The property was excavated during the early 1990s through a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the University of Maryland, College Park.

The Hooe Dependency: The Hooe Dependency site was, most probably, a structure associated with an enslaved African American household attached to the Hazel Plain plantation (owned by the Hooe family, Hazel Plain is also known as the Chinn House, see Chapter 6). The site dates to the early nineteenth century (Reeves 2000:ii), and is located at the intersection of Rt. 234, Sudley Road, and Rt. 29, the Warrenton and Alexandria Turnpike within Manassas National Battlefield Park. The site may have been disturbed when the intersection of Rt. 29 and Rt. 234 was widened. The site was excavated in 1999 as part of a cooperative agreement between the University of Maryland, College Park and the National Park Service as clearance for the widening of Rt. 29 and Rt. 234.

Brownsville: Brownsville was a prosperous plantation that was occupied from the 1770s through 1900 and at which anywhere from seven to 46 African-Americans lived and worked. First developed by George Newman Brown and later owned by the Hooe family of Hazel Plain the majority of time the plantation was in existence it was owned by the Lewis and Leachman families. The information in this dissertation focuses on two structures excavated in the 1990s through a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the University of Maryland, College Park that are believed to have been structures associated with African American enslaved and free laborers and their families who lived and worked on the plantation. The property is located in the southeast portion of what is known as the Stuart's Hill tract (see Galke 1992b). It is close to the intersection of Pageland Lane and Groveton Road. In the late 1980s a main house (known as the Carneal House), mostly dating from the 1940s, was still standing at the site. Also at the site, a cemetery, spring, and access lane off of Pageland Lane.

Pohoke and Portici: Located on what is known at Manassas National Battlefield as the Wheeler tract, Pohoke was initially owned by Spencer and Elizabeth "Betty" Landon Carter Ball, and by 1802 they were running a large plantation there. After 1820 and a series of fires prompted its rebuilding, Ball renamed the plantation Portici. Later it was owned by Fanny Tasker Lewis who left it to her son Frank Lewis in 1855. Prior to the Civil War, these families owned many slaves. An average of 20 enslaved Africans lived here each year up to 1861. Excavations in the 1980s through a cooperative agreement between the University of Maryland, College Park and the National Park Service revealed the quarters of enslaved Africans as well as numerous artifacts associated with the enslaved Africans living at Pohoke and Portici prior to the Civil War.

The Robinson House Site: The Robinson House site was the home of a free African-American family, the Robinsons, from the 1840s through 1936. Oral history contends that James Robinson, known as Gentleman Jim, was the son of Landon Carter of Pittsylvania and one of his female slaves. Since Robinson was born free, it is assumed that Carter freed Robinson's mother before he was born. Robinson was an extraordinary figure in the history of Northern Virginia. A free African-American (one of the wealthiest in the county during the late nineteenth century) who did business with many prominent members of the white community, oral history in both the white and African-American community about Robinson and his family abound – about family members, as well as the role of the farm and family during the Civil

War, and his relationships within the community. Architectural and archaeological investigations and an oral history project completed by the Historic Preservation Training Center and the Harpers Ferry Archaeology Program, both part of the National Park Service, at the property in the 1990s uncovered a wealth of information about the family during many different periods in history. The site is located south of Rt. 29, the Alexandria-Warrenton Turnpike, on the northeast side of Henry Hill, within the boundaries of Manassas National Battlefield. Today only house foundations and trees remain on the property.

With regard to Colonoware and other items identified and/or interpreted as representing African cultural traditions at Manassas National Battlefield Park, I use minimum vessel research on the Colonoware at the Henry House and also describe other artifacts found in association with that Colonoware that may be interpreted as having meaning within the African American community, including a Chesapeake pipe stem (a low fired red-ware pipe made in much the same manner as Colonoware, generally by and for African Americans), and placement of both Colonoware ceramics and quartz and other objects. Chesapeake pipes have been found at the Brownsville, the Robinson House and the Henry House. Mancala and other gaming pieces (described below) have been recovered at the Nash site, the Robinson House, Brownsville, and Portici. Quartz Crystals and other quartz objects such as projectile points found in historical contexts have been found at the Henry House, the Robinson House, the Nash site, and Brownsville (Figures 2 and 3).

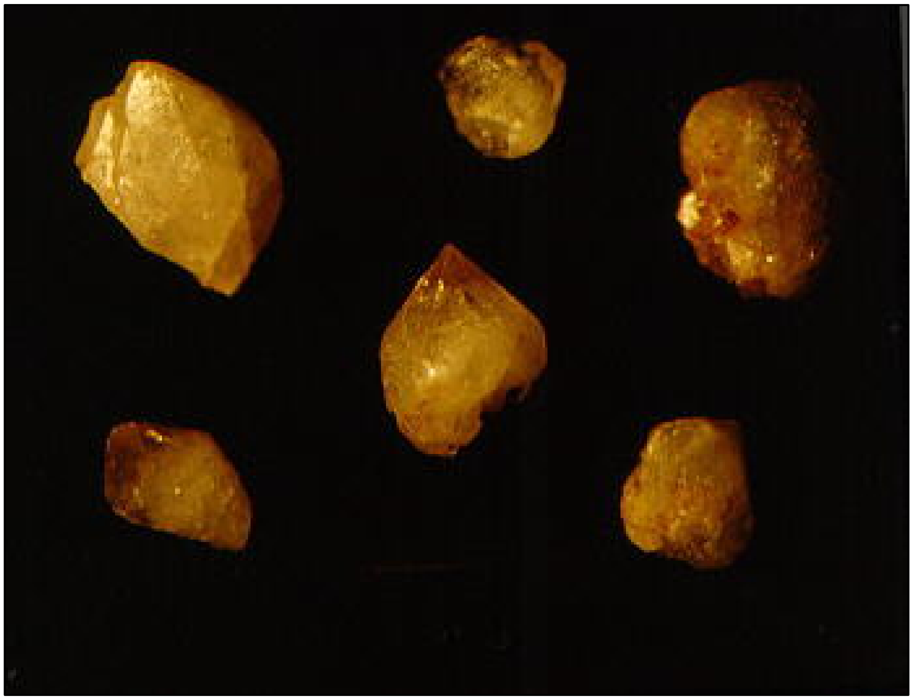


Figure 2: Cached crystals recovered from the Nash Site (Courtesy of MRCE Photo Collection).

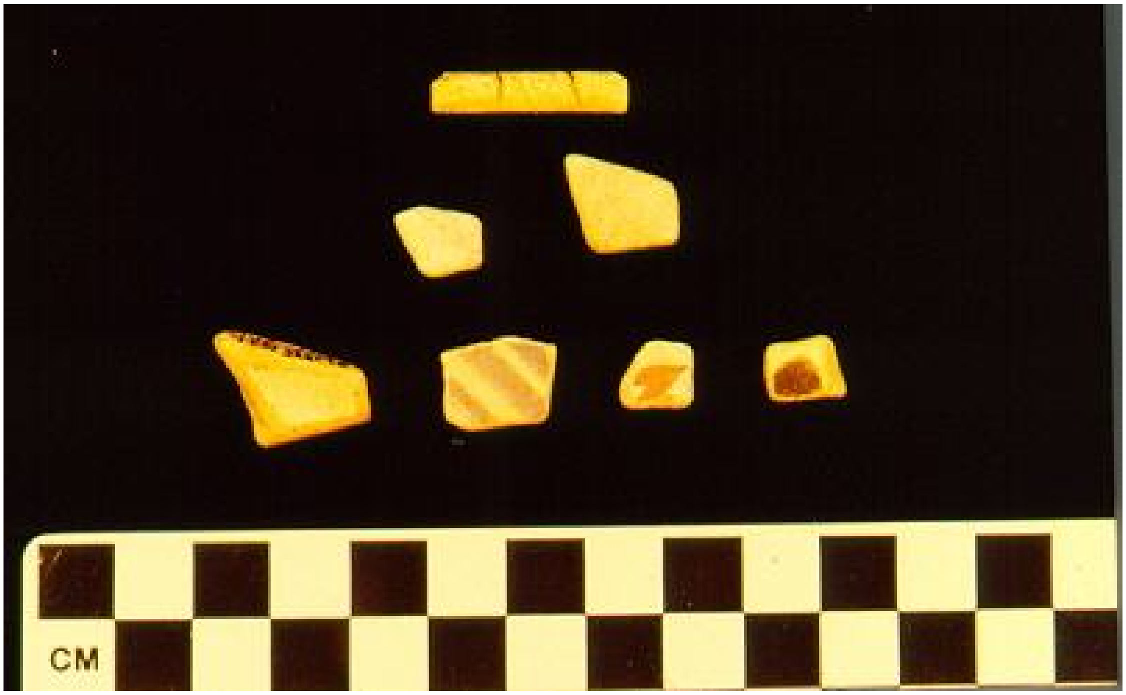


Figure 3: Mancala gaming pieces and a notched, bone, gaming piece recovered from African American sites in Manassas National Battlefield (Courtesy of MRCE Photo Collection).

Blue beads have been found at the Nash site and at Brownsville. Sewing implements (often found in minkisi (see below for information about spelling) bundles, see Jones 2000, 1995; Logan 1995; Logan et.al. 1992) were found in association with Colonoware at Portici slave quarters. Finally, bone and ebony rings were recovered in enslaved African contexts at Portici (see Table 2).

	Colonoware bowls	Chesapeake Pipes	Quartz objects	Blue beads	Mancala or other Gaming pieces	Sewing implements (pins, etc)	Imported items
Robinson House	X	X	X		X		
Nash			X	X	X		
Portici	X			X	X	X	X
Brownsville	X	X	X	X	X		
Henry House	X	X	X				
Hooe Dependency	X						

Table 2: Colonoware and other "African" interpreted items found at Manassas National Battlefield Sites (Note: Table denotes presence or absence because locations of materials on all sites vary in range from inclusion in features, areas with defined stratigraphy and general yard scatter – often materials were found in many such locations on each site).

Colonoware and Other "African" Interpreted Items Found at Manassas National Battlefield Sites

Prior to excavations at the Henry House, Colonoware had been positively identified on at least four other sites on what is today Manassas National Battlefield including Brownsville, the Robinson House, and the Hooe Dependency (Galke 1992b; Parsons 2001; Reeves 2000). However, perhaps best known for its Colonoware collection (and most useful for comparative purposes for the Henry House collection) is the site of Pohoke and Portici (Parker and Hernigle 1990).

A minimum of 32 vessels and 5 tobacco pipes were collected during the excavations at Pohoke/Portici from the 253 fragments recovered from Pohoke and the 34 fragments from Portici. Pohoke and Portici are considered "middling plantations," which are defined as, "fairly large estates" (Parker and Hernigle 1990:15), that maintained between 20 and 50 enslaved Africans during a period from 1799 through 1853. Portici, however, was reduced to a "small plantation," during the antebellum period (Parker and Hernigle 1990:227). The Colonoware vessels (which do not include tobacco pipes) were of coiled construction and represented primarily small, utilitarian serving bowls, although a cup/tumbler and shallow pans and dishes were also recovered. A common feature exhibited by all the vessels collected at Pohoke/Portici is their flat-bottomed basal form found on both European and prehistoric ceramic vessels from the Maryland-Virginia tidewater as well (Parker and Hernigle 1990:230).

Excavations at Portici were conducted at both the mansion house as well as one of the field slave quarters located about 750 feet northwest of the mansion. These investigations further revealed that enslaved African Americans used the nearby abandoned cellar depression of Pohoke for trash disposal (Parker and Hernigle 1990:37).

Parker and Hernigle deduced from the investigations that the mansion's domestic enslaved African-Americans occupied the Portici basement in a cellar that extended beneath the entire house. From these occupational deposits were recovered Colonoware ceramics, mancala gaming pieces, two finger rings, one of ebony wood (a direct import from Africa) and one of carved horn. The field quarter excavations revealed carpentry and blacksmithing tools, but also at least 28 sewing implements that included straight pins and a lathe turned bone needle case (Parker and Hernigle 1990:214, 265). The quarters also yielded Colonoware ceramics, at least eight Chesapeake pipes (similar to the one recovered at the Robinson House), mancala gaming pieces and one gaming piece made from bone that was notched and polished, and a blue glass bead (see Figure 4).

Perhaps most useful about this particular analysis of Colonoware is that Parker and Hernigle are able to separate the manufacture of Colonoware into three distinct, primarily successive, phases (1733--1772; 1791--circa 1841; and 1806--circa 1863), based on location, mean ceramic dates, and stratigraphy. They conclude that based on these factors, this ceramic was used by enslaved Africans, although it is not known whether the Colonoware was manufactured on site at Portici/Pohoke or elsewhere. However, since the excavations at Portici, Colonoware has been found on at least four other sites in the area which suggests that it was produced and consumed in the local community, and that, certainly, the African-American community at these

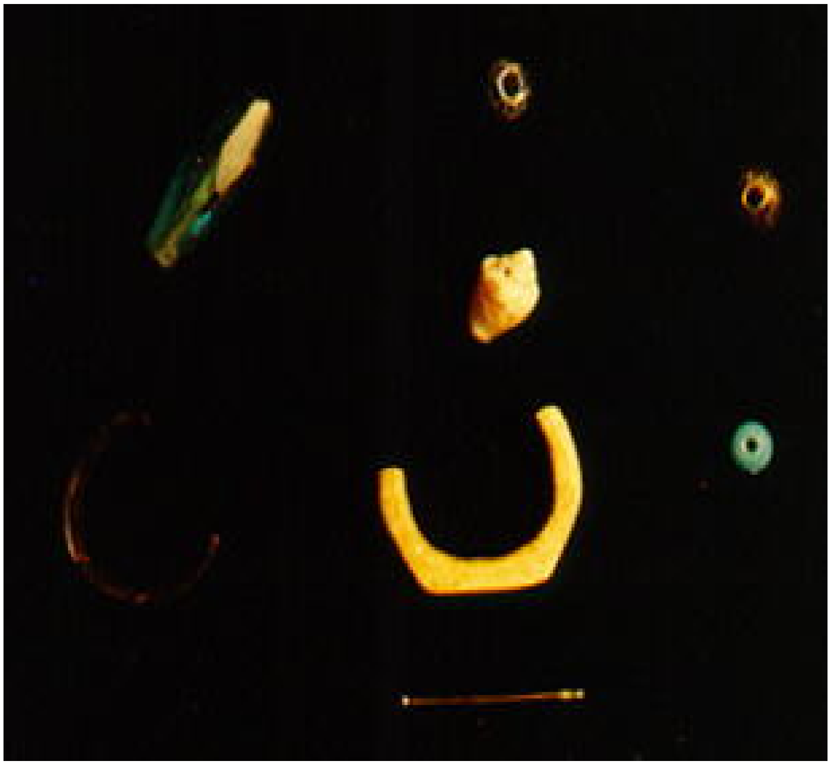


Figure 4: Beads and imported, carved rings recovered from Pohoke/Portici (Courtesy of MRCE Photo Collection).

sites knew who amongst them was making it and/or selling or trading it, and where to get it. Parker and Hernigle also note that since the earliest dates associated with these wares was approximately 60 years after the last indigenous American Indians resided in this area, it is likely that it was produced by and for African-Americans (Parker and Hernigle 1990:232).

This is not the only ‘connection’ between the sites at Manassas. Census records and other documentation show the strong familial and ownership connections within the African-American community at these sites and between the European American community and the African American community here. For instance, oral history accounts note that James Robinson was the son of Landon Carter, the owner of Pittslyvania (see Beasley 2000) and one of his enslaved Africans whom he set free, and thus, Robinson was born free (L. Robinson 1993; Centre View 29 August 1987:1). James Robinson married an enslaved African-American named Susan Gaskins. Susan and several of Robinsons' children were owned by John Lee, a local European American plantation owner who emancipated Susan and the children upon his death in 1847. Robinson also purchased one of his sons, Tasco, from John Lee the year prior to Lee's death (Parsons 2001:40). It is also clear from historical documentation that the African American community "bound out" or indentured their children to the local European American community for which the child may have learned a trade. For instance, Robinson's daughter Jemima was bound out to work for one of two local European American families, the Dogan and/or Ball families. The Ball family owned the Pohoke/Portici plantation during the mid nineteenth century.

A reinvestigation of the census data for research at the Nash site has revealed that in 1870 both Philip Nash and his future wife Sarah were living with the Lewis family, owners of Brownsville (Prince William County Federal Census Records 1870).

As noted above, Brownsville was a prosperous plantation that was occupied from the 1770s through 1900 and at which anywhere from seven to 46 African-Americans lived and worked. "They were responsible for the livestock, sheep, corn, pigs, potatoes, corn, wheat, rye, hay, butter, and honey which made this plantation an economic success for its owners" (McCartney, quoted in Galke 1992b:79). A Colonoware bowl basal fragment was recovered by Karell Archaeological Services during a Phase I survey and the Phase II report, prepared through the Regional

Archaeology Program of the NPS, describes additional Colonoware fragments as recovered from, “structure one, within the ashy fill of the cellar, including some bowls and tobacco pipes” (Galke 1992b:79).

Colonoware at Brownsville was found in association with other artifacts such as quartz crystals and mancala gaming pieces made of both ceramics and stone. A cache of quartz crystals found at Brownsville appears to be associated with the hearth in feature one, as is the case at the Nash site as well. Quartz crystals and quartz projectile points have also been found in other African-American contexts at Manassas National Battlefield including the Robinson House (Parsons 2001), the Nash site (see Figure 2; Galke 1992b), and the Henry House (in association with Colonoware). Quartz crystals found in African contexts in the Chesapeake, most notably, in Annapolis, Maryland, have been interpreted as part of traditional African religious practices, specifically found in caches or as part of Minkisi (plural for nkisi, also spelled mnkisi) bundles (see Leone and Fry 1999, 2001; Jones 2000). While it might be argued that these artifacts represent an attempt to define “Africanisms,” a notion, as noted above, that may draw attention from the uses and interpretive potential of historical archaeology, it is important to note other artifacts found in association with Colonoware so as to provide a greater context within which to interpret African-American life, and perhaps, traditional African practices, as they relate to a larger context of economy and power relationships, including those with regard to capitalist endeavors and familial relationships.

A single fragment of Colonoware has also been recovered at the Robinson House site (Parsons 2001), as noted above, a free African-American farmstead occupied from the 1840s until 1936 by the same family. Quartz crystals and projectile points as well as mancala gaming pieces and a Chesapeake pipe were recovered in other contexts at the Robinson House site.

Finally, several Colonoware fragments were recovered from the Hooe Dependency site, an early nineteenth century domestic site potentially associated with the enslaved African-American field laborer household attached to Hazel Plain plantation (Reeves 2000:121). Twenty two sherds of Colonoware were recovered from the Hooe Dependency and although not extensively analyzed it is interesting to note that the recovery of Colonoware at this site suggests that this artifact may be used in a settlement pattern strategy to locate enslaved African-American quarters or residences that are nonextant or unavailable in cartographic data.

The Minimum Vessel Analysis on Colonoware from the Henry House

An analysis of Colonoware at the Henry House included an examination of both the minimum number of vessels, identified through the process of sorting, mending, and comparison of sherds with existing vessels, and, because the Colonoware ceramics yielded only 10 vessels and one pipestem, a number of attributes were recorded for the entire collection of ceramics rather than for just the 10 identified vessels. These attributes included form, thickness, rim form/production methods, foot form / base form / production methods, number of sherds, percent complete, provenience (excavation unit, stratum/strata), segment, spalling, and coil breaks, dominant paste color, aplastics/temper, surface treatment, smudging/sooting, fireclouds, and use abrasions. Each of these attributes and their definitions are described in detail in Appendix1, Methodology of the Henry House Colonoware Minimum Vessel Analysis.

Recording these additional attributes on the entire collection served several purposes. First, the information can be used for future research in comparing collections across the battlefield, or perhaps, identifying additional African-American sites in this area. In the broadest sense, analysis of such ceramics can generate information about consumer, social, and group behavior. On African-American sites, the production and consumption of Colonoware vessels may be able to provide information beyond simply producing and consuming. The process which ultimately guides the production and consumption of Colonoware may represent broad social concerns or constraints for this community. For instance, understanding provenience, or where these artifacts are buried and with what other artifacts, provides specific information on ritualistic placement. Understanding form may provide detailed information on specific use, and information on paste, aplastics, and other variables may provide important information on how many women potters were making Colonoware and their knowledge of local materials.

Taken together, interpretations can focus on why there was a continuity of ritual and traditional African practices, the use of Colonoware for sale or barter and how this is reflective of a changing capitalist system, and the roles of African American women in these processes.

Excavations at the Henry House yielded a minimum of 10 coil constructed vessels from a total of 104 sherds and one pipe stem. Coiling requires the formation of rolls or “coils” by rolling clay between the hands or on a flat surface. Generally, coil diameter is about twice the thickness of a vessel (Rye 1981:67). Coils are then placed around the circumference (on top of one another) as the height of the vessel is gradually increased. Once at a desired height, the coils are then smoothed, patted, and/or pressed together using hands or tools such as bone or wooden disks or pebbles and rim and/or foot treatments are performed.

A variety of finishing treatments can be used on coiled vessels and include scraping, burnishing, polishing, and/or smudging/sooting. Based on the examination of these treatments and on recorded fireclouds (unintentional discoloration) visible on the vessels, it is probable that all of the vessels were fired in an open air kiln. No temper is visible in any of the Colonoware (see Figure 5).

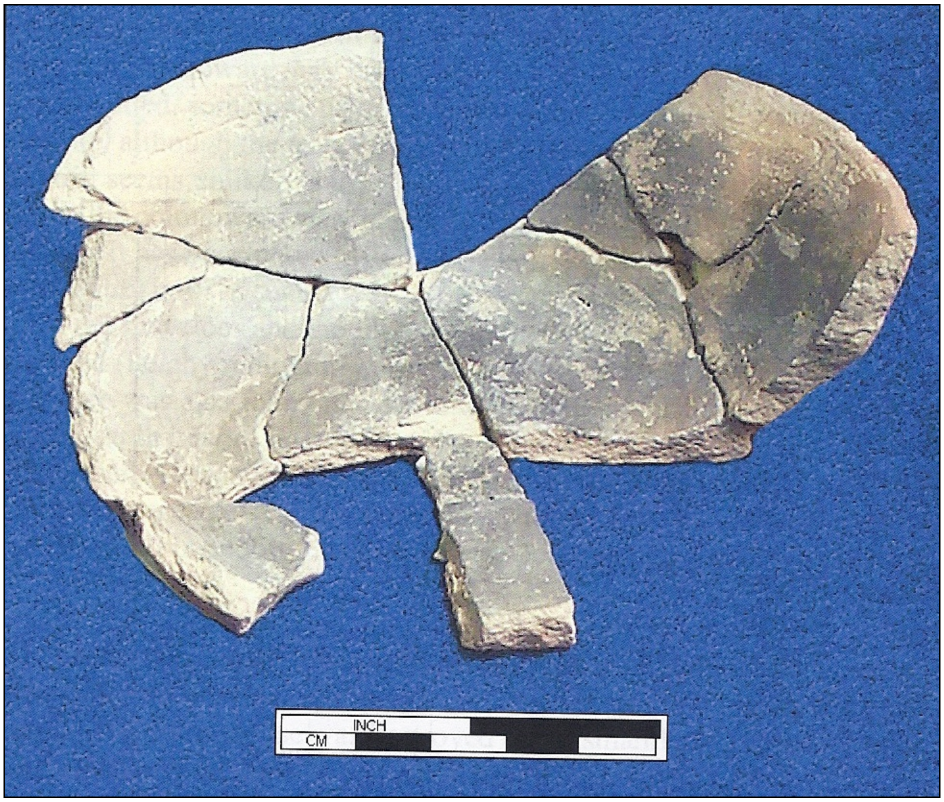


Figure 5: Colonoware Bowl with a tooled rim and an applied flat base from the Nash Site (from Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003:85).

Interpreting Henry House and the Other Collections: Ethnogenesis and Power Relations

All of the attributes recorded provide information along three lines: what is the form and function of these vessels, how were they made, and what kinds of decisions might a potter have made concerning style and based on technological knowledge (see Appendices 2 and 3 for the Colonware Analysis for the Henry House)? These lines are important for establishing meaning and use of Colonoware, as well as information on who was making it and thus, how it was distributed and why.

Four different forms were identified in the Henry House Colonoware collection (differentiation based on segment and thickness): large bowls (n= 3, 3%; ranging in thickness from 8.40mm-7.21mm on the body sherds), small shallow bowls (n= 2, 2%; ranging in thickness from 3.59mm-4.27mm from body to base), deep bowls (n=5, 5%; ranging in thickness from 10.91mm-7.41 on the body sherds), and small bowls (n=3, 3%; ranging in thickness from 7.61mm-6.19mm on the base and body). Only 13% (n=10) of the collection could be assigned a form. The majority of the collection (n=44, 91%) were unidentified hollowwares, although, based on rim diameters, there were no cups. There were no flatwares identified in the collection. Form was determined by body size, thickness and rim diameter. For instance, large bowls were thicker with a larger rim diameter, deep bowls and shallow bowls were determined by thickness and the measurement between base and rim or base and body or rim and body, and small bowls were determined by thickness and rim diameter. Despite the designation as "large" bowls, compared to non-Colonoware hollowwares, Colonoware at Manassas tends to be small enough in size that it can be said with some certainty that these vessels were not storage vessels. In other words, the description is relative. It has been suggested by one archaeologist that Colonoware was used to hold soups or stews (Stephen Potter, personal communication, 2002), assuming that any other type of food items of a size large enough to have been a meal, or even part of a meal would not have fit into any of these vessels. It is important to note that no flatwares or cups were discovered. This suggests that only certain types of Colonoware vessels were made (small hollowwares) and that they had a particular purpose. Considering that most meals would not fit in such a vessel, I suggest that they were not used to consume or store food.

Six different types of segments were recorded: rim only (n=6, 6%) body only (n=47, 45%), base only (n=2, 2%), base to rim (n=1, 1%), base to body (n=1, 1%), and reed stub stem (n=1, 1%). As is typical, the majority of the segments are body sherds. This is not unlikely in any collection as there is more surface area on the body of the vessel than on the rim or base and therefore it is likely to find more body sherds. Recording of segment can tell us which of the vessels are more complete than others and thus, which vessels/sherds can provide more information on form and other attributes. For instance, a vessel whose segment is base to rim will provide more information than a vessel represented by a body sherd. Additionally, recording this information is useful in comparing collections.

As noted in the methodology, thickness can vary on any vessel; however, a measure of thickness can provide information on vessel size, production methods and possibly function. Of those that could be measured for thickness with some accuracy (except for the pipestem), the Colonoware varied in thickness from 3.42 mm to 10.91mm with about sixty percent (n=30, 60%) of the sherds that could be measured falling between 3.42mm and 7.89mm and about forty percent (n=21, 40%) falling between 7.89 mm and 10.91 mm. This information reinforces the interpretation based on analysis of vessel form, above. Over half of the Colonoware was thin bodied, small in size and not used for holding large quantities of food, but rather, it appears that Colonoware was used in some kind of ritualistic and/or religious practice.

The remaining attributes, discussed below, provide information on who may have been making the vessels and how many potters lived here through time. Rim and base form and production methods of these features were also recorded for this collection. Rim forms included two round and one probably round, and four flat. Production methods for the rims included burnishing, cutting, and smoothing. Tooling was apparent on one of the rims and a tool was probably used on two of the rims. All of the bases recorded (n=4, 4%) were flat, that is, there was no applied footring. Two of the bases (n=2, 2%) were smoothed, possibly by hand; however, evidence of using a tool for smoothing is present on one base (n=1, 1%). Two of the bases were recorded as “applied,” that is, they were of coil construction and made first, and then the body of the vessel was “applied” to the base. This is evident through examination of the coil construction and location of breakage along the base.

As noted above, and as is typical of this region (Stephen Potter, personal communication, August 2002), no temper was recorded for any of the sherds. However, some aplastics and probable aplastics were recorded. Aplastics are defined as material present in the clay source that was unable to be removed or intentionally not removed. Coarse (.0540 mm) quartz was recorded in two sherds and possibly sand and mica in several other sherds. The presence of sand may indicate the use of residual and alluvial clays. Foreign and/or unidentified material was also recorded. For instance, a coarse white-in-color material that may have been aplastics was recorded in 11 (n=11, 11%) sherds. In the majority (n=89, 86%) of the sherds aplastics were not recorded or not visible. In addition to aplastics, it was noted if the clay in the vessel appeared to be well kneaded. Well kneaded clays appear smooth with few inclusions. Clays that are not well kneaded show various colors or clay specks in the body of a sherd. Possible clay inclusions were recorded on 39 (n=39, 38%) sherds.

A variety of surface treatments in addition to smudging/sooting were recorded. The majority of sherds (n=98, 94%) had some kind of surface treatment or smudging/sooting. Burnishing appeared on 63 of the sherds (n=63, 61%) over half of the collection) and possibly on three more (n=3, 3%). Thirty-two of the sherds (n=32, 31%) showed evidence of smoothing and an additional eight (n=8, 8%) were possibly smoothed with a tool. There is evidence on one sherd (n=1, 1%) of paddling.

Smudging/sooting was recorded as very dark, dark, or light. Seventeen sherds (n=17, 16%) were recorded as very dark, 58 (n=58, 56%) as dark, and 19 (n=19, 18%) as light. One sherd (n=1, 1%) was recorded as having dark smudging/sooting on the interior and very dark on the exterior. The location of smudging/sooting as exterior and/or interior was recorded as means to help mend and determine the number of minimum vessels. Sixty one sherds (n=61, 59%) were recorded as having been both burnished and smudged/sooted. Seven sherds (n=7, 7%) were recorded as having been burnished, smoothed, and smudged/sooted. Those listed as probably or possibly smoothed, burnished, or smudged/sooted were not counted. These types of finishings are not unusual on coiled vessels as the coils need to be bonded together either through smoothing and burnishing, or through the firing or smudging/sooting processes. Coil breaks, further evidence of the vessel's construction, and also information on coil width, were also recorded on 33 sherds (n=33, 32%) and possibly on two more (n=2, 2%).

Fire clouds were found for certain on 16 sherds (n=16, 15%), but possibly on 13 more (n=13, 13%). It was difficult to distinguish between fire clouding and smudging/sooting on some of the sherds. Use abrasions or use wear was also difficult to distinguish, but was possible on 15 sherds (n=15, 14%) and can be seen certainly on two rims (n=2, 2%).

Paste color varied from sherd to sherd and may be the direct result of firing temperature and/or an oxidized or reducing environment. For instance, a grey (5 YR 7/1) was recorded on 3 sherds (n=3, 3%), probably from the same vessel (Vessel 1). (7.5 YR 8/0), white, was also recorded in association with Vessel 1, indicating a reduced oxygen firing. A reddish brown, (5 YR 5/4) was recorded for Vessel 2 and those sherds associated with Vessel 2, indicating an oxidized environment. Other Munsell colors recorded include (5 YR 7/3) pink and (5 YR 7/3) pinkish grey on 19 sherds (n=19, 18%), a (5 YR 6/1) grey on two sherds (n=2, 2%), (5 YR 7/6) reddish yellow on seven sherds (n=7, 7%), (5 YR 5/3) reddish brown on five sherds (n=5, 5%), (7.5 YR 6/4) light brown on nine sherds (n=9, 9%), all probably associated with

Vessel 5 and indicating an oxidized firing; (7.5 YR 7/2) and (7.5 YR 6/2) pinkish grey on 12 sherds (n=12, 12%); (7.5 YR 7/4) pink and (10 R 4/3) weak red, on 3 sherds that mend (n=3, 3%), (5 YR 6/3) and (5 YR 6/4) light reddish brown on seven sherds (n=7, 7%), (5 YR 8/2) pinkish white on two sherds (n=2, 2%), (5 YR 6/2) pinkish grey on eight sherds (n=8, 8%), (5 YR 7/2) pinkish grey on 10 sherds (n=10, 10%), and a (5 YR 5/4) reddish brown on one sherd (n=1, 1%).

From all of this information, with the exception of paste color, which could vary according to firing temperature, I suggest that the Colonoware recovered at the Henry House and other sites at Manassas was made by one, possibly two, women potters, or one or two families of women potters. In other words, this was not a skill that every woman had or that every family performed for themselves. The rim forms are fairly consistent (only two different types), the use of a particular clay with few inclusions suggests that whomever was making this clay procured the materials in the same place, or was familiar enough with local clays that they knew that the best clays for making pots were found in a particular area (a very specific knowledge, see Kennedy and Espenshade 2001); and over half of the collection was burnished and smudged (also a skill and preference that was particular to a potter or closely related group of potters, see Kennedy and Espenshade 2001). This information is also consistent with what is known about African American women's medicinal knowledge and how it is tied to religion and ritual during the colonial period (i.e., it was a specific skill and knowledge set that was usually performed by one woman or women within one family, as women could pass down that knowledge to their daughters or other female kin, see Ferguson 1995; Jones 1985; Ogata 1995; Savit 1978; White 1983:251-252; Wood 1978).

The minimum number of vessels, number of mends, sherd numbers, provenience, percent complete, and spalling, can provide information on location and/or postdepositional movement, and thus, potentially use and meaning. Spalling, for instance, can indicate postdepositional movement. If the majority of sherds are spalled, this may indicate movement after the ceramic is deposited as such movement can cause both breakage and spalling. In the Henry House collection, only 23 sherds were spalled (n=23, 22%), which equals only about 22% of the collection. Spalling can also occur during the production process when a vessel is heated too quickly or is not sufficiently dried before firing. Because postdepositional movement at the Henry House was probably minimal (see below), the low number of spalled sherds also suggests that the potter or potters was familiar with the clay source and the correct temperature for firing – a skill that came from an experienced potter.

Very few vessels were recorded as "percent complete," because, while almost half of the sherds recovered mended to other sherds (about n= 54, 52%) the collection is severely fragmented. Only one vessel (Vessel 3) mended to more than half (about 55%) of its original form. This fragmentation despite low percentages of postdepositional movement might suggest that the Colonoware was intentionally broken.

Most interesting, perhaps, out of the locational information was an examination of provenience and crossmending, or where the sherds/vessels were found. The majority of sherds were recovered from EU 11 (n=70 about 68% of the collection), and the majority of sherds that mended (n=32, about 30% of the collection) were also from EU 11. The majority of the sherds found in EU 11 were on top of or in association with the foundation of the house. Next highest in number of sherds that mended was EU 5, located close to EU 11 with 11 mends. EU 4 and EU 2 also yielded mends, 5 and 4 sherds respectively (n=5, 5%, n=4, 4%). These units are also located close to EU 11 along the southwest elevation of the structure. Stratigraphically, the site is not complex, being made up of 3 megastrats. Additionally, there were no cross mends between units, and only 1 crossmend between stratigraphy between stratum A1 and feature 4a1 in EU4. Feature 4a1 was located within stratum A1 in this unit. This information suggests that although the collection is fragmented, and the site stratigraphy is minimal, there was not an extreme amount of postdepositional movement.

If there was minimal postdepositional movement and the majority of vessels and sherds were found in along the southwest elevation of the house on top of or in association with the foundation, what might this information suggest? Based on the stratigraphy (i.e., most of the Colonoware was recovered from Stratum A1, Megastratum I), it is possible that the Colonoware may have been deposited in one episode after the structure was destroyed or dismantled, sometime after the first battle of Manassas. Perhaps the location was used as a dumpsite, although the use of the area as a dumpsite either before or after the current structure was built seems unlikely due to the scarcity of other artifacts found here (see Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003:35-66). A second, more plausible possibility is that the Colonoware was intentionally placed on the foundation while the structure was still standing. It has been noted

(Michael Seibert, personal communication, August 2002) that the structure may have been built in such a way as to create a space (probably between eight inches to a foot) between the first floor and the foundation (between the sill and the joists), although how that space may have been accessed (i.e., by removing floorboards, or, more likely, from outside the structure) is unknown. Colonoware was also found in association with the foundations at Pohoke, though Parker and Hernigle suggest that large fragments of the ware were used as chinking between the stones (Parker and Hernigle 1990:47).

Curiously, the use of large, porous, fragments of ceramics may not have been the best material to use as chinking. This has implications for improvement to archaeological method here and elsewhere as use of Colonware as chinking makes little sense. Also interesting, caches of quartz crystals recovered at both the Nash and Brownsville sites appear to be in association with the chimney stones for these structures. Most likely these quartz objects were buried on the outside near the foundations. The Brownsville structure where the cache was located also appears to include a space between the first floor and the foundation, at least on the northern wall as evidenced by a strong stone foundation on that side that extends fully through the cellar and no stone support on the other where the wall was directly cut into clay subsoil. The Nash structure also appears to include a space between the first floor and ground surface as evidenced by the documentation of stone piers (Galke 2000:264).

It is also useful to examine other artifacts found in association with the Colonoware to try to date the collection and provide information on whether the

Colonoware was deposited before or after the original house was destroyed or dismantled. The majority of ceramics recovered in association with the Colonoware in Megastratum I date to the early to mid nineteenth century and include hand painted pearlwares, creamwares and porcelain, and ball clay/kaolin (as in pipes). However, crown bottle caps, fence wire, and other twentieth century artifacts were also collected from this Megastratum suggesting a loss of integrity. Despite the apparent mixing, it is important to note that the description of Megastratum I (see Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003:35-66) suggests that the deeper layers of Megastratum I hold more integrity. Additionally, Megastratum II, in which the most intact Colonoware bowl was found (Vessel 3), was an historic period occupation and included early to mid nineteenth century artifacts such as English gun flint, blue transfer printed pearlware, and creamware. Pearlware and creamware fragments are commonly found in association with Colonoware on all the sites mentioned in this chapter except for the Robinson House, where only one fragment of Colonoware was recovered, and the Nash site, where no Colonoware was recovered.

Another method that can be used to date the collection is by comparing the forms, surface treatment, and technology of this collection with that of Pohoke/Portici. An inspection of that collection (and Stephen Potter, personal communication, August 2002) suggests that the forms and surface finishings of the Henry House collection are similar if not almost identical to those found in the Pohoke/Portici phase II collection which dates from 1791-1841 and are also similar to the Colonoware found at Brownsville. All of this information taken together suggests that the Colonoware was deposited before the original Henry House was destroyed/dismantled during the Civil War.

This evidence points to an interpretation of Colonoware and associated artifacts at Manassas sites as ritualistic, intentionally placed materials that had meaning beyond both common, general interpretations of artifacts that relate to access to particular goods such as ceramic vessels for storage and/or tableware and also beyond a general association with African-American culture.

With regard to multivalency, while the above establishes that the Colonoware was used in ritual, I also argue that this ritual in Manassas was intentional not just as a religious practice, but as an active method of ethnogenesis as well as a function of survival under enslavement. As noted above, researchers have often speculated on the uses of Colonoware. Most researchers have focused more on the meaning of Colonoware to African-American communities. Ferguson (1992, 1995) builds an extensive context within which Colonoware in South Carolina can be associated with traditional African foodways and religious practices and Ogata (1995) with women's medicinal practices.

A large volume of interdisciplinary literature within the past two and a half decades has also been dedicated to examining symbol and ritual in historic and modern African-American communities through material culture and landscape (see especially Cabek 1990; Ferguson 1999; 1992, 1995; Fulop and Raboteau 1997; Galke 1998; 1992a, 1992b; Griffin 1995; Gundaker 1998, 1996, 1994, 1993; Hall 1990; Jackson 1997; Jones 2000; Orser 1994; Thompson 1983, 1993; Twinning 1977; Vlach 1978), and may be particularly compelling when applied to Colonoware research. Several of these authors have noted that direction and placement is particularly important in African American religious symbolism (see Gundaker 1998; Thompson 1991; 1983).

Further, some have suggested that enslaved Africans in the South as well as in Virginia may have been engaging in a trade and barter system of economics in which enslaved Africans and others traded food and other items within the local community, for instance, from plantation to plantation, or at local markets and/or country fairs, as part of a subsistence strategy (see for instance, Berlin and Morgan 1995,1993; Schlotterbeck 1995). However, few have probed the relationship of the production and consumption of Colonoware with associated ritualistic materials within the complex and changing set of power relationships associated with free, bound-out/indentured, and the enslaved African American community and African American women. A community that was bound by both familial relationships within their community, class relationships within that community, and with the European American community that owned them and by an ever changing set of values associated with access and consumption of goods within a market that was becoming broader and more accessible to both enslaved African Americans and free African Americans.

While it is assumed that women were making Colonoware all along the east coast as well as in Manassas, interpretations beg for more insight into its production and consumption as well as use and meaning for men, women, families, and the community as a whole. Several studies have suggested that gender roles were heavily influenced by both African traditions as well as the division of labor on plantations

(White 1983). One study in particular specifically ties Colonoware to medicinal practices and the role of women in African cultures to be the primary "physicians" for their communities (Ogata 1995). Along with the responsibility of making the sick well, came the responsibility to pass on this information to the next generation of women as well as a certain amount of power within their communities. This is in direct opposition to the perspective of the white community about African American women, who, in many cases, unlike field hands and those men who had a specific skill (like blacksmithing, for instance), might be easily replaced by another female. That they continued with this tradition then, shows not only a continued African identity, but the ability and necessity to promote the empowerment and liberation of African American women and their community as a whole.

Additionally, scholars have long understood that African medicinal practices are intimately tied to the supernatural, magic and religion, such that they cannot always be separated into distinct categories (Hand 1980). With this context in mind, it is not unlikely that the materials found at Manassas including the Colonoware and items found with it represent ritualistic traditions passed down through the women in the community and that these women had a certain amount of power in the community, and more, felt a certain responsibility for promoting the financial and physical survival of their community. These items show that the idea of community building was a primary responsibility of African American women stemming from African traditions as well as the will to survive under slavery and beyond. It suggests that "medicine" gets applied at individual levels, household levels as well as community and that there is a continuity of practice and responsibility of women's roles that translates from ethnogenesis through to racial uplift in later periods.

The examination of these artifacts at Manassas shows that ethnogenesis was an idea consciously promoted by these women and was an ever changing process that was directly tied to contextual power relationships and a changing and imagined capitalist economy. Unlike other sites along the east coast where Colonoware and cached ritualistic items have been recovered, these intentionally placed items at Manassas date, most often, to the nineteenth century, and in some contexts to the mid nineteenth century and later (Phase III at Portici, for instance). An interpretation that merely associates the items with an African identity that survived the middle passage fails to adequately account for a century of ethnogenesis prior to this, to the harsh realities of enslaved labor under a failing agricultural system in the Chesapeake just prior to the Civil War, the struggle for survival of free African-Americans who negotiated their identities and their position between both their enslaved African-American and European American family members and neighbors and the roles of African American women in creating an ethnic solidarity through promotion of ritualistic acts as well as helping other women and families in their community survive and promote economic and social independence under capitalism.

Ethnogenesis here plays out through the complex familial and ownership arrangements that, I believe, were carefully crafted by the African-American community and the women, in particular. That these materials were recovered in ritualistic contexts on these sites illustrates an imagined collective identity within the African American community that illuminates the oppressive social tensions that would, within decades, result in the American Civil War. This community identity crossed the boundaries of free and enslaved African American families while also illuminating the concrete reality of the emerging class system that would be codified in Jim Crow segregationist law and throughout Victorian America and gain momentum in the market of mass produced goods that became available to the community during the Reconstruction eras (see Chapters 3 and 4).

This imagined collective identity, using elements of ritual and tradition that did survive, was contradictory, not only because it helped free and enslaved African American women and their entire community (including men and children) define their identity in opposition to the white "norm," but because the production and consumption of these goods in relation to who bought and used them, their familial and ownership connections and the emergence of an affluent free African-American community also illuminates a new class-interested collective identity tied to the economy. An economy that was utterly dependant on the fabrication of the white norm and other racial categories whose story plays out in both the chaotic social change of the immediate post emancipation era and throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through ideas about racial uplift which can be seen in collections that date to this later period (see Chapters 3 and 4).

In other words, the formation of an *ethnic* solidarity through these ritualistic acts actually increased the rate of emergence of the idea of racial uplift as tied to the production and consumption of goods in later periods. In this pre-Civil war era, gendered, classed, raced and ethnic identity functioned as something infinitely more complex than simple ideological rationalization for capitalism's inequalities. In these items, at these sites, through these women and their families, both free and enslaved African-American communities and their "middling" plantation European-American counterparts, these identities helped the women within the African-American community negotiate the tense balance between commitment to helping the African-American community survive, through production and consumption of Colonoware, commitment to individual profit and an emerging broader consumer culture, and the desire to fabricate collective identities (including, on the part of European American plantation owners, white solidarity) that would solidify racial, classed, and gendered categories. Little did they know that the kernel that had been planted with regard to an African-American consciousness that included an American dream tied to consumer culture would be rapidly and abruptly transformed through the emancipation of African Americans during the Civil War. Perhaps the period is best articulated by J. Saunders Redding who discusses a conflicted racial consciousness, while at the same time believing that African Americans recognize authentic experienced identities that were often tactically concealed in visible spaces. He said, "We Negroes were aliens, and we knew it, and the knowledge forced us to assume postures of defense and to take on a sort of double-consciousness. It was not a matter of real ambivalence, or a question of identity: we knew who we were. But we feared to act ourselves" (Redding 1992:18).

Chapter 3: Constructing Women's Production and Consumption in Rural Areas – The Robinson's Case Study

The Robinson's Study

This chapter uses information from a minimum vessel analysis on a particular cultural feature within the boundaries of one site as well as broad contextual information including ideas from the leading, male, African American thinkers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, black women writers of the period and popular travelogues, novels, and etiquette books to discuss the relationships between race, class, gender, and consumer behavior as they were transformed in this rural area after emancipation. The information from the minimum vessel analysis in this chapter examines the minimum number of all glass and ceramic vessels recovered from an ice house that was later used as a trash pit at the Robinson House site. This site was the home of a free African-American family, the Robinsons, from the 1840s through 1936.

Archaeological investigations and an oral history project were completed at the site in 1995 and 1996 by the Division of Archaeology at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park in partnership with Manassas National Battlefield and the National Capital Region of the National Park Service. An architectural fabrics study of the Robinson House was also done in 1995 by the Williamsport Preservation Training Center, also part of the National Park Service. The minimum vessel analysis was performed under a cooperative agreement between the University of Maryland, College Park, and the National Capital Region Archaeology Program in the late 1990s.

Because the use of the trash pit and artifacts can be tightly dated from the 1860s to 1936 and because of the sheer number of glass and ceramic vessels recovered compared to other areas of the site, examining this one feature provides a window into a significant and transformative period in African American history, both nationally and locally. Insight into the consumption of a free African-American family in this rural setting provides information on the relationship between ideologies of class, race, and gendered consumption. This analysis of ceramics and glass from the Robinson site illuminates consumption patterns which pressed for African-American civil and material opportunities as well as the necessity of sexual equality in production and consumption in rural areas for the purposes of racial uplift. The aspirations of the Robinson family, reflected in the goods they consumed, show how the Robinson women understood, redefined, and manipulated accepted patterns of consumption, while their position as a “farming” family provided these women with the ability to negotiate the need to operate within the mass-consumer marketplace. This study also illuminates the roles of African American women in the transition of ideas from ethnogenesis to ideas about how to promote racial uplift for their families and their community. It shows that women here were proposing something new that emphasized family and community in a much more serious way than were prominent male ideas about the appropriate roles for the African American community in consumption and production. This focus and use of community was different than both capitalism’s emaphsis on the individual and socialisms’s emphasis on class.

Constructing Consumption and Production 1860s-1930s

What was the nation thinking about race, gender, class, and consumer-producer behavior in the mid to late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and how were these ideas connected to class? Understanding some national views on these topics during this time provides a broad perspective of the ideologies of race, gender, class and consumption which can then be applied to the local level.

Examining etiquette books, traveler’s accounts, magazines, newspapers, and novels during this period provides an interesting perspective. Many of these documentary sources that were written by white authors attempted to recreate a pre-emancipation social order (including fabricated racial, class, and gender categories) and so continued promoting the black racial caricature constructed before emancipation, including that of the black mammy, cook, or housekeeper. Further, these categories were often stressed even more intensely after emancipation at an effort to define, degrade and control a population that was no longer “legally” enslaved. This is supported by census data where, for instance, African Americans who were of mixed racial heritage who were recorded in census records prior to emancipation as “mulatto” were decidedly “black” or “negro” after emancipation (see below). Additionally, you can perceive such intensity in etiquette books that categorize African American social and material behavior under topics such as “working class behavior,” or, “the servant problem.” This also shows the conflict and conflation within white American writing of the period between race and class, particularly where such racial and class subjectivity was meant to subordinate both African Americans as well as working class whites.

Of course, etiquette manuals were often written by elite white women, often from the North, for other white women (see Kasson 1990:48). As such, white women were meant to promote this thinking and behavior in domestic settings where they were seemingly, and often contradictorily, not working (genteel), yet expected to be household managers. Ironically, at Manassas, and I suspect, elsewhere, the contradiction is especially palpable as white women often had black women housekeepers who acted almost completely as the real managers of the household with responsibilities that included budgeting, overseeing other servants, dispensing specific duties, overseeing meals, creating and managing the kitchen or other farm gardens, buying goods for the family, childcare, and other duties (for Manassas examples see Parsons 2201:81-87 and Appendix VII and Prince William County Federal Census Records 1870; see also, Creel 1988, Morton 1991; White 1983).

Like the recreation of the social order, these contradictions between white and black women, working class and genteel behavior, domestic and public spheres were designed prior to emancipation during the early nineteenth century, especially when whites became confronted with the disintegration of white American superiority with the emergence of free African-American communities and the influx of European immigrants. Later, after emancipation, these categories were intensified in complex and overlapping ways. In turn, white Americans continued reproducing American society through specific definitions of race, but also used created class and gender categories as discursive mechanisms to police working class white and black society when white hegemony and class structure were threatened after the Civil War (Roediger 1991).

One way in which a naturalizing ideology was created to set guidelines for all groups was through etiquette books and manuals which became increasingly popular from about 1870 to around World War I. Their aim was to define the ideal operation of society and to naturalize it. It was assumed that these books were written for white people and that white society was the model for the ideal society (Kasson 1990). The popularity of these books was inspired by the improved printing technologies which made books more affordable to the general public. An increased standard of living, due to the cost of food, housing, and commodities dropping over the last 20 years of the nineteenth century, also stimulated demand (Schlereth 1991:78).

Domestic manuals and etiquette advice found in women's magazines (see for instance, *Ladies Home Journal* 1892; Rooks 2004) often set standards for consumer and social behavior during this time. Because many within white society assumed that etiquette and meanings of gentility were reserved for the white race, and because African-Americans were not frequently addressed within these types of books and magazines except as subservient to the white housekeeper/homeowner, they served to reestablish definitions of African-Americans as an inferior people, destined to remain subservient and, furthermore, it was assumed, they would never be able to obtain the means to comply with these standards, nor understand them. Likewise, they were also meant to establish social and material boundaries between elite whites and working class whites and immigrants as well. Abby Longstreet, in her 1883 *Social Etiquette of New York* notes that the elite are so fortunate to be, ". . . born in an atmosphere of intelligent refinement, because mistakes to them are almost impossible" (Longstreet 1883:7), and, that etiquette, "is like a wall built up around us to protect us from disagreeable, underbred people, who refuse to take the trouble to be civil" (Longstreet 1883:9).

However, although most of these books and magazines were written by white women for an audience of white women, the growth of the African-American press, including newspapers, magazines, and novels, and the increase in African American education and industrial schools for both boys and girls after emancipation indicate an ever growing African American audience (Bullock 1981; Denning 1987:27-30; Hutton 1993; Mullins 1996:66; Meier 1964; Tate 1992).

Interestingly, Frankie Hutton (1992, 2002) has found that from the 1830s onward, the African American press often promoted many of the values and rules espoused in etiquette books. In examining the 20 African American newspapers prior to emancipation, she found that they consistently promoted etiquette guidelines including deportment advice, moralizing, patience, politeness, individual industry, and economizing and often included etiquette and household advice columns that appeared to be almost identical to those found in white manuals (see Hutton 1992:72-73). This support of genteel values was mirrored and repeated by some major African American thinkers during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well in the hope that they could circumvent racism by connecting themselves with gentility and in doing so; secure the same American rights of citizenship and social privilege that such behavior seemingly allowed (see below). Additionally, it seems likely that the interest in civility and kindness that was promoted by etiquette resonated strongly because it provided a welcome contrast to demeaning and violent actions toward individuals, families, and communities under enslavement. These ideals associated with etiquette were also promoted through the industrial school education of African Americans, particularly throughout the South, by black women reformers and educators (see Nieves 2001) and by one woman, Jennie Dean, in Manassas who founded an industrial school for African American youth here. Dean's ideas and how they play out in the community and archaeological record are further explored in Chapter 4.

Even if the African American women in Manassas could not read, or did not attend the Manassas Industrial School, ideas about race, class, consumerism, gender roles, and etiquette pervaded their lives. In their positions as housekeepers, domestics and nannies in white households, they surely scrutinized their white owners and employers' etiquette, social, class, and gender conventions and understood this relationship to consumer and producer behavior. And, as the example from Clifton Johnson in the introduction shows, they were clearly aware of the classed, raced, and gendered subjectivity they were expected to reproduce.

As Johnson's example in the introduction also shows, traveler's accounts as well as etiquette manuals, not only helped to define race, class, and gender, the study of travelogues often exposes an intimate picture of Southern, rural, African-American life, including consumer habits, that is in some ways more explicit than etiquette manuals. A genre of travelers' accounts flourished during Reconstruction (1865-1880). Authors included novelists, journalists, and reformers, most of them from the north. Northern curiosity about a postwar South and African-American life in the

South reflects the uncertainty of what it meant to be white after the freeing of many African-American slaves. Traveler's accounts during Reconstruction posed as humanitarian ventures, yet generally served to reify the African-American known before emancipation, while at the same time reinforcing white supremacy and, like etiquette manuals, defining the ideal society. These accounts were often mass circulated books often sold through mail orders and subscriptions much like dime novels of the period. Dime novels were cheap sensational stories written primarily between the 1840s and 1890s (Denning 1987:2). Dime novels and many traveler's accounts shared the same kind of writing style which would elicit interest or emotion from its readers (Mullins 1996:101). Traveler's accounts were also published in newspapers and magazines.

Perhaps one of the most famous travelogues of Southern life is seen in Professor J.H. Ingraham's 1860 work, *The Sunny South,* or, *The Southerner at Home* (Ingraham 1860). The purpose of the book was, ". . . to do justice to the Southern planter. . ." (Ingraham 1860:5), and is reflective of the purpose of many other travelers accounts of this time period. In his writing, Ingraham constructed, ". . . genteel class, cultural, and racial identity within sensational stories about white inverses, including pirates, uncouth white rustics, colonial natives, and blacks" (Mullins 1996:102). His accounts accommodated white assumptions about race and class.

Other dime novel-like travelogues, such as Hezekiah Butterworth's *a Zigzag Journey in the Sunny South* (1887), Letitia M. Burwell's, *A Girl's Life in Virginia Before the War* (1895), and Julian Ralph's, *Dixie,* and, *Southern Scenes and Sketches*

(1896), romanticized Southern life, painting pictures of Southern belles, planter paradises, and other fanciful scenes. These accounts often had detailed descriptions of African-American lifeways. Writers like Johnson, Butterworth, Burwell, and Ralph reflected Jim Crow racial ideology and segregation in the late nineteenth century by depicting African Americans as inferior and poor, but content.

Both traveler's accounts and etiquette books and manuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries served to reestablish ideas and definitions of the poor and inferior African-Americans in the South. Both also served to exemplify white society as the ideal, and in turn, set the standards for modern society to follow. At the same time, some African-American men and women writers were attempting to redefine race in opposition to the literature of white authors, understanding that white writing was infused with the racial ideologies of the time (Alexander 1995; DuBois 1898, 1935; Layton 1969; Walker 1969; Washington 1992 [1899]). Great African American male figures such as Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois provided insight into African-American consumer behavior, and questioned the relationship of the African-American consumer to a relatively white consumer marketplace. Black women writers also began to flourish (in what some would argue is a second wave of black women's writing in the South, see Smith Foster 1994; Tate 1992) in the late nineteenth century and reappropriated these "male" ideas, and, as they had during slavery, took on the role of social activism, advocating for a black women's movement of change, particularly one that continued to empower a "racialized domesticity" (see Nieves 2001:114; Smith Foster 1994). The term "racialized domesticity" has been defined in two related, but nonetheless, different ways. Manring (1998) and McClintock (1995) use the term as part of the definition of commodity racism and commodity sexism or the ways in which color, class, gender, and sexual hierarchies shaped how products were pitched to consumers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Building on commodity racism and sexism to further explore stereotypes associated with the home and the domestic with regard to African Americans, women, in particular, Nieves (2001) and Tate (1992) use the term, as I use it here, to discuss the ways in which African American women could flip or trope such stereotypes of the domestic African American woman, and the African American family to empower both themselves and their community. It was an answer to the strong, black, sexless, mammy as opposed to the ultrafeminine, delicate, white female. It is also an attempt to recover the meaning of black family – and African American women were the key element in redefining black family. Black family had already been redefined and ripped apart by white dominance under enslavement. Post emancipation, African American women, as the natural healers of individuals, families, and community, were the ones that had the knowledge and power to redefine that domesticity.

Constructing African American Consumer-Producer Discourse

By the turn of the century many African Americans believed that the active participation in consumer-producer society would oblige white capitalists to admit their reliance upon African Americans not only for survival, but to thrive. Yet, African-American production and consumption were topics debated over by African Americans such as Booker T. Washington (1992 [1899]) and W.E.B. DuBois (*The Crisis* 1915). These intellectuals asked what the appropriate relationship was between African-American and Euro-American economic and consumer and producer spaces.

Booker T. Washington was probably one of the best-known African Americans who advocated “black capitalism.” The many critiques of Washington criticize him for echoing Victorian ideologies which placed the African American in a subservient role, reassuring white society that African Americans could defer socioeconomic equality and assume “unobtrusive” roles in society. The flaw in Washington’s argument, in the eyes of some African Americans, was that labor and discipline should and would precede civil rights. He argued that African Americans would advance from manual labor to great self-made businesses and enterprises because, “. . . no race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized” (Washington 1992 [1899]:157-158). According to Washington, the African American place in society was first dependant on capitalist economy and securing economic power. “By arguing that African America had not earned socioeconomic privilege, Washington risked conceding white racial superiority and reproduced the illusion that American privilege was based on individual accomplishment, not social or material advantage” (Mullins 1996:324).

Although Washington was criticized, his conservative values and focus on self-reliance won him much African-American support at the turn of the century. Many African-American businessmen and merchants supported Washington because they had shared experiences such as his. Additionally, his ideas were supported by the industrial school and black education movement and the women within that movement (Nieves 2001). Washington was born enslaved, worked, saved money, and educated himself. Washington’s message of racial solidarity was appealing to some, yet many thought that Washington’s stance supported the idea of African Americans conforming to white ideals about the African American within the labor structure, and this certainly was not appealing to many. During the early twentieth century, Washington’s philosophy of patience and persistence wore thin for African Americans who wanted civil privileges (*The Bee*, 30 June 1906:4).

One of Washington’s biggest critics was W.E.B. DuBois. DuBois and other African-American reformists formed the Niagara Movement in 1905. This movement focused on civil rights and suffrage laws. Opposed to Washington’s ideas that civil rights would follow economic organization, the successor of the Niagara Movement, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), focused on the importance of civil rights preceding African-American social and economic organization (Meier 1964: 184).

One of the most important things DuBois recognized was that African Americans were embedded in an economic and labor structure created and maintained by white society. DuBois urged African-American businesses and merchants to recognize that a strictly African-American economy would never be achieved while white Americans controlled production and restricted African-American labor roles.

In the early twentieth century, DuBois questioned the values of an “American” consumer society. Were these values appropriate for African America? In 1915 he wrote, “. . . we must strive to spread the idea among colored people that the accumulation of wealth is for social rather than individual ends. We must avoid, in the advancement of the Negro race, the mistakes of ruthless exploitation which have marked modern economic history" (*The Crisis* 1915: 310-312).

Influenced by both DuBois and Washington, African-American periodicals and other literature stressed consumption of goods from African-American businesses, a pooling of resources, and the understanding that the choices of individuals impacted the group as a whole. On the other hand, while white consumer literature, such as etiquette books, included volumes on where, what, and how to shop and spend, African-American discourse generally ignored the fact that many African Americans had to shop and enter a white, consumer marketplace and negotiate these public spaces that were often restricted for African Americans.

With regard to gender, there is some disagreement between modern scholars as to the extent that thinkers like DuBois and Washington addressed the topic and what they actually mean when they do. For instance, despite the fact that the Niagara Movement focused on labor roles, Hill Collins points out that, "DuBois saw race, class, and nation not primarily as personal identity categories, but as social hierarchies that shaped African American access to status, poverty, and power" (Hill Collins 2000:42). She argues that DuBois and other male thinkers saw gender more as a personal identity category than as a force which shaped access or a division of power relations. However, recently, Hancock (2005) re-examined three texts from DuBois and argued that DuBois placed gender alongside race as a category of equal significance that shaped oppression. For instance, in DuBois' *Darkwater*, he states,

> What is today the message of these black women to America and to the

> world? The uplift of women is, next to the problem of the color line and the peace movement, our greatest modern cause. When, now, two of these movements – woman and color – combine in one, the combination has deep meaning (DuBois 2003:187 [1920]).

Hancock argues that in *Darkwater*, locating “the color line” and the “uplift of women” next to each other suggests that one movement for justice need not wait until another movement has reached its goals.

Whatever DuBois and African American male thinkers actually thought about gender, there is no question that African American women understood their ideas about uplifting the race and appropriated those ideas so that women had a primary role in doing so. A role equal to that played by men. Angel Nieves convincingly argues in his 2001 dissertation that race literature by black women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries not only appropriated these ideas, but played a critical role in defining black womanhood and models of black reform (Nieves 2001:98-99). By examining such works such as Pauline Hopkins’ *Contending Forces* (1899), Frances E.W. Harper’s *Iola Leroy* (1892), Susie King Taylor’s *Reminiscences of My Life In Camp* (1988) [1902]), he argues that these women challenged the Confederate perspective of the Civil War, expressed specific feminist concerns and critiqued white women’s feminism regarding the exclusion of black women from a larger feminist movement (see also Perkins 1980), as well as promoted a stronger voice for African American women in social welfare issues for their families and communities.

What is more, I believe that it is clear in this literature and other writing from black women of the period (educators and activists, for instance) that these women specifically blurred the lines between public and private, men's roles and women's roles and the appropriate venue to promote uplift and solidarity, stressing the importance of domesticity and the home in driving appropriate African American behavior to further equality. Mossell writes of that period, "The home is an institution for which we are indebted to Christianity. It is of equal importance with the school and church. Our earliest impressions of the outside world are received in the home" (Mossell 1988:90[1908]). Anna Julia Cooper, educator, author, and African American activist of the late nineteenth century also writes, "A stream cannot rise higher than its source. The atmosphere of homes is no rarer and purer and sweeter than are the mothers in those homes. A race is but a total of families. The nation is the aggregate of its homes" (Cooper 1988:29 [1892]).

Like etiquette books and manuals and travelers accounts, discussed above, even if African American women in the Manassas community could not read, there is no doubt, especially through the influence of local leader Jennie Dean and the establishment of the Manassas Industrial School, that these women were aware of this type of cultural reproduction and that they could and did use those ideas to transform methods used under slavery, like ethnogenesis, in the construction of new methods that specifically addressed new concerns, such as the failure of Reconstruction era politics for the African American community. I argue below and throughout that these women once again reimagined the political and social parameters of race, class, and gender and used their consumer and producer behavior as a vehicle for social change.

Consuming and Producing in Manassas

While businesses in the Manassas area often restricted their public spaces to African-Americans, they did not completely delimit their business to whites only. Many white business owners used "white intermediaries" with local African American families who produced raw materials for sale (Robinson-Naylor-Harris News Quarterly 1991:2). In 1876 and 1877, a list of business licenses in Manassas lists 16 different merchants, selling items such as liquor, drugs, lumber, horse hardware, stoves meats and tinware (Byrd 1965: 28). By 1895 there were 10 merchants who sold general merchandise, as well as those that specialized in clothing, meat, flour and feed, hardware, furniture, printing, grain, lumber, stone, and shoemaking, as well as a baker, wheelwright, tinners, a spoke mill, grist mill, plumber, livery stables, harness shop, jeweler, nurseries, and a milliner (Ratcliffe 1973: 62, 63). African Americans had a selection of specialty stores to choose from in Manassas, and general or country stores to choose from in the surrounding rural areas as well, and if a white merchant refused service, it is quite possible another would take their business.

Jennie Dean's family had an account at Alvey's General store in Catharpin (Don Wilson, personal communication, June 1997). Catharpin, along with Groveton, are small communities considered as part of the larger area known today as Manassas and considered in this dissertation. Formerly known as Sander's Store, Alvey's was a white-owned and operated establishment which started conducting business around

1884 (People of Prince William County 1994: 17). It is indicated in the day books for Alvey's Store that members of the Robinson family also conducted business there, purchasing wool from the proprietors in the late nineteenth century (Sander's Store Daybook, 1895: 394; 1896: 395). Oral histories with the Robinson family members include an account by Romaine Robinson Lewis, who lived on the farm site from 1927 through 1936, about the Robinson family shopping at another local country store called Burn's Store. The store was located off of what is today Rt. 234, the Warrenton Turnpike (Parsons 2001:VII.10, 11).

The name Thomas Burns is indicated in the 1895 General Directory of the first issue of the Manassas Journal, as selling General Merchandise (Ratcliffe 1973: 62, 63). The Robinson family also shopped at Cocke's pharmacy in Manassas (Appendix 4, Table A2) and Wilmer McLean and Co, in Centreville, Virginia (Drake Friedman 1991-1992). Both of these operations were owned and run by members of the white community.

Constructing Race and Gender – The Robinsons

The Robinson family, and those that lived on the farm site consisted of many people through the years. In doing deed, census, and agricultural research, as well as examining the Robinson papers and family oral histories, it can be determined who lived on the site, who may have actually participated in the consumer and producer society of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and used the artifacts in this analysis. A picture of life for an African-American family living in Manassas, Virginia emerges.

The first record of anyone other than James Robinson living at the site occurs in the 1850 federal census which lists James as a 55-year-old mulatto. The eight other individuals mentioned are Susan (his wife) a 45-year-old mulatto, Mayme (also known as Jemima, daughter of James and Susan), a twenty-six-year-old female mulatto, Hanna (probably the daughter of James and Susan), an eleven-year-old mulatto female, Tases (also known as Tasco, son of James and Susan), a sixteen-year-old mulatto male, Dinah (probably a granddaughter of James and Susan), a mulatto female, Pendleton (probably a grandson of James and Susan), a two-year-old mulatto male, Anah (relationship to family unknown, possible mother of James or Susan), a 75-year-old black female, and Bladen (son of James and Susan), a six-year-old mulatto male (Turner 1993).

The next census information is in 1860, and lists only James, a 57-year-old free mulatto, and Susan, a 55-year-old free mulatto (Turner 1993).

Some of the Robinson Papers, on file at Manassas National Battlefield Park, indicate many prominent white landowners that James Robinson conducted business with during this time period, including John D. Dogan, John Lee, E.L. Carter, L. Carter, Henry Matthews, and A.S. Grigsby.

These transactions with white members of the community included Robinson purchasing land, possibly buying his son out of slavery, and “hiring out” his daughter Mima. Other forms of transactions found in the Robinson papers include promissory notes, bills, invoices, vouchers and a summons (Parsons 2001:43). Although white members of the community did business with Robinson, this does not mean that they considered him their equal. Robinson owned land and provided well for his family.

Nevertheless, before the Civil War, Robinson's children were born into slavery because Susan was enslaved. Two of Robinson's sons, Alfred and James were sold. Oswald Robinson, a great grandson of James Robinson, tells us that Alfred and James were skilled stonemasons and both were sent to New Orleans to work on plantations. (Robinson 1982). Alfred returned to the family after the war in 1888 to relate his experiences on a sugarcane plantation, James was never to be heard from again. Susan is listed as Robinson's consort because by law slaves were not legally allowed to marry. In 1847 Susan was emancipated by John Lee, her owner, by his will (PWCVC 1847; Robinson 1993). Although white members of the community conducted business with James Robinson, they also owned some of his children and his wife (Parsons 2001:40, 41). This may have been a strategy for allowing the Robinson family to live together.

At the time of the Civil War, during the first battle of Manassas (July 21, 1861), the fighting raged in the Robinson's farmyard and fields and directly around their house. Oral histories notes that James Robinson sent his family to the nearby Van Pelt House (see Chapter 6) where they hid in the cellar while Robinson hid himself under the turnpike bridge over Young's Branch with silverware from the Portici mansion that had been entrusted to him by the Lewis family. It was reported that the silverware was given to Robinson because of the fear that during or after the battle the mansion would be looted by soldiers and the notion that no one would think to stop or search an African American as they were unlikely to posses anything of value (Eyles 1862; O. Robinson 1995). During the Second Battle of Manassas (August 28th-30th, 1862) the Robinson farmhouse was used by General Franz Sigel, commanding the First Corps of Pope's Army of Virginia as a headquarters and was also used as a field hospital (Parsons 2001:44,45). At this time, the Robinson farm was pillaged by Union soldiers. In 1872, Robinson filed a claim to the U.S. Government for reparations from this pillaging during the war. The claim was for $2,608 worth of personal property, yet Robinson was only awarded $1,249. (Parsons 2001:46).

The annotated census of 1870 lists James Robinson as a 70-year-old mulatto male farmer. Susan is listed as a 65-year-old mulatto female, "keeping house," Bladen is listed as a 23-year-old mulatto male married to Bettie Landon Beverly. He was born on May 10, 1844, and died March 10, 1923. Etta (probably Henrietta, daughter of Tasco) is a 24-year-old mulatto female "at school," and another member of the household is listed as Robert Morton, a 24-year-old black farm laborer (Turner 1993). At the time of James Robinson's death in 1874, the appraisal of his household furnishings and farm, stock, and equipment was valued at $841.50 (Parsons 2001:47).

In 1880, the census records Bladen Robinson, (son of James and Susan) a 37-year-old mulatto male farmer, as the head of household, indicating that Bladen probably took over the farm at his father's death. Also recorded are Bettie L. D. a 36-year-old black female, listed as "wife," Letty, a six-year-old black female, listed as "daughter," James Alfred, a one-year-old black male listed as "son," Susan, a 75-year-old mulatto female, listed as "mother," Henrietta, a 39-year-old mulatto female listed as "sister- wash, cook," and Hanson Smith, a nine-year-old mulatto male, listed as nephew. The distinction between "black," and "mulatto" is evident in this census record not only with the Robinson family, but other families in the census as well (Turner 1996).

In 1881 the division of the James Robinson estate was recorded. Susan Robinson was taxed for seven acres, including the property containing buildings. Tasco Robinson, son of James, is recorded with 55 acres. Henrietta is listed for 48 acres. Bladen Robinson received two tracts of land (PWCVC Land Tax Records 1881).

From 1882 through 1887, Susan Robinson was recorded as the owner of the seven acres of land which contained the buildings of the original Robinson farm. From 1888 through 1890, Lucas Robinson was listed as the owner of the property. The identity of Lucas Robinson is unknown. From 1891 to 1907, Susan Robinson is once again listed as the owner of the property. A 1900 “rearranged” census shows that the head of household at that time was Alfred, a 60-year- old black male. Alfred was the son of James who was sold and returned to his family in Virginia after the Civil War. Jane, a 60-year-old black female is listed as well, probably Alfred’s wife. James, a three-year-old black male is listed as “grandson”, possibly the grandson of Susana (or Susan, Alfred’s mother, wife of James), or Jane and Alfred. Susana (Susan) a 95-year-old black female is listed as “mother”, and Henrietta, a 60-year-old black female is listed as “sister”. Both Susan and Henrietta, who were listed in all previous census records as “mulatto,” are now listed as “black” (Turner 1995). At this time, the distinction of “mulatto” has disappeared in the census records. The only distinctions made are either “black” or “white”.

It is important to note that there is strong evidence to suggest that this distinction was not merely a matter of the different perceptions of the race of individuals by the census takers themselves, but evidence that race is a socially constructed category (See Harrison 1999 and Smedley 1999 for instance in an *American Anthropologist* volume (v. 100) dedicated to the topic). It has been well documented that the classification and requirements to be labeled “black” or “mulatto” in the federal census change through time and are consistent with racial ideologies of the period in which they are articulated, and, particularly, growing Jim Crow racist sentiments in Virginia around the turn of the century. Goldberg discusses this extensively and notes these change from “mulatto” to “black” on the U.S. Federal Census in the South happens slowly throughout the late nineteenth century, depending on specific instructions given to census takers in the area, based on racial ideology. By 1900 the category of “mulatto” was dropped, but the transition was not completed until 1930 (Goldberg 1997:27-58; see also Wald 2000: 1-24 on racial “passing” or “crossing” during this period). He notes that by 1900 (the precise time that the Robinsons go from “mulatto” to “black”), “these distinctions [between black, mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, etc], began to collapse in the wake of the widespread social belief that “black” was ‘any person with a single drop of black blood’” (Goldberg 1997:40; see also Davis 1991:5), thus the dropping of the “mulatto” category.

The study of the social construction of racial categories by historians and others is not a new topic (see Fields 1982, for instance); however, recent literature challenges authors to move beyond the mantra of social constructedness, “to ask what that really might mean in shaping lived experience" (Holt:2002:10). The consensus to probe that meaning seems to be to further contextualize "real experience" and the theorizing of "constructed representation" together in the same locale (see Beckles 1999). I argue that we can do this at Manassas by examining race through the archaeological record. Further, archaeology can help us scrutinize the day-to-day lived experience to demonstrate not only the mutability of race but also, and with equal force, the abiding power of class and gender in local settings.

After the turn of the century, again, only census records indicate who was living at the site. Tasker Robinson (probably Tasco, son of James and Susan) is listed as the property owner of the tract of land containing the house from 1908 to 1927, but a 1902 will made by Tasco divides the estate among surviving family members and gives Lettice Robinson (his wife) two rooms in the house, and two acres surrounding the house, and his daughters Willie Ann and Henrietta two rooms in the house, as long as they are single (Parsons 2001:18,19).

From 1927 through 1936 the listed property owner was McKinley Robinson, the son of Rose Robinson, the grandson of Tasco Robinson, and the great grandson of James Robinson (Parsons 2001:49,50). In 1936, McKinley sold the house and 6.69 acres to the National Park Service.

Examination of these census records and other primary documents such as deeds and local wills also provides insight into the perceptions of gender and gender roles for African American women in the Robinson family. One of the more interesting labels used in these records is that of "consort" to describe Susan Gaskins Robinson. The listing of James Robinson's death in 1875 Prince William County

Death Records lists her as such (R. Turner 1993). As noted above, the term here is a legal designation that is probably used in reference to her previous status as a slave as enslaved African Americans were not legally permitted to marry (Madden 1992). However, it is interesting to note that its use is demeaning in some circumstances. The term has been used throughout Europe from the sixteenth century to refer to a spouse or companion of royal blood who is slightly inferior in status or function; however, a search through literature associated with the word and its associations links the term consort, through the ages, with other terms that could be construed as derogatory such as, casual, cohabitation, concubine, courtesan, mistress (lover), non-monogamy, polyamory, polyfidelity, polygamy, infidelity, jealousy, escort, and hypergamy (see Faraone and McClure 2006). Additionally, the phrase, “to consort with” is often used as an expression that denotes that someone is “disgraced by an association with” someone or some group.

Anne McClintock, who explores the connections between race, gender and sexuality in the colonial context extensively documents the blatant over-sexualization of black and/or African women from the colonial period through the Victorian era and beyond as a means of white, male control, power and domination under capitalism (McClintock 1995). She notes that African women were continuously, “libidinously eroticized” and that during the colonial period Africa and the Americas became, “what can be called a porno-tropics for the European imagination – a fantastic magic lantern of the mind onto which Europe projected its forbidden sexual desires and fears” (McClintock 1995:22). She explores how women, such as enslaved women, and later free African American servants, nurses, governesses, nannies, and others, who were ambiguously placed on the imperial divide, served as boundary markers and mediators who were tasked with the purification and maintenance of boundaries, yet, ironically, they were especially festishized as dangerously ambiguous and contaminating (McClintock 1995:48). The term "consort" for Susan Gaskins Robinson may reflect both the ambiguous state of her "marriage" and the image of degeneration that may have been reflected upon her by dominant, white, male society.

It is also interesting to note, however, that Susan Robinson and other women in the Robinson family are listed in later years as land owners (i.e., they were taxed on the land that they owned when it was divided upon the death of a male Robinson family member). As such, they became wealthy in their own right, and that although these women may not have been able to engage in business transactions directly, many of them probably relying on their brothers or husbands or a white intermediary, that the value of the services they preformed, their production - their labor, is noted, both in census documents, when they are listed as such things as "wash-cook" and "keeping house," in addition to the other familial roles that are noted such as "sister" "wife," or "mother," and in other documents, such as local wills.

For instance, John Lee, a local, white, middling farmer who owned several members of Robinson's family (including his wife) and did business with the Robinsons states in his will of 1847:

> Item 10th Jemima, the negroe woman *who has been my constant waiter attendant, and servant, in consideration of the extraordinary services*

> *by her rendered in my service,* is at liberty to live with James Robinson, her father or to go to Washington and also her two children, Dianer and Pendleton if she the said Jemima thinks proper so to do without molestation by my Executors herein after appointed. . . . [PWCVC WB P 1847:277-378].

To further contextualize this study, Robinson family members including Richard Robinson, Oswald Robinson, Edna Robinson Chloe, Romaine Robinson Lewis, and others, provided oral history accounts of the farm site and life in the Manassas area (See below and Parsons 2001: Appendix VII). Combined with these accounts and historical evidence, the glass and ceramic minimum vessel analysis provides insight into the Robinson's consumer and producer behavior which is reflective of ideas about race, class, and gender within the Manassas community.

Vessel Analysis

A minimum vessel analysis, or vessel count, is the identification of the minimum number of unique glass or ceramic vessels that exist in an assemblage.

A vessel count is a valuable interpretive tool. It can generate information about consumer and social behavior, and insight into the social complexity of group behavior. In the case of African-American sites, a vessel or the contents of a vessel often represent behavior beyond simply buying, consuming or producing. The process which ultimately guides the choice of a particular vessel may represent broad social concerns or constraints, such as underlying racisms or sexism. Within the Robinson house collection, this type of analysis has provided insight into one family's opportunities to negotiate ideas about race, and gender, as well as class consciousness.

The icehouse feature is classified as a utilitarian/non-structural feature and identified as Feature 34. Excavation took place in this area due to a large depression in the ground surface and the recollection of a trash pit in this area by Robinson family members. Excavation Units 25 and 28 covered a 5 ft E/W by 12 ft N/S area. Feature 34 was a deep, unlined pit that was bisected and excavated to approximately 6.5ft below ground surface. Upper deposits of the feature yielded artifacts dating from the early twentieth century Robinson occupation to the early National Park Service eras, and represent the use of the area as a trash pit. Lower deposits produced artifacts dating from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. The nature and size of the feature and information from the historic and archaeological record supports the identification of this pit as an icehouse used during the early occupation of the site and as a trash pit during subsequent years (Parsons 2001:76, 77).

Data: Ceramics

The Robinson ice house feature contains a minimum of 176 ceramic vessels, and including 97 different sets (Appendix 3). The most common ware in the assemblage is whiteware (n=88, 50%). Other wares in the assemblage are buff paste stoneware (n=24, 14%), white paste stoneware (n=1, 0.6 %), gray paste stoneware (n=14, 8%), Rockingham-Bennington - like (n=1, 0.6 %), buff paste earthenware (n=2, 1%), yellowware (n=2, 1 %), redware (n=1, 0.6 %), pearlware (n=3, 2 %), hardpaste whiteware (n=19, 11 %), Japanese porcelain (n=5, 3 %), and unidentified porcelain (n=14, 8%).

The nature of the Robinson ice house deposit produced many ceramic vessels which mended. Although the feature is a large trashpit, there are identifiable strata showing that the Robinson family used the trash pit for approximately 60 years. There are few crossmends between strata. Only 10 vessels out of 176 included crossmending between strata. These mends occur between strata that are directly above or below each other, and can be attributed to the collection of the interface soil between strata during excavation. When possible, a production span was identified for each vessel (ex. 1850-1870). These dates were assigned using patent designs, manufacturer technologies, or maker's marks. Although a production span was produced for many vessels, mean ceramic dating is not used for the ceramic assemblage. Mean ceramic dates average the median production dates of ceramics to date an archaeological deposit (South 1977). This type of dating is most effective on sites with short occupations, and is most commonly used on eighteenth-century sites. The Robinson House site was occupied for approximately 100 years, and is a nineteenth and twentieth century site. In addition, "Mean dating is not always meaningful in late nineteenth- and early twentieth century contexts, primarily because of the lengthy production spans for wares such as whiteware (1820-1900)" (Mullins 1996: 155). Whiteware is the majority (n=88, 50%) of the ceramics within the analysis. The production spans in this analysis were determined primarily to identify the age of the deposits, and to clarify the contexts in which the artifacts may have been used.

Refined Wares

Refined or tablewares consist of 75% (n= 132) of the entire assemblage. Some of the oldest tablewares in the collection are the pearlwares, including two sherds of green, shell- edged flatwares, and an engine-turned, color-glazed hollowware. The shell-edged ware includes a "bud" pattern produced from 1800-1840 (Miller and Hunter 1990). The engine-turned hollowware was produced from 1780-1840. The pearlwares were excavated from the lower levels of stratum D. Other ceramic sherds from the lower levels of stratum D, include a mulberry-colored, transfer-printed hollowware, dating from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. It appears that the pearlwares were used for an extended period of time, surviving approximately 10 to 20 years of table use, perhaps longer, before being deposited.

Many of the tablewares in the count appear to have been manufactured around the turn of the century. For instance, a green, transfer-printed sherd with the "wild rose" pattern, manufactured by Adams/Tunstall dates from 1896 - 1914 (Godden 1964). Whiteware with simple gilded, annular banding was also produced in this era from 1870 - 1900 (Lucas 1991). Whiteware with gilding and simple, molded motifs around the edge of the vessel also date from 1870 - 1900. Some of the tablewares consisted of undecorated whiteware (n=10, 6% of the entire assemblage). Although whiteware was produced in the 1820s and throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, the maker's marks on many of the undecorated whiteware vessels indicate that much of it dated from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The green-printed vessel, and the decorated and undecorated whiteware pieces, were found in strata B and D and may or may not have had a long use life.

The majority of the tablewares appear to have survived a shorter period of time. For instance, many of the decal-decorated wares and other gilded and molded whitewares and hardpaste whitewares appear to date to the early twentieth century. Although many of these wares did not have a potter’s identification mark, their style is dated to the early twentieth century. A teacup and saucer of Japanese porcelain with the “Geisha Girl” pattern have a post 1921 date (Schiffer 1986). Sets of American-shell-edge from East Liverpool, Ohio, potteries also date to the 1920s (Miller and Hunter 1990). There are a number of different patterns associated with these American shell edged wares. Because the family sold their farm in 1936, the vessels which were produced in the early twentieth century appear to have had a relatively short use life.

The Robinson collection of refined wares includes a variety of inexpensive everyday tablewares, such as the undecorated whiteware, and simple, gilded whiteware. This is typical of most archaeological collections of ceramics on African American and European American sites. “Most archaeological ceramics reflect the low end of a ceramic assemblage” (Mullins 1996:170). However, there are wares which may have been considered collector’s pieces, or not used for serving or holding food. For instance, a porcelain teacup with an unusual motif of a boars head surrounded by a wreath. This cup may indicate a membership in a fraternal or other society. Other porcelain that may be for decoration rather than tableware includes two Japanese plates with orange/tan gilded borders, and painted, over-the-glaze landscape scenes.

Tea and coffee wares constitute the majority of all the identifiable tablewares. Fifty-five tea and coffee vessels (60% of all tablewares with identifiable forms) were recovered from the feature (23 teacups, 26 saucers, 1 teapot, 4 coffee cups, and 1 tea/coffee cup). Forty-seven (52% of all tablewares with identifiable forms) other table vessels were identified (3 twifflers, 7 muffins, 16 plates, 2 platters, 2 serving dishes, 5 pitchers, 1 gravy boat, 4 bowls and 3 dishes) (Appendix 3). The higher occurrence of tea and coffee wares to other table wares may be attributed to the higher amount of breakage of tea and coffee vessels. Cups tend to be more fragile and break more often than plates. Much of the teaware were sets that, while they didn't always match, looked very similar in style and pattern (see below).

Utilitarian Wares

Utilitarian wares consist of 24% (n=42) of the entire ceramic assemblage. The majority of utilitarian wares are buff-paste stonewares (n=24, 57% of utilitarian wares). Many of the buff-paste wares were made around the turn of the century. Although none of the buff-paste wares have a potter's identification mark, the style and shape of the body, as well as the type of glaze, was used to date the vessels. Only one vessel out of all of the stoneware has a potter's identification mark. Vessel number 28, gray paste stoneware with a clear salt glaze, and blue, hand-painted decoration, has an impressed maker's mark which reads " BC MILBURN". The mark is on the side of the vessel near the rim and is accompanied by another impressed mark which resembles an anchor. The lack of maker's marks and the lower percentage of storage vessels indicate the beginnings of mass production for utilitarian wares and the greater use of glass storage containers. "By the 1890s most traditional ceramic producers had ceased their craft because industrialists could produce vast quantities of ceramic and glass storage vessels at a far cheaper rate than any potter could rival" (Mullins 1996:171). The presence of ceramic storage vessels such as these does indicate that the family was engaging in home food preparation and preservation. Although the Robinsons apparently used ceramic vessels for storage, the vast amount of glass preserving jars indicates that these were the choice for storage and preservation. Utilitarian form types include bottles (n=2, 5%), jars (n=1, 2%), jar/crock (n=5, 12%), wide mouthed jar (n=12, 29%), bowls (n=2, 5%), bowl/crock (n=3, 7%), jugs (n=4, 10%), and unidentified hollowwares (n=13, 31%).

The remainder of the ceramic assemblage includes a wash basin, a condiment lid, a porcelain vase, 15 unidentified, refined hollowwares, and 16 unidentified, refined flatwares. The inventory of James Robinson's material assets at his death in 1875 include, "1 Cupboard and Crockery XXX," and "1" Cupboard and contents," (see Parsons 2001: Appendix II: II.1), but do not include any specific or detailed information about the household ceramics.

Furthermore, glass rather than ceramics is typically a better dating device for late nineteenth and early twentieth century collections. This is because during this era of mass production, bottled goods were cheaper and more available than ever before. Glass bottles were usually immediately discarded after the contents were used or consumed. Ceramics, on the other hand, were usually kept for longer periods of time until they were broken, or, in some cases, became outdated.

Analysis: The Ceramic Assemblage

Victorian-era ceramics were readily available to the public. They were sold in a variety of local stores, department stores, mail-order catalogs, and were even sold by traveling salesmen. Mass production increased the availability and kept prices relatively stable. The Robinson family may have obtained ceramics from any of these sources. The most likely place the family would have bought ceramics was local stores selling general merchandise.

The Robinsons acquired the majority of their ceramics from inside the mass consumer marketplace and adopted a pattern similar to the dominant material dining standards. For instance, archaeologists have concluded that some consumers assembled sets of matching or similar wares in-lieu of large set purchases (Garrow and Klein 1984:221). The Robinson collection indicates that these women may have used a similar piecemeal consumption pattern. This pattern is indicated through two different sets of Rose Pattern decal plates. The vessels are obviously different sets, but look similar enough to place on a dining table at the same time. This purchase pattern is also evident since five different varieties of American, shell-edge designs exist. The patterns are distinctly different. Some of the American, shell-edge patterns include a butterfly molding around the edge, some have different gilded decoration, yet all have the similar straight, blue, shell edge. The piecemeal pattern is also present in the different sets of simple, gilded whitewares found in the excavation.

Some of the whitewares have simple, annular banding, very close to the edge or rim of the vessel, and others have the banding further down the body of a vessel, and some have very simple, gilded motifs. The different designs are accompanied by differences in thickness of body and it is certain that they come from different sets, yet, again, all could be used on the table at the same time and pass for matching sets. The consistent colors, decorative preparations, and functional types, such as teaware, suggest that the Robinson women made an effort to assemble a collection that held up to white Victorian women's standards. For instance, in 1898, *The House Beautiful* warned against mixing colors and decorations saying, "...the service of each course should be of one kind of dishes. There is nothing which looks so splotchy and as inelegant as a table covered with five or six kinds of dishes" (Notes Tableware 1898:234). The majority of the sets which are meant to be used at the same time, such as the American, blue-shell-edged and the rose decals, are primarily teawares. This probably indicates that the good china was reserved for taking tea, possibly when guests were present. One etiquette book indicated that, "...afternoon teas have become a standard entertainment in American homes" (Everett 1902:383).

Some of the vessels in the collection do not match. The ceramics exhibit a wide variety of designs and decorative techniques as well. A large percentage of the collection dates to the turn-of-the-twentieth century (n= 80, 63% of dated vessels), but there are vessels which are older, such as the pearlwares which date to the 1840s. The older vessels tend to look heavily worn and are much less uniform in terms of color and decoration. The wear on the older vessels and, particularly, the undecorated whiteware may indicate that the family used undecorated, older, or mismatched wares during the week or when only the family was present and the newer, more uniform wares on Sundays, or when there was company present. During the oral history interview, Mrs. Edna Robinson Chloe, and Mrs. Romaine Robinson Lewis noted that the family used special dishes on Sundays when the family would get together. When asked if they remembered any types of ceramics or special dishes Mrs. Romaine Robinson Lewis said, “Well, they only used that type on Sunday” (Parsons 2001: Appendix VII.18). Mrs. Edna Robinson Chloe remembered using whiteware with gilded edges on Sunday. Mrs. Romaine Robinson Lewis explained the family tradition of gathering together on Sunday’s saying, “You see on Sunday it was just like a family reunion. Everybody would come and eat.... Different ones, you know, had specialties....You know one could make good rolls, somebody else could make good apple pies...(Parsons 2001:Appendix VII.18).

The many pieces of undecorated whiteware found may also be attributed to a suggestion made by Juliet Corson in her 1885 etiquette book which recommended that, "...when it is necessary to economize, only plain white china, and glass free from any set ornamentation, should be bought; because it is far easier to replace plain ware if any is broken" (Corson 1885:99).

Display pieces are also found in the ceramic collection. With mass production and increased opportunity to buy, African Americans such as the Robinsons may have expressed their desire for material items, social aspirations, and citizenship through the addition of collectible or displayable ceramic pieces to their home. Display or collectible pieces are represented by such things as vases, figurines, or special mugs or plates. In 1896, an Englishman visiting New York commented on these mass-produced items saying that they gave rooms an, "...air of social self-respect" (Heinze 1990: 135, 136). Recognizing the desire represented by purchasing such items, some writers portrayed African-American consumption of collectible or display items stressing their ability to squander money rather than their knowledge of popular decorative items. For instance, Philip Bruce, in his 1889 publication, *The Plantation Negro as a Freeman,* writes,

> There is no article that he will not purchase, however absurd in itself or however useless to him. Let it but strike his fancy, and the more gaudy and showy it is, the more forcibly does it appeal to his imagination. If he has no cash to give in return for it, he will be anxious to have it set down to his credit, and will earnestly deprecate a refusal to do so on the part of its owner [Bruce, 1889:196].

White writers such as Philip Bruce seized this form of expression from African Americans and turned it into a reflection of African-American's desire for fanciful, unneeded objects, as well as the squandering of valuable monetary resources, yet when European Americans purchased these items it reflected their good taste and status.

The Robinson family had a variety of items probably considered display pieces, or in the travelogue writer Clifton Johnson's words "...odds and ends" (Johnson 1904:241). For instance, two Japanese porcelain plates with orange-gilded borders, painted, over-the-glaze with landscape scenes. These two plates are probably not for serving food because the paint could be rubbed off or removed. They are probably for decoration. Also of Japanese origin is a small pitcher with a floral or landscape scene and gilding. Finally, a porcelain vase with molded and painted floral designs was probably also considered a decorative item.

The Robinson collection of ceramics from the ice house feature is indicative of a family of women who may have used some older tablewares, or used some sets for a longer period of time, but was knowledgeable about Victorian standards of dining and participated within mass consumer culture to acquire newer fashions for table settings. The aspirations of the Robinson family to participate in a contemporary consumer culture is apparent since they purchased the “newer” twentieth century patterns, such as the American, Blue Shell Edge and Geisha Girl patterns. The piecemeal consumption pattern the Robinsons seemed to follow is also indicative of their desire to follow the set Victorian standards of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which implied that all table settings should match. The Robinson’s acquisition of items which may have been considered display pieces also indicates their desire to decorate their home according to Victorian standards. This collection of ceramics is particularly insightful in understanding the connection between race, class, gender and citizenship, for this particular family within the Manassas and surrounding communities. The desire for a family such as the Robinsons to operate within these set standards is indicative of their social aspirations. Along with these social aspirations were the aspirations for the rights of citizenship that are associated with social position within society. As African-

Americans, this consumer behavior may be interpreted as a method the Robinson women used to negotiate their position in society, their position within their community, and their reluctance to succumb to a society that would deny them certain privileges because of their race.

Data: Glass

The Robinson House ice house feature contains 384 unique glass vessels, with 3 different sets of tableware identified in the count (Appendix 2). Only glass rims and bases are included in this portion of the minimum vessel count. Mean production dates were produced for the entire glass assemblage, and for each individual category. Mean dates and categories are as follows. Of the 384 vessels, only 270 could be assigned conclusive median dates. The collection includes 122 (32%) vessels in the category Food/Condiment/Household (mean date 1916), 94 (24%) Pharmaceutical vessels (mean date 1906), 20 (5%) Personal vessels (mean date 1903), 38 (10%) Soda/Ale/Beer/Mineral Water vessels (mean date 1919), 26 (7%) Whiskey Bottles/Flasks (mean date 1898), 1(0.3%) Wine/Champagne bottle (median date 1835), and 83 (22%) vessels with unknown contents, classified under the category, Unidentified (mean date 1908).

The most prominent category, Food/Condiment/Household, contains 51jars (42%), 7 bottles (6%), 2 jugs (2%), 9 lamp chimneys (7%), and 14 hollowware vessels (11%). This category also contains tableware which includes, 22 tumblers (18%), 3 bowls (2%), 2 decanters (2%), 2 salt/pepper shakers (2%), 1 plate (.8%), 1 serving dish/plate (.8%), 1 dish (.8%), 1 saucer (.8%), 1 pitcher (.8%), 1 shot glass (.8%), 1 candlestick holder (.8%), and 1 platter (.8%) (Table IV). Within the tableware category there are 3 different sets including a light green depression glass, a colorless set with an etched floral design, and a colorless ribbed-and-notched set. Such tableware is similar to the use of ceramic tableware in that it was generally used until it was broken. The presence of such a large number of glass storage jars indicates the family was engaging in home food preparation and storage.

The second largest category, Pharmaceutical, refers to vessels which carried patent medicine or other medicinal or extract bottles, as well as jars which held some form of medicine, such as Vicks Vaporub. Pharmaceutical vessels constitute 24% (n=94) of the entire glass assemblage. It is not particularly unusual for Pharmaceuticals to represent the second largest portion of the collection due to the popularity of patent medicines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Particularly "cure-all" types of medicines such as, "Tanlac Tonic and System Purifier", "Castoria", "Tricopherous for the Skin and Hair", "Father John's Medicine", "Glovers Imperial Mange Medicine", and "Genuine Essence" for stomach disorder, all found in the Robinson ice house feature.

Whiskey Bottles/Flasks, or liquor, is the next largest category representing 7% (n=26) of the glass assemblage. An 1898 mean date in this category suggests that liquor was consumed less frequently and probably slower than pharmaceuticals whose mean date is 1906.

Wine drinking was quite unlike the consumption of pharmaceutical and whiskey/alcohol. Only one wine/champagne bottle is included (n=1, 0.3% of the total glass assemblage) which has a median date of 1835, suggesting that wine was much less frequently purchased.

In comparison, Beer and Ale are lumped within a category called Soda/Ale/Beer/Mineral Water which reflected similar bottle molds. Beer, Ale, Soda, and Mineral Water represent 10% (n=38) of the total collection and have a mean date of 1919. Fifteen of the 38 bottles constitute soda or cola from companies such as Pepsi-Cola, King Cola, and Coke. The remaining 18 bottles are identified as either beer, ale, or mineral water, relatively fewer than whiskey bottles and patent medicine, suggesting that less beer and more whiskey/medicine was consumed.

Within the personal category are 20 (5%) vessels containing products such as mentholatum, Vaseline, cologne, perfume, shampoo, and ink. The category was created to reflect items that may have been used by individual members of the Robinson family.

Unidentified vessels (n=83, 22%) are vessels in the count that cannot be identified because they are not indicative of a specific form such as jar, or bottle, and/or they are unrepresentative of specific products such as Pepsi, or patent medicine. The vessels generally have little or no identification marks or moldings, and no dateable characteristics such as machine-made mold lines, suction scars or finish types.

Analysis - The Glass Assemblage

Because the Robinson family made their livelihood as farmers during the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, it is not unusual that canning and other food storage containers are such a large percentage (n=51, 42%) of the total Food/Condiment/Household category. During oral history interviews with members of the Robinson family, Mrs. Edna Robinson Chloe, Mrs. Romaine Robinson Lewis, and Mr. B. Oswald Robinson recalled different methods of home food production that the women engaged in, including raising geese, guineas, ducks, horses, cows, and pigs. Mrs. Edna Robinson Chloe recalled her mother raising turkeys saying, "We used to have to fasten the turkeys up so they would lay during the day before we went to school" (Parsons 2001:Appendix VII.8). In addition, the family members described the fruits and vegetables raised at the farm including corn, cabbage, tomatoes, lima beans, greens, lettuce, and squash. Recalling the location of the potato patch Mrs. Romaine Robinson Lewis and Mrs. Edna Robinson Chloe said, "At that time people ate potatoes every day. Practically for every meal.....And they used to put them in a hill, cover them up with straw and dirt and keep them all winter" (Parsons 2001:Appendix VII.15). Family members also remembered the women canning particular fruits and vegetables in glass jars, including pickles, preserves, grapes and blackberries; crushing apples in the family cider mill, and making butter. B. Oswald Robinson remembered, "Also, we made our own butter...churned the cream to make the butter... had a separator to separate the cream from the milk**"** (Parsons 2001:Appendix VII.16).

As a farming family in a rural area, producing their own food may have made the Robinson women feel independent, self sufficient and resourceful. In practicing frugality, these women may have undermined those who would stereotype the African-American community as lazy and wasteful. They were also undoubtedly influenced by local ideas about race and racial uplift, particularly the ideas promoted by Jennie Dean and the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth (see Chapter

4), where many members of the Robinson family attended school (Parsons 2001:Appendix VII..8; Lewis 1994:111).

Despite the large amount of home food production that apparently went on at the Robinson farm during the mid-to-late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the family still participated in mass consumer culture by buying mass produced goods, especially patent medicines and other household items. The vessel analysis indicates that many brand name-patent medicines, household goods, and personal items, were consumed by the family during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For instance, Lysol, Pepsi Cola, and other colas/sodas such as Whistle, Star Boy, and Orange Crush, Baking Powder, Dill's Flavoring Extracts, McCormick and Co. Extracts/Spices/etc, Fruit Juice, and both Carter's and J & I E M ink bottles were all found within the ice house feature during excavations.

The use of brand names by the African-American community may have been an avenue which could have evaded community merchant's racism or class discrimination. For instance, local community merchants who sold in bulk no longer had the opportunity to provide lower quality goods or mis-weigh products. African Americans may not have been the only victims of such deceit, but may have been more systematically subjected to exploitation than other consumers. Buying nationally packaged goods guaranteed consistent quality because the products were sealed outside the community (Mullins, 1996:464). Therefore, they were guaranteed a fair measure, even though they may have been paying proportionately higher prices.

Patent medicine bottles and other medicinal goods, as well as personal grooming items, constitute the second largest category within the analysis (n=94, 24%) and are another example of goods bought by the Robinson family within the mass consumer marketplace. The use of such “cure-all” and medicinal goods by the family is part of a larger transformation within society of discipline and its relationship to the body, which actually began during the eighteenth century (Shackel 1993).

The medicinal and personal items such as two different brands of vaseline/petroleum jelly, Listerine, Hoyts ten cent cologne, shampoo, Frey’s Vermifuge, Noxema, and two types of perfume bottles, one which indicates it was manufactured in London, Sloan’s Liniment, Vick’s Vaporrub, Rawleigh’s (tonic and alternative), and Smith Brothers cough syrup, at the Robinson house reflect a continuation of ideas about discipline and the body, and an integration of traditional ideas about doctors and medicines. Patent medicines gave African Americans and Euro-Americans the opportunity to control healing and distribution of medicines within their home, rather than succumbing to a doctor or hospital. An article in 1880 called “Inside Southern Cabins” notes the apprehension African Americans may have felt in going to a hospital, and their reliance on traditional medicines. “There is hardly anything the colored men and women [of Charleston, South Carolina] dread so much as going to the hospital....But the Negro is a born herbalist; his faith is in weeds and roots....One man suffering from acute rheumatism begged me in the most impassioned manner to get him some rattlesnake oil to rub himself with, assuring me that it would cure him” (Inside Southern Cabins 1880: 765). However, while still being able to control and administer medicines, the presence of such pharmaceuticals also shows less reliance on ritualistic, medicinal practices used during the early to mid eighteenth century as indicated by Colonoware (see Chapter 2) and a shift to mass produced medicines, now available to the African American community.

The presence of whiskey bottles and flasks as well as a shot glass, beer bottles, and a wine bottle within the Robinson collection may indicate some alcohol consumption at the Robinson home. The mean dates for whiskey flasks and bottles (1898) and the percentage of the collection (n=26, 7%) as compared to pharmaceutical vessels (1906 mean date and n=94, 24% of the collection) and to beer, ale, soda, and mineral water (1919 mean date and n=38, 10% of the collection) does suggest that hard alcohol was consumed slower and with less frequency than other beverages and liquids with medicinal attributes.

The Robinson glass collection from the icehouse feature indicates that the family used different methods to obtain foods and other resources for their diets. As indicated by the many glass fruit and preserving jars present, the Robinsons were engaging in home food preparation and preservation quite frequently. This is indicative of the nature of a rural family's collection of glass, but home food preservation provided the Robinsons with the option of entering a consumer marketplace that may have been racially exclusive under some circumstances as well as providing these women with the opportunity to contribute to the financial stability of their family. In addition, the presence of glass jars indicates the family was living a relatively self sufficient and resourceful lifestyle. The Robinson glass collection also reflects the family's participation in the consumption of mass-produced goods and brand-name items. Goods such as personal items reflect ideologies of discipline and its relationship to the body, as well as traditional methods for administering medicines. The glass vessels also shed light onto relationships between class, race, gender, and consumption. While home food production served to subvert the racial stereotype of idleness, and uselessness, participation in the consumption of brand name goods found within the mass marketplace expressed the family's knowledge of "gentility" and popular culture. This knowledge is reflective of the Robinson women's social ambitions, and in turn, desire for the rights of citizenship.

Ethnogenesis to Racial Uplift

Both the glass and ceramic analysis from the Robinson House collection show that women played a large role in the development of racial uplift through their consumer and producer culture. The Robinson women sought to undermine racial and gendered ideologies of the time and lobby for the privileges of citizenship for their families and community. Stepping out of the "domestic" sphere to play an active role in production and consumption for the betterment of their community was not a 'new' idea for these women, but rather, a shift from strategies used by these women under enslavement, to those that reflected the political and economic situations that they now found themselves in after emancipation. The archaeological record shows that these women manipulated the shifted capitalist agenda that marked the South after the Civil War and relocated it according to their specific needs.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mass production made things like glass and ceramic material objects easier and cheaper to obtain than previously. Etiquette books were extremely popular because they set the rules for "genteel" society -- rules which included the right place settings for the dining table and other material objects necessary for position in ideal Victorian society. Out of position came the rights of citizenship and these things eventually became the American dream -- owning land, living in your own home, and possessing the proper material objects. At a time when goods became cheaper and more readily available, African Americans gained access to these things and pursued their American dream and, with that dream, certain rights. Also, during the Jim Crow era racist sentiments towards African Americans grew to a height never before seen in American history. These two phenomena -- owning the American dream and increased racist ideology -- occurring simultaneously, developed an inverse relationship between consumer desire and race relations. In other words, as consumer desire became more and more similar between whites and African Americans, as well as easier to obtain, race relations between the groups disintegrated. African Americans during late Reconstruction and the early Jim Crow eras posed a threat to white supremacy and challenged the stereotypes already set forth. This threat caused a backlash of "black codes" and "Jim Crow" laws which tried to once again create the distance and difference between the African American and European American communities. The challenge of this stereotype is explicit in the material record of the Robinson House collection.

In the past, some researchers have tended to see the constructed differences between "races" portrayed in historical white literature and to look for differences in material culture collections today (see Ryder 1991). The Robinson collection portrays a different scene for African American material objects which was conscious of what was portrayed as "genteel," and what it meant to be American. This is not to say that there were significant differences *within* the African-American families and groups in

Manassas and surrounding areas. Although a rural, farming family, an examination of the tax and other records show that the Robinsons were one of the wealthiest African American families in the county during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At the time of his death in 1875, James Robinson owned approximately 1,500 acres of land (Turner 1993:61). Additionally, other authors have argued that it is imperative to also differentiate between upper class African Americans and working class African Americans (See Nieves 2000). In the next chapter I will examine the archaeological collection of another rural family, the Nashes, former slaves who struggled financially after the Civil War, to continue to discuss and contextualize women's roles, racial uplift and American citizenship and the strategies used by the Nash family to work towards communal betterment.

Chapter 4: Jennie Dean, Identity Politics, and Women's Role in Racial Uplift Through Consumption and Production in Rural Areas

In Chapter 4, I examine the life and work of Miss Jennie Dean, an African-American woman and activist who built the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth. Also included in this chapter is information about some important trends in the study of identity politics that are significant for understanding how Ms. Dean and the African American community in Manassas, particularly African-American women, came to define themselves as propagators of race uplift through their consumer and producer culture, claiming both their right to citizenship and their landscape (see Chapter 5). Finally, I present a minimum vessel analysis of glass and ceramic artifacts from the Nash site, and compare it with information from the Robinson MVC (Chapter 3). Presenting the Nash MVC here and providing a comparison with the Robinson analysis shows explicitly how Jennie Dean's ideas, born from expressions of black capitalism, gender, and racial uplift during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, are expressed materially by these rural farming women and how this material culture both defined these women's identities and were defined by the identity of these women. Further, it shows the explicit, but often tenuous connection between the archaeological record and ideologies of race, class and gender as this material culture is informed by black capitalism. It shows these local women and their families', often dramatic, response to this black capitalist agenda based on their particular context. An examination of how these ideas were expressed in the landscape and through architecture is examined in Chapter 5.

Identity Politics: A Background for Studying Race, Class, and Gender in Manassas

In recent years scholars have written about identity politics such that these issues bring to light the current organizing themes of the fields of American Studies, and Historical Archaeology including their interdisciplinary nature, the focus on multiculturalism, gender, sexuality, the ideas of nation and globalization, and the applications of such work (Frisch 2001).

As noted in the introduction, identity politics is a useful organizing framework for understanding how issues of race, class, and gender are illuminated in the material record of African American families in Manassas. Identity politics is also essential for understanding the ideas of local resident and founder of the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth Jennie Dean, and the influence of her ideas on local families.

Over the last several decades, scholars focusing on identity politics have come together to place the three major ideas, or strains: race/ethnicity, gender/sexuality, and postcolonialism/globalization/transnational studies, at the center of American Studies and Historical Archaeology (see for example Singh 1998; Washington 1998). Scholars using identity politics as an analytical technique also emphasize that while each of these issues may be examined independently, the notion of identity politics demands that they be examined in relation, connection and dependence to each other, a concept used throughout this dissertation. Below are some useful trends and ideas in each of these strains that are important for understanding how Jennie Dean's ideas about black capitalism and gender informed daily life for rural farm women and their families in Manassas.

Colonialism-Imperialism-Postcolonialism/Nation-Globalization-Transnationalism

The major catalyst for such work actually began at least a decade before border studies (see Anzaldua 1987; Rosaldo 1993) became popular, although it was nearly a decade and a half before these influences became prevalent in American Studies scholarship. That catalyst, and still an influential reference point, was Edward Said's, *Orientalism*, published in 1978.

Orientalism is a critique of the field of Oriental studies, present for several centuries as a scholarly pursuit at European universities. It is a manner of regularized writing and study dominated by perspectives and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient (Said 1978:1-28), or the image of the Oriental expressed as a system of thought and representations framed by political forces through Western consciousness and Western empire. The Orient is constructed in relation and/or opposition to the West. It is depicted both unconsciously and consciously as inferior, weak, feminine, separate, backwards, different, static, and often sexually deviant or exotic.

Said's notion of power and the definition of identity through politics set forth in *Orientalism* are two major themes still driving the study of identity politics today. In his latest book, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) Said critiques not only authors who wrote about Europe's colonies and dependencies (such as Rudyard Kipling and Joseph Conrad), but those who were considered domestic (such as Jane Austen and

Charles Dickens). The notion of critique of the "domestic" is a useful method in examining what "domestic" means with regard to African American rural families in this dissertation. Furthermore, he attempts to answer some of his critics by including non-Middle Eastern materials (such as European writings on Africa, India, and Australia) to expand his ideas about the relationship between the West and its colonies and to include a "response" to Western dominance against empire (Said 1993:xii).

In Aparicio and Chavez-Silverman's (1997), *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad*, the authors define tropicalization as a system of ideological fictions with which the dominant cultures "trope" Latin America and U.S./Latino/a identities and cultures. Tropicalizations, they argue, are distributed among and throughout cultures by various methods including texts, history, literature and the media. Like the concept of Orientalism, the authors emphasize both power relationships and hegemony; however, unlike Orientalism, tropicalization involves tropical subjects doing the troping, not the victims of tropes, in an act that is at once resisting and reversing the trope.

Troping, I believe, can also be used as an analytic technique in which the interpretation of material culture can be seen as at once reinforcing stereotypes and again, being reinforced by the tropical or subordinated subject, as resistance. For instance, in addition to the trope of Mrs. Robinson presented in the introduction, I have argued in Chapter 3 and elsewhere that by studying material culture such as glass and ceramics from the archaeological assemblage from Manassas National Battlefield, the ability to recognize African-American consumption patterns and to understand how African Americans historically sought to confront and possibly erode the racial ideology of the times is offered. While the majority of white literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought to describe the African American in the South as lazy, uneducated, child-like, and poor, through marketing media and other means, the material consumption of African Americans sought to undermine these assumptions and campaign to change ideas about race and lobby for the privileges of citizenship (Chapter 3; Martin 1996a, 1996b; Martin Seibert and Parsons 2001). The trope is then the use of the materials the dominant culture uses to define subordination as a means to overcome oppression. Such ideas are also prevalent in the use of “multivalency,” a term discussed in Chapter 2 and again, below in the Race-Ethnicity-Whiteness strain.

As noted in the introduction, intricate interdependencies and intersectionality are the most current forms of identity politics practiced in all the strains identified here. It is the focus on dependant relationships that sets this work apart from earlier works. In a new book by Dill and Zambrana (2009), the authors point out two important factions of intersectionality with regard to its definition and how intersectionality operates. First, they define intersectionality as based on assumptions that, “inequalities derived from race, ethnicity, class and gender, and their intersections place specific groups of the population in a privileged position with respect to other groups and offer individuals unearned benefits based solely on group membership” (2009: 4). Additionally, they point out that intersectionality operates on two levels. On the individual level examining intersectionality reveals the ways in which systems of socially defined “statuses” (defined as race, class, gender, etc) create a range of opportunities for the “expression and performance of individual identities” (2009:4). At the society/structural level, intersectionality can reveal “the way systems of power are implicated in the development, organization, and maintenance of inequalities and social injustice” (2009:4).

Feminism-Gender

This large body of work represents a movement to understand the social and cultural formation of individuals, groups, and communities through identity formation, and politics/power as it is constructed in association to a form of biology. Important here because of the ways in which scholars have examined gender in the past and critiqued white women’s feminism.

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese comments that these scholars have, “castigated the dominant culture, in their case for its denial and silencing of women - for its pretensions that elite, white, male culture properly represents American identity” (Fox-Genovese 1990:19), thereby emphasizing issues of difference and marginalization in their effort to hear the voices that dominant culture had silenced. These studies, primarily examining women’s roles in history and literature, reflected both the context of the time (the influence of the social history and women’s rights movements) and the theoretical perspective of the early development of feminist theory (see also Bayam 1981; Douglas 1977; Tompkins 1985).

In her book, McDowell (1999) critiques older feminist scholarship which sought merely to “add women,” to the mix. McDowell argues that today the aim of feminist scholarship is to, “demonstrate the construction and significance of sexual differentiation as a key organizing principle and axis of social power, as well as a crucial part of the constitution of subjectivity, of an individual's sense of their self identity, and as a sexed and gendered person" (McDowell 1999:8).

An essay by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham suggests that at that time African-American women's history, "begs for a greater voice" (Brooks Higginbotham 1992:251). In, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," Higginbotham argues that feminist scholars, especially those of African-American women's history, must accept the challenge to bring race more prominently into their analyses of power. She recommends three strategies to do this: 1) define the construction and technologies of race as well as those of gender and sexuality, 2) expose the role of race as a metalanguage by calling attention to its powerful, all-encompassing effect on the construction and representation of other social and power relations, namely gender, class, and sexuality, and 3) recognize race as providing sites of dialogic exchange and contestation since race has constituted a discursive tool for both oppression and liberation.

Clearly, Higginbotham's first concern is with race; however, in her quest to unlock how race has served as a metalanguage since it speaks about and lends meaning to a host of terms and expressions that would otherwise fall outside the referential domains of race, she places emphasis on racial constructions of gender that were lacking in previous feminist works. While feminists had examined constructions of power and questions of difference, they had failed to discuss the racialization of women (of color). In her words she says, "white feminist scholars pay hardly more than lip service to race as they continue to analyze their own experience in ever more sophisticated forms" (Brooks Higginbotham 1992:251-252). She also notes the movement of black women scholars to adopt the term "womanist," rather than "feminist," in rejection of gender-based dichotomies that lead to a false homogenization of women.

Elsa Barkley Brown also remarks upon the term "womanist," or "womanism," defining it as a consciousness that incorporates racial, cultural, sexual, national, She (1992) uses the example of Maggie Lena Walker to examine how women's issues may be race issues and race issues may be women's issues. In other words, it may be impossible to separate the two. Walker was involved in the Independent Order of Saint Luke which operated out of Richmond, Virginia. The philosophy of Maggie Lena Walker explained in the article (family as community, building and reinforcing black-owned business, women as part of the work force, etc) a la Booker T. Washington (or Jennie Dean, see below, this Chapter), constructed and reconstructed women's identities as maintainers of the family as well as productive workers (traditionally believed as the men's sphere) within a concept of racial uplift prevalent during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her article shows that to understand Black women's issues, historically, they must be examined within a racial paradigm.

The works of Brooks Higginbotham and Barkley Brown suggest gender and race are interrelated and white women's feminism was not considering race as a category of analysis. Indeed, their works are just two examples of the blistering critique through black feminist thought, discussed in the introduction that was prevalent in feminist studies and those that examined race throughout the late 1980s and 1990s.

In, “Feminism on the Border: From Gender Politics to Geopolitics” (1991), Sonia Saldivar-Hull also argues that both feminist and Marxist theories ignore issues of race and multiple identities. Women of color are often “lumped” together, or ignored rather than recognized as individual and group movements within the feminist movement. More importantly, Saldivar-Hull, from a border perspective approach, seeks to deconstruct the borders erected by Eurocentric feminists. She does this by acknowledging the First World/Third World dichotomy as the arena where the split between the ruling class (those in power) and the working class (the disenfranchised) is exposed (Saldivar-Hull 1991; see also Ong 1997 for examination of Marxism).

Marie Anna Jaimes Guerrero, also makes this point in, “Civil Rights versus Sovereignty: Native American Women in Life and Land Struggles” (1997), although she emphasizes that the U.S. be understood as an advanced colonial state. Jaimes Guerrero also points out that self-determination and patriarchy have a relationship to each other and we cannot fully understand or move forward in feminist or equality movements until we acknowledge these relationships (see also Alexander 1997).

Chela Sandoval (1991) goes one step further, however and connects U.S. Third World feminism with decolonization movements worldwide. She argues that Third World feminism has not been accepted by dominant modes of feminist thought in the U.S. and that the concepts behind Third World feminism, especially Althusser’s theories of ideology, and in particular, issues of race and class conflict, may be used for all movements of oppositional activity in general (see also Sandoval 2000).

Race-Ethnicity-Whiteness

Like the strains discussed above, Race-Ethnicity- Whiteness studies developed rapidly as an outgrowth of 1960s and 1970s Civil Rights movements which emphasized the diversity of the American experience (see Omi and Winant 1994), although, as noted above, scholars had critiqued American exceptionalism as early as the 1930s and 1940s through examination of racial identities (Denning 1996; Lipsitz 1998b).

Certainly studies in African-American history, scholars of color, and social critics began demanding an examination of racial identities even before that (see DuBois 1898, 1899a, 1899b, 1969 [1898], 1972 [1915], 1986 [1903]; Martí 1977 [1898]). However, it wasn't until the late 1970s with the influx of alternative and developed theoretical positions such as Marxism and postmodernism that examination of racial issues sought to understand race and ethnicity as a series of relationships of power, involving domination and subordination, and the development of racial and sexual issues as well as an international perspective clearly become the main thrusts of identity politics within this strain.

Indeed, it could be argued that as American Studies and Historical Archaeology became increasingly interdisciplinary during the late 1970s and 1980s with the influx of the perspectives of disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and history and the pervasive influence of social history and social constructionism, fields such as material culture, architectural history, landscape studies, popular culture, archaeology, and African-American history brought racial, ethnic, as well as class issues to the forefront (see for example, Borchert 1986; Cohen 1981; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Orser 2007; Sies 1991; Silko 1982; Upton 1988; Upton and Vlach 1986).

An early work which had a tremendous influence on how race and racial issues should be examined, theoretically and methodologically, is Louis Henry Gates', *The Signifying Monkey* (1988). In this work, Gates' goal is to identify a theory of criticism appropriate to understanding the African American literary tradition. He argues that one cannot use European or American theory or philosophy to analyze or understand African American literature because African American literature grew out of its own traditions. He proposes the use of the black vernacular language to theorize modern African American literature because this tradition is what informs the shape of African American literature today. In addition, Gates introduces the trickster figure the signifying monkey, to stand for, explain, and critique certain principles of verbal expression in modern African American language and writing.

Gates identifies the double-voice of the African American language in which African Americans, historically and through to the present took control of "their" language by placing different (African) meanings on English words, or self definition by renaming. The idea of a double-voice, or "double consciousness," was introduced much earlier by W. E. B. DuBois in the early twentieth century in which Africans lived a "double" life being both Africans and Americans. He wrote, "One ever feels his two-ness, - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (DuBois, 1903[1986]:362,365).

Tricia Rose presents a similar argument, although, significantly, her emphasis is more specifically directed at power relationships and the struggle for meaning. In her 1989 article, "Orality and Technology: Rap Music and Afro-American Cultural Resistance," Rose posits that rap music has a relationship with African American culture and that rap articulates power struggles over meaning and culture.

However, the idea of a double voice was critiqued during the 1980s for its exclusivity, for running the risk of, "a double kind of possessive exclusivism. . .the sense of being an exclusive insider by virtue of experience" (Said 1985:106). Additionally, the idea of examining "Africanisms," or searching for ethnic markers in the material and/or textual record without considering the complexities of racial categories (see Schuyler 1980, Vlach 1990, 1991; for examples of ethnic marker studies) has also been a major critique of this work. These critiques against "ethnic marker" studies reveal that scholars often attempt to interpret the meanings of texts and/or artifacts assuming that ethnic boundaries are stable rather than "fluid", variable and subject to manipulation (Ryder 1999). McGuire has suggested that the study of race and ethnicity should examine these boundaries and how they are transformed (1982:161; see also Anzaldua 1987; Mumford 1997). Other researchers have suggested the use of oral histories and ethnographic evidence will help develop an appropriate context and can bring a legitimate perspective to such work (Gregory 1998).

In order to correct that “exclusivism,” scholars in material culture studies, archaeology and other fields have attempted to redefine the double voice with respect to cultural formation considering not two, but multiple voices and reconfiguring its use in terms of power relationships through multivalency (see Chapter 2). As noted in Chapter 2, but worth repeating here, “multivalency,” is defined as a moment in which, “an object or set of objects take on strikingly different meanings for different social groups, with dominating groups often totally ignorant of the meaning system of subordinated groups” (Perry and Paynter 1999:303).

In conjunction with Gates’ idea that to adequately understand an aspect of culture such as language (or any aspect of culture), the analytic and methodological technique must be appropriate to that culture, and his emphasis on multiple meanings, and Rose’s notion that cultural production must be understood within the realm of power relationships, the concept of multivalency can have a significant effect on the interpretation of texts and material culture and on the research at Manassas National Battlefield.

For instance, if using conventional analytical techniques to interpret ceramic materials recovered from African-American sites on Manassas National Battlefield, interpretation would be limited/reduced to a discussion of table settings, tablewares, and Victorian ideals of womanhood and domesticity. In essence, this interpretation would be similar to discussions of ceramics on European American sites of the same time period. However, when the same materials are interpreted within a context of race, class, and gender with particular emphasis on power relationships and multivalency, ceramics and more broadly, consumer and producer behavior might be understood as a trope in which they (ceramics/table settings/material culture) symbolized a challenge to stereotypes of African Americans at the time. Further, if interpretation of these ceramics had been done without integration of oral histories from the descendant community, researchers may not have realized that some ceramics recovered from the site were probably used as gaming pieces for mancala. Mancala is a game that was derived in Africa and Asia, and is still played today (See Chapter 2; Martin 1996b; Martin Seibert and Parsons 2001; see also Goings 1994; Gundaker and Cohen 1998; Manring 1998; Mullins 1999, 1996; Powell 1997 for examples of how these concepts have been used in other material culture studies).

Another movement within studies that used race as a point of analysis during the late 1980s and 1990s and also became influential were studies of race and ethnicity that moved beyond the question of race as a function of biology or the argument that race was a social and ideological construct to examine the role of the state and political economy in the "racialization," of the American population. In other words, a host of scholars argue that the "American" subject is produced through definitions of race such that the processes of that production take place between practices of symbolic representations including economic, educational and political policies that define and subordinate "raced," or ethnic populations (see Davis 1998; Lubiano 1992, 1996, 1997; Williams Crenshaw 1998; Williams and Peterson 1998).

In addition to examining the state as a vehicle for producing racialized identities, as noted elsewhere in this dissertation, and important for understanding material culture in Manassas, work in race and ethnicity has been profoundly affected by a black feminist critique. As noted throughout, during the 1980s and 1990s women of color rejected ‘additive’ models of oppression, critiquing white women’s feminism that assumed a theoretical model from a white, straight, middle class perspective. During those decades, women of color and especially African-American women called for a new approach to analyzing women’s experiences. They claimed that such experiences were not only shaped by race and gender but by social class, sexuality, and globalization as well (see for example, Davis 1981; Lorde 1984).

In an examination of black feminist thought as critical social theory, the work of Patricia Hill Collins (1998, 1999) offers an historical examination of the black feminist critique. In, *Black Feminist Thought, Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (1999), Hill Collins investigates the four basic components of this theoretical and analytical perspective: 1) its thematic content, 2) its interpretive frameworks, 3) its epistemological approaches and 4) its significance for empowerment. Placing the four components in historical and contemporary political context, the volume summarizes selected core themes in Black feminist thought by surveying their historical and contemporary expression. Additionally, and most importantly, Hill Collins attempts to define the boundaries of Black feminist thought in relation to other arenas of intellectual inquiry. By placing Black feminist thought in the center of analysis without privileging those experiences she shows how intersectional paradigms are important for rethinking issues of power and identity (Hill Collins 1999:228-229).

Another key activist in furthering social justice through an anti-racist and anti-sexist agenda is bell hooks (see hooks 1981, 1984, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1994). Specifically, in *Killing Rage, Ending Racism* (1995), hooks argues that systems of domination, imperialism, colonialism, and racism actively coerce African-Americans to internalize negative perceptions of blackness and to be self hating. She uses Foucault to establish that memory is a site of resistance.

The book also deals with sexism and revolutionary feminism arguing that many white feminists are working for white women and are not necessarily anti-racist. More importantly, she points out that racism and sexism are part of an interlocking nature; they have a relationship to each other, and to understand, analyze and move forward in the feminist movement, we should acknowledge this. bell hooks, like others before her (see Scott 1988) proposes that to change our patriarchal system we should not see women and men as opposites. Most importantly, she issues a challenge to feminist scholars and also to those that study racial issues to not only interrogate blackness as a social construct, but to interrogate whiteness as a social category. The work of bell hooks, Hill Collins and other black feminists urge scholars, and me, to understand the intersections of gender, race, and class, as an important contextual element. Interrogating texts or material culture without specific attention to how gender and race (and other categories) operate in relation to each other risks over simplifying power relationships and characteristics of identity formation within particular contexts.

Additionally, bell hooks (1995) in particular, but also, authors like Friedman (1992) note that internalized racism is a relevant topic which begs the question of how historical actors may have internalized negative perceptions and stereotypes and ways in which they may have countered it. While Jennie Dean may be perceived as someone who promoted the philosophies of Booker T. Washington in order to prove to white society that African Americans were worthwhile (see below), one might also examine Dean's use of Washington's philosophy as a means to counter internalized racism as a method that promoted a belief within the African American community that they, as individuals and as a community, were of worth. When considering the factor of gender, and African American women's roles in a rural, farm culture, in combating internalized racism, this issue may become even more meaningful to this study as understanding your worth might be difficult to do in white dominated spaces or within a white dominated and legally segregated marketplace. One of the defining features of this rural farm culture for African American women was the home. The home was a place of production and consumption and a safe place within which to redefine yourself and your family. Further, women were major producers and consumers in the home and in this rural, farm culture and naturally took on the role as healers, brokers, and community pillars as they had done both pre and post emancipation. As I argue in this chapter and throughout, women were major facilitators of cultural production and reproduction in the interest of fighting racism and creating safe places in which to counter internalized racism.

Other influential works that tie in the "intricate interdependencies," of understanding whiteness as a political identity through its relationship with other social and ideological categories such as gender, sexuality, and nation-state include George Lipsitz's book, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness* (1998a). In this work, Lipsitz intimately links the construction of white identity to the state, property, and consumption arguing that, "both public policy and private prejudice have created a "possessive investment in whiteness" that is responsible for the racialized hierarchies of our society" (Lipsitz 1998a:vii). Throughout the book he makes several key points that are useful for this dissertation: 1) studies of culture are too far removed from studies of social structure and this leaves us with inadequate explanations for understanding racism and inadequate remedies for combating it and, 2) contemporary whiteness has been created and recreated through the present by politics and social policy. This point is examined most thoroughly by his discussion of white collective politics of resistance, refusal, and renegotiation in fair housing, education, and fair hiring, but can be understood here as part of the masking and denial of African American history on Manassas National Battlefield, discussed in Chapter 6. Further, he argues that, 3) the possessive investment in whiteness is not simply a matter of black and white, all racialized minority groups have suffered from it in different degrees and in different ways. Finally, Lipsitz identifies the problems inherent in white people's understanding of the possessive investment in whiteness, and suggests a solution. He says, " . . . an explicitly antiracist interethnic movement that acknowledges the existence and power of whiteness might make some important changes" (Lipsitz 1998a:22).

Whiteness studies have been particularly influential in this dissertation research in addressing issues of Southern white heritage and the control of memory, both for the historic as well as the contemporary community in Manassas, Virginia. For example, the majority of the arguments for *not* incorporating materials about the African-American history of the community into existing interpretative programs at the park mirrors arguments against postmodernism and identity politics generally (see for instance Kimball 1990). Often, park managers argue that this integration politicizes history and is merely an attempt to be “politically correct,” thus implying present interpretations are “neutral,” or outside the realm of politics and power. This is what some scholars might argue is an example of “vulgar anti-essentialism” (see Epperson 2001). These same park managers argue that current interpretations are presented in order to remain “fair” to opposing views for the impetus of the Civil War (i.e., a states’ rights issue versus slavery) and to not antagonize Northern and Southern visitors to the park. However, if examined in the realm of power relationships (i.e., who controls the history being told), and whiteness as a race, discussions of the creation of the park, the alternative histories which exist there, and the contested meanings of these histories, shed light on why some histories are seen as more valid than others, and the power embodied in these interpretations as a reflection of the contemporary relations between the descendant community, the local community, the “Southern” community, present day Confederate heritage groups, Manassas National Battlefield, National Park Service historians and archaeologists, and the federal government (see Chapter 6; Martin Seibert 2001b).

Additionally, when “white,” is interrogated within the historical context in relation to other categories (African-American, gender, class, regional and world markets, etc), consumer culture can be examined beyond the local level to look at the continuing colonial, capitalist, and imperialistic relationships in the community, even more explicitly through the period of mass production and mass advertising as reflected in the archaeological record and more generally through the consumer and producer behavior of this community.

This consumer and producer behavior and its growth from ideas about black capitalism, racial uplift and appropriate gendered, raced, and classed roles for African Americans was significantly influenced by Jennie Dean and the school she established in the late nineteenth century in Manassas, discussed below.

Jennie Dean

Documentary research shows that the African-American community, and in particular, African-American women in Manassas, were politically and socially active. Several studies and museum exhibits on one woman in particular, Jennie Dean, shed light on the activities of women and the community in general, as well as the infiltration of pervasive ideas about race, class, thrift, consumption, and gender.

Very little is documented in the historical record about the personal life of Jane (Jennie) Serepta Dean (1848-1913). Often, her professional achievements in the establishment of the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth at the end of the nineteenth century overshadow any information about her personal life and thus, become her story. For instance, a newspaper indicated in 1901 that, "The story of the building of the Manassas Industrial School is almost the life story of Jennie Dean" (Lewis 1994:5; see also *The New York Evening Post* 1905).

Fortunately, we have several types of sources from which to draw to study her life, including oral historical accounts of her life (see Lewis 1994), an autobiography published in 1900 that was used by the school for fundraising activities (Dean 1900), although it is unlikely that Dean would have written it herself as she was not able to read or write, personal letters and papers of supporters of the Manassas Industrial

School that still exist (see, for instance, the *Emily Howland Papers* 1909), and the material culture associated with Dean: the landscape and school remains (see Chapter 5). The artifacts associated with the archaeological excavations at the homes of several African American families (both enslaved and free) in the Manassas area might also provide insight into Jennie Dean's early life. Finally, archaeologist Matthew Reeves notes that the homestead of Charles and Annie Dean may have been located very near the boundaries of what is today Manassas National Battlefield (Matthew Reeves, personal communication, 1999). Archaeological investigations have not been conducted to date; however, they almost certainly would provide a wealth of information about Ms. Dean and her family.

Jennie Dean was born to Charles and Annie Stewart Dean near Sudley Springs, Virginia in 1848. Both of her parents were enslaved by the Cushing and Newman families, whose plantations were located just outside the modern Manassas National Battlefield, thus, Jennie herself was born into the legacy of slavery. She had three sisters, Ella Dean Bailey, Mary Dean Martin, and Nettie (although we are unsure of her familial relationship to Nettie), one brother, Charles Dean, and a half brother, Henry Bennet. One of her grandmothers, Mildred, was said to have been of African and Native American descent. One of her grandfathers was named Ruben (though, this may have been her uncle, see below). An oral history account of her birth describes an "old Aunt Aimee, who, observing that she was born with one tooth already erupted said, "This is going to become a real woman some day" (quoted in Lewis 1994:5).

Annie Dean was believed to have been a cook, and thus, was probably managing the household for the Cushing family. As with so many other African American and European American families in Manassas, there were many close connections and both familial and ownership relations between the two groups (See Chapters 2 and 3 also). It is likely that Charles Dean may have been hired out to the Cushing farm by Thomas Newman or, more likely, his daughter, Catherine (Miss Kitty) Newman. Thomas Newman had willed Jack and Milly (Charles' mother and father) and their seven children to Miss Kitty in 1820. There were certainly familial connections between both the African Americans and European Americans on the Cushing and Newman plantations. Upon Miss Kitty's death in 1850, she willed Charles Dean and his brother Ruben to her nephew Crawford Cushing. Additionally, Jennie and her sisters, Ella, Mary, and Nettie were all born on the Cushing farm (see PWCVC 1850).

It is also implied from oral history that Jennie's father, Charles Dean, was taught to read and write at an early age. The history notes that he may have been part of the "house-servant" class of enslaved Africans (Lewis 1994:6) who sometimes were responsible for keeping accounts and may have had other responsibilities that would require literacy, and thus was provided the opportunity to learn to read and write. The history also describes Annie and Charles Dean as, ". . .upright, aspiring, thrifty, and honorable citizens" (Lewis 1994:7).

After emancipation Charles Dean settled on a farm close to the modern Manassas National Battlefield. After the war, it is assumed that Jennie's family were tenant farmers because they did not own the land they farmed, and although "it was his [Charles Dean's] ambition to own this farm . . . he died before the purchase was complete" (Lewis 1994:6), around 1886 (Peake 1995). However, Jennie's mother eventually came to own the farm as Jennie's wages from working as a domestic in Washington, D.C., after emancipation, went to pay the balance remaining on the farm. Jennie also used her wages to send her younger sister to Wayland Seminary from which she graduated and became a public school teacher.

Again, not much is found in the historical record about Jennie's time working in Washington D.C., though it is thought that she may have been a professional cook (Fortune 1919). It is also recorded in church records that Jennie became a member of the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church and was baptized in 1866, when she was just 18 years old. While it is speculated that she attended a few years of education at the Congregational Bible Mission School for African American children in Prince William County, she almost certainly attended classes at the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church (Lewis 1994: xxiii; *The Manassas Democrat* 1913:1). Undoubtedly, however, both her commitment to her faith and her experiences with other African American Washingtonians and leaders influenced her thoughts on race and race uplift as she lived there for at least fifteen years. For instance, she was living in Washington, D.C. when the Lincoln Monument was unveiled at Lincoln Square in honor of the fourteenth anniversary of Emancipation in Washington D.C. Angel Nieves, in his 2001 dissertation notes that if given the day off, she almost certainly attended the celebrations, and may have even heard Frederick Douglass address the crowd (see *The New York Times* 1876; Nieves 2001:47-48). Douglass's ideas about who should control the memory of the Civil War and the struggle of slavery had become clear over the previous decade, and were reiterated in his speech. He thought that this history should be controlled by African Americans and in doing so, they could supplant the ideologies of the Lost Cause. This history would promote self-definition and social improvement (see Foner 1955; Blight 1989; Nieves 2001). These ideas almost certainly influenced her when she created a school for African Americans near the battlefield that was controlled and interpreted by the Sons of the Confederacy (see Chapter 6).

Upon her return to the Manassas area in the 1880s, she established vocational and religious classes for the local African-American community. Ms. Dean also established an African-American Methodist church. She created the Mt. Calvary Chapel because African-Americans were made to stand in the back and not allowed to receive communion in the local, white, Sudley Mills Methodist Church (Matthew Reeves, personal communication, September 1999).

After Mt. Calvary, she founded several other churches that helped establish African American community centers including Conklin, Wellington Mission, Prosperity, Burkes, and Pilgrim’s Rest, a free African-American settlement in Loudon County, Virginia (*The Manassas Journal*, nd:2, Scheel, 1991:D11; *Emily Howland Papers* 1909). In fact, she was called the founder of the Sunday School movement in all of Northern Virginia amongst African American communities during the early twentieth century (*Emily Howland Papers* 1909).

It is clear from the educational and vocational classes and the churches that she established during this period that Dean was not only an outstanding missionary and organizer, but also a woman interested in community growth and uplift. In his

2001 dissertation, Angel Nieves notes that, “Dean’s religious consciousnesses as a slave enabled her to accept the challenges of community building for her race. . . .Her exposure to folk religion as a slave laid the foundations of a nationalist consciousnesses and the spiritual strength to preach the fundamentals of an African faith” (Nieves 2001: 242). Evidence of this spiritual tradition has been found at several African American archaeological sites in the Manassas area and includes items such as blue beads, quartz crystals and Colonoware ceramics (see Chapter 2).

However, it is also interesting to note that religion played a significant role in complicating issues of race, calss, and gender and in racial uplift for women. In Manassas and elsewhere the African American churches that Jennie Dean and others founded after emancipation served many purposes including religious, social and educational centers (see *Emily Howland Papers* 1909; Lewis 1994; Nieves 2001). In Manassas, African Americans could now openly worship, sit and take communion in a totally African American owned institution (Matthew Reeves personal communication 1998). Educational institutions that were supported by the Freedman’s Bureau were often run out of African American churches (Fuke 1999:295) or on African American owned property. Since upper class African Americans were the most likely to own land/property, many educational institutions were fostered and run by the upper class African American community. Also interesting is the role of women in the church. Dean’s commitment to education, but also to a woman who knows God and preaching and uses it as a means to uplift the race actually has its beginnings during slavery, but is also documented throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Collier-Thomas 1997).

Ms. Dean's influence in the local African-American community became very strong, but even more compelling was her social abilities and professional contacts among white gentry and educators and her success as a fund-raiser. In an article in the *New York Evening Post*, Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, and chairman of the Manassas Industrial School Board of Directors and Trustees for many years said,

> "Her influence had grown very strong in the community and the people received with confidence anything she said to them. She called a number of them together and said: 'Keep your children at home. Don't send them to the cities. You must buy lands; become taxpayers. Make all you can. Meanwhile, I will go out and raise the money to build a school where your children can be educated to trades. You do your part and I will do mine out in the world'" (Lewis 1994:18).

Ms. Dean called on her contacts in Washington, D.C., including Reverend Walter H. Brooks of the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church (himself a former enslaved African American who was educated at Wilberforce Institute and Lincoln University), in New York, and in Boston to promote a school for African-American children in Virginia and raise funds. Her networking abilities proved to be outstanding. After almost a decade of fund-raising, and support from such notable personalities as Andrew Carnegie, Susan B. Anthony, Clara Barton, and the Reverend Edward Everett Hale (introduced to her by the Reverend Brooks), the Manassas

Industrial School was dedicated on September 3, 1894, with Frederick Douglass giving a speech at the dedication ceremonies. Classes began in October of that year.

From the mid to late nineteenth century illiteracy rates for African Americans varied from ninety five to seventy percent. The number of elementary schools for African American children in the Manassas area during the late nineteenth century helped improve this number though they were underfunded and often only open part of the year. They included the Manley School (1871, attended by the Robinson family children, see Chapter 3 and oral histories in Parsons 2001), Macrae School in the 1870s, the Brown School in 1870, the Chinn School in 1874, the Catharpin Colored School in 1877, the Summitt School in 1883 and the Thoroughfare Colored School in 1884 (Phinney 1993 39-42; Peake 1995:25-26). It should also be noted that African American children may not have been able to attend these schools full time, if at all, as so many worked to help support their families during Reconstruction when the Southern economy was based on an ever failing tenant system that was dramatically similar to slavery. It was during this time when many African American families, like Philip Nash and his family (see below and Chapters 3 and 5) left Virginia in search of better employment opportunities. Because of the vocational focus at the Manassas Industrial School, it was believed that this school, unlike the others, would address this concern.

Students learned academic subjects such as spelling, arithmetic, geography, grammar, reading, United States and Virginia history with a third year focus in “race history” as well as English which highlighted the, “worthy productions by Negro writers” (Manassas Industrial School Catalog 1908-1908).

Trade skills classes included blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, agriculture, domestic science, cooking, carpentry and sewing, among others and a “normal course” for those who wanted to become school teachers (Manassas Industrial School, Jennie Dean Memorial Pamphlet 1999:6).

Ms. Dean’s philosophy is reflected in the six objectives of the school, published in its catalog in 1894: “1) To train in habits of usefulness those committed to its care, by developing them mentally, morally, and physically, 2) To teach the dignity and importance of labor, and by means of trades to perform it skillfully and with pride, 3) To give a sound, English, common school education, 4) To teach the value and use of money, 5) To train young men and women for useful, intelligent citizenship, and 6) To make its students self-reliant, careful thinkers, thorough in their work, manly and womanly in their bearing, and to cultivate habits of industry” (Manassas Industrial School Catalog 1894: 5). Dean’s philosophy was also scattered throughout the course descriptions in the catalog. For instance, one catalog notes that, “Every effort is made to have the studies of the course constantly and closely related to the actual work which the student will have to do, and to the actual life he will have to live” (Manassas Industrial School Catalog 1908-1908). A thought echoed by W.E.B. Du Bois in his 1903 essay, *The Talented Tenth* in which he suggests that, “. . .education and work are the levers to uplift a people. Work alone will not do it unless inspired by the right ideals and guided by intelligence. Education must not simply teach work, it must teach Life” (Washington 1903:75).

The school was relatively self sufficient, charging tuition and fees and reliant upon material and financial gifts. Students could work for their room, board, and tuition and were often paid for their labor. Boys were under the supervision of a Commandant and girls under a Matron. Students wore uniforms and girls were discouraged from wearing jewelry. “Card playing, the use of profane language, of spirituous liquors, or of tobacco and the possession of firearms” were prohibited (Manassas Industrial School Catalog 1915: 6). Students’ trunks were inspected upon arrival to enforce this behavior.

The school comprised 14 structures including an administration building, classroom buildings, dormitories, and agricultural buildings. “During its operation, the Manassas Industrial School grew from a 100-acre to a 200-acre campus that included a model farm” (Sprinkle 1994:75). The school also included a library, a hospital, and teachers’ cottages.

A 1916 Bureau of Education Report indicated that there were 37 private and higher educational institutions for African Americans in Virginia during that time, three of which were founded by women (McCarron et al. 1995:4). However, thirteen of these institutions offered little or no industrial training and the same number received some or all of their funding from public sources. Twenty-two of the schools were affiliated with or run by a religious organization. “The Manassas Industrial School was unique in that it offered industrial training for both sexes, did not rely on public funding, was not affiliated with a religious organization, and was founded by an African-American woman in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It was the only school of its size and type in Northern Virginia” (McCarron et al. 1995:4). The school was considered among the four most important, privately administered schools in the state, ranking second only to the Hampton Institute when rated by income, teachers, attendance, and property value.

The Manassas Industrial School operated as a residential private facility with a campus-like atmosphere until 1938 when it became a regional high school for African-American students in Northern Virginia. The school remained in operation until 1966 when Virginia's schools became desegregated. With the establishment of the Jennie Dean Elementary School, adjacent to the industrial school in the 1960s the Manassas Industrial School buildings were demolished and the site was landscaped (Sprinkle 1994: 73).

Considering the philosophies of the school (and Ms. Dean's philosophies) and the school's popularity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is not surprising, then, that the late nineteenth and early twentieth century African-American community practiced the ideal of 'thrift,' and this is exemplified in the archaeological record by large quantities of canning jars and other home food preservation containers at the Robinson House site and they have also been found at the Nash site (see below). Interestingly, excavations have also uncovered an a large amount of mass produced goods compared with other domestic sites at the park, especially patent medicines and other household items during this same time period at the Robinson House site and pharmaceuticals were the largest category of glassware found at the Nash site (see below). Vessel analysis indicates that the community consumed many brand name-patent medicines, household goods, and personal items, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For instance, Lysol, Pepsi Cola, and other colas/sodas such as Whistle, Star Boy, and Orange Crush, Baking Powder, Dill’s Flavoring Extracts, McCormick and Co. Extracts/Spices/etc, Fruit Juice, and both Carter’s and J & I E M ink bottles were all found during excavations at the Robinson House site (see Chapter 3, Appendices 2 and 3, and further discussion below). This shows that in addition to producing “good producers” of labor, Ms. Dean also encouraged meaningful citizenship and community through participation in modern consumer culture.

She emphasized not only labor, but the value and use of money, and certainly, her own actions in fund raising and purchasing the lot to build a school, emphasized the value of land ownership and land as a commodity that would create community awareness and uplift, not only of individual families, but of the group.

These ideas and philosophies, however, were not universally accepted within the African American community in Manassas. As discussed in Chapter 3, there was a great deal of debate during the late nineteenth century and beyond about the appropriate role of African American consumers and the products of African American labor. Clearly, Ms. Dean was highly influenced by the ideas of Booker T. Washington, and was even compared to him at the time, many calling her his female counterpart (Lewis 1994:7). Dean’s ideas, based on Washington’s philosophies, can been read in the archaeological record by examining canning and other products that exemplify the ideals of thrift and economy. Canning and marketing goods produced from women’s labor, such as selling the walnuts and preserves made my these women, as well as raising poultry for sale at times of the year when cash was needed can be tied to such ideals. When race is used as a context for interpreting the archaeological record these labors become more than just a common activity on farm or rural sites. It can provide insight into how larger ideas about uplift play out materially. These activities are also supported by oral history accounts as well. For instance, Ms. Edna Chloe noted that her mother would sell turkeys around Christmastime to, “get mone to play Santa” (Parsons 2001: Appendix VII.12).

Interestingly, because Dean was a women, I believe that she was much more in tune with women’s roles in a farm culture and that women were proposing and creating something different than were men like Washington or DuBois, something that took community more seriously and made it key in both identity and uplift. In other words, it wasn’t just about the marketplace or about class, it was about nation building. It was about family and family as a centerpiece to uplift.

Further, there were also differences between northern white philanthropists, where much funding for the school came, and the African-American community, about the appropriate type of education for African Americans. These debates played out, on a smaller scale, in Manassas and at the Industrial School. During the early twentieth century, Oswald Garrison Villiard became the Chairman of the Board and President of the school (1905), and ultimately, had Jennie Dean removed from the Board of the Directors, the management of the school and anything connected to it.

Villiard was white, the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, and the owner and publisher of one of the nation’s leading journals, the New York Evening Post. He was very wealthy and, indeed, had particular ideas about the Manassas Industrial School, its philosophies, and how it should be run. In an oral history of Jennie Dean’s life, he commented that she refused to, “pretend to be anything else than what she was, a plain woman, unashamed of being a cook, who made money to help the

School and her people. I was much interested by the deep impression she made upon my Southern wife. There was nothing servile about her; she did not play up to or toady to the whites. She was just a plain, simple, dignified black woman with no gift of oratory and no charm beyond what I have said – her straight-forwardness and sincerity" (quoted in Lewis 1994:46).

Mr. Villiard disagreed with the management of the school, with the courses offered, and with the faculty, whom he systematically replaced over a very short period of time. What was the nature of these debates and disagreements between Villiard and Dean? It is difficult to say based on the historical record, though a 1942 biography of Jennie Dean reflects on the dismissal of some of the faculty saying about one principal, "he too soon incurred the disfavor of the ruling powers, and after two or three years, became the victim of a growing inside conspiracy which was to eventually wreck many promising careers of those induced to either become principals or join the faculty" (quoted in Lewis 1994:50). Clearly, there were some heated disagreements, resulting in Dean's dismissal. In Jane Thompson's notes from an early twentieth century board meeting she wrote, "You remember what was said at the May 30th meeting, "Jennie Dean can no longer represent this Board, for she misrepresents us" (quoted in Lewis 1994:56).

It is likely that these disagreements were born from issues of the appropriate roles for both African Americans and women, from issues of class within the African American community, and interestingly, from the definition of white versus African-American elite. Howard Zinn sums up some of these issues with regard to disagreements about African-American education and class as it is defined against white supremacy. He says,

> Negro education was warped at birth by segregation, and the first to say so are the Negro educators themselves. Dr. Lewis Jones, in a remarkable unpublished report for the Field Foundation, says that for a hundred years [beginning with Emancipation] the Negro colleges were used by whites to produce a tiny elite who would service (as teachers, social workers, small businessmen) the segregated Negro community and act as agents, in effect, for white domination.
>
> [Zinn 1966:78].

It has been argued that elite African Americans had a different set of concerns over the black working class for race based advancement (see Nieves 2001:20). In fact, Nieves (2001) argues that class and gender had an enormous impact on the cultural politics of national identity and community building within the African American community, particularly in the South during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.   Thus, Jennie Dean's own identity as a former enslaved African American woman, also must have influenced these disagreements, as it is clear that there was some difference between different classes of African American women (see Hendircks 1998:1-2).

These intricate interdependencies all influenced, I believe, the concept of race, racial identity, gender, and consumer and producer culture in Manassas during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Nash Site MVC, presented below, and compared to the analysis done on the Robinson House MVC (see Chapter 3) shows how these ideas were appropriated by local families.

The Nash Site Vessel Analysis

The Nash site was the home of Philip [also spelled Phelep] and Sarah Nash, Sarah's father, and Sarah and Philip's 5 children, from about 1860-1900. The site is located along Rt. 29 (the Warrenton-Alexandria Turnpike) on a parcel of land acquired by the National Park Service and the Manassas National Battlefield Park in 1989 (McCartney 1992:131). This location is considered part of the community of Groveton, which is approximately three miles outside the town of Manassas, Virginia. The site is situated about 100 feet south of Lee Highway and about 1200 feet from the intersection of Lee Highway and Groveton Road (Galke 1992:45). The site was located in early 1990s during a shovel testing survey done through a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the University of Maryland. Today, the remains of the dwelling consist of the stone chimney footing and stone piers to support a structure and these have been greatly encroached upon by the surrounding wilderness (Galke, 1992a:8).

During the 1990 project, archaeologists discovered the remains of a chimney and a nearby depression which indicated the presence of a house site (Galke 1992a, 132, 133). Archaeological investigations at the Nash site took place in 1991 and revealed that the structure was probably a 16 by 20 ft. one and one-half story frame building. There was also a significant amount of evidence that indicated that the structure had burned. Artifacts recovered during the excavations include ceramics, glass, architectural debris, buttons, a single blue bead, gaming pieces, and quartz crystals. During the analysis of materials in the course of that project, investigators hypothesized that the site was occupied by 1870 and only through about 1880 (Galke 1992). However, during a re-examination of the material culture and vessel counts performed during the course of this dissertation, it is clear that the occupation began at least as early as 1860 and probably lasted a little later, until about 1900 (see below and Appendices 4 and 5).

Historically, the Nash site was located on a tract of land owned by the residents of the nearby Brownsville Plantation. First developed by George Newman Brown around 1769, the land is described as having been,

> .... part of the 255 acres on the Licking Branch of Bull Run that Young had acquired from Maurice Bivin in 1725 - 1726. In 1775, when a survey was made of a 12 acre tract that Brown had just been granted, reference was made to the fact that his newly-allocated parcel lay adjacent to "his own land (formerly John Young's)" (Prince William County Deed Book R:127; Joyner 1886: 94, 174). This acquisition would have given him 247 acres that were contiguous [McCartney 1992:47].

Through the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century the land on which the Nash site stood passed through the hands of various European American owners and heirs, and was eventually sold to William M. Lewis in 1835. At this time the entire tract of land, including that which would eventually become the Nash home site was described as,

> ... 408 acres known as “Brown’s Tract” [was sold to William M. Lewis, who already was in possession of 349 acres on the Copper Mine Branch that had $350 worth of buildings.] The Fowle couple (as grantors) stated that the land they were conveying to Lewis was the same acreage that had been allotted to Elizabeth T. Hooe by the commissioner of the county circuit court in the law suit of Fowle vs. Hooe. In 1836 when the Prince William County tax assessor compiled his annual records, he credited William M. Lewis with his 349 acres on the Copper Mine Branch, plus 409 acres called “Browns” [McCartney 1992:51].

By 1860, Brownsville was a successful farm which had substantial quantities of livestock. Also in 1860, Lewis was in the possession of 22 slaves who ranged in age from 1 to 70. After the Civil War, the Lewis family was successful in rebuilding their farm operations, but by 1868, they had deeded the land to John T. Leachman (son-in-law of William M. Lewis). The land was then described as,

> ...[a] 409 acre farm.... bound on the north by the Warrenton and Alexandria Turnpike, on the west by the Cundiff property, on the south by the Wheeler farm, and on the east by the Compton and Chill land. In 1870, when Prince

> William County's tax assessor compiled his records he noted that John T. Leachman was then in possession of the Brownsville tract, which consisted of 409 acres and had 1,500 dollars worth of improvements...[McCartney 1992:122].

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the Brownsville tract was once again a thriving farm. In 1869, Leachman expended 800 dollars in wages to hired laborers, and by 1870, agricultural records indicate that 300 acres of the 409 acre farm were under cultivation, while the remaining 109 acres were wooded. When the Brownsville Plantation's 1870 yield is compared with that of other area farms, it is apparent that Leachman ran one of the most productive agricultural operations in Prince William County. By 1880, statistics show the farm as having become even more productive (McCartney 1992:122,123).

The Nash site is located on a far corner of the Brownsville property, evidently in an area not under cultivation. This corner of the property probably would have been considered a wooded area. Census records indicate that the family was living in the structure by 1880. From the 1870 census it is clear that both Philip Nash and his (soon to be) wife Sarah were recorded as living with the Lewis family in some manner (see below). Sometime in the decade between 1870 and 1878, Philip and Sarah had married, though they had started a family by at least 1868 because the 1870 census records 3 year old Fannie, and Henry was probably on the way (see below). As the Lewis (and then Leachman) family owned the tract of land where the Nash house stood, and since the couple had started a family (though not officially married until the 1870s), it is entirely possible that they actually lived at the site as early as 1860. A reexamination of the material culture actually supports this earlier date.

Prince William County census records reveal that in 1880, the household of Philip Nash, a 44 year old black farmer, his 44 year old wife, Sarah, and the couple's five children, Fannie (age 12), Henry (age 10), Hallie (age 8), Lucy (age 6), and Sallie (age 2) and Neson Ewell (Sarah's father, listed as a laborer) lived near the crossroads of the community of Groveton (McCartney, 1992:123 and PWCFCR 1880).

Early research into the Nash family done in the 1990s did not indicate the presence of Neson Ewell at the site (McCartney 1992). The census records at the time, however, had not been electronically entered and were somewhat confusing to read. Since 1990, however, advances in computerization have clarified a number of issues commonly confused in census records including number of people recorded at the site, their ages, dates of birth, occupations, literacy, and other issues. The electronic versions of the census records provide much useful information about this family previously unknown or incorrect. For instance, it is clear that the name "Francis" as described in the 1990s, is clearly Fannie, a female. It is also clear that Fanny, Henry, and Hallie all attended school during 1880 as they are listed as, "attended school within the last year."

It is also clear that Neson Ewell is Sarah's father as he is listed as "Father-in-law," he is also listed as a widower, which would explain why he was living with the family. His age in 1880 is 69 and estimated birthyear is 1811. His father's and mother's birthplace is listed as Virginia. Sarah's individual census record list her as "Sarah Nash (Sarah Ewell)" and as a married, black, female, housekeeper, wife of

Philip [Phelep], born about 1836 and whose father's and mother's birthplace is Virginia.

There are two other intriguing things to be gleaned from the census records about the Nash family; one is the perception of race as shown through the census records. Philip is listed as mulatto in the 1870 record and black by the 1880s, a full decade before the Robinson family is distinguished as black rather than mulatto, showing the power given to white census takers to define not just black, but white (see discussion of whiteness studies, above). The second interesting issue that a reexamination of the census records indicates is the relationship between the Leachman and Lewis families and their African American farm laborers and others workers/employees as seen through the recording of the census (particularly the 1870s census). By 1870, Lewis had sold the Brownsville tract to Leachman, however, it appears that Phillip Nash as well as many members of the Ewell family were living with and/or working for the Lewis family during that year. While it is not clear at exactly what property Philip and Sarah were living, it is clear they were both working for Benjamin Lewis in 1870 because of the way the census is recorded. Benjamin Lewis (son of William M. Lewis) was 54 in 1870 and listed as a white male farmer whose real value was 10,500 dollars, clearly the head of household. Listed below him is James Lewis a 77 year old white male, also listed as a farmer. James does not appear in previous census records and so we cannot assume that he is an older brother. Perhaps an uncle (his father's brother)? Further down we see Sarah Ewell, a 35 year old black female, listed as keeping house. It appears that Sarah was keeping house for Benjamin and James. In the same household are listed these additional Ewells: Claricy (10, black female), Martha (5, Mulatto female), Fannie (3, mulatto female), and John (5/12, a mulatto male). The last name listed in the household is Phillip Nash, a 30 year old mulatto male laborer. It is clear from later census records that Fannie lives with Phillip and Sarah and it is assumed that she is their daughter. Also listed in 1880 is a son, Henry, who is 10 at the time. So in 1870, while Sarah and Phillip were working for the Lewis' they had Fannie, and probably Henry (on the way). What is not clear is who Claricy, Martha and John are and how they are related to 35 year old Sarah. Possibly they are younger sisters and a brother, or nieces and nephews.

What is clear, and it is no surprise, is that there are many layers of connections between the Leachman and Lewis families and their laborers as eventually, Philip and Sarah, who had a relationship (and at least two children) while working for the Lewis family, marry and live on land owned by the Leachman family (related by marriage to the Lewis family - Leachman married William M. Lewis' daughter). It seems probable that Philip and Sarah rented the land and building that they occupied, and may even have been living there (in fact, that is likely based on the archaeological record, see below) prior to the 1880 census.

Two sketches of the area in 1878 demonstrate a building to the west of the crossroads of Groveton, attributed to persons named Nash. Because Philip Nash did not own the property or the structure that he lived in, and because he is indicated as a farmer, it can be speculated that Philip Nash was either a farm laborer or tenant farmer for the owners of Brownsville Plantation (Leachman). It is equally possible that he rented land from Leachman but continued to work for Benjamin Lewis as a farm laborer. It is also equally possible that Sarah continued keeping house for Benjamin Lewis during that time as well, even though she lived with her husband and family in the Nash structure. In 1901, and again in 1904 maps were made of Prince William County. On both maps the Nash structure is not present, although it is not known to what extent these maps' makers attempted to include lesser sized structures, or if uninhabited or unused structures were included. A reexamination of the artifactual evidence indicates the Nash family vacated the site after 1900. Another note of interest is that oral history evidence indicates that the structure was an old slave cabin that predated the civil war (Oswald Robinson, personal communication to M. Reeves April 16, 1991), while the 1878 Fitz-John Porter trial maps note that the structure was a "school H. [house] built since the war, occupied by colored people" (Anonymous [ca.1878]).

Research at the Nash site presents the opportunity to examine the material culture of a post-emancipation African-American family that was probably struggling economically. This is evidenced by the fact that Nash was probably a tenant farmer for the Leachman family. Leachman is reported to have paid only $490 in wages, including board to his farm workers (McCartney 1992:59); and also by the fact that Nash, his father in law and his wife and five children lived in a relatively small structure, possibly an abandoned schoolhouse. Census records also indicate that Nash and his family did not stay long in the area of Prince William County, indicating that, like many other African-American families, they may have migrated in order to find employment or make a living wage.

A vessel analysis methodology was presented in Chapter 3. The same methodology was used to perform a minimum vessel analysis of glass and ceramic artifacts recovered at the Nash site, with the exception that the Robinson House vessel analysis focused on artifacts recovered from one feature. At the Nash site, artifacts from the entire site were used in the analysis. This is because the stratigraphy was tightly dated and the number of artifacts was smaller, making an analysis of the entire site possible.

Although the site was not occupied for nearly as long as the Robinson House site, the Nash site period still provides important data about the tumultuous period directly after the Civil War and through the late nineteenth century. This was a period of upheaval, not only for the former owners of African American slaves who no longer had a free labor force, but for the freed slaves themselves who needed to adjust to a tenant system that, as it turns out, was simply another form of enslavement. This was a period that tested families' endurance and will to survive because many could not make a living wage. Further, although the assemblage (i.e., number of artifacts) is significantly smaller than the Robinson House, and others may argue that a vessel count is less useful with such a number, I have found that the count provides very important comparative data, and has forced a reconsideration of the occupation period of the site.

Data: Ceramics

The Nash site contains a minimum of 21 ceramic vessels, with 14 different sets. Like the Robinsons, the most common ware in the assemblage is whiteware (n=12, 57%), and like the Robinsons, it makes up the majority of the assemblage. Other wares in the assemblage are buff paste stoneware (n=1, 5%), white paste stoneware (n=1, 5%), gray paste stoneware (n=1, 5%), Rockingham-Bennington yellowware (n=1, 5%), and hardpaste whiteware (n=3, 14%). While the Robinson collection included Japanese and unidentified porcelain, the Nash site did not, though this may be attributed to the date of occupation (porcelain was more widely available at a cheaper price during the early twentieth century when the Nash family had most likely vacated the property). An interesting dichotomy, however, is that the Nash site ceramics count includes two examples of refined redware (n=2, 9%) while the Robinson House did not include any examples of refined redware.

The nature of the deposits at the Robinson House and Nash sites were very different. Not very many of the ceramics at the Nash site mended (while those at the Robinson House did). This may be because the Robinson ceramics came from a single feature on the site – an ice house, while the Nash site ceramics came from all units at the site and were extremely fragmented. There were some crossmends between strata, but, like other sites across Manassas National Battlefield, the site was relatively shallow due to the nature of the soil and its consistency, containing between 1 and 2 strata, although a few units and stps contained up to 4 strata.

When possible, a production span was identified for each vessel (ex. 1850-1870). These dates were assigned using patent designs, manufacturer technologies, or maker’s marks. Although a production span was produced for many vessels, mean ceramic dating is not used for the Nash ceramic assemblage (nor was it for the Robinson collection). As noted in Chapter 3, mean ceramic dates average the median production dates of ceramics to date an archaeological deposit (South 1977). This type of dating is most commonly used on eighteenth-century sites. The Nash is a nineteenth to (very early) twentieth century site. In addition, on sites that have a large quantity of whiteware, mean dating is less meaningful primarily because of the lengthy production span for whiteware (1820-1900) (Mullins 1996: 155). Whiteware is the majority (n=12, 57%) of the ceramics within the analysis. The production spans in this analysis were determined primarily to identify the age of the deposits, and to clarify the contexts in which the artifacts may have been used.

Refined Wares

Refined or tablewares consist of 86% (n= 18) of the entire assemblage. Some of the oldest tablewares in the collection are the refined redwares which date to the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries (1763-1820). One of the sherds has a black glaze, the other is lusterware and is incised. Both pieces are part of a tea set. One is a lid finial for a sugar bowl, teapot or creamer, the other is part of a teapot or creamer. This suggests that they may have been deposited prior to the Nash's occupation of the structure, possibly by enslaved African-Americans if the structure was used as a slave cabin as oral histories suggest. It seems more likely, however, based on the context within which the sherds were found, that they represent an older tea set, perhaps a prized possession that that Nash family either passed down, or was possibly provided to them by the Lewis or Leachman families when they no longer had use for it. One other piece dates from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century and that is an annular painted teacup (1785-1840). This teacup, though not part of a set, may have had similar origins.

Other decorated vessels and sets in the Nash collection include a mulberry transfer printed whiteware (saucer; 1840-1870), a Rockingham Bennington/yellowware (probably jug or teapot 1830-1900), two light blue transfer printed whiteware sherds (twiffler and a teacup), and a dark blue shell edged saucer. Of these decorated vessels, 63% (n=5) are associated with a tea set and while not matching sets, at least the redwares and light blue transfer prints would have been close enough to use together as a set, if needed.

Like the Robinson collection, some of the tablewares consisted of undecorated whiteware (n=7, 33% of the entire collection and 38% of the tableware). Whiteware was relatively inexpensive everyday tableware. Two sherds of whiteware were decorated with molding. Although whiteware was produced in the 1820s and throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, molded vessels typically date to later in the nineteenth century suggesting that they may have had a shorter uselife.

Utilitarian Wares

Utilitarian wares consist of 14% (n=3) of the entire ceramic assemblage. Two of the utilitarian wares (the gray paste stoneware and the buff paste stoneware) are storage vessels. The white paste stoneware is a small jar that may be an apothecary jar. The lower percentage of storage vessels may indicate the beginnings of mass production for utilitarian wares. “By the 1890s most traditional ceramic producers had ceased their craft because industrialists could produce vast quantities of ceramic and glass storage vessels at a far cheaper rate than any potter could rival" (Mullins 1996:171). The presence of ceramic storage vessels (and a canning jar lid, see below) such as these does indicate that the family was engaging in home food preparation and preservation, like the Robinsons.

Furthermore, glass rather than ceramics is typically a better dating device for late nineteenth and early twentieth century collections. This is because during this era of mass production, bottled goods were cheaper and more available than ever before. Glass bottles were usually immediately discarded after the contents were used or consumed. Ceramics, on the other hand, were usually kept for longer periods of time until they were broken, or, in some cases, became outdated.

Analysis: Ceramics

As noted above, the Nash collection marks the period of upheaval between the end of the Civil War and Jim Crow. During the early Reconstruction period (and prior to emancipation), ceramics may have been available to the public in local stores, at country fairs and through traveling salesman. As the decades wore on, and the Victorian era began, they became more readily available and were sold in more outlets including department stores and mail order catalogs. Mass production and increased availability toward the end of the century kept prices relatively stable. The Nash family collection of ceramics reflects this shift as seen through the earlier refined wares (lusterware and black glazed refined redware, annular ware, mulberry transfer print and Rockingham-Bennington yellowware) that may have been refined, though mismatched, through the later more easily matched light blue transfer prints and undecorated whiteware, which, were affordable, matched (for the most part) and were easily replaceable when a piece was broken.

This suggests that, like the Robinsons, as mass produced ceramics became more readily available, the Nash family adopted a pattern similar to the dominant material dining standards, assembling similar colors and patterns in lieu of large set purchases. This piecemeal consumption pattern would have served two purposes for the family. It would have allowed them to have somewhat matching sets that could be bought at different times, and also freed up money to buy other, needed goods.

The Nash collection of ceramics is indicative of a family in transition. One that may have had a few treasured pieces of teaware and some older tablewares used for longer periods of time, but also a family that was becoming increasingly aware of dominant material dining standards and the connections between race, class, and mass consumption. Along with their newfound freedom came the opportunity for racial uplift *through* consumer citizenship. Although this desire was fulfilled for the Robinson family, as shown through their collection, the Nash collections' scattered, smaller sized artifacts and numbers shows that their American dream remained unfulfilled, at least while they lived in Manassas. It shows the promise and hope for equality and the devastating realization of a failed tenant system and legal restrictions that formally enforced inequality once again. It shows the tenuous connection between racial reality and class fantasy, upheld by the changing capitalist market.

Data: Glass

The Nash collection included 35 unique glass vessels with at least 3 different sets identified in the count (Appendix 4, Tables C1-C5). A mean production date of 1885 was produced for the entire glass assemblage. This suggests that the Nash family may have occupied the site until at least 1900. Categories of the glass assemblage are as follows: The collection includes 13 (37%) vessels in the category Food/Condiment/Household, 4 (11%) Pharmaceutical vessels, 2 (6%) Soda/Ale/Beer/Mineral Water, 1 vessel in the category Whiskey Bottles/Flasks 1(3%) and 16 (46%) vessels with unknown contents, classified under the category, Unidentified. Unlike the Robinson collection, the Nash site glass assemblage contained no vessels identified as personal (for instance, like the Robinsons' collection of hair tonic or shampoo), however, the small ceramic jar (possibly apothecary), identified in the ceramics analysis above, might be considered a "personal" jar. Additionally, no identifiable wine or champagne bottles were found at the Nash site. Interestingly, the Robinson collection only included one wine bottle suggesting it was very rarely consumed by both families.

The most prominent category of identified vessels, Food/Condiment/Household, contains 1 jar, 6 bottles, and 2 lamp chimneys. This category also contains tableware which included 1 tumbler, and 3 unidentified holloware vessels.

Within the tableware category there are 3 different sets including a molded aqua green holloware, that is probably depression glass, another very light green holloware that is an unusual shape, and a colorless ribbed-and-notched tumbler.

Such tableware is similar to the use of ceramic tableware in that it was generally used until it was broken.

The second largest identified category, Pharmaceutical, refers to vessels which carried patent medicine or other medicinal or extract bottles. Pharmaceutical vessels constitute 11% (n=4) of the entire glass assemblage. It is not particularly unusual for Pharmaceuticals to represent the second largest portion of the collection, as it does in the Robinson collection, due to the popularity of patent medicines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Whiskey Bottles/Flasks, or liquor, represented only 3% (n=1) of the glass assemblage, suggesting that liquor was consumed less frequently and probably slower than pharmaceuticals.

In comparison, Beer and Ale are lumped within a category called Soda/Ale/Beer/Mineral which represent 6% (n=2) of the total collection and have a mean date of 1887. One of the bottles is clearly machine made and has a crown finish, the other was patinated and a lipping tool was used; both were aqua in color.

Unidentified vessels (n=15, 46%) are vessels in the count that cannot be identified because they are not indicative of a specific form such as jar, or bottle, and/or they are unrepresentative of specific products such as patent medicine. The vessels generally have little or no identification marks or moldings, and no dateable characteristics such as machine-made mold lines, suction scars or finish types.

Analysis : The Glass Assemblage

As mentioned above, like the Robinsons, the Nash family glass collection also indicated that the family was canning their own foods as indicated by the presence of a lid liner from a canning jar, though canning made up a larger percentage of the Robinson House collection. The Food/Condiment/Household category was the largest category of identifiable glass types in the collection (n=13 or 37%).

However, the assemblage also shows an increasing awareness of mass consumer culture by buying mass produced goods, especially patent medicines and other household items such as tableware that matched, or at least was close to matching. The vessel analysis indicates that brand name-patent medicines were being used (as shown by the embossing on the bottles), and household goods such as Heinz products were being consumed (vessel 10). The whiskey/liquor bottle was a one pint bottle from Southwest or Southeast Washington D.C.

Again, as noted in Chapter 3, the use of brand names by the African-American community may have been an avenue which could have evaded racism or class discrimination, and the use of patent medicines by the family is part of a larger transformation within society of discipline and its relationship to the body, which actually began during the eighteenth century (Shackel 1993). Patent medicines may also indicate that the family wanted to control personal healing and medicinal distribution within their household rather than visiting a doctor or hospital. Interestingly, no Colonoware was recovered at the Nash Site. On other sites in Manassas Colonoware was likely used as part of a ritualistic tradition, potentially medicinal. Therefore, the presence of such patent medicines is consistent with the notion that the Nashes, while still retaining some ritualistic traditions (as indicated by the cache of quartz crystals, galena, and other items recovered here), that were used as medicine for the family and community, were using other methods to administer medicines to the individual and that Sarah Nash was transitioning to other methods to retain solidarity and promote racial uplift during this period.

For instance, like the ceramic collection, the Nash's glass collection indicates that the family was becoming more and more aware of the mass consumer marketplace as the century came to a close. While the presence of a canning jar lid liner indicates the family was practicing home food production, canning jars do not make up a large percentage of the Food/Condiment/Household collection like they did for the Robinson House. This may have been for a variety of reasons. The Robinsons owned their farm and thus may have had more of an opportunity to use the products of their home labor for consumption or sale. The Nashs, on the other hand, may not have been allowed this luxury, as they did not own their home or land. Just as the Robinsons were aware that they were being watched by the white community (see Chapter 3 and below), the Nash family, was surely, even more aware of this type of surveillance as, again, they were renting their home and were newly freed, and thus more suspect (Brundage 1993; Richard Robinson, personal communication 1998; Smith 1999). It is also equally likely that although Sarah Nash was listed in the 1880 census as "keeping house," that this may have meant that she was keeping both her own home, as well as that of the Lewis or Leachman families, and although she may have been "paid," with her family so young, and not contributing to their financial gain, it left less time with which to engage in canning or other income producing activities. More than anything, the glass collection shows that this family was struggling to make ends meet, and eventually, the family needed to move on to find better employment, merely to survive.

The presence of glass tableware sets, soda/ale/mineral water vessels, pharmaceuticals, and a whiskey flask also show that the family was coming to understand both dominant material standards, gentility, and popular culture, *and* the uses of a market that they could, on some occasions, now have access to, and a desire to operate within it.

Gender, Black Capitalism and The Business of Nation Building and Racial Identity

There have been many thorough examinations about the ideals of black capitalism and the influence and conflicting positions of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois that it need not be rehashed here (see, for example, Chapter 3; Mullins 1999; Peake 1995). However, it has been argued that not enough attention has been paid to women's roles in nation building and race uplift efforts (see Nieves 2001), nor, I would argue, the role of constructing racial difference by both the African American and European American communities within these efforts as well. At Manassas, we have the opportunity to examine the roles of both women and men, African-Americans and European Americans in how these ideas are expressed materially at the local level. The archaeological record exemplifies that African-American women and men were purposefully invested in black capitalism as it is related to racial uplift as seen through their consumer behavior (see also Chapter 2). Both women and men in Manassas were uniquely aware of their gender's power, and their different roles, through their participation in producer and consumer culture.

Several authors have argued that upper class (and I would argue, rural and working class) African Americans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were actively participating in nation and community building rather than accepting the assimilationist agendas of Washington and others (see, for instance, Nieves 2001, Gatewood 1990). Black nationalism is a term that refers to a philosophy of black national identity that promotes the belief in "black pride," a sense of shared oppression, and the responsibility to promote economic, political and social independence (Bracey, et. al. 1970). While the term often elicits images of African American male leaders of the mid twentieth century such as Malcolm X, it has also been used to identify with African American women of the late nineteenth century, such as Jennie Dean who were actively involved in nation-making through the promotion of community solidarity and education (see Nieves 2001 who also discusses Elizabeth Evelyn Wright). In the context of this study, black nationalism is the base through which the African-American community in Manassas creates a conscious ideology of race uplift amongst themselves through community building. This community building process grew out of an earlier project of ethnogenesis, wherein this local community continually redefines itself to promote survival during slavery and beyond (see Chapter 2). As argued previously, ethnogenesis and in turn, nineteenth and twentieth century community building in Manassas, were inextricably tied to participation in consumer and producer culture, including mass production, and the production of goods and services to a changing capitalist market. African American women, in particular, created specific methods, tied to race uplift that sought the empowerment of this local, rural African American community. Black nationalism and uplift, as they were tied to consumption and production, were not solely confined to creating solidarity and a local community identity; however, they were part of a series of complex community building projects, including the promotion of educational and religious reform that swept African America for the betterment of their national community.

As the Nashes, Robinsons, and others knew, freedom and survival were not guaranteed. African Americans must act collectively to participate in the capitalist economy through production and consumption for their collective self-benefit. For this community, then, ethnogenesis served to create a carefully selected local identity with intimate familial and kinship relations with the white community as well as a national identity, in which both power relationships and racial identities were redefined, and through which African Americans could reclaim their heritage and landscape. These learned power and familial relationships with the white community (through their earlier project of ethnogenesis, see Chapter 2), I believe, helped Jennie Dean negotiate her position with northern white philanthropists when she was fund-raising for the Manassas Industrial School.

Rural African American women had a unique position in the reappropriation of the generally, all-white, domestic sphere (often farmsteads) of Victorian America as well as the all-white (or at least white-controlled), public sphere, including the marketplace. An ideal Victorian woman, urban or rural, black or white, was expected to be committed to the domestic, in the role of household manager, wife, and mother. However, rural African-American women often participated in both the public and private spheres. They blurred the lines between public and private roles and men's and women's roles, often founding and building institutions for African Americans, like Jennie Dean, and in rural areas, producing marketable goods for other African Americans, such as Colonoware ceramics, as well as goods available for consumption to both white and black markets such as walnuts, produce, canned goods, cream, and livestock (see Chapters 2 and 3 and Parsons 2001, Oral History: Appendix VII).

Understanding the links between race, class, and gender in rural areas is essential for studying consumer and producer citizenship. As the head of household in the domestic sphere, women were often in a more appropriate position to define what they were consuming and producing and how. Domesticity in rural and/or farm culture included not only deciding what table settings and teaware the family would use and display, but often, for both working class white and African American families, it included farm duties that were the domain of the farm yard and garden. Raising chickens and turkeys and preparing them for sale, canning fruits, vegetables and nuts and for use in the family and for purchase. Unlike white women, however, several of the African-American women in the families in this study not only presided over their own families, but were cooks and household managers of white families as well. They came from a long tradition of domestic management during both pre emancipation when they were enslaved, and post emancipation when many of these families "bound out" their daughters to hone their skills at a trade such as household management. They include Jennie Dean, who was known as a cook and her mother, Annie, who managed the Cushing household during slavery. Sarah Nash, who, as indicated in the census records, ran her own household as well as that of the Lewis (and probably Leachman) family, and Susan [Gaskins] Robinson, who was owned by the John Lee and her daughter Mima who was a personal assistant to Lee, also her owner, and later was bound out to the Dogan or Ball family (see Chapter 2).

These women faced a “double burden of race and gender” that prompted them to articulate an alternative consumer and producer discourse that defined their own sense of womanhood and community despite living in a society that professed the need for “separate but equal” under Jim Crow legislation. While some archaeologists have argued for understanding the archaeological record of African-Americans and the importance of examining issues of class within that community (see Mullins 1999, Nieves 2001; Warner 1998a, 1998b), which, admittedly, archaeological inquiry is well suited to investigating, it is also important to understand issues of class from a gendered perspective, and one that is critiqued through the creation of “whiteness.”

In particular, as the archaeological record shows (see also Chapter 2), these women, post emancipation, could engage in dominant ideals of Victorian behavior by buying into the mass consumer marketplace and dominant ideals of dining standards. Remembering that “middle class privacy was violently denied to slaves,” (Smith 1999:46), these women now had the opportunity to participate in this consumer culture in the “private sphere” of their own homes, despite the fact that concepts of the “white gaze” and surveillance may have been trained on their activities outside the house, in the public sphere. African Americans in Manassas were keenly aware that their behavior, including their consumer practices, were being not only closely watched, but limited through law and other, often violent, measures. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Robinson family concealed new farm equipment in their barn when not in use to deflect negative (possibly violent) reactions by the white community (see Parsons 2001; personal communication Richard Robinson, 1998). The Robinsons were also often not allowed to engage directly in the business of selling their products to the white community in Manassas, often having to use a white intermediary (see Chapter 3).

Despite repercussions, African-American women also practiced these ideals in the public sphere as well. The building of the Manassas Industrial school by Jennie Dean, and the activities there exemplify this, though they did not come without a price. Several of their school buildings were burned to the ground on numerous occasions (Lewis 1994). In fact, the Robinson House, located on Manassas National Battlefield was also burned to the ground in 1993 (Washington Post 1993: C05). The issue of the continuity of visible and hidden landscapes of race and racial uplift, and the backlash from the white community through time is explored further in Chapters 5 and 6.

Finally, these collections can be examined not just from a classed and gendered perspective, but also as they are defined against the definition of "whiteness" as it existed and was recreated through white southern identity and the Lost Cause during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Historians have defined the "Lost Cause" as a struggle over the collective memory of pre-emancipation eras, particularly in the Southern United States, that was most often shaped by a series of organizations, institutions and formalized ritual. Proponents of the Lost Cause felt that by honoring the memory of the Confederacy a false memory of the success of slavery and therefore a justification for the remaining social order (codified in Jim Crow law) was promoted (Shackel 2003).

The management and appropriation of the Manassas Industrial School by Oswald Garrison Villiard in 1905 gave a vast amount of power to the white community to control the definition of “white” and “black” and the appropriate roles for each through this institution. It exemplifies that many white Americans, even those who espoused the education of African Americans, had serious reservations about the progress of African Americans and were, perhaps, even fearful of a new social order.

While Jennie Dean strongly believed that her philosophy on education for African Americans could help them to define their own approach for self determination, it could be argued that Villiard was undoubtedly influenced by the definition of whiteness and white people’s role in “guiding” African Americans in their new post-slavery positions.

Historian Lerone Bennet argues that the “oppressor” always seeks to maintain a level of control over the oppressed through the management of the oppressed’s “education.” He says,

> Deliberate and systematic miseducation is a source of violence. In this situation, miseducation is a simple necessity of the system, which calls for ignorance as a premise of its own existence. The system creates educated men and women, made in its own image. The system could not exist if it did not multiply discrimination. And whether it miseducates or refuses to educate the aim is the same thing (Bennet 1968).

Couched in the use of Booker T. Washington's philosophy (a la Jennie Dean), Villiard then re-created an institution, apparently against the wishes of the African American community who did not support him (see Lewis 1994 and above), that would re-establish not only the social order, but the very definition of "white" as master (as played out in Villiard as the "master" of the school) and black as a subservient, segregated, class, acting as an agent for white domination (the pupils of the school). It is important to note that not only did the issue of race become all-important to the social structure of the South during this period, but, as this example with Villiard shows, so did *constructing* racial difference where race is, as Epperson says of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, "imposed, resisted and transformed" (Epperson 2001:61). For, as the archaeological record shows, at the very same time, Black Victorians solidified their formal approach to racial uplift through consumer and producer practice during this period. African American women found ways to challenge the traditional paradigms of patriarchy and hierarchy which relegated women to separate spheres, and defined their race in opposition to whiteness, once again, in a subservient role. African-American women, as reformers and household managers, because of their acknowledged duties as mothers and wives of the race assumed the primary responsibility of this communal self-improvement that challenged the politics and power of separate spheres as only tools of male and white oppression (Reverby and Helly 1992).

Rural African-Americans after the Civil War used different methods to effect change through their participation in the new capitalist agendas of the South, tied so wholly to the Lost Cause and definitions of whiteness. Their consumer/producer agenda embraced their collective past through honing their labor and selling their products, while reshaping a newly emerging consumer culture of mass produced goods that defied society's stereotype of them in the worst cases as lazy, stupid, or happily subservient, and in the best case, as a segregated, but content, group that would service separate white and African American communities alike. In the next chapter, I examine how these issues played out in the historic landscapes of Manassas and in the final chapter, how these issues and landscapes continue and resonate with us today.

Chapter 5: Historic African American Landscapes and the Contradictions of the Lost Cause Ideology

African American Landscapes in Manassas, a Case Study

In Chapter 5, I examine African-American landscapes as they could be understood and interpreted today in the Manassas, Virginia, area. Because of the great number of African-American sites within Manassas National Battlefield Park and in the Manassas area generally, this chapter focuses on three sites that attempt to represent the breadth of the African-American experience in rural areas: The Robinson House, a family of free African-Americans who owned their own home and farm during the pre and post emancipation eras (see Chapter 3); the Nash Site, the home of a formerly enslaved African-American family who became tenant farmers after emancipation (see Chapter 4); and the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth, a school founded by a formerly enslaved African-American woman during the late nineteenth century and attended by thousands of African-American students through the 1960s (see Chapter 4).

I will approach the study of landscapes through material culture studies, primarily because this field uses an integrated approach that can includes archaeological analysis among other types of disciplines. It allows for the study of "intricate interdependencies" as any analysis can borrow from several approaches that are relevant to this context.

Material Culture Studies and African American Landscapes

Over the past two decades, scholarship in the three major trends in identity politics outlined in the last chapter: Colonialism-Postcolonialism-Nationalism-Transnationalism; Feminism-Gender, and Race-Ethnicity- Whiteness, have made significant contributions to thinking about and framing studies in African-American landscapes and consumer and producer patterns, both historically and within the contemporary community. Obviously, several of these trends have been more influential than others for interpreting nineteenth century life for an African-American community in northern Virginia. Understanding both consumer and producer culture and the creation of racial, gendered, and classed identities are crucial for examining how these institutions mediate the relationships between people and the material and natural worlds.

Ironically, creating raced, classed, and gendered identities through consumption, has been an avenue that has, at certain times in the past, been part of an agenda to deny self-definition to certain disenfranchised groups (see Cohen 1981; Goings 1994; Friedman 1992; Manring 1998), often creating the illusion that the current situation of those groups was and continues to be historically inevitable. Yet the practice of consumption and production and the inquiry into multiple meanings of the material world (multivalency) has also been a tool for empowerment when material culture and consumption-production can be studied as processes that account for self-definition informed by racial, ethnic, economic, and gendered ideologies. Moreover, that arena in which identity is defined through consumption-production, may be seen as the interaction between locally specific practices of self-definition and the dynamics of a larger national consumer-producer culture.

Studies into African-American consumption-production, particularly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the transformations in marketing and development of mass consumer culture, can shed light on ideologies of race, class and gender in the past and in the present. The interpretation of such “alternative” histories can illuminate the need for a critical examination of current presentations of history.

The paradigms, intellectual threads, and approaches of current material culture scholarship can frame the study of landscapes of African American consumption-production in northern Virginia during the nineteenth century. Additionally, this research will fill a gap in current material culture scholarship, particularly in studies of consumer-producer culture and gender, by focusing more attention on rural patterns of consumption-production and revealing how institutions such as race, class, and gender and their intricate interdependencies used material culture and the landscape as a vehicle to move through households, social groups, communities and beyond.

African American Landscapes of Survival Resistance, and Uplift

An examination of African American consumer and producer behavior, ethnogenesis and racial uplift demonstrates that the African American community in Manassas was purposefully invested in the design, layout and perception of their landscape. This community was particularly conscious of the power of individual aspects of the landscape and the landscape as a whole, including their homes (both pre and post emancipation), farms, use and perception of natural spaces, and public buildings in their agenda for survival during slavery, control of their history during Reconstruction, and racial uplift during Jim Crow and beyond.

For African Americans the organization and use of space of their enslaved cabin yards and free African American farms prior to emancipation, and later, the establishment of public buildings such as the Manassas Industrial School and the rebuilding and reinterpretation of use of their homes, farms, woods, fields, and tenant spaces, provided an opportunity to define a uniquely African American democratic ideal through their construction and manipulation. These landscapes they sought to create embraced their collective past as a race while reshaping the rural social hatred and continued political assault both pre and post emancipation.

These negotiated spaces would come to embody some of the major concerns facing African America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – a sense of family and community that white society tried to wipe out through slavery, a collective identity, education, political enfranchisement, and an alternative history that answered, contradicted, and rebutted the “lost cause” version supported by Southern whites (see Nieves 2007 for a discussion of these ideas in an urban area), and participation in American consumer and producer culture as part of uplift and nationhood. The African American materiality in Manassas included a shared landscape and an imagined community that helped them survive through slavery, take control of their collective past, and helped to define their freedom after emancipation.

Defining “Cultural Landscape”, and a Search for Methodology

Cultural landscapes have been defined various ways by different disciplines, and often these definitions are based on the individual researchers various interests and ideologies. The definition of a cultural landscape used for this chapter is based on the use of the term as applied to African-American archaeological sites. The definition used draws heavily on the Korr Model which examines past uses of the term and tries to establish a more comprehensive definition. Within this model, Korr defines a cultural landscape as, "...a cumulative record of the work of humans and nature in a certain place, as shown first, by tangible and intangible evidence that reflects the beliefs and values of the peoples in that place at different times, and second, by the reciprocal effect that the people of that site and its artifactual and natural components had on one another” (Korr 1997: 2).

In understanding the cultural landscape of African American archaeological sites, emphasis can be directed to the connected or dynamic relationships between humans, material culture, and the use of space. These relationships can bring to light social meanings of ethnicity, class, gender, power, and domination and resistance. In addition, a greater emphasis on the aspect of time creates a relationship which extends beyond that of humans, artifacts, and nature to become a dialogue between humans, artifacts, and nature through time. By emphasizing time, the researchers own ideological assumptions can also be taken into account. This study of cultural landscapes is taking place in the present time by a researcher who may put her own ideological assumptions into the assessment of a site. Emphasizing time realizes that there is a relationship between past and present. We (the present) are interpreting it (a culmination of the past and present). An emphasis on time and dynamic relationships reveals that often cultural landscapes have multiple or contested meanings which are subject to change depending on when the landscape is being interpreted and who places meaning on its three elements (humans, artifacts, and the natural world). Drawing on Korr's definition, with an emphasis on time, and dynamic relationships the definition of a cultural landscape then becomes, the dynamic relationships between humans, nature, and artifacts of a particular place based on differing ideologies and perceptions of the physical world and their individual and collective relationships to the past and present.

Korr provides a proposed model for the study of cultural landscapes in which the researcher is guided through a series of five operations: 1) Description, 2)Boundaries, 3) Dynamic Relationships, 4) Perceptions, and 5) Cultural Analysis. Although Korr's model is set up in a systematic framework, this framework may not be appropriate for every landscape. As Korr says, "It would be unrealistic to pretend.....that a single set of guidelines can apply wholesale to every landscape" (Korr, 1997:13). Therefore, Korr's model is useful in that it can be used as a starting point for evaluating landscapes, a fieldwork method. Insight into African-American landscapes of the past and archaeological sites is offered through various research which focuses on the South and Virginia, as well as information derived from southern plantation archaeology, and free African-American archaeological sites. Architectural historians Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach both offer compelling studies on the cognitive landscape of African Americans and European Americans in

Virginia and the South (Upton 1988; Vlach 1993). Studies within the domain of southern plantation archaeology, and free African American historical archaeology such as Epperson's (1991) *Race and the Disciplines of the Plantation,* and Kelso's, (1986) *Mulberry Row; Slave life at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello,* (1989 - 1991) *Archaeological excavations at Poplar Forest, Bedford County, Virginia,* and Robin Ryder's (1991) Master's thesis, *Free African-American Archaeology: Interpreting an Antebellum Farmstead*, offer insight into the relationship between humans and their artifacts, as well as differing perceptions of humans and their artifacts within the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These studies set the stage for understanding on a broad level, different perspectives of landscapes during these time periods. While the majority of studies which provide insight into African-American landscapes have focused on the seventeenth- and early eighteenth- centuries, there are a few which have focused on later time periods, for instance, Brown and Cooper (1990), and Holland (1990) focus on African-American tenant communities. Paul Mullins' (1996) dissertation, *The Contradictions of Consumption: An Archaeology of African America and Consumer Culture, 1850 - 1930*, provides an overview of urban African-American families in Annapolis, Maryland. Finally, modern studies of African-American yards and gardens (Westmacott1992; Gundaker 1993, 1994) provide an understanding of the dynamic relationships between African Americans and nature both in the past and present.

Using Korr's model, and past research on African-American vernacular landscapes, African-American archaeological sites, and modern studies of African-American yards and gardens will provide a base from which interpretation of landscapes can be viewed from the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Yet, the question remains, how do we understand this particular African-American landscape as it was viewed on a local level, by the family, other community members, and different cultural groups who influenced it? How should one do a *cultural* analysis of these sites (the fifth operation of Korr's model). Certainly historical research such as tax and census records, maps, photos and local and regional histories will provide some clues, yet may fail to reveal the particular perspectives of individual actors. What is sought within this interpretation is the essential meanings people place upon artifacts and nature; an understanding of physical and cognitive landscapes within their social and cultural contexts (Sies 1991:199).

Because cultural landscapes are a culmination of the relationships humans have with their environment and the material objects within it, an examination of these relationships may provide insight into differing ideologies and social meanings placed on the physical world, particularly of dominant and marginal groups. Current cultural geographers who seek to interpret landscapes acknowledge that society is,

> ...constituted by a plurality of cultures, some dominant, some marginal..... A dominant or hegemonic culture is rarely passively internalized; commonly it is negotiated, resisted or selectively appropriated by people in everyday life. So too, cultural representations (like landscapes) invoke both ideology and power, a power which is often institutionalized by dominant groups in legal discourse [Duncan and Ley, 1993:12].

Therefore, in interpreting the cultural landscape of an African-American site, it is relevant to interpret relationships between humans, material culture, and use of space as it may have been “negotiated, resisted, or selectively appropriated,” to the dominant European American culture within the Manassas community described in this dissertation.

In addition, Robin Ryder in her (1991b) paper *Fluid Ethnicity: Archaeological Examinations of Diversity in Virginia from 1800 - 1900*, reveals that kinds of diversity are pertinent to the study of material culture in Virginia and include, “... distinctions of region, economic status, occupation, class, religion, politics, ethnicity, gender, and generation,” as well as urban and rural groups and neighborhoods (Ryder 1991a:1). Further, Ryder suggests that the move from searching for normative patterns to examining *differences* within archaeological interpretations has revealed that even within individual categories of diversity, such as race, there are considerable differences.

Ryder suggests that in order to understand relationships between material culture and ethnicity, researchers should understand the “fluid” qualities associated with individual identities, and suggests less categorical interpretations of race. Further, material culture can reflect individual identities, or different ways that individuals may have placed meaning on material culture (Ryder 1991a:8).

I use a combination of these approaches to understand African American landscapes in Manassas, including Ryder’s ideas for interpreting the Robinson House site. First, however, a discussion of Angel Nieves’ examination of the Manassas

Industrial School landscape is an important model for comparison to both the Robinson and Nash sites.

The Manassas Industrial School

In his dissertation, Angel Nieves', *"'We Gave Our Hearts and Lives To It:' African-American Women Reformers, Industrial Education, and the Monuments of Nation-Building in the Post-Reconstruction South, 1877--1938,"* (2001) presents a compelling architectural, social, and intellectual history of industrial schools in the American South during these time periods. He examines the built and/or architectural landscapes of the Manassas Industrial School in Manassas, Virginia, and the Voorhees Industrial School (1894) in Denmark, South Carolina as case studies to argue that, "women reformers not only promoted a program of 'race uplift' through industrial education, but also engaged with many of the pioneering African American architects and builders of the period to design model schools and communities for the race as a form of nascent nation-building" (preface).

Using the school buildings as primary sources, he deeply contextualizes his study through scholarship on landscapes of memory and place-making, reconstruction era politics, gendered perspectives of the built environment, and campus planning traditions (using Tuskegee as a model) as well as placing Dean and Wright's works within the larger context of the building of African-American industrial schools in the Jim Crow era South.

Nieves examination of the built Manassas Industrial School landscape details each of the buildings, the campus layout, and the white architects that created the space. He notes that during its tenure the school grew from a 100 acre site to a 200 acre campus.

His main argument about the buildings and main campus area is that the, “use of the vernacular and of the colonial revival style makes allusions to a past of enslavement, and the appropriation of the masters’s narrative text” (233; see Figure 6). This is the most important argument that, I believe, may also be applied to a larger African American cultural landscape in Manassas. In essence, in the creation of the school, Jennie Dean made conscious decisions to take control of African American history and education. Her decision to build the school on a Confederate battlefield exemplifies this (for a full discussion of the creation of the Confederate Park and the role of the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy, see Chapter 6).

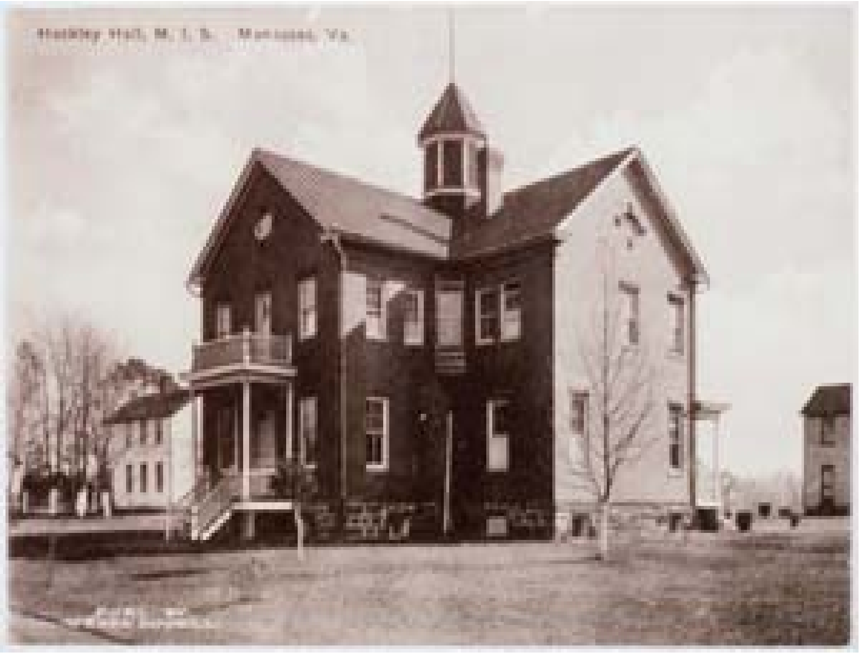


Figure 6: Hackley Hall, Manassas Industrial School, circa 1920 in the Colonial Revival Style (Courtesy of the Manassas Museum).

Although he claims that the history of African-American women, as far back as the eighteenth century, is currently situated somewhere between postmodernism and "traditional" history, it is clear that his approach, which relies heavily on contextualized material culture (he draws comparisons with the study of the Jewish Holocaust), within a racialized and gendered framework can be considered, at the least, poststructuralist in nature, where "buildings become the narratives of traumatic experiences experienced by former slaves and raise important questions about the inherent tensions between liberation and enslavement" (xxxvi), for the African-American community, while not considered in this way by white observers. His work seeks to not only move the narrative of African-Americans struggles to overcome years of slavery and racist agendas to the center, but also considers that this "race work" was gendered and that gender as a framework should be moved from the margins to center as well.

In the role of advocate, Nieves' final chapter deals with alternatives to the study of African-American historical sites as models for new approaches to adult education and community redevelopment. He argues that public history is an important outlet for developing paradigms of historical recovery.

The work can be seen as a significant contribution to historical, material culture, landscape, feminist, architectural, and anthropological scholarship (Nieves himself notes that he borrows heavily from landscape and architectural anthropology (5).

However, more in-depth examples of African-American community action for preservation of historic sites would be useful. For instance, there is no discussion of the arguments within the African-American community over what should be done with the buildings and recovered archaeological evidence from the Manassas Industrial School site (McCarron 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d, 1988e; Figure 7). The Jennie Dean Memorial project was highly contested and on several occasions resulted in picketing the site while archaeological work was being conducted (see McCarron et al. 1995 and Chapter 6).

Archaeological research within a framework of African-American nation building adds significantly to the understanding of gendered places of memory. Moreover, public interpretation of other types of sites of consumption (such as domestic) in rural Virginia, through archaeological excavation and other methods strengthens the argument for using African-American places in historic preservation

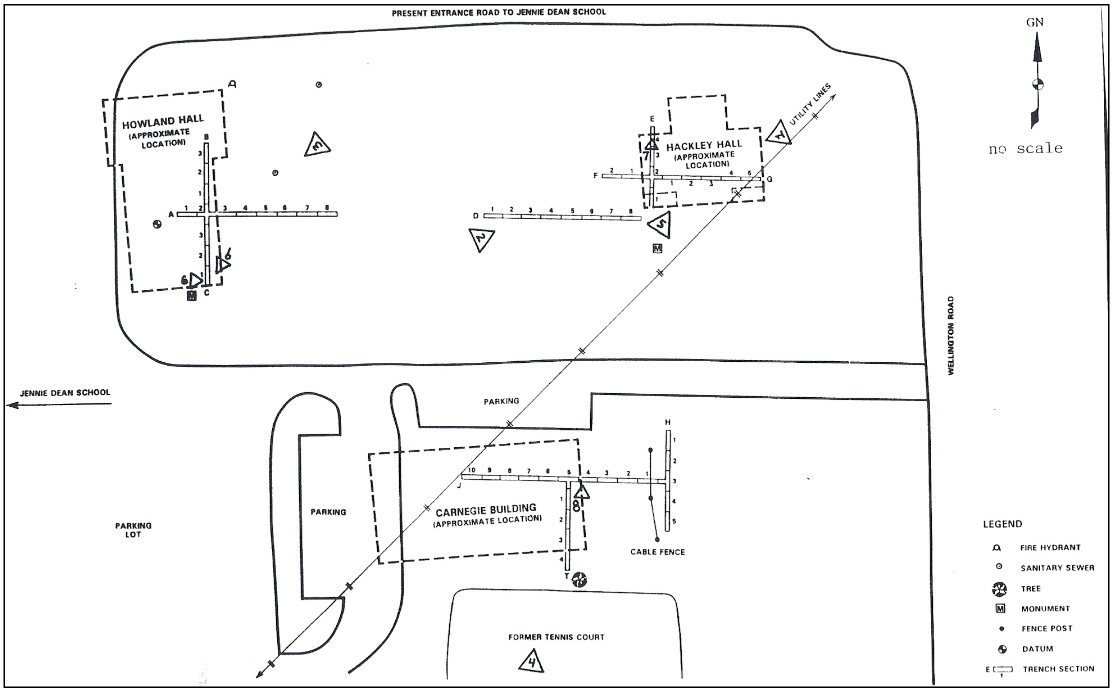

PRESENT ENTRANCE ROAD TO JENNIE DEAN SCHOOL
GN
no scale
HOWLAND HALL
(APPROXIMATE LOCATION)
HACKLEY HALL
(APPROXIMATE LOCATION)
UTILITY LINES
WELLINGTON ROAD
JENNIE DEAN SCHOOL
PARKING
PARKING
PARKING LOT
CARNEGIE BUILDING
(APPROXIMATE LOCATION)
CABLE FENCE
FORMER TENNIS COURT
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
J
I
LEGEND
FIRE HYDRANT
SANITARY SEWER
TREE
MONUMENT
FENCE POST
DATUM
TRENCH SECTION

Figure 7: Manassas Industrial School Site landscape analysis based on the archaeological investigations (from McCarron et. al. 1995).

and adult education and for understanding the African American experience of racial uplift.

Below, I take Nieves approach further and apply it to the use of space and architecture on African American home sites as well. The ideas of race uplift and nation building were not created only as a response to freedom, segregation and Jim Crow, but were part of a long tradition of remaking and reinforcing identities for survival under enslavement that were honed throughout the pre-emancipation eras. This larger African American landscape can also be seen as a response to a period of intense commemoration by the Confederacy (both the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy), immediately following the Civil War on the battlefield (see Chapter 6). This approach can be seen both in the cabins/structures of enslaved African Americans and free African American homes as well as their larger farmsteads, their use of space prior to the Civil War and how these homesteads changed in the turbulent aftermath.

The Robinson Landscape

An excellent example of changing uses of the landscape as democratic ideal can be seen at the Robinson House Site. The "democratic ideal" is a phrase that is often used to describe an ideal standard of government (including the law) that is essential for the continuation of democratic policies which include in some instances, equality and human rights (Gaynor Ellis and Esler 2002; Schmiechen et al. 1998). The Robinson House Site (see Chapter 3) was occupied by the same free African-American family for nearly one hundred years. The family's changing uses of space during the antebellum and postbellum eras reflects how the family's perception and manipulation of their material landscapes transformed over a century and ultimately, sought to create a collective identity that defied white perception and helped uplift their race.

In the past, archaeologists and historians have devoted much time to researching the lives of enslaved African-Americans and their perception of the landscape. Architectural historian Dell Upton, for example, argues that the space around the dwelling of an enslaved African-American is as important as the dwelling itself. It is the place where they socialized, raised chickens and dogs, and grew gardens with which they could supplement their diets, and use as a bartering tool. The enslaved African landscape also included the woods and fields through which they often made winding trails and paths (Upton 1988:366,367). These trails represented what Rhys Isaac calls an, "alternative territorial system" (Isaac 1982:52, 53), one in which the slave was in control rather than his master. Historian John Vlach reveals that planters in the South, inspired by English manor estates, created plantations and homes which were only suitable after transforming the natural chaotic conditions into an order which they could control. Vlach says that the planters were concerned with, "Straight lines, right-angle corners, and axes of symmetry..." (Vlach 1993:2, 3, 5). Unlike their master's sense of precision and order, the winding trails and small community setting of slave quarters, defined a space which was uniquely African American. A space where they did not have to disguise their own religions, or ways of making foods, pottery, houses, or other practices which were often forbidden within white society.

Some clues as to how free African Americans lived after the Civil War can be drawn from several postbellum studies. For instance, Charles Orser (1988) presents the system of African-American farm tenancy through historical archaeology and the written record. His study discusses such things as house and farm size and quality. Orser also examines the material culture and foodways of postbellum African-American farmers and looks at such things as furnishings, personal possessions, and the interior of these dwellings (Orser 1988).

Studies done on free African Americans in an urban setting in the Maryland and Virginia area are not lacking. James Borchert's study, "Alley Landscapes in Washington," emphasizes the fact that many enslaved Africans and laborers who lived in the cities resided in houses set around closed courtyards in the middle of city blocks, visually separated from the public" (Borchert 1986:281). Just as African Americans who were enslaved relied on other servants for support and a sense of community, these "alley-dwellers" constructed a series of kinship networks as well as "interrelated and integrated social worlds," which provided the support and exchange of information needed to survive (Borchert 1986:284).

Different forms of resistance, ethnogenesis, and power relations by African Americans can also be seen through modern studies of their yards and gardens. These studies can be used to identify withstanding traditions, and in turn enable us to recognize what traits have survived through time. In the book, *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South*, the author, Richard Westmacott, studies the consistency of African-American practices. He says that historically, their gardens and yards functioned in a variety of ways. For instance, as an extension of the kitchen, and a place for household chores; as a place for recreation and entertainment, and their “contribution to subsistence” (Westmacott 1992:23). More importantly, these gardens, and the use of yards provided feelings of, “Self sufficiency, self reliance, independence, and resourcefulness” (Westmacott 1992:91). Yards were used to strengthen social ties and to reinforce a sense of community as well as independence. People lived outside and around their houses as much as they lived in them.

Despite the fact that studies on free African American families and communities are increasing in recent years, including those of both ante and postbellum free African American landscapes in a rural, domestic setting, many of those studies are still found in the grey literature and are not easily accessible (see Shackel 2006, for instance).

Robin Ryder's Paper, “Black, White, and Glossy: Archaeology and the Photography of Social Distance in 19th Century Virginia,” is a good example of such a study, and because of the similarities between the Robinson Family and Ryder's study on the Charles Gilliam family, a comparison between the two sites is worthwhile. The Gilliam family was a free African-American family living in Virginia, on the same farmstead from the early 1800s to the early 1900s. Like the Robinson family, the Gilliam's were free and did considerably well. This, as Ryder says, “. . . was a direct contradiction of the ideology which supported the power relations in effect under the system of racial slavery” (Ryder 1995:2). The Gilliam house was approximately 2,000 square feet and was constructed of logs with a wooden chimney (Ryder 1995:7). Scholars have suggested that these types of dwellings (log houses with wooden chimneys) imply a lower economic status, yet Ryder indicates that during the antebellum period the family's resources were quite impressive and were larger, “. . .than 2/3 of the taxable population of Prince George County” (Ryder 1995:6). Ryder's explanation for this is that the Gilliam family put an unfashionable wooden chimney on their rather large house as a way of, “. . . lessening the possibility of being viewed as a threat to the existing social order by increasing social distance” (Ryder 1995:9). If the Gilliam family house would not have had a wooden chimney, it would have been too much like a White neighbors or planters house, lessening the “otherness,” which posed a threat to Whites who wanted to define themselves as a superior group (Ryder 1995:9). Ryder's paper suggests that like antebellum slaves, free men and women were conscious of their surrounding landscapes and like the antebellum slaves, free African Americans probably felt constantly scrutinized by their white counter parts.

The Robinson House Site, like the Gilliam site, was occupied from the early 1800s to the early 1900s. The various phases of building and rebuilding reflect their commitment to creating a local, community identity through ethnogenesis as well as to race and race uplift during the postbellum eras.

Information about James Robinson’s business transactions can be found in the Robinson papers, including, accounts, ledgers, letters, bills, and invoices, found in the attic of the Robinson House. Quite a few of these transactions took place between Mr. Robinson, and many prominent, white landowners in the Bull Run area. In fact, Robinson was the third wealthiest African American in Prince William County by the mid-nineteenth century and wealthier than many of his white neighbors (Hernigle

1991:6). Like the Gilliam family, the Robinsons appeared to be in direct contradiction to the racist sentiments prominent in the nineteenth century. The prospect that James Robinson was engaging in transactions with some of the wealthiest families in the community is not in question. However, underlying tensions between Robinson and his business associates (one of whom owned his wife and several of his children see Chapters 3 and 4) can be studied in the Robinson's landscape.

The first dwelling of the Robinson family was a 1 and 1/2 story log structure with approximately 400 square feet of living space. It had a stone chimney, a wood shingled roof, horizontal wood siding, and a wooden porch on the back of the house, open to the yard area, gardens and outbuildings. The first structure stood like this for approximately forty years, from the 1840s, through the Civil War, until sometime in the 1870s. At this time a two story addition with another stone chimney was attached to the east side of the first house. During these modifications, the porch, which served as a connection between the inside and the yard, work areas, and outbuildings, remained on the back of the house. In the 1880s a shed was attached to the west side of the 1840s structure. This shed was perhaps used as a kitchen extension or storage area. In 1926, the 1840s structure and the shed were dismantled, and a new 2 story addition was built on to the remaining 1870s extension. At this time the porch was moved to the front of the house. Finally, in 1993, the remaining 1870/1926 dwelling was destroyed as a result of arson. It was deemed unsafe, and the remaining exterior walls were dismantled. The foundations to the 1926 dwelling and the 1870s chimney remained on the battlefield until 1998 when the chimney was dismantled, and stones from the chimney reused in different structures throughout the park (Figure 7).

Compared to Ryder's study, the Robinson landscape shows some different approaches to negotiating racism during the same time periods. For instance, the Robinsons’ first dwelling consisted of approximately 400 square feet of living space; this was much smaller than the Gilliam’s approximate 2,000 square feet. Gilliam had a wooden chimney, something representative of a lower economic class during the early 19th century, while Robinson had a stone chimney. Ryder’s theory that the Gilliam's did not want to seem ostentatious in their neighbors eyes, and in turn sought to compensate for their large house by building a wooden chimney rather than a stone one, was possibly taken one step further in the Robinsons’ case. The Robinsons lived in a comparatively small dwelling for almost 40 years, even the years when James Robinson was deemed the 3rd wealthiest African American in the county. At one point during that time period as many as six to eight people lived in the dwelling, yet the Robinsons did not build an addition to the original house. Not wanting to appear as socially equal to their white neighbors, the Robinsons chose not to put an addition on their house until later years. This was the family’s strategy to reduce conflict in a racist society. The Robinsons house was in clear view of the Henry house. The Henry’s, Robinson’s closest neighbors, were not only part of white dominant society, but also descendants of Robert "Councilor" Carter. Oral history tells us that at one time James Robinsons' mother was owned by a member of the Carter family, and, perhaps even more sensitive, this history also contends that James Robinson was the son of Landon Carter and the female slave that was Robinson’s mother (O. Robinson

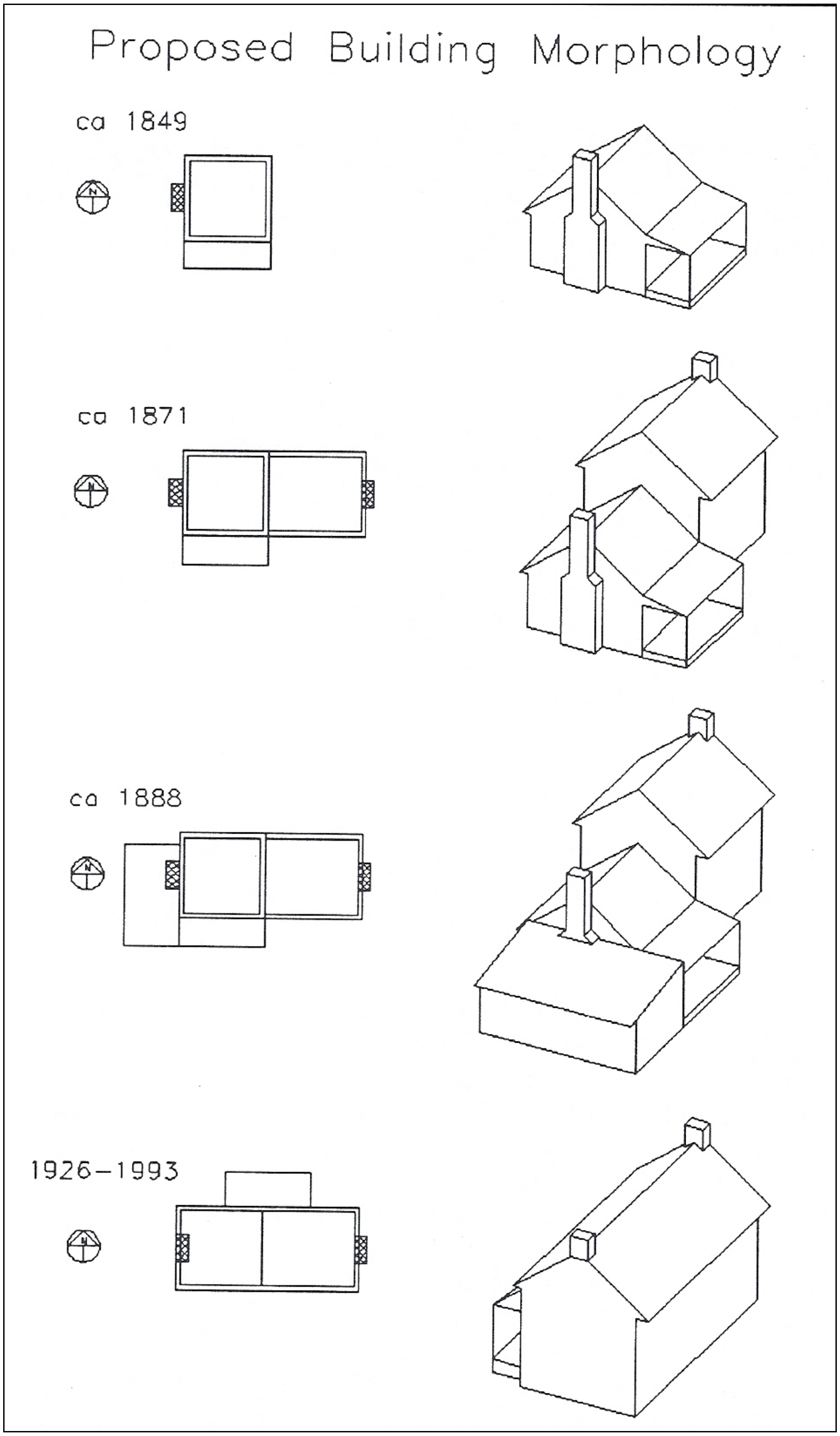

Proposed Building Morphology
ca 1849
N
ca 1871
N
ca 1888
N
1926–1993
N

Figure 8: Evolution of domestic structures at the Robinson House Site (from HPTC 1995; Parsons 2001:54).

1982), making the Henry family his cousins. Certainly James Robinson did not want to appear wealthier than his white cousins, the Henry family, who, consequently, had a relatively small house up until shortly after the Civil War, at which time a substantially larger dwelling was built. The Robinsons waited until the 1870s to add an addition to their home, well after the Henry house had been enlarged. The Robinsons were reinforcing their position as African Americans under the watchful eyes of white neighbors, and additionally, maintaining a smaller house connected the Robinsons with their African American extended family and neighbors. The Robinson landscape provides an interesting study of a free African American homestead which portrays certain African traditions in their style of building and use of space. For instance, African Americans typically built small homes by choice, guided by specific survival strategies. Both enslaved Africans and freemen alike have been known to do this based on an African tradition of using the dwelling mainly for storage and sleeping, and using the yard as an extension of the house. Like in Westmacotts' study of modern African yards and gardens, the Robinson's made use of the space outside by using the back porch as a connection between two spaces, outside and inside, and in turn, the back yard was an extension of the house, where much activity took place. Out back they had easy access to their outbuildings and gardens, and so it is not unfathomable that they spent much time there. Because of the amount of time spent there, occupants often swept their yards. Sometimes the dirt would become so polished it became almost like a cement floor, and excess refuge was easily swept away. This tradition continues even today, and is supported by the archaeological and ethnographic record. During excavations at the Robinson house, very few artifacts were found close to the house, while most of the material culture was uncovered in those excavation units farthest away. About 20 years after the smaller Henry house was destroyed, and a larger house rebuilt, the Robinsons add the first addition to their home, sometime in the 1870s. Shortly after, in the 1880s the side shed, or possible kitchen extension was added. These additions to the house reflect the changing times. A larger living space could accommodate more relatives, and possibly moved activities inside. The shed and extra chimney provided more space to perform indoor cooking, especially when the weather would not permit such activities. Although the times were changing, the Robinsons did not give up or lose their ethnic identity. They integrated their own ideas about building and lifestyles with the changing times, and the porch to the house remained on the back, with access to the gardens and outbuildings until 1926 (HPTC 1995). Many authors have argued that the porch is an African tradition (see Deetz 1977; Vlach 1986). In fact, some of the first porches in America are recorded on houses built by African slaves, possibly from the houses of West Africa, called the “shotgun house” as it was transplanted in America (Vlach 1986). Other sources, however, while noting that the porch is an African tradition, also credit the porch as potentially growing from a European adaptation to the New World climate (Price 1992).

In 1926, the porch that faced that back yard was dismantled and built on to the front of the house, and the 1840s structure was finally destroyed (HPTC 1995). The addition of the porch to the front suggests that the Robinsons may have spent a significant time outside, but their perceptions and uses of the outdoor space changed significantly. The porch was no longer a transition area to outdoor work spaces.

Rather, it became part of an area used to greet outsiders as well as to maintain access to the outside world.

The 1870s, 1880 and 1926 additions and renovations also make a statement, however, about the formation and control of new public and private spheres for African Americans after the Civil War. Commemorating North and South and the ideals that each stood for began less than two months after the first Confederate victory on the Manassas Battlefield in 1861 – before the Civil War ended, and this history and control of it has remained highly contested from even before the end of the Civil War through today (see Chapter 6). African Americans' perspective on the repeated monument building and dedications on the battlefield between North and South after the war, however, can be seen through their manipulation of their homes and landscape.

African Americans were aware that Southern whites promoted a distorted view of slavery and the meaning and causes of the Civil War (See Chapters 4 and 6). This was especially visible on the Manassas Battlefield landscape where the Sons of Confederate Veterans were running a "Confederate Park," out of the Henry House. This house was visible from the Robinson's farm and so, was almost certainly a visible reminder to them of this issue. African Americans refused to accept the Confederate perspective that the, "South [was] a martyr to inescapable fate, the North the magnanimous emancipator, and . . . the Negro the impossible joke in the whole development" (Du Bois in French 1995:11-12), and took it upon themselves to answer this visibility with their own visible landscape of resistance. For African Americans, the landscape and their manipulation of it acted as a signal of their struggles and triumphs as well as a disguised form of public opposition – one that only the initiated could read and understand.

If, prior to emancipation, the Robinsons chose not to distinguish themselves as equal to or wealthier than their white neighbors for fear of violent forms of retribution, after the Civil War the slow addition (1870) after addition (1880) while their house still faced Henry Hill where much fighting took place (and where Confederate General Stonewall Jackson was famously said to be "standing like a stone wall"), may have been their way of taking control of their domestic spaces in a somewhat public venue (the battlefield itself, which had high visitation throughout Reconstruction and Jim Crow). Building a larger home, continuing to rebuild their outbuildings and work their farmland, showed how these families were creating a landscape that was restored by African Americans in opposition to and challenging the order of the New South.

The 1926 Robinson house addition and rebuilding shows this even more explicitly. It was in 1921 that the Sons of Confederate Veterans started running a Confederate Park out of the Henry House, which they used as a visitor's center. It must have been particularly galling to the many southern white sympathizers who visited the park to be able to see a visible reminder of their loss and its consequences in the highly successful Robinson farm – one that was being constantly enlarged. Is it coincidence that only five years after the appropriation of the Henry House by the SCV that the Robinsons not only enlarged their house again but turned it so that it faced the road rather than the Confederate visitor's center, essentially turning their backs on that version of history? Additionally, if one were to follow Nieves argument about architectural style, the 1926 house, which was completely rebuilt in the vernacular, Colonial Revival style, shows a complex use of the house itself to allude to the destruction of their past enslavement (old house) and their new positions as “master” of their consumer and producer rights in a neat appropriation of the style of white elite planter housing (Figure 9) and the entire, very successful farm itself, including the outbuildings, farm equipment, material culture (as shown in the archaeological collections, see Chapters 3 and 4), and cultivated and prosperous farm fields (see McAlester and McAlester 1991 and Noble 1984 for identification of architectural style of the 1926 Robinson House).

Further, by creating all black churches and schools, by rebuilding their homes and farms, and by participating in consumer and producer culture, African Americans

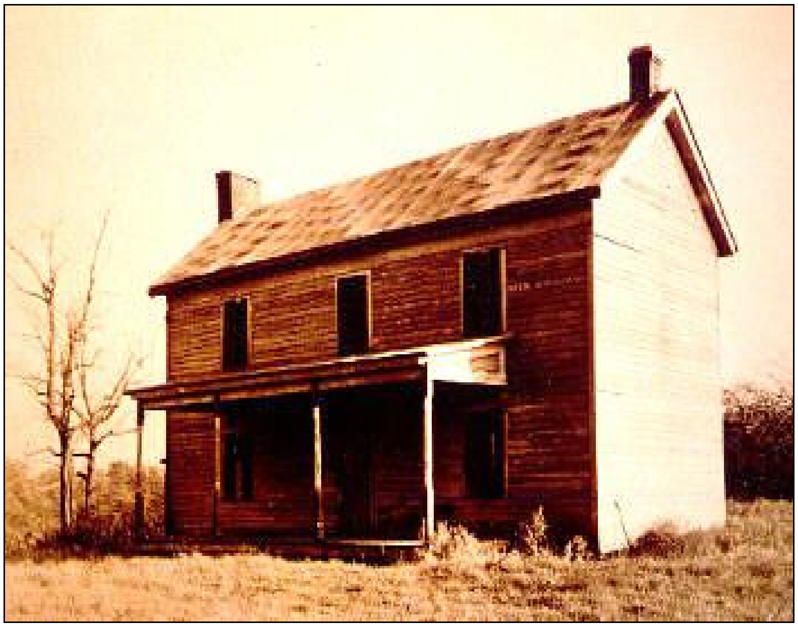


Figure 9: The 1926 era Robinson House in the Colonial Revival Style (Courtesy of Manassas National Battlefield Park).

remained socially conscious, committed to communal self-betterment, and also provided a physical, social, and metaphorical space for exploring issues of identity and citizenship. By appropriating elements of the Colonial Revival, African Americans actively engaged in rewriting the nation's narrative to include their many contributions in shaping the southern landscape. After all, it was African American men, women, and children who often oversaw and built the houses, outbuildings, farmyards and farm fields for their white masters in the first place. These formerly enslaved artisans, housekeepers, craftsmen and builders, re-appropriated and recreated the style of architecture and farm organization and in doing so, pressed for their rights to their own national identity and citizenship. More importantly, these spaces and the creation of new public and private spheres created the spaces necessary for social reform and uplift.

The Nash Landscape

The Nash site is an African-American archaeological site also located within Manassas National Battlefield Park in Manassas, Virginia (see Chapter 4). Today, the remains of the dwelling consist of the stone chimney footing and stone piers to support a structure, and these have been greatly encroached upon by the surrounding wilderness The Nash site, formerly known as Site X, was discovered during an archaeological survey in 1990, and was excavated during the summer of 1991 by National Park Service employees and volunteers.

Archaeological evidence uncovered during the 1991 excavations at the Nash site proves intriguing in that it may be indicative of the Nash family's African heritage. Material culture including Colonoware ceramics, tobacco pipes, blue beads, mancala gaming pieces and marine shells has been found within several African-American contexts on Manassas National Battlefield Park including the sites of Pohoke, Portici, Brownsville, Meadowville, Nash, and the Robinson House (Hernigle 1991; Galke 1992a, 1992b; Parsons 1997, see Chapter 2). While these items may be found within Euro-American settings as well, their repeated occurrence and co-association with African- American sites in Manassas and other African American sites in Piedmont Virginia, and the Chesapeake region indicates that they represent African-American use, presence, and the continuity of cultural identity (See Brown and Cooper 1990; Cabek 1990; Epperson 1991; Kelso 1986, 1991; Ryder 1991a, 1991b). Research into architectural history and use of space on African-American sites has also been the focus of researchers and professionals. These compelling studies also indicate a particular cultural influence. Interestingly, in the Chesapeake and Piedmont Virginia regions, sites that have exhibited these Africanisms within material culture and research into the use of space and architectural history have focused on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, the Nash site has an occupation period from the mid to late nineteenth and very early twentieth centuries and material culture found within this later context continues to exhibit certain Africanisms. Recent investigations into the material culture and landscape of the Robinson House site on Manassas National Battlefield park also exhibits later contexts of Africanisms (see above and Chapters 3 and 4), yet a comparison of the Nash and Robinson house sites reveals that the while the two families occupied their farmsteads during roughly the same period, they both continued to retain certain

African traditions, yet they did so in very different ways. Examining these differences provides a unique example of how and why the Nash site is a distinct cultural landscape.

To accurately interpret a cultural landscape, Korr suggests that a descriptive phase be the first operation undertaken. The basic purpose, Korr says, is to answer, “the question, what is it?” (Flemming, quoted in Korr 1997:4). In addition, it is important here to explain the context of the Nash site within the larger community.

The Nash site is located along Rt. 29 (the Warrenton-Alexandria Turnpike) on a parcel of land acquired by the National Park Service and the Manassas National Battlefield Park in 1989 (McCartney 1992:131). This location is considered part of the community of Groveton, which is approximately three miles outside the town of Manassas, Virginia. During an archaeological survey in 1990, project archaeologists discovered the remains of a chimney and a nearby depression which indicated the presence of a house site (Galke 1992a, 132, 133). Archaeological investigations at the Nash site took place in 1991 and revealed that the structure was probably a 16 by 20 ft. one and one-half story frame building that burned. A full discussion of the history of the site, including a detailed discussion of artifacts is provided in Chapter 4.

The Nash site is located on a far corner of the Brownsville property (first developed as a plantation in 1769), evidently in an area not under cultivation. This corner of the property probably would have been considered a wooded area. The Nash family began occupying this site as early as 1860 and lived there until approximately 1900. The Nash family (Philip, Sarah, the couple's five children, Fannie, Henry, Hallie, Lucy, and Sallie, and Neson Ewell, Sarah’s father) lived at the property which is near the crossroads of the community of Groveton. The family had the most intimate contact with the site during its occupation period. These were the people who most actively participated in this landscape, living, working, and playing, and directly affected it.

Two sketches of the area in 1878 demonstrate a building to the west of the crossroads of Groveton, attributed to persons named Nash (Figure 10). Because Philip Nash did not own the property or the structure that he lived in, and because he is identified as a farmer, it can be speculated that Philip Nash was either a farm laborer or tenant farmer for the owners of Brownsville Plantation. In 1901, and again in 1904 maps were made of Prince William County. On both maps the Nash structure is not present, although, as noted in Chapter 4, it is not known to what extent these maps' makers attempted to include lesser sized structures, or if uninhabited or unused structures were included.

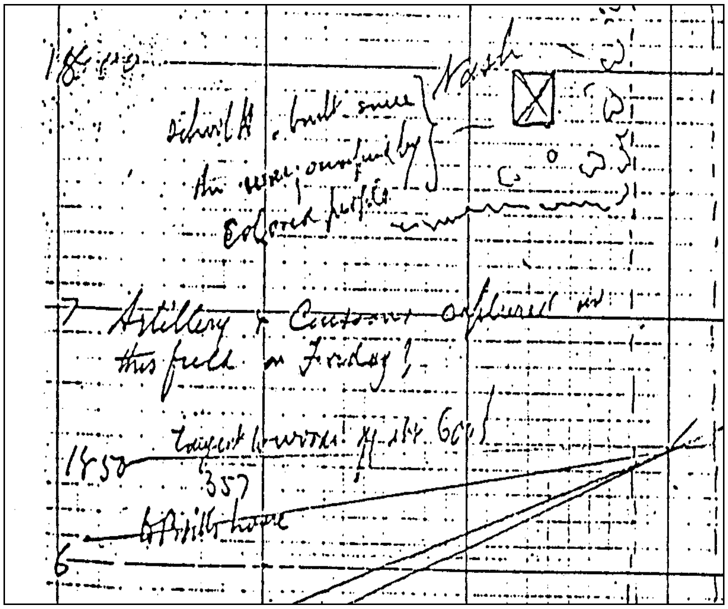
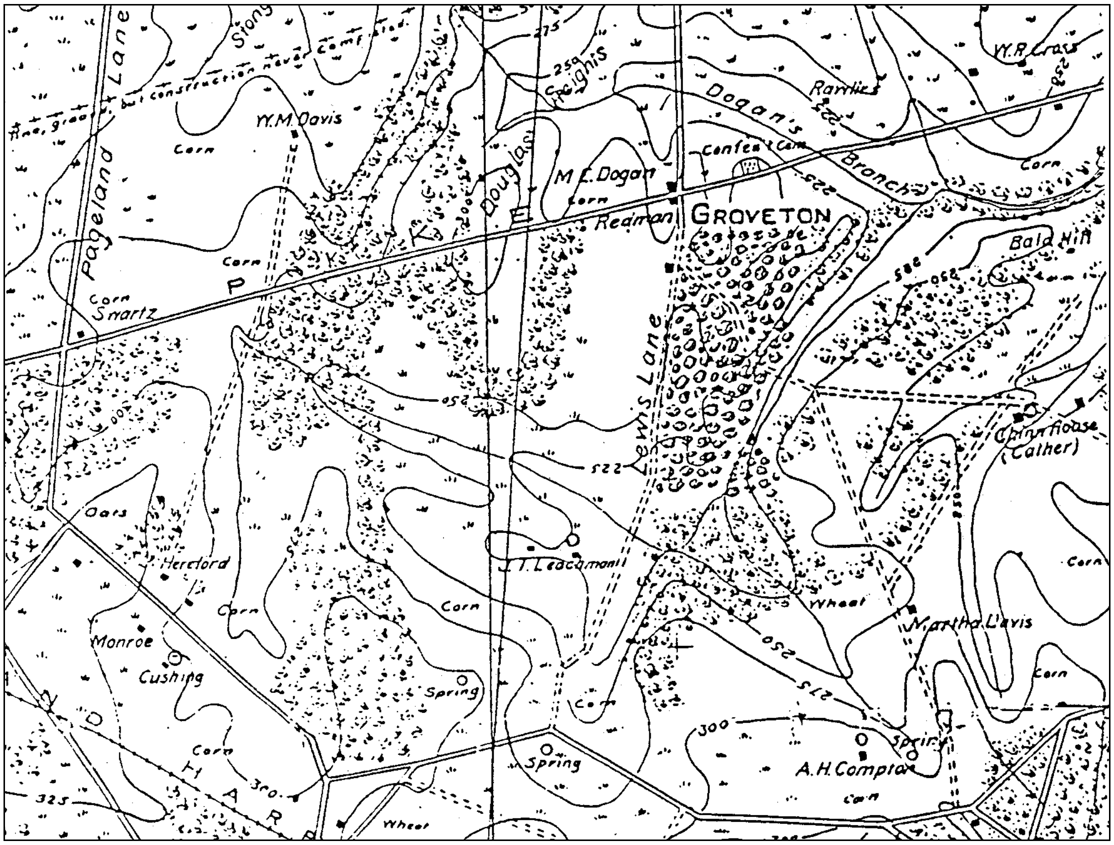


Figure 10: Untitled sketch of the Nash site circa 1878 (from Galke 1992: 127).

Placing the Nash site in its context includes understanding what groups of humans may have affected the site. Obviously the Nash family had the most intimate contact with the site, and directly affected it, but other groups within the Groveton and Manassas community may have indirectly affected the site. At the broadest level, the European American communities of Piedmont Virginia and the South may have had a substantial affect on the cultural landscape of the Nash site because this community was the dominant group within the region. Isaac notes that the American South of the nineteenth century inherited the Western European ethos of the 1700s in which an individual was either a master or a servant (Issac 1979:132). The Southern community, including Virginia, had a, "veritable caste system composed of two separate, but spatially coexisting, cultures" (Galke 1992b: 3). The European American culture was dominant, and dictated social rules for all of Virginia's inhabitants, both African American and European American (Galke 1992b:3). The land on which the Nash family lived and worked was owned by members of the European American community: John T. Leachman, and before 1868, William Lewis. Other African Americans in the area also may have indirectly affected the site. For instance, census records for 1880 indicate that the Nash family lived "near Andrew J. Redman" (McCartney, 1992:123). As noted in Chapter 2, Redman was a former slave of the nearby Brownsville plantation, who had bought his freedom from William M. Lewis, the owner of Brownsville, before the Civil War. As both Sarah and Philip were working for (and were probably owned by, prior to emancipation) Lewis, they undoubtedly knew Redman. In February of 1871, Redman bought two acres from the new owners of Brownsville, John T. Leachman and his wife. The lot Redman bought was situated on the southwest corner of the Warrenton Turnpike and Wellington Road, and contained a blacksmith shop, which Redman operated and maintained. In the 1880 census, Redman is listed as a 49 year old black male head of household. Other members of the household included Mary, wife of Andrew, age 43, and the couple's children, Powell (age 14), Thomas (age 11), Andrew (age 5), Lucille (age 4), and Fannie (age 7 months) (Prince William County Census 1880; Figure 11).



Stony
W.M.Davis
Pageland Lane
Corn
Swartz
Douglass
M.C.Dogan
Redman
GROVETON
Dogan's Branch
W.R.Cross
Bald Hill
Lewis Lane
Chinn House (Cather)
J.T.Leachman
Martha Davis
Wheat
Oats
Hereford
Monroe
Cushing
Spring
A.H.Compton
300
325

Figure 11: Location of the Redman Home circa 1904 (from Galke 1992:130).

Unlike the Robinsons, the fact that the Nash family did not own their home, were probably working as tenant farmers, the small quantity of artifacts recovered during excavations of the Nash site, and the fact that the Nashes left the area in the early twentieth century, indicates that the family was probably struggling financially, and is more broadly representative of the failing tenant farm system in Virginia and the Chesapeake after emancipation.

However, artifacts recovered at the Nash site and at other sites throughout Manassas (see Chapter 2); including crystals and a blue bead, also indicate that they continued to practice traditional religions, perhaps with other African-American community members, developing a private "unique subculture," which promoted their community as an independent and supportive entity.

An examination of architectural remains, the use of space, definitions of boundaries, and the relationship the Nash family had with the Redman family and the natural elements at the site also indicates different methods for countering racism and the continuity of their collective cultural identity.

For instance, current research on African American modern and historical use of space suggests that boundaries and space were perceived differently by European Americans and African Americans. Vlach (1993:1) notes that while the white community had created the contexts of the space within a plantation or a community, they may not have controlled those spaces or boundaries absolutely. African Americans had their own "personal" boundaries which involved their own living spaces as well as the spaces outside their dwellings, including the woods and fields (Upton 1988:366,367, see also Epperson, 1991). Redefining space by African-

Americans can be seen as empowering this group. By redefining these spaces, and understanding space in their own terms, African Americans actually undermined the dominant definition of space. At the Nash site, the size of the dwelling in which the Nash family lived, probably the most prominent artifact to European Americans, was, most likely, considered extremely small and insignificant, showing the families' lack of economic resources and power. However, the Nash family may have not constituted the walls of their dwelling as a barrier as the white community may have. Like at the Robinson House site, the Nash family homestead may have portrayed certain African traditions in their use of space including the preference for smaller homes and the use of the yard as an extension of the house. Therefore, that the Nash family rented a house which may have been seen by the European American community as extremely small for a family of eight, the Nash family may have perceived the boundaries of this space as much larger, encompassing the area around the house as well. Archaeological examinations at the Nash site revealed that the family did make use of the area around their house. Several features were uncovered, including a possible root cellar, and a large depression measuring 12 by 15 feet and 1 and a half feet deep, which remains unidentified (Galke 1992a: 139; Figure 12). The use of outside space as an extension of the house exemplifies the Nash family's dynamic relationship with nature as well (see below and Figure 9).

The forested area and natural setting may have been seen by the Nash family not as something which had to be controlled, but something which had a reciprocal relationship to humans. Traditional African religions, such as the ones the Nash family may have been participating in as hypothesized by artifacts such as quartz

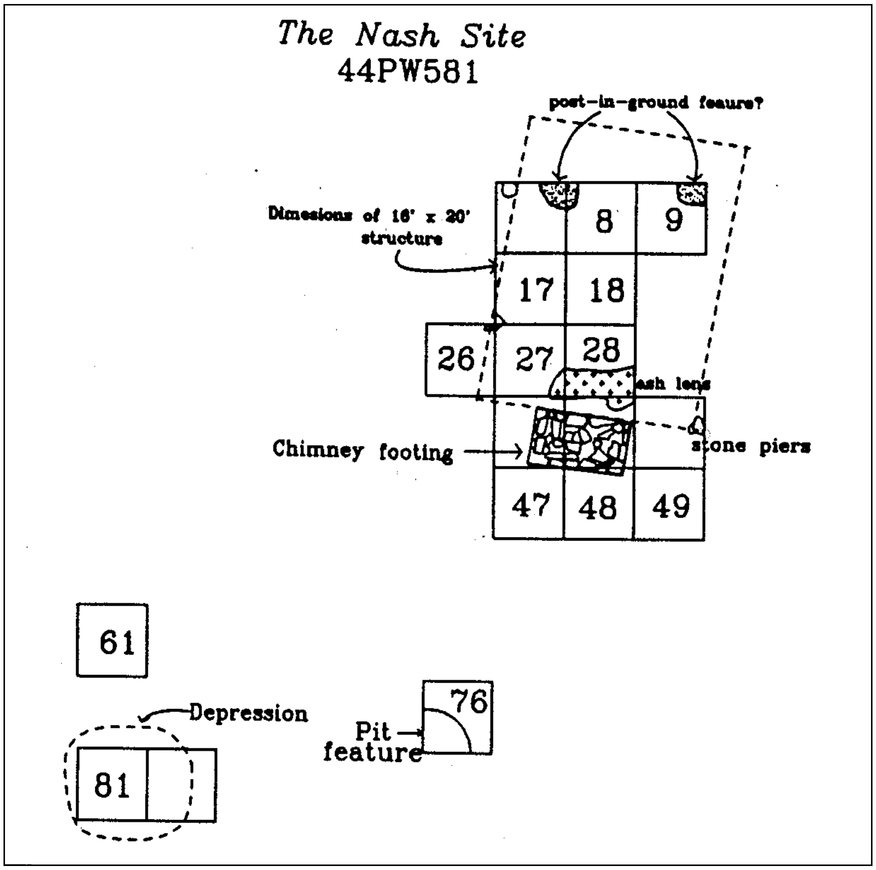

The Nash Site
44PW581
post-in-ground feaure?
Dimensions of 16' x 20' structure
8
9
17
18
26
27
28
ash lens
Chimney footing
stone piers
47
48
49
61
Depression
Pit feature
76
81

Figure 12: Nash Site excavations showing use of area around the house (from Galke 1992: 133).

crystals and blue beads, also reflects the agency given to nature. Grey Gundaker notes on the historical background of modern African-American yards that, "Trees, fields, rocks, and other features of the landscape became invested with spiritual significance and interwoven with the life courses of individuals" (Gundaker, 1993:61). Gundaker suggests that nature and the natural elements of the landscape were powerful in that they represented African traditions in spirituality and religion. "Trees are commonly associated with individuals and the ancestors throughout much of West and Central Africa. To this day, trees, especially cedars, at the head of black graves doubly testify to ancestral roots and to the soul’s movement to heaven” (Gundaker 1993:61).

In addition, the Nash site is removed from the nearby crossroads of Groveton. Out of the public area, the site is situated on a ridge up-slope from the original road bed. People trying to get in or out of the site, historically as well as today probably had difficult access to the turnpike because of the natural terrain, suggesting that the Nash's access to Groveton was possibly via a footpath which may have gone from the Nash structure and connected with or near the Redman home (Figures 11 and 13). The area directly to the west, and south of the structure was relatively flat and possibly used as an outdoor workspace for the family. To the east downslope from the site is a spring that would have been accessible for the family’s use. Historically during the mid to late nineteenth century, the terrain was most likely relatively clear around the immediate area of the structure for the ability to use the yardspace, and continual use of this space. A sketch circa 1878 shows the site surrounded by trees or

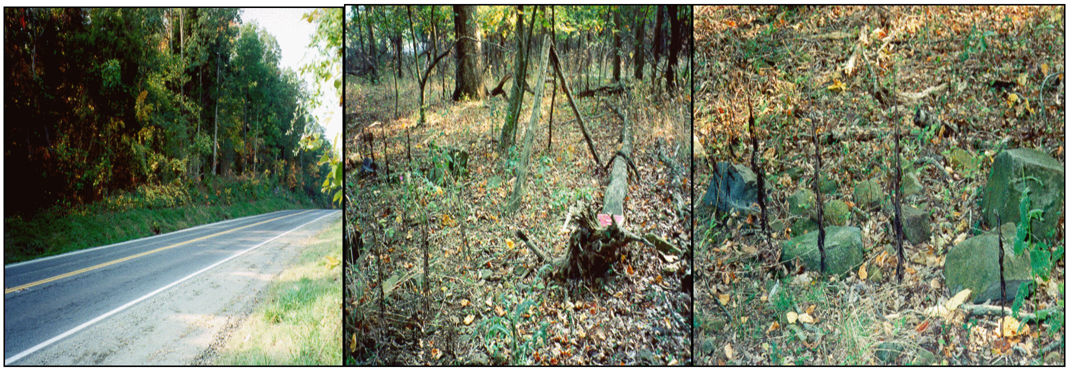


Figure 13: The Nash Site today (Author’s Photos).

growth, suggesting that the site was probably hidden from view (Figures 10 and 11). The European American community probably would have considered the Nash's home small and insignificant, if they noticed it at all considering the house was historically bounded by a wooded area. The Nash home was indeed, "hidden in plain view" (Tobin and Dobard 2000). Considering that enslaved African Americans were denied middle class privacy, the opportunity to live as a family (also often denied enslaved Africans) in a space that they could call their own, and that was connected to their larger African American community both physically, and through the practice of a traditional religion, is a significant statement about how the family reinscribed and redefined power in the landscape.

Additionally, the Nash family probably didn't see the size of their house or surrounding wilderness as boundaries. In fact, as Upton (1988) suggests of seventeenth century slaves, the Nash family probably made use of the woods and fields surrounding their house through various paths or trails through which they connected themselves to other African-American community members, such as the Redman family, as well as other aspects of the community, like the crossroads or center of the Groveton village. By redefining boundaries and relationships to space and nature in opposition to the dominant white community, the Nash family was in fact undermining the authority to control and define that space.

Material culture (that is their homes, buildings, personal possessions, etc) of African Americans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became one of the most significant methods to transmit collective identity. Prior to emancipation this may have been personal possessions, if they were allowed, such as the ebony ring and shell game marker found at Portici, or things handed down from their white owners and employers like the tea set at the Nash site (see Chapter 4). The interpretation and use of their own landscape with their own meanings, during the post emancipation eras, involved a struggle to control that collective identity. African Americans like the Nash family understood that controlling their own landscape and the uses and meanings of it, maintaining both privacy and connections to the larger African American community, and participating in the capitalist agendas of their former masters (see Chapter 4) not only re-inscribed power, but also new forms of communal resistance.

There is a tradition of advocacy behind the Nash landscape which is reflective of the larger spatial and political struggles for the African American community. Despite the many attempts by white southerners and even northern white philanthropists (see Chapter 4) to prevent African American advancement through land ownership, their larger capitalist agenda, in education, and in producer and consumer culture in the marketplace, African Americans continued to struggle to advance the ideas of racial uplift and unity. They were committed to controlling their spaces and rebuilding their community through the control of their environment – both public and private, including the use and layout of their schools, homes, yards, gardens, woods, and farms (See also Reeves interpretation of the cultural landscape at Sudley Post Office for another postbellum example; Reeves 1998 and description of the site in Chapter 6).

African American Landscapes of Power

For African Americans in Manassas, there was an imagined community constructed in which they could physically reclaim their lost heritage and redefine civic discourse within the confines of these raced, classed, and gendered spaces by demarcating a new order on the larger southern landscape. The community had used the concept of race and transformed it into a means of unification through civic reform and consumer and producer culture as expressed in the built environment and the use of their public and private landscapes. Taking a central role in educational reform and in family and community uplift through their producer and consumer culture were both public and private actions that helped men and women create their own spaces that could reconceive the community and shape a new nationalist civic and private realm. This landscape was and is (if interpreted in this framework, see Chapter 6) racial uplift writ large.

Both before and after the Civil War, African-Americans struggled to create monuments to their history and race. By 1897, at the ceremony to honor members of the 54th Regiment of the Massachusetts Infantry, it was clear that the manipulation of the landscape served as a monument to survive and counter a racist society for African Americans. As Booker T. Washington addressed the crowd he noted:

> There [is] no prouder reward for defeat than by a supreme effort to place the negro on that footing where he will add material, intellectual and civil strength to every department of state. This work must be completed in public school, industrial school, and college. The

> most of it must be completed in the effort of the negro himself, after all the real monument, the greater monument, is being slowly but safely builded among the lowly in the South, in the struggles and sacrifices of a race to justify all that has been done and suffered for it (Washington 1897:59-61).

White southerners clearly understood that it was not enough to erect traditional memorials to their Confederate dead, but instead, to rebuild and redefine their war ravaged landscapes with institutions that would perpetuate the mythology of an ideal southern past filled with subservient "Uncle Toms" and the ever obedient "Old Black Mammy." (For two studies on the contested meaning of the 54th Massachusetts/Robert Gould Shaw Memorial and the "faithful slave" memorialized in a public space see Shackel 2001; 2003b). The African-American response to the creation of such landscapes by Southern whites by the manipulation of meaning and rebuilding of the New South was something that was met with, and continues to be met with, denial and, often, violent, criminal acts such as lynching and arson (see Chapter 6). The meaning and manipulation of these histories resonates through history and can be understood within the context of the creation of the battlefield as a public venue by the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and later through the actions of the federal government in their interpretations of the archaeological sites on Manassas National Battlefield, where many of the sites are "hidden in plain view." These issues are explored in the next and final chapter and epilogue, Chapter 6.

Chapter 6: African American History – Hidden in Plain View: Parable, Power, and Public Archaeology at Manassas National Battlefield Park

Memory of the African American Past

"A fire that heavily damaged a historic Landmark in the Manassas Battlefield Park was the work of arsonists, authorities said yesterday. . . ." (Washington Post 1993: C05) read the Washington Post article of July 31, 1993 when describing the fire that burned down the Robinson House in the early 1990s. This was not the first time that African-American sites in Manassas have been subject to arson and racial violence. In January of 1895, the newly completed Howland Hall at the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth was burned to the ground just four months after it was completed (*The New York Evening Post* 1905: 9-10). It was not the last time that buildings at the school would be burned. These violent incidents exemplify the opposition that many African Americans face that result from white fear of African American land ownership, citizenship, education, and political enfranchisement. But the African American community faces another kind of disenfranchisement, a disconnecting from their history, a purposeful forgetting. They are being written out of history. While the last two decades have seen an interest in inclusive history that tells the story of groups who have otherwise been unheard, African American history at Manassas National Battlefield Park remains, on the whole, either misrepresented, untold, or physically destroyed. In 1988, the NAACP held a demonstration to protest Manassas City from putting in a four lane road directly over the remains of Charter

Cottage – the first building of the Manassas Industrial School (Washington Post 1988 V.03). African-Americans picketed the old road where archaeologists were surveying and investigating the remains of the school as part of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act in preparation for the road widening. The protest ultimately failed; however, it shows the strength, solidarity, and knowledge within the African American Community that whoever controls the past, controls the present.

As they had done time and again through ethnogenesis and racial uplift, for at least two centuries, the African American community worked together to rebuild, reinterpret, and make a statement about their struggle to control how history is being told and by whom. This story is intricately entwined on a grand scale, with the history of the region as a whole, the Lost Cause, and the myth of the New South, and on a smaller, but no less important scale, with the National Park Service, the Manassas National Battlefield Park, the struggle for the control of memory of this locale, and more broadly, the Civil War, and African Americans place within it.

In this final chapter, I will examine how the memory of the battlefields' Confederate past has, both past and present, infiltrated interpretative programs at this National Park effectively silencing the African American voice and reifying the myth of the grand and glorious South. Examination of the physical remains of the numerous African American sites on the battlefield, and how they are maintained and interpreted (or not), will show how they are actively, "hidden in plain view." Finally, I will outline a possible plan for including this history that is based on using public archaeology as a tool for civic engagement. The plan includes potential interpretative agendas that both challenge visitors to the park and attempt a more democratic voice for the National Park Service and for our nation.

The Parable of the Old and New South: Manassas National Battlefield Park – Confederates in the Attic

Many national battlefield parks, including Manassas National Battlefield Park, are almost exclusively about commemorating the event and often "freeze" the landscape to the time of the battle. Increasingly, Civil War battlefield park managers are recognizing that the land set aside for preservation and interpretation of this event often includes communities who were affected by the Civil War. They existed on this land long before and after this event, and their stories and material past can contribute a new dimension to the park's interpretation of local history, Civil War history, and our national history. Additionally, including African-American history on Civil War battlefields can provide a dialogue in which the federal government and the American people can begin to discuss many issues associated with our painful past in which African Americans were enslaved and later discriminated against in both violent and non-violent ways that have lasting effects in our society. In fact, Civil War battlefields provide the perfect opportunity to discuss such issues because the enslavement of African Americans was the major cause of the War and it was during this event that they were legally freed through the Emancipation Proclamation.

Unfortunately, Manassas National Battlefield Park in Manassas, Virginia, is an example of a place where the area's diverse social history has not made its way into the park's everyday interpretation. Since its creation as a Confederate Park in the

1920s the presentation of history has been influenced by both its geography and memories of the “Lost Cause” (Martin Seibert 2001b). There have been many chances to incorporate the social history of the local community, including information about African American and European American men, women, and children, into the park interpretations; although at present little can be seen at the local, park level. As this dissertation has shown, over the past twenty years new research has uncovered information about a large and diverse community consisting of wealthy, middling, and poor European-American farmers and African-American agriculturalists, educators, and entrepreneurs who lived in the area. Documentary research and oral history paint a picture of life in this Southern community from many different perspectives, and can enrich park history by broadening the scope of information about life before, during, and after the two battles of Manassas. Further, interpretation of African American history through the archaeology of the sites discussed in the previous chapters provides an opportunity to confront issues of power, race, class and gender, challenge park visitors to reflect upon these relationships in a meaningful way, and providing a more democratic voice to the national history that our parks tell. Interestingly, although the new park museum has been touted by some as inclusive of African American history (Washington Post 2000 V.06), a closer look reveals that much of this information has been ignored in the construction of new interpretive displays in the park’s visitors center and park managers and interpreters continue to focus on the battles themselves at the expense of other time periods and histories. This absence perpetuates ideas about an idyllic Southern society and negates the struggles of African Americans for the freedom that came at such a cost to our country during the Civil War, and further, it creates a lack of understanding about the struggles of ethnic and minority groups since that time.

In the past, community members and park staff in Manassas have been concerned with the preservation of a particular perspective of the Civil War that emphasizes the two battles of Manassas and the Civil War period over other time periods and histories. This perspective also promotes the Lost Cause by either actively acknowledging that many in the South believe the cause of the Civil War was state's rights, not slavery, or by ignoring this controversial topic all together. In addition, since the park's inception, the NPS, the local community, and several Civil War groups including the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), the Daughters of Confederate Veterans (DCV) the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), and others, have participated in the preservation of cultural resources at the park. These groups have also been instrumental in restoring and preserving the landscape of the park to its 1861-62 appearance at the expense of other time periods and histories. Erasing other time periods and promoting the Lost Cause is not merely an affront because it disengages the visitor from understanding the cause of the Civil War and African American history. As I will show, it is part of a carefully crafted plan that has operated since the end of the Civil War by Confederate groups who wish to control the mythology of the South and the Lost Cause, thereby justifying African Americans positions in society both in the past and present.

As noted in the introduction, Manassas is in an area of the Virginia Piedmont that was inhabited by Native Americans for thousands of years prior to European colonization. It was during the middle to late seventeenth century that English colonial settlers began systematically displacing Native American populations and establishing small farms. Robert “King” Carter formed a network of large plantations in much of this area by the mid eighteenth century, all worked by African slaves. (Zenzen 1995:60). Enslaved Africans provided labor for the grain crops produced in this area and also held a wide variety of other labor roles such as personal servant and artisan (Reeves 1998:2.2). Eventually, free African Americans and freed African slaves represented a significant portion of the population in the area.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century the rise in agricultural production spurred a network of roads and small towns in the area (Reeves 1998:2.2). By the nineteenth century, the Warrenton Turnpike and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad facilitated occupation in this area and westward (Zenzen 1995:60). The location of the railroad line and its junction at Manassas proved an important strategic position and drew Union and Confederate troops here in July of 1861 for the Civil War’s first major land battle, which lasted approximately 10 hours (Zenzen 1995:60). Less than two months after the Confederate victory at Manassas, Southern soldiers erected a historic marker in honor of Col. Francis S. Bartow of the Eighth Georgia Infantry. While these lands were still privately owned, the landscape began to take on a different meaning, particularly for the soldiers who fought there and the Southern community that recognized this area as a memorial of a Southern victory.

The Union and Confederate armies met for a second time in the Manassas area in August of 1862, this time for three days. Again, the Confederacy won the battle; however, it wasn’t until June of 1865 that another memorial was erected on the Manassas battlefield. This time, under orders from the U.S. Army, two memorials were erected under the direction of Lieut. James M. McCallum of the Sixteenth Massachusetts Battery. Lt. McCallum oversaw soldiers from the Fifth Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery as they constructed the monuments. One monument was placed on Henry Hill, an area that had seen heavy fighting during First Manassas. As noted previously, the Robinson Farm is in clear view of Henry Hill. Here, a twenty foot obelisk was built with a 200 pound shell on top and four others at each corner. The other memorial was built at the community of Groveton, where the Nash site is located. Groveton was an area that had seen action during Second Manassas. Only sixteen feet high, this monument was adorned with both relic shot and shell from the battlefield. Both memorials display the inscription, “In memory of the patriots who fell” (Zenzen 1995:23, 1998; Sarles 1955:5-7, 10; Shackel 2003:147), and both represent memorials to the North. In an effort to regain a Confederate presence on the battlefield, Confederate groups answered by erecting their own monuments. Several authors have noted that the local community, who considered themselves part of the South, or Confederacy, were offended at this northern presence (see Shackel 2003:148; Zenzen 1995:2). These new Confederate monuments were a feat in and of themselves considering the economic state of the South after the Civil War. Funds needed to be raised and labor found for the acquisition of land, and the creation and building of these monuments. In 1867 a group of women from the local community established the Groveton Cemetery, “for the purpose of reinterring Confederate remains” (Zenzen 1995:24), and in 1904 the Bull Run Chapter of the UDC erected a Confederate monument in this cemetery. Only a few years later, in 1906, the State of New York added three granite monuments to commemorate the Fifth New York

Volunteers, the Tenth New York Volunteers, and the Fourteenth Brooklyn (84th New York).

During the postwar period it appeared as if Manassas represented a memorial for both North and South, a place where veterans could come together from both sides and shake hands on the battlefield where their fellow soldiers had once killed each other. In July of 1911 the Manassas National Jubilee of Peace was held in observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the first battle. Both Union and Confederate veterans displayed their support of the jubilee and joined in the festivities. Joan Zenzen, in her administrative history of Manassas (1995, 1998), has suggested that memorials to both the North and South on the battlefield and celebrations such as the Jubilee of Peace, show that the North and South were "forging ties" between the war torn states and promoting a sense of unity (Zenzen 1998:4). However, the continued construction of monuments and memorial rituals by both the South and Confederate organizations, and the North, or U.S. government almost certainly represents, not the symbolic reunification that was touted at the time which only reinforced the views of the dominant ideology (Shackel 2003: 149; Blight 2001: 357), but the struggle for control of the memory of the Civil War in Manassas. This interpretation is supported by discussions within the SCV and other Confederate groups when faced with decisions about interpretation of the battles and the management of the battlefield and its resources, even after it became a unit of the National Park System.

For the myth of the South was so strong and so accepted as the dominant ideology, even in the North, that no national park could succeed unless it had local support (i.e., Confederate support; this is true even today for many Southern battlefields, see below). George Carr Round, a local resident who had served in the Union Army, had tried for years (from at least 1900 – 1918 when he passed away; Zenzen 1998: 4-12) to get Manassas recognized by the federal government as a national park, but Round's opinion about the Civil War, and in particular, African Americans, made him so unpopular in the community that they refused to support his cause. As Shackel notes, Round made his northern sentiments clear in a letter he wrote about Fletcher Webster (of Massachusetts) in which he says, "What did Fletcher Webster and his comrades of 1861-1865 accomplish? 1st Liberty for all. 2d An Indestructible Union for all Time and 3rd Universal Education for all races (Round 1918:n.p. as quoted in Shackel 2003:152). Of course, as a local resident of Manassas, Round was undoubtedly aware of the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth and so it is not so unusual that the third accomplishment he lists, "universal education for all races," is given equal significance next to liberty and an indestructible Union. This, however, was not the view of the majority of Manassas residents. Promoting African American education in the South was often viewed as blatantly questioning the legitimacy of white supremacy (Fairclough 2000:68). One local noted that Round's "northern" ideas about a national park were founded from the, "descendants of Carpet-Baggers or scallywags, who were willing to sell their birthright for a few paltry dollars that they might gather from the sale of souvenirs" (Anonymous 1927, quoted in Shackel 2003:153).

In 1921 the SCV established a Confederate Park on Henry Hill (Figure 14). With help from the UDC funds were raised and the Manassas Battlefield Corporation was created. E.W.R. Ewing, the historian-in-chief of the SCV served as the president

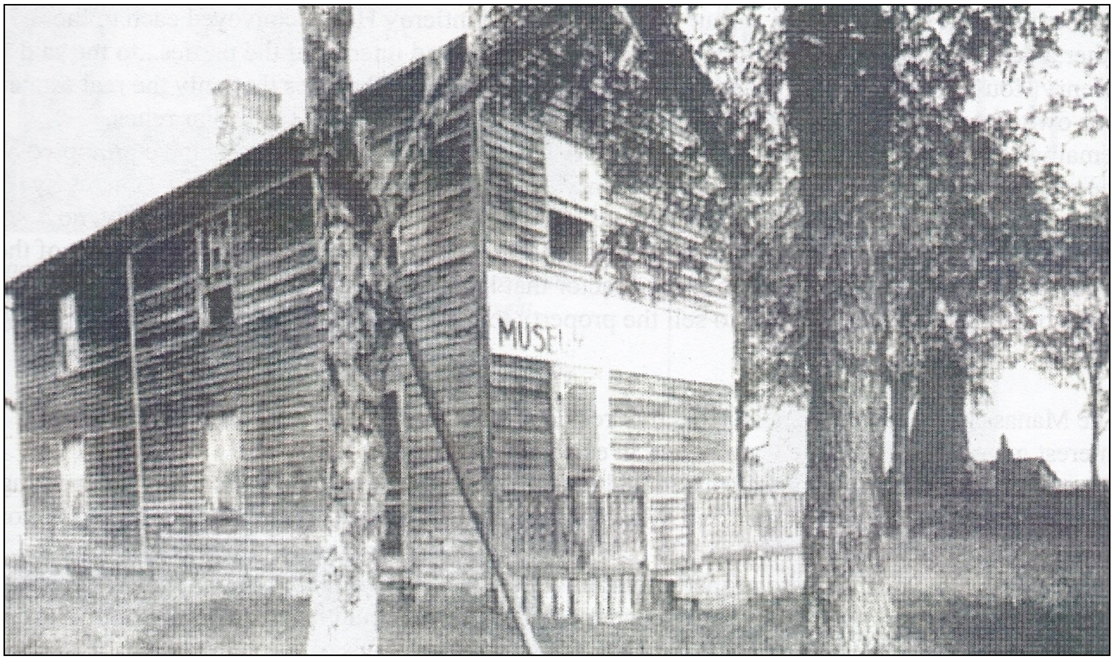


Figure 13: The Henry House used as a Confederate Museum during the Confederate Park era, circa 1921 (from Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003:30).

of the corporation and saw as its mission an opportunity to give voice to the South's, "distinct, wonderful, equally thrilling, all-important story" (Zenzen 1995:42, 43). The corporate directors intended the Manassas National Battlefield Confederate Park to serve as the "supreme battlefield memorial" to all Confederate soldiers (Zenzen 1995:42-43).

"The corporation saw the Confederate park as a way to 'offer the full truth,' in the hopes that the 'truth shall make' our children free.' Ewing, and most of the South promoted the idea that the cause of the war was not slavery, but states rights (this is true, even today; Martin Seibert, personal communication, 1998, Manassas National Battlefield Park Volunteer Program; Pitcaithley 2006; Sons of Confederate Veterans website, 2009). This intentional focus on the battle over states rights rather than slavery shifts attention from the true cause of the Civil War, as the states rights issue that was being fought over was whether or not a state had the “right” to enter the Union as an entity that would outlaw slavery or make it legal to own enslaved African Americans. The unwillingness of the South to acknowledge this by shifting the focus to state’s rights (a “just cause”), coupled with the creation of an abstract collective identity that is a collective *possession* (“our South”, “our dear Confederacy”) that is then objectified in the physical landscape and monuments to the Confederacy (plantations, battlefields and monuments, such as the ones described above in Manassas), promoted a false memory of the virtue of the South, its agrarian past, its way of life, including the “success” of slavery, and the faithful slave, and a refusal to reorder social relations, i.e., the “Lost Cause.” (Savage 1997:118).

While these myths were physically objectified, as noted above, they were also perpetuated by other forms of propaganda such as nationalistic songs, illustrations, institutions (such as memorial associations like the Southern Historical Society (SHC), the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), the UDC, and the SCV), and writing. Such writing is discussed at length in Chapter 3 in the form of travelogues and dime store novels (like Johnson’s 1904 *Highways and Byways of the South*), but also included journals and magazines (see for instance, The Land We Love (1866); The Banner of the South (1868), Our Living and Our Dead (1874); and the Confederate Veteran (1890)).

Yet, ironically, in efforts to vindicate this collective past as recorded in these writings (which became the primary documents that recorded the “history” of the war and the South as a region), Ewing argued that that a Confederate park needed to be created to counter the “propaganda” of the Federal Government who were intentionally misrepresenting history. He wrote:

> Yet so persistent is the propaganda which seeks to distort historical truth, the North and South people are more and more coming to regard our Confederate ancestors as enemies of our country. . . .Shall the children of the South be taught that our Confederate ancestors fought to ‘extend and perpetuate slavery?’ . . . Such an argument is so wanting in evidential support that it is astounding . . . [and]. . in the love of truth which we want taught . . . we must not leave to the Federal Government all such memorials! (Ewing 1921:11-12, n.d.:I; as quoted in Shackel 2003:154, 155).

To show their support for the park and its mission, several memorial institutions donated money, including the UDC, the Southern Confederated Memorial (SCMA) Association, the UCV, and the SCV, as did individuals throughout the South. Even the Virginia state legislature donated $10,000. Each southern state had a representative on the corporation’s audit board and contributed to the organization for the park (Zenzen 1995: 44). Despite these contributions, the Confederate Park suffered financially, and by the 1930s the corporation began negotiations with the National Park Service.

By 1935 the Roosevelt administration had already designated 1,476 acres of the Manassas battlefields as the Bull Run Recreational Demonstration Area. Recreational demonstration projects by the Roosevelt administration helped to provide recreational facilities for low-income families (Roosevelt 1938:146-147). Negotiations between the corporation and the National Park Service were intense. When members of the SCV learned that the National Park Service wanted to incorporate the lands of the Manassas Battlefield Confederate Park into a national park, they were opposed because they "held reservations about having the federal government take a park that Southern money and dedication had created" (Zenzen 1995:47). Despite these hesitations, in June 1936, after a, "bitter all day debate," the SCV voted to donate their lands to the NPS; however, the SCV placed certain restrictions on their gift (Zenzen 1995:58). The SCV received a promise that the NPS would erect a museum at the park, and stipulated that historic markers and monuments had to display the "strictest accuracy and fairness" and not detract from the "glory due the Confederate heroes" (Zenzen 1995:66).

The park focused more on troop movements than on social and economic aspects of the war in order to remain "fair" to opposing views for the impetus of the Civil War. "Causes of the Civil War also did not find expression in the [original] museum plan. While contemporary historiography had addressed issues such as the polarization of North and South over slavery, states' rights, economic considerations and international relations, the Park Service chose to focus on military maneuvers. In this way, the federal government did not antagonize its northern and southern [white] visitors by discussing contentious issues" (Zenzen 1995:72-73).

Interestingly, while the park museum did not discuss causes of the Civil War, various enactments and other events at the park, as well as groups, people, and writing associated with the park actively continued to tout the "true" cause of the

Civil War (according to the South, state's rights and Lincoln's denial of self government to the Southern states; see Tyler 1929) and uphold the Lost Cause. Newspapers such as the *Manassas Journal*, the *Washington Evening Star*, and the *Richmond News Leader*, commonly printed statements from Confederate groups that promoted their perspective. *The Manassas Journal* even noted that President McKinley once stated that "Had the North understood the South, there would have been no war" (Manassas Journal 1936:I, 10). Additionally, the SCV had an active role in the development of the park after it became a unit of the National Park System. The deed of conveyance from the SCV to the federal government included certain provisions that established the continued participation of the SCV in the park and ensured that this group would have a voice in interpretations there (Deed of Conveyance 1938). For instance, the deed stipulated that the NPS construct a statue of Stonewall Jackson. In the late 1930s several Confederate groups scrutinized a model of the artists' rendition of Jackson accusing the artist of making Jackson look like General Ulysses S. Grant and also making Jackson's horse look like a common plow horse instead of a prize mount (called "The Third Battle of Manassas" in newspapers of the time, Manassas newspaper clippings, n.d., "End of Statue Battle"). Additionally, the SCV's requirements, as stated in the deed, were incorporated in discussions about the placement of the new museum and any new historic monuments and markers. They also stipulated that the donation of the land by the SCV be visibly recognized by the NPS. In 1942, the NPS placed a plaque inside the museum lobby that, "recognized the significance of the Sons of Confederate Veterans' land gift to the federal government" (Zenzen 1998:32).

Throughout the park's long history and even today, the SCV and other Confederate groups continue to play a large role in the preservation of cultural resources, interpretation, and events at Manassas National Battlefield and in the local area. With few exceptions, the park has not strayed from its focus on military maneuvers and has remained dedicated to restoring the landscape of the park to its 1861-1862 appearance. As a result, the interpretive focus outside the museum on the land itself has ignored the social history of the community and, in particular, African American history. In addition, historic structures have been destroyed or left to crumble, monuments have been moved from their original locations, and land use within and around the park has been limited so as not to impinge on the visitor's view. For instance, in the 1960s the park acquired the Stone Bridge, a prominent landmark during both battles. While the park wanted the bridge, a monument erected by the UDC on the bridge represented an intrusion to the historic scene. Superintendent Francis Wilshin convinced UDC president Isabel Hutchison that the monument should be destroyed, arguing that the removal of the monument to restore the landscape to its 1861-1862 appearance would, "further the cause of her dear Confederacy" (Zenzen 1995:121).

In several instances developers have planned to intrude on the historic scene by building adjacent to the park. Two theme parks have been dissuaded, in large part by the support and financial backing of Confederate Memorial Associations and other preservationists, to use land adjacent to the park, the Great America theme park (1973), and Disney's America (1994). The developer Hazel/Peterson proposed a corporate office park in the 1980s adjacent to the park. This too was halted. In the

1980s the SCV donated $7,000 for a new audio-visual program in the park's visitor center, arguing to the NPS Director Russell E. Dickenson that the "multiple causes" of the Civil War needed explanation, "not just the issue of slavery" (Mitchell 1982). The SCV and other Confederate groups continue to provide a great deal of funding for preservation work associated with the Civil War throughout the local area. In May of 2002, for instance, the SCV, the UDC, and other battlefield groups provided funding for a thermal imaging survey to identify possible mass graves near the Bristoe Station battlefield just south of Manassas that were going to be disturbed by a new housing development (Fitts 2002). As of August 2008, the SCV continues to hold their annual national camp at the battlefield (Newsletter of the SCV, 7th Brigade, Army of Northern Virginia, July 2008).

Today, members of the SCV act as volunteers for the park and lead their own interpretive programs that also promote their perspective on the causes of the Civil War and continue to perpetuate the Lost Cause (personal communication, Northern Virginia Relic Hunters Association, MANA Volunteer program, Archaeological investigations, 1996-1998).

These ideas and groups have become increasingly politicized during the last decade, not just in Manassas, but nation-wide. Any cursory look at the industry of the Civil War – publishing, nostalgia, preservation, antiquities, and tourism, demonstrates that widely divergent views of the war's meaning are alive and well. For at least the last two decades the National Park Service has been actively attempting to incorporate diverse social history, including the history of African Americans, into its parks and programs. Many of these efforts have been successful (see below).

However, some of these efforts, particularly, those related to telling African American history at Civil War parks, especially in the South, have resulted in a backlash from Confederate groups who claim they are victims of “cultural ethnic cleansing” and “wholesale persecution” by the “political correctness” of academic historians and their lackeys entrenched in the federal government (see Position Statement on the NPS, SCV 2001). Clearly, there is a great deal at stake when the federal government supports an expanded interpretation of the Civil War which includes African American history. A glance at any SCV or other memorial association’s website shows that they remain unwilling to even consider the role of slavery in the Civil War. However, the continued acceptance by Manassas National Battlefield of this view has come at a tremendous cost to American race relations because it has required a near erasure of the story of African American struggles during slavery, emancipation, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow. This makes it extremely difficult to understand and face the unresolved racial legacies we live with today. Below I will examine how the park has systematically organized and supported this erasure from their interpretations and the landscape.

The Power to Erase History: The African-American Story - Hidden in Plain View

The cost of placing one particular history over another has been loss of diversity for Manassas National Battlefield. Since the park’s creation, questions of the history of the community itself, its European-American and African-American residents, and the effects of the Civil War on slave populations and women and children have not been addressed. These subjects have gained increased public attention as a result of social and civil rights movements since the 1960s; however, this is not reflected in the park's interpretative focus. Manassas continues to focus its interpretation on the troop movements and soldier life of the Civil War. While it is appropriate to interpret such things at a battlefield park, to do so with very little context for the reasons for the war is a disservice to the American public. Two interpretive panels at the park (erected in 1999) acknowledge both slavery as well as state's rights as causes of the Civil War (see below). However, with very little context to explain these issues and who believes them, it promotes the idea that both "causes" are equally valid. Interpretation of the local context and history could remedy this situation. However, with so little social history promoted at the park, the role of slavery and the consequences of the Civil War on both African American and European American families in the area has become a deafening silence. As with many Civil War parks, Manassas has actively tried to restore the landscape to its appearance at the time of the battles. All of these directives have ensured that African American presence at the park has been erased. Interestingly, while the museum includes a panel on the Robinson House site, the site itself, including the remains of the buildings that were present during both battles, has been left to crumble and systematically dismantled (see below). An interesting dichotomy considering that the park has long justified the destruction, lack of maintenance, and lack of interpretation of other African American sites by noting that they were not present during the battles (see Figure 15). Below I will examine the Robinson House and other African-American sites identified in this study and note how they are interpreted by Manassas National Battlefield today. I will also list other possible sites that can tell the story of

African American struggle and survival through the Civil War and many other periods that are within the park boundaries or just outside the park boundaries. Lastly in this section, I will describe the interpretation in the "new" museum.

While there are groups that want to ensure that this history remains "hidden," as I have shown, the African American past at Manassas National Battlefield is there, if you know where to look. Many of the physical remains of these sites on the landscape are in plain view, if one knows what features to look for. Additionally, there is an archaeological collection, with many interpretations and avenues for making it available to the public in an effective way. In fact, while this has been ignored at the local, park level, this has been done at the national level with great success. Finally, there remains a dedicated and thriving descendant community in the local area and abroad who have contacted me during the many years I have studied these sites. The final part of this chapter will explore how to possibly make use of these resources to promote this history.

Sites Discussed

The Nash Site: As noted in Chapters 2, 4 and 5, the Nash Site was the home of Philip Nash, his wife, Sarah, his father-in-law Neson Ewell, and his 5 children, during the mid to late nineteenth century. It was located on a portion of the Brownsville plantation (see below) owned for most of its history by the Lewis and Leachman families (the owners of Sarah and Philip before emancipation). The site is located along Rt. 29, the Warrenton-Alexandria Turnpike, on a parcel of land owned by the National Park Service as part of Manassas National Battlefield. This location

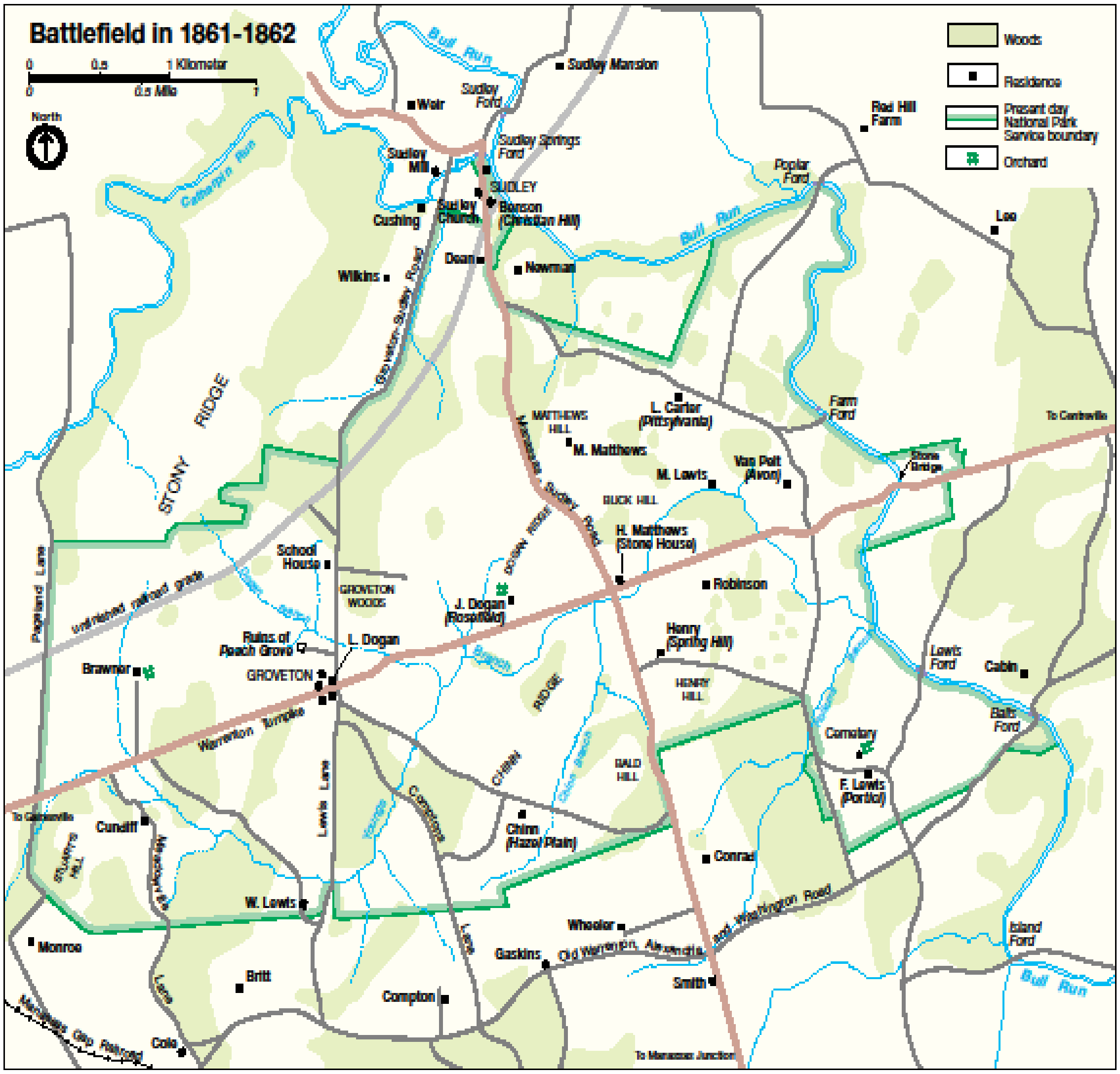

Battlefield in 1861-1862
0
0.5
1 Kilometer
0
0.5 Mile
1
North
Woods
Residence
Present day National Park Service boundary
Orchard
Bull Run
Sudley Mansion
Weir
Sudley Ford
Sudley Springs Ford
Sudley Mill
SUDLEY
Sudley Church
Benson (Christian Hill)
Cushing
Catharpin Run
Red Hill Farm
Poplar Ford
Lee
Dean
Newman
Wilkins
Groveton-Sudley Road
STONY RIDGE
MATTHEWS HILL
M. Matthews
L. Carter (Pittsylvania)
Farm Ford
To Centreville
Stone Bridge
Van Pelt (Avon)
M. Lewis
BUCK HILL
Manassas-Sudley Road
H. Matthews (Stone House)
Robinson
School House
GROVETON WOODS
J. Dogan (Rosefield)
Pageland Lane
unfinished railroad grade
Ruins of Peach Grove
L. Dogan
GROVETON
Brawner
Warrenton Turnpike
Henry (Spring Hill)
HENRY HILL
Lewis Ford
Cabin
Balls Ford
Cemetery
F. Lewis (Portici)
BALD HILL
Chinn (Hazel Plain)
Conrad
To Gainesville
Cundiff
STUART'S HILL
Lewis Lane
Compton
W. Lewis
Monroe
Britt
Cole
Manassas Gap Railroad
Lane
Gaskins
Wheeler
Old Warrenton, Alexandria and Washington Road
Smith
Island Ford
To Manassas Junction
RIDGE
Chinn

Figure 14: The Battlefield circa 1861-1862 showing the majority of sites discussed (Courtesy Manassas National Battlefield Park).

is considered part of the community of Groveton, which is approximately three miles outside the town of Manassas, Virginia. The site is situated about 100 feet south of Lee Highway and about 1200 feet from the intersection of Lee Highway and Groveton Road (Galke 1992:45). Today, the remains of the dwelling consist of the stone chimney footing and stone piers to support a structure, and these have been greatly encroached upon by the surrounding wilderness (Galke, 1992a: 8). Although the site has great interpretive potential, as shown through discussions of ethnogenesis, Africanisms, and landscapes in this dissertation, the site is not interpreted in the park museum, or on the landscape through a walking tour or by any other means. The remains of the site are not maintained in any way by the park.

The Henry House: The Henry House, originally known as Spring Hill Farm, is associated with the Carter family (owners of James Robinson's enslaved mother). The property was the home of anywhere from one to 23 enslaved African Americans and one free African American between the years of 1817 through 1861 and possibly later. The site is located on Henry Hill, north and in view of, the Manassas National Battlefield Park Visitor Center. It is southwest and in view of the Robinson House site. The site is south of Rt. 29, the Warrenton-Alexandria Turnpike, and east of Rt. 234, Sudley Road. Today the site consists of the Henry House, an outbuilding to the north of the house, the Henry Hill Monument, the Henry family cemetery, Virginia rail fence surrounding the yard space and the monument, a lane entering from the west at Sudley Road, an historic road trace that connects the site with Rock Road, east of the house, and several trees and shrubs in the immediate yard area (Parsons and Ravenhorst, 2003:xiii). Two waysides are also located on the site. One in front of the house that discusses the property during the first battle of Manassas and one in front of the monument that gives a history of the construction of the monument. Although the site has great interpretive potential with regard to African American history, with regard to the wealth of information about the African Americans who lived and worked here discovered in the 2002-2003 excavations and reporting on the site by Parsons and Ravenhorst (2003) and especially with regard to Colonoware as discussed in Chapter 2, this research and archaeology is not discussed in any way at Manassas National Battlefield. The site has further interpretive potential as the house at the site was used as the first museum for the Confederate Park (see above). This might provide an opportunity to confront issues of Reconstruction, monument building, the Lost Cause, and their effect on race relations. Interpretations of the site at the park relate to the property during the two battles of Manassas. The site, house, and monument are maintained by the park as they are on a main walking tour. The resources themselves are highly visible, while their connection with African American history remains hidden.

The Hooe Dependency: The Hooe Dependency site was, most probably, a structure associated with an enslaved African American household attached to the Hazel Plain plantation (owned by the Hooe family, Hazel Plain is also known as the Chinn House, see below). The site dates to the early nineteenth century (Reeves 2000:ii); however, considering that the dates of Colonoware in Manassas extend through the nineteenth century, the site could be of a later period as well. The site is located at the intersection of Rt. 234, Sudley Road, and Rt. 29, the Warrenton and Alexandria Turnpike. It is situated uphill, on the left side of Sudley Road, heading northwest, after passing the Henry House, but before the intersection, which is in view of the site. The site may have been disturbed when the intersection of Rt. 29 and Rt. 234 was widened. The property is not interpreted at the museum or on any walking tour of the park, even though a discussion of Colonoware and African American history, and, at this site, plantation life and Hazel Plain, could be fruitful. The site is not maintained by the park.

Brownsville: Brownsville was a prosperous plantation that was occupied from the 1770s through 1900 and at which anywhere from seven to 46 African-Americans lived and worked. First developed by George Newman Brown (the Newman family owned Jennie Dean and her family at one time) and later owned by the Hooe family of Hazel Plain (see the Hooe Dependency, above, and Hazel Plain, below), the majority of time the plantation was in existence it was owned by the Lewis and Leachman families (owners of Philip and Sarah Nash). The main house of the property was sometimes referred to as Folly Castle. Two structures excavated in the 1990s at the property are believed to have been structures associated with African American enslaved and free laborers and their families. The property is located in the southeast portion of what is known as the Stuart's Hill tract (see Galke 1992). It is close to the intersection of Pageland Lane and Groveton Road. In the late 1980s a main house (known as the Carneal House), mostly dating from the 1940s, was still standing at the site. Also at the site, a cemetery, spring, and access lane off of Pageland Lane. Access to the site today is limited. Although both the archaeological and interpretive potential of this site with regard to African American history, and in particular, plantation life, Colonoware, and Africanisms (see Chapters 2, 3, and 4) is staggering, the property is not interpreted in the museum or at the park in any way. The site is not on any walking trails. The site is not maintained by the park.

Pohoke and Portici: Located on what is known at the park as the Wheeler tract, Pohoke was initially owned by Spencer and Elizabeth "Betty" Landon Carter Ball, by the early nineteenth century. After 1820 and a series of fires prompted its rebuilding, Ball renamed the plantation Portici. The Ball's son Alfred (who did business with James Robinson; Robinson also bound out his daughter Jemima to Alfred Ball), who was married to Sarah Carter, left the house to his eldest sister Fanny Tasker Lewis who left it to her son Frank Lewis in 1855. Prior to the Civil War, these families owned many slaves. An average of 20 enslaved Africans lived here each year up to 1861. Excavations in the 1980s revealed the quarters of enslaved Africans as well as numerous artifacts associated with the enslaved Africans living at Pohoke and Portici, including Colonoware ceramics and ebony and bone rings that survived the Middle Passage. Despite this intriguing interpretive potential, today the site is only interpreted for its use in discussing the first and second battles of Manassas. A wayside at the site details its position during the battles. The site is semi-maintained (i.e., not overgrown). You can drive to the site or walk to the site from the Visitor's Center. The Ball family cemetery and several headstones are still extant at the property. Both Lewis and Ball fords are visible from the site. It is not interpreted in the museum.

The Robinson House Site (and the Drovers Inn): The Robinson House site was the home of a free African-American family, the Robinsons, from the 1840s through 1936. Oral history contends that James Robinson, known as Gentleman Jim, was the son of Landon Carter of Pittslyvania (see below) and one of his female slaves. Since

Robinson was born free, it is assumed that Carter freed Robinson's mother before he was born. Robinson was an extraordinary figure in the history of Northern Virginia. A free African-American (one of the wealthiest in the county during the late nineteenth century) who did business with many prominent members of the white community, oral history in both the white and African-American community about Robinson and his family abound – about family members, as well as the role of the farm and family during the Civil War, and his relationships within the community. Documentary and oral historical evidence also show that Robinson ran a Drover's Inn on the property. Architectural and archaeological investigations and an oral history project at the property in the 1990s uncovered a wealth of information about the family during many different periods in history. The site is located south of Rt. 29, the Alexandria-Warrenton Turnpike, on the northeast side of Henry Hill. The site is visible from the Henry House and is on a walking tour of the park. A structure that dated (partially, see below) to 1926 stood on the site until 1993 when arsonists burned the house. Community members felt that arsonists set fire to the house to erase African Americans from this southern landscape, and thus it was an act of racial violence. Other community members have intimated that because of the influence of the SCV and other Confederate groups at the park, the NPS maintenance staff set fire to the house to appease such groups (also an act of racial violence). Others have suggested that the NPS set fire to the house merely because they could not afford to maintain it. The chimney and the foundations of the house survived the fire and were extant on the battlefield until 1998, when the chimney, which dated to the 1870s and included the inscription of one of the Robinson family members upon returning to

Virginia in the 1870s after being sold into slavery, was dismantled after it was deemed a threat to visitors. The park chose not to stabilize the chimney even though funds were available to do so. Stones from the chimney were then reused in other structures in the park or left in the NPS's maintenance yard. The removal of the chimney was seen by many as a racist action as it further erases the African American presence from the battlefield (see Shackel 2003:170-171). Today only house foundations and trees remain on the property. A wayside near the property explains that the foundations date to the 1880s. Although this has been known to be incorrect since at least 1998 (additions were made in1871, 1888, and 1926), and the photo of the Robinson House on the wayside is actually a reverse image, no attempt to correct the wayside has been made. Interestingly, the Henry House that stands on the battlefield today, a structure that does not date to the two battles of Manassas, has been given significant funds for stabilization and reconstruction. The wayside at the Henry House does not indicate that this structure does not date to time of the battles. This is of note because there has been significant resistance at Manassas National Battlefield Park to preserve and interpret the Robinson House site. The reason given for this resistance is that the remains at the site date to after the two battles of Manassas. Also seemingly contradictory to this statement is that the new park museum includes a panel about the Robinson family and includes material culture on display from excavations that postdates the Civil War. The panel about the Robinson family is the only panel in the new museum that discusses any African American sites in of the area.

The Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth: The Manassas Industrial School was established in the late nineteenth century by a local, formerly enslaved African American woman and charismatic leader, Jennie Dean. Like Robinson, Dean was an extraordinary figure in Northern Virginia, and I would argue, is a figure of national significance. The school operated as a private residential institution and working farm that provided vocational education for male and female African American students until 1938 when it became part of the public school system. African American students continued coming to this school until the early 1960s when the buildings were demolished. Today, the property is located east of the existing Jennie Dean Elementary School. It is bordered on the east by Wellington Road, on the north by the present entrance drive to the Jennie Dean Elementary School, on the west by the school parking lot, and on the south by additional parking lots and open lawn areas. The site consists of a well maintained lawn, the extant foundations to several of the school buildings, and large wayside interpretive panels that discuss the school buildings and campus layout. The property is maintained and interpreted by the local Manassas Museum (not affiliated with the National Park Service). This museum also includes an indoor space (not on site) that provides information about Jennie Dean, the school, and the local African American community. Even though many former African American community members that resided on what is today Manassas National Battlefield Park attended the school, and provided many fond memories of the school in oral histories conducted by the National Park Service's Regional Archaeology program, the school is not interpreted or mentioned in the Manassas National Battlefield museum, nor on any interpretive tour. The national park does not mention the local museum. The battlefield appears entirely separate and unrelated to the town of Manassas or any local or social history. If one did not know of the nearby town, a visitor might never know you were near one.

Other Sites Mentioned

Meadowville (Cundiff House): Meadowville, or the Cundiff Plantation was occupied from the late eighteenth century until the 1970s primarily by the Cundiff family. Up to 24 enslaved African Americans lived at the property over the years. The site is located in the southwestern part of the park on the south side of Rt. 29 the Alexandria-Warrenton turnpike opposite the Brawner farm. House foundations exist at the site, but its African American history is not interpreted in the museum or on any walking tour of the park. The park does not maintain the site.

Andrew J. Redman Site: Redman was a former slave of the nearby Brownsville plantation, who bought his freedom from William M. Lewis, the owner of Brownsville, before the Civil War. In February of 1871, Redman bought two acres from the new owners of Brownsville, John T. Leachman and his wife. The site contained a blacksmith shop, which Redman operated and maintained, and, presumably, a dwelling. Redman lived at the site during the late nineteenth century with his wife Mary and their five children. The site was described, at the time, as being near the Nash family site. The property was situated on the southwest corner of

Warrenton Turnpike and Wellington Road. It has not been identified archaeologically. It is not interpreted in the park museum or on any walking tour.

Mahala Dean House Site: The Mahala Dean House site has been positively identified near the community of Sudley Springs on the west side of Rt. 234, Sudley Road. It is across the road from the Newman plantation site, within the park boundaries. It is identified in the Portici archaeological report as the home of a free African American (Parker and Hernigle 1990: 3). Mahala Dean may be related to the Jennie Dean family. The interpretive potential of the site, considering its possible relationship to the famous Jennie Dean, is high; however, it is not interpreted or maintained by the park in any way.

Charles and Annie Dean Site: The Charles and Annie Dean site (the parents of Jennie Dean) is known through oral history to be located on or near the battlefield, however, documentary evidence places the site at the community of Catharpin about six miles from the battlefield (Lewis 1992). It is not interpreted in any way at the park.

The Cushing and Newman Family Plantations: The Cushing and Newman families owned Jennie Dean, her siblings, and parents. Both plantations are located just outside the park boundaries in the community of Sudley Springs. Neither site is interpreted by the park in any way.

John Lee House Site: The John Lee House site was located north of Rt. 29 the Alexandria-Warrenton turnpike. Lee owned Susan Gaskins Robinson and several of the Robinson children. The site is located outside of the park boundaries. It is not interpreted by the park in any way.

Pittsylvania: Landon Carter Jr. (1738-1801), the son of Landon Carter Sr., and grandson of Robert "King" Carter built the immense plantation Pittsylvania (circa 1756-1862) sometime prior to 1756. A preliminary archaeological survey and report was prepared on Pittslyvania in 2000 (see Beasley 2000) showing the archaeological potential at the site. The plantation housed up to 152 enslaved African Americans. Oral history contends that Landon Carter was the father of James Robinson with one of these female slaves. Landon Carter's daughters Elizabeth and Judith would each eventually live at Spring Hill Farm, later known as the Henry House (see above; Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003). Located northeast of Matthews Hill, today only foundations, depressions, and scattered artifacts remain above ground at the property. One can hike to the site off of a main park trail. There is a very small sign at the site that states the name of the property. The African American history of the site is not interpreted by the park. The site is not maintained by the park in any way.

Hazel Plain (Hooe/Chinn House): Built circa 1809, this large plantation was originally the home of the Hooe family. By the Civil War it was owned by Benjamin T. Chinn. The plantation was almost certainly the home of enslaved African Americans (see Hooe Dependency, above). The main house was a frame structure that stood two and a half stories tall and was constructed on sandstone foundations. It survived the Civil War, but was razed by the National Park Service in 1950. The site is located southwest of the intersection of Rt. 29, Alexandria-Warrenton turnpike and the Sudley-Manassas Road. Today only the foundations and chimney base exist above ground. A 1983 archaeological survey identified more than a dozen features associated with the plantation located east- south-east of the house. The Hooe family cemetery is marked today at the property by a stone wall, though no headstones are present. The site is also bisected by both historic and non-historic roads. The site is semi-maintained by the National Park Service (it is not overgrown and you can drive or hike to the property). However, the African-American history of the site is not interpreted by the park.

Other Significant, Related African American Sites (Within and Outside the Park Boundaries)

The Peters Farm (House Site): A preliminary survey of the battlefield has also identified the home of the Peters family east of Pageland Lane and north of Rt. 29, Alexandria-Warrenton turnpike. Oral history contends that James Peters was an enslaved field laborer at Woodland, a local plantation owned by Landon Carter. In 1860 James learned from his brother John, an enslaved house servant that he was to be sold away from his family. To avoid being sold and perhaps to escape the horrors of slavery, James ran away to Alexandria, Virginia, which was occupied at that time by the Union army (Montgomery Peters Interview, March 1982, quoted in Johnson, et al. 1982: 29). Peter’s service records indicate that he enlisted in the Union army in

June of 1863 (NPS 1979). His regiment, the First U. S. Colored Infantry, experienced considerable action during the final year of the Civil War.

U.S. Census records indicate that James returned to the Manassas area in 1865 where he, "used timbers from an abandoned schoolhouse that had been damaged during the War to build a home" (Reeves 2003:133). The census also indicates that during the 1870s he was employed as a plasterer's helper and later as a farm laborer (USBC 1880). By 1880 James had married, and he and his wife, Josephine, had three children. In 1883 the family purchased two acres of land near the crossroads of the community of Groveton, where James had built his home in 1865 (Prince William County Deed Book). "While the land they bought was large enough for their home and garden plot, the Peters likely farmed additional land on a tenant basis" (Reeves 2000:23).

Oral histories indicate that James and Josephine eventually had ten children (Johnson, et al. 1982:30). By the 1930s the Peters family had acquired approximately 100 acres, and in 1970 the family sold their land to the National Park Service, which incorporated it into Manassas National Battlefield Park (Reeves 2003: 133, 134). The interpretive potential of the site is very high, however, it is not interpreted, preserved, or maintained by the park in any way.

Maggie Lewis Cabin: Mentioned in passing in the report for Portici (Parker and Hernigle 1990:3) is the Maggie Lewis Cabin, home of a free African American. It appears, from an 1861-1862 battlefield map, to be located on Buck Hill east of the Van Pelt House (Avon) and north of Rt. 29 the Alexandria-Warrenton turnpike. This is the only reference I've ever found to this site. It is not interpreted by the park or preserved or maintained in any way.

The Tasco/Bladen Robinson House Site: It is unclear whether Tasco or Bladen, both sons of James Robinson, built the house on this site that dated from 1890-1940. The park assumes it was Bladen as it is listed in the inventory as the Bladen Robinson House Site and Tasco was, upon the death of his father and mother, listed as the owner of the Robinson House (see above). However, both Tasco and Bladen received between 50 and 70 acres of their father's farm at his death. The property has been positively identified and is located on a hilltop overlooking Young's and Holkum's Branch. Only foundations and depressions remain at the site. Since the property was owned by the sons of James Robinson and is in excellent archaeological condition, it has very good interpretive potential. It is neither interpreted nor maintained by the park at this time.

Robinson Family Cemetery: The Robinson Family Cemetery is located off of Rt. 29, Alexandria-Warrenton turnpike, just outside of park boundaries east-northeast of the park. James Robinson and Susan Gaskins Robinson are buried here as well as many other members of the Robinson family. The cemetery is maintained by the Robinson Family descendants. It is not interpreted by the park.

Gaskins House: Located just south of the southern park boundary, the Gaskins House is assumed to be the family home of the family of Susan Gaskins, wife of

James Robinson. It has not been positively identified and the integrity of the site is unknown. It is not interpreted by the park in any way.

Middling Households: The Van Pelt House (or Avon), home of Abraham Van Pelt, Christian Hill (home of Amos Benson), the Martin Matthews House, the Stone House (H. Matthews), and the Brawner Farm (or Bachelor's Hall), are all sites within park boundaries that are considered "middling" farms, with the exception of the Stone House which served variously as a tavern, post office, and residence. They were not large plantations, but they were also often not economically struggling. Some of these sites, like the Stone House, are standing and maintained by the park. Others, such as the Martin Matthews House, are only marked by foundations, a scatter of artifacts, or not at all, and are not maintained by the park. Yet, those sites noted above are all interpreted by the park for their role during the two battles of Manassas. Additionally, there are other twentieth century house sites (such as the Clark site and various trash middens) that are not maintained or interpreted by the park. What all of these sites have in common, however, is that they may or may not be related to African-American history. Some properties, like the Stone House, surely would have been known to families like the Robinsons – whose house was in view. Would a tavern like the Stone House serve an African-American customer like Philip Nash? Would the owners of the Stone House tavern have bought supplies from the Robinson Farm? The unfortunate truth is that no one has bothered to examine these relationships, and thus, their history remains buried.

Rosefield (The John Dogan House): Rosefield was the plantation home of Wormley Carter son of Landon Carter of Pittsylvania (see above). The site is positively identified but not archaeologically evaluated. The original house dates from 1801-1862. As Wormely Carter was a wealthy land and slave owner, Rosefield was almost certainly the home of many enslaved African Americans. The house was later owned by John Dogan (acquired in the 1840s) and is sometimes referred to as the John Dogan House. The site is located on the crest of the ridge overlooking Rt. 29, the Alexandria-Warrenton turnpike about 80 yards to the south. The original house burned during the Civil War and a new house was constructed in the 1880s on the site. The outbuildings originally stood to the west of the site and are no longer above ground, but likely exist archaeologically. The park maintains the 1880s structure but does not interpret Rosefield or the African American story here.

Peach Grove (and the Lucinda Dogan House): Peach Grove was the family plantation of the Dogan family. Built circa 1800, the main plantation house burned in 1860 and the overseer's house became the primary residence. That house is known today as the Lucinda Dogan House. The main plantation complex is located on a knoll about 350 yards northwest of the village of Groveton (see below) at the intersection of Rt. 29, the Alexandria-Warrenton turnpike and the old Groveton-Sudley Road (now Featherbed Lane). The complex almost certainly included various outbuildings and the quarters of enslaved Africans. Today, the site includes the family burial ground which is marked by bronze tablet on a brick base and a modern cemetery office building. While most likely disturbed by the modern building, it is also likely that much of the plantation complex may be found archaeologically, including the slave quarters, though this has not been explored by the park. Peach Grove is not interpreted or maintained by the park, however, the Lucinda Dogan House (former overseer's house) is. This one and a half story log building is interpreted for its role during the two battles of Manassas. It was rehabilitated in 1961 and is maintained by the park.

Community of Groveton (and African American Schoolhouses): By the 1850s, the Lucinda Dogan House (see above), originally the overseer's house for Peach Grove, together with a tavern, blacksmith shop (probably Andrew J. Redman's shop, see above), a wheelwright shop, and the scattered dependencies of Peach Grove made up the crossroads of the community of Groveton. An African American schoolhouse (which was in several different locations through time, in one location it eventually became the Nash family residence) was also located close the crossroads. Today the Lucinda Dogan House and to the west a privately owned I-house (where the tavern sat and potentially incorporating that structure's historic materials) is all that stands, though the potential for archaeological remains is high considering the excellent archaeological integrity of the nearby Nash site. Immediately south of the crossroads is the Oswald Robinson House, a 1960s rambler that is owned by the National Park Service. South of this structure facing Groveton Road (the historic Lewis Lane) is a 1918 stone African American schoolhouse (known as the Groveton School) that was later remodeled as a residence and is now used as park housing. Today the community is only interpreted for its strategic location during the two battles of Manassas, although the interpretive potential as a racially and ethnically mixed community of European and African American entrepreneurs (Andrew J. Redman), tenant farmers (the Nash family), successful landowners (the Peters Family, oral histories contend that Josephine Peters, wife of African American James Peters, see above, was white and Jewish), and African American education (numerous African American schoolhouses) is high.

Pageland (Honeywood): Pageland later known as Honeywood, and its associated archaeological remains, is located along the western edge of the modern day Pageland Lane, just outside the park boundaries. The original structure was built circa 1830 by the Marsteller family and later probably became the overseer's house for the 762 acre Pageland estate owned by Mann Page. Today the site includes the original main block of the structure with imposing exterior end chimneys and flanking additions that were added in the 20th century. The site also includes late a stone 18th century kitchen, the quarters of enslaved Africans, also built of stone, and the unmarked graves of the Marsteller family and Civil War soldiers. Although some of the site has been compromised during the building of the additions and general maintenance and landscaping, the integrity of the standing structures suggests that there are significant intact archaeological remains at the property. Proximity suggests that the enslaved Africans here were known to and probably related to those that lived within the park. Today the building is privately owned. It is not interpreted by the park.

Sudley Post Office (the Davis Family Occupation): Located in the historic village of Sudley (sometimes called Sudley Springs, see below), this house site was the residence of three different households from the 1840s through the 1930s, the Thornberrys (1840-1871), the Matthews (1871-1903) and the Davis Family (1910-late 1920s). The descendants of the African American Davis Family still reside in the Sudley Community today. When the Davis family lived in the structure that was to become known as the Sudley Post Office, Joe Davis was a day-laborer whose wife may have taken on odd jobs. In his excellent report, *Views of Changing Landscape: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Sudley Post Office*, (1998) Matthew Reeves offers a fascinating study of the examination of material culture and landscape at this African American site and how it reflects the family's interaction with the local community. He notes that the material culture and landscape reflect both the desire to participate in a national consumer culture, but also the restrictions the family faced locally in a racist society governed by Jim Crow. What becomes apparent, Reeves argues, is the motivation of the family to survive harsh economic realities within a context of racial divisiveness designed to keep the family in a position of social and economic inequity (1998:6.9). Today the site is maintained by the park and the house has been rehabilitated. However, the property is interpreted as a wartime structure, and unless one were to read the archaeological report, the story of the Davis family is all but forgotten by the park.

The Community of Sudley (Sudley Mill and Dam, Sudley Methodist Church, Sudley Mansion/Manor): Located at the confluence of Catharpin Run and Bull Run at the northern end of Featherbed Lane, is the historic community of Sudley, sometimes referred to as Sudley Springs. Some of the community is within park boundaries and some is not. Originally part of the Middle Bull Run tract owned by Robert “King” Carter, the land was passed to his son, Landon Carter Sr., and then to his son, John Carter (1739-1789) who built a large scale agricultural estate, Sudley Manor (sometimes called Sudley Mansion) in the area. As early as 1760, John Carter built what was to become one of the most prominent feature of this land tract, a dam and water powered grist and saw mill known as Sudley Mill. Eventually, auxiliary shops grew up as part of this complex including a blacksmith shop, a store, and a wheelwright shop (operated by John Thornberry, see Sudley Post Office, above). Several large estates grew up here in addition to Sudley Manor, including the Cushing and Newman estates (owners of Jennie Dean and her parents) and that of Peyton Neville. Sudley Methodist Church has also been a focal point of the community since the early nineteenth century. It was here that Jennie Dean, her parents, and the other African Americans in the community were made to stand in the back of the church and not allowed to take communion. According to oral history, this is one of the things that prompted Dean to found African American churches in Northern Virginia.

Like Groveton, the community of Sudley has an important African American history that is essential for understanding the community. As early as the early 19th century an enslaved African named “Sam” operated the store at Sudley Mill (see Reeves 1998:2.10). By the mid-nineteenth century, enslaved Africans were involved in “manufacturing” in the area, probably at the mill, and many more were associated with Sudley Manor and the estate of Peyton Neville whose household included at least 22 enslaved Africans. The story of these African Americans as well as the Davis Family at Sudley Post Office (see above) tells an important, often neglected, aspect of African American history in this locale and in the South generally, and that is the sale of slave labor for manufacturing pursuits and the struggle of African American families during Jim Crow. With the information about Sudley Church, and the location of the Cushing and Newman farms here, interpretation of the community also has the opportunity to discuss the connection to Jennie Dean, African American religious movements and their connection to African American education. However, the park interprets the community of Sudley for its strategic location during the two battles of Manassas.

Alvey's Store: Located outside of park boundaries along the modern Rt. 234 (the old Sudley Manassas Road) between Sudley and Catharpin is Alvey's Community Store. Operating since the mid nineteenth century, the building still retains some of its original features and is still owned and operated by the Alvey family. Local merchants, such as the Alveys played an important role in the community, often acting as the "middle man" for selling the community products such as wool, grains, and meats to local and regional markets. Interestingly, at least one local African American family used Alvey's as their "middle man" for goods they produced for sale, and to purchase goods manufactured outside the community, the Robinson family, who had a series of accounts at the store (see the Robinson Family Papers, Manassas National Battlefield). The Alveys still have a series of day books that date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that they used to record customer purchases. Alvey's is an important resource for the history of these local communities as it makes defining the types of goods available to the community easier and can be cross referenced with the archaeological record. Additionally, it is important to understand how the African American community did business during this period to elucidate issues such as access to goods and markets and the effects of Reconstruction and Jim Crow on these families. For instance, the Robinsons did business here, but were they likely to buy bulk goods at the store in the chance that they may be cheated by the white owners? Were they using the Alvey family as the "middle man" because they could not deal directly with the local white community? Alvey's is not interpreted by the park.

Community of Catharpin: Located north of the Community of Sudley along modern Rt. 234, the old Sudley-Manassas Road, at the northern terminus of Pageland Lane is the historic Community of Catharpin. Mentioned frequently in the historic record by residents of Manassas, Groveton and Sudley, Catharpin is where oral history tells us that Jennie Dean and her family eventually settled and owned a farm after the Civil War. Additionally, it is the location of the Jennie Dean Grave Site at the Greater Mount Cavalry Christian Church. Although the church is not original, Dean did found one of her first African American churches on this site. Catharpin is not interpreted by the park.

Other Related Properties Outside the Park Boundaries: With an area as rich in history as the Manassas area there are many, many other related properties outside the park boundaries that had obvious relationships to those that lived within the park boundaries - too many to identify here. Two large estates of note include the Ben Lomond House (an historic site), built by Benjamin Tasker Chinn, that includes one of the largest public rose gardens in the country, and Liberia, another of the very large plantations in the area, was built in 1825 by the Wier family on the Lower Bull Run tract. Liberia was the home of up to 90 enslaved Africans. In the early twentieth century a series of community stores (such as Alvey's above) and the Tudor Hall community store and post office off the old Centreville Road were very important to the African American community (see Ratcliffe 1973:4), as well as the "villages" of Centreville and Brentsville. Brentsville is where James Robinson worked in a tavern in his early adult life, saving money to buy his farm (see Ratcliffe 1973:4 and Parsons 2001).

Additionally, many sites owned, operated, and interpreted by the Manassas Museum System have obvious relationships (such as the Manassas Industrial School) and many business in the town were owned and operated by African Americans, or conducted business with those families that lived on the battlefield, such as the Robinsons. The Dean-Divers Baptist Church, founded in 1909, by Jennie Dean is located within the City limits.

A plethora of African-American schools of the nineteenth and early twentieth century can be studied through the documentary record and oral histories. These include the Manley School (attended by the Robinson family), founded in 1871, the Chinn School (which may be within the boundaries, but the location is unknown), founded in 1874, the Catharpin Colored School, founded in 1877 the Summitt School in 1883, the Thoroughfare Colored School founded in 1884, and the Groveton School, founded in 1918 (actually, within the boundaries - see above).

Manassas National Battlefield Park draws no attention to related sites or communities outside the park boundaries.

Other Related Properties Inside the Park Boundaries: There are several properties historically located within the park boundaries that are documented in oral histories or other documents related to African American history. These sites have not been identified archaeologically, but may still exist. They include: Burn’s Store and Inn and the O’Neil site, probably located between the intersection of Rt. 234 and Rt. 29 and the Community of Groveton. Documented in oral histories with the Robinson family, the store and inn were frequented by African-Americans in the community. The O’Neils were an African American family with children that played with the Robinson children in the early twentieth century (See Parsons 2001: VII.10-VII.11). The Robinsons also mention a nearby gas station.

CCC Headquarters (1880-1936): While no buildings exist there today, the site of the CCC Headquarters for the park is located on Bald Hill above Chinn Spring. In the early 1930s when the area became part of the National Park Service and was known as the Bull Run Recreational Demonstration Area, in addition to providing “recreation” during the Depression years, the park also served an important function using unemployed local labor to assist the Park Service in implementing its development plans. It was an ideal work relief program that employed residents of

Prince William County and adjoining counties to clear grounds, “restore” the landscape, stabilize historic structures and control erosion (Zenzen 1998:22). The site could provide an interesting story, often neglected, of the hardships faced by African Americans here during the depression and the results of work relief programs such as the ones at Manassas. The site is not interpreted or maintained by the park.

The Visitor’s Center/Administration Building: This historic structure, originally planned with separate, outdoor bathrooms for African Americans (see Zenzen 1996), was completed in 1942 and continues to serve as the principle contact station between NPS personnel and park visitors. As noted above, the placement of this building needed to incorporate the conditions placed on the Henry Hill tract in the 1938 deed of conveyance in accordance with the wishes of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. The building still prominently displays the plaque that notes the land was a gift from the SCV (see above). It also houses the museum. Although these issues make the property a useful tool in addressing issues of segregation and the Lost Cause, the building itself, is not interpreted by the park in any way.

Manassas National Battlefield Park Museum: Although the new museum has been touted as “inclusive” of African American history (Washington Post 2000 V.06), the museum interprets only one African American site (the Robinson site), and only discusses James Robinson’s role during the two battles of Manassas. Certainly other African Americans lived on the battlefield during the two battles, yet their history is absent. Further, as noted above, the lack of context for understanding the Civil War is underscored by the panel in the museum which lists states rights alongside and equal to slavery as a cause for the war. The majority of interpretation, display, books in the bookstore, and the film shown is the Visitor's Center, is about the two battles of Manassas and soldier life – white soldier life. Again, while information about the battles and soldier life is to be expected and is appropriate at a Civil War park, the lack of context for understanding the war and the virtual erasure of African Americans from the Civil War (even as soldiers), history, and the landscape skews not only local history, but the two battles of Manassas, the war itself, its consequences, and the lasting effects on racial relationships in the South and the United States as a whole. While it would be appropriate to acknowledge that some groups believe that the war was fought over states rights, it is also time for the National Park Service, part of the federal government, to acknowledge that this perspective is not what modern historians believe is the cause of the Civil War, so that we may begin to heal the wounds that the legacy of slavery has wrought.

As this section has shown, discussion and interpretation of African American history at Manassas National Battlefield Park is virtually non-existent. This erasure, I believe, has been done on purpose by groups who seek to recreate a pre-Civil War social hierarchy and social relations and justify the current position of African Americans in today's society. While the NPS has willingly supported this agenda at the local level, interpretation of these sites at the national level has been ongoing and successful. The NPS's Washington Office Archaeology Program and the National Capital Region Archaeology Program both have webpages dedicated to the African-American history at Manassas National Battlefield Park (WASO:

http://www.nps.gov/history/archeology/robinson/index.htm, Crandall et. al; NCR: http://www.nps.gov/rap/exhibit/mana/text/rhouse02.htm, Martin Seibert et.al.) . Using archaeological interpretation, oral history, and the internet as tools to promote and understand this past as well as engage with a public that may never be able to actually visit the park, is part of a model that is a larger movement within American Historical Archaeology that emphasizes civic engagement to tell the stories that have traditionally been left out of history. Below I will discuss public archaeology and civic engagement as well as why I think this national model could and should be put to use at the local level – the Manassas National Battlefield park museum and walking tours.

Public Archaeology and Civic Engagement

What is civic engagement? This author has found various definitions, but all seem to have in common the promotion of the quality of life of communities (and groups) through participation in public life (see Little and Shackel 2007; Ehrlich 2000; Little and Amdur-Clark 2008). Since others have quoted Ehrlich's definition in his 2000 edited volume, *Civic Responsibility and Higher Education* it is worth repeating here. Ehrlich defines civic engagement as, ". . .working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes" (2000:vi).

One aspect of this work that is often cited is the creation of a dialogue between participants. While many institutions have promoted civic engagement, land managing agencies, such as the NPS, have a "built in" process for such dialogue, part of the beginning of a civic engagement process, which is codified in law, particularly in the conservation of cultural and natural resources. Under the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) this is called, "consultation" (see 36 CFR 800.2a.4 for a definition of consultation with regard to NHPA), which is, in essence, a dialogue between groups about the values they place on cultural resources, such as archaeological properties. It is within this consultation process that dialogues that are meant to promote the larger process of civic engagement often break down. An example of this is the protest by the NAACP cited earlier in this chapter during the widening of Wellington Road, and ultimately, the destruction of some of the resources associated with the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth. To understand how such a rift might happen during a process that is supposed to promote civic engagement, and to fully understand the one-sided history being told at Manassas National Battlefield, however, it is vital to understand concept of social capital and its role in civic engagement.

A term that was introduced at the turn of the previous century (1900), social capital means reciprocity of good will within social interactions that matter in a people's or group's daily life. The premise of social capital is that social networks have value and that these networks can thus promote an understanding or at least acceptance, of each other's values. (see Little 2007:2; Saguaro Seminar 2000, Better Together, Basic Webpage). It is a term that has become increasingly popular with modern organizations and institutions such as the World Bank (http://web.worldbank.org/ page on social capital) and the National Park Service (see http://www.nps.gov/civic/) as they have come to realize that it is vital to the functioning of modern economies and thus, society. Unlike financial capital (which is what one usually thinks of when using the term "capital") it grows when it is spent (see also the Civic Practices Network at: http://www.cpn.org/tools/dictionary/capital.html; Loury 1995; Putnam 2000).

Robert Putnam (2000) makes an important distinction between types of social capital: bonding social capital, that is, "exclusive and homogenizing" and bridging social capital that is, "inclusive and acting across social divides" (Little 2007:2). Barbara Little notes that with bonding social capital, groups, "with abundant social capital can coalesce around values that are not targeted toward the greater good. Group solidarity is often purchased at the cost of hostility toward outsiders" (2007:2). At Manassas National Battlefield Park the bonding social capital that has been generated within Confederate groups is both exclusive and homogenizing as well as formed around values not targeted toward the greater good. Homogenization and exclusion can be seen in the refusal to incorporate and recognize African American history. The suggestion that they do so has created hostility toward groups who make that suggestion, or promote inclusion (bridging social capital). As the park promotes these values by the absence of African American history on the landscape and in interpretations, it encourages visitors to understand and view the world from this skewed perspective, sometimes recruiting more people to the homogenous group. On the other hand, while often there is a use for both bonding and bridging social capital in civic engagement, the apparent imbalance at Manassas of these types of social capital, is ultimately a loss for this national park as the history as told there becomes irrelevant to visitors who cannot see themselves in this history (not only, Where are the African Americans? But where are the women and children? Where are the Asian Americans? Where are the Hispanic Americans?). This can only be detrimental to our national parks as those same visitors may then become disengaged with the National Park System as a whole, and as one author has argued, if the National Park Service wants to become relevant within American society, "it will have to broaden its message and appeal" (Pitcaithley 2008:2).

And why should the National Park Service strive to become relevant within American society? What role do civic engagement, our national parks, and archaeology play? Several authors have argued that the past can be used as a tool for civic engagement and that this will promote citizenship and democracy (see Little and Shackel 2007; Saguaro Seminar 2000; Franklin 2000; NPS 2001; Pitcaithley 2008). In fact, several organizations whose mission is, at least partly, to promote history and archaeology have actively used the past to this end. In the introduction to *Archaeology and Civic Engagement,* (2007), Little notes that the American Association of Museums, the National Park Service and the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience use this approach. All of these organizations also emphasize a very important part of using the past as a tool for civic engagement and that is to create "inclusive" history. That is, history that is interested in the acknowledgement that everyone's past is important. All people's history is relevant.

Further, this history can play a role in modern social justice issues and promote democracy.

Almost a decade ago John Hope Franklin, as the Chair of the National Park System Advisory Board, advocated for inclusive history as a stepping stone to citizenship and democracy. He notes:

> The places that commemorate sad history are not places in which we wallow, or wallow in remorse, but instead places in which we may be moved to a new resolve, to be better citizens. . . Explaining history from a variety of angles makes it not only more interesting, but also more true. When it is more true, more people come to feel that they have a part in it. That is where patriotism and loyalty intersect with the truth (as quoted in Little 2007:4; Franklin 2000).

Another NPS report also notes these connections. In July 2001, the NPS completed a report entitled, *Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century*. The report notes that,

> The study of our nation's history, formal and informal, is an essential part of our civic education. In a democratic society such as ours, it is important to understand the journey of liberty and justice, together with the economic, social, religious, and other forces that barred or opened the ways for our ancestors, and the distances yet to be covered. . . The Park

> Service must ensure that the American story is told faithfully, completely, and accurately. . . Our nation's history is our civic glue. Without it, our national character is diminished (NPS 2001: see http://www.nps.gov/policy/report.htm).

Cleary the NPS is committed to inclusive history and civic engagement as a means to make our national parks relevant to the American people and to promote citizenship and democracy. For at least the past two decades, I believe that the NPS has made significant progress in promoting inclusive history, and recently in civic engagement. In fact, as noted above, a dialogue, or consultation, in the evaluation of historic resources has been a part of the preservation process for a long time. As Linenthal notes, "Civic engagement has always been a way of "doing business" [in the NPS], although it was not always business done with great sensitivity, and some of the most successful case studies in NPS's commitment to civic engagement reveal the tremendous energies expended to repair relationships with local communities that often felt disenfranchised by NPS" (Linenthal 2008:4). The NPS has been somewhat successful in integrating forgotten or underrepresented histories including African American history (see: http://www.nps.gov/history/aahistory/), women's history see: http://www.nps.gov/history/womenhistory/) and Native American history (see: http://www.nps.gov/history/history/categrs/etnc3.htm.) at the national and regional levels.

As noted above both the NPS's Washington Office Archaeology Program and the NPS's Regional Archaeology Program for the National Capital Region have websites dedicated to the African American history at Manassas National Battlefield (see: http://www.nps.gov/rap/exhibit/mana/text/rhouse00.htm; and http://www.nps.gov/archaeology/robinson/index.htm). These internet web pages are an excellent way to promote the agenda of inclusive history, particularly for visitors who may not be able to come to Manassas in person. However, these sites may not be "up" on the web indefinitely. There is something to be said for visiting a place in person. Vistorship for Manassas National Battlefield, and battlefields' in general, is relatively high. Manassas was ranked 102 (out of 391 National Park Units) with over half a million visitors in 2008 (see http://www.nature.nps.gov/stats/viewReport.cfm). Battlefields, such as Manassas are also an excellent and appropriate space to facilitate discussions of difficult histories. Battlefield landscapes can often evoke powerful feelings when seen in person. The space itself can be a major facilitator of conversations about multiple histories. As Linenthal also notes, "battle sites are civil spaces where Americans of various ideological persuasions come, not always reverently, to compete for the ownership of powerful national stories and to argue about the nature of heroism, the meaning of war, the efficacy of martial sacrifice, and the significance of preserving the patriotic landscape of the nation" (Linenthal 1993:1).

Though the message of inclusive history continues to be resisted at the park, for various reasons noted above, I believe that Manassas National Battlefield Park can turn this around through a public archaeology that engages the local and national African American communities, and interpretation of the existing collections and the landscape.

Archaeology, as a discipline, is very well suited to highlighting histories that have been underrepresented, particularly for those that have little documented history, such as Native Americans, or in such cases as the "official" documented history is biased, such as African Americans. The discipline has also been scrutinized by its own practitioners about the value of practicing archaeology within the confines of public law and how decisions are made with regard to how archaeologists and those we study value cultural resource preservation, complex heritage, and multiple, often intersecting, identities (for an excellent discussion see Mathers et al. 2005). While "community archaeology" or "public archaeology" has been done for quite some time, it has been only recently that it has been connected with the civic engagement movement. A public archaeology is the first step towards civic engagement, as public archaeology implies an archaeology that engages interested publics in all aspects of an archaeological project including the physical excavations as well as research design and interpretation. An archaeology that promotes civic engagement, however, takes it one step further, and promotes *long term relationships* that last beyond an archaeological project as well as relationships that share power. This power sharing can refer to the creation of a safe place to promote dialogue between groups, the development of a research design, the physical remains that are recovered, important information that an archaeological project can produce, and how to interpret and disseminate such information in the long term (see Mullins 2007).

The recent collection of essays, *Archaeology as a Tool for Civic Engagement* (Little and Shackel 2007) is among the first volumes that attempts to collect case studies that exemplify how archaeology has been and can be used specifically in this way. A number of common threads can be identified through these essays that can begin to define and shape how such archaeology is being done. Most archaeology of this kind is community based, though the size of the community varies from local communities like Hampden in Baltimore, Maryland (See Gadsby and Chidester 2007) to international and global which tackles such topics as the Holocaust and the excavation of mass graves (see Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007; see also Marshall 2002 and Orser 1996 for a discussion of global archaeology). One of the strongest threads, however, is the use of civic engagement and archaeology for restorative justice. Many of these archaeological projects are aimed at providing a more inclusive past that is interested in making connections between the past and present in order to empower communities and create a heritage that is socially useful in the present (see Little 2007:1-2). Not surprisingly, many of the studies in this volume, as well as others over the last decade, challenge anti-Black racism and provide multiple strategies for use at Manassas (see for instance, McDavid 2007, 1997; Mullins 2007; Shackel 2007; LaRoche 2005; LaRoche and Blackey 1997).

Based on public archaeology and the new movement toward civic engagement, I propose a three-pronged approach for Manassas National Battlefield, in order to incorporate African American history, using the archaeological record, in a meaningful way. The three segments include partnerships, landscapes, and exhibitions and educational materials.

Partnerships is perhaps the most important of the three-part plan as it is needed to engage interested publics, foster dialogue, rebuild relationships, it is essential for the other two segments (landscape and exhibition), and is intended to continue to be maintained, to change as needed, and to grow indefinitely in the future. As noted above, there is currently an imbalance in social capital at Manassas National Battlefield. The involvement of Confederate groups over the last one hundred and fifty years at this place, coupled with the ways in which anti-Black racism have developed locally and have become invested in the landscape and in the national story of the Civil War, have created a bonding social capital that is homogenizing, exclusive, and not geared toward the greater good. Clearly a means to create bridging social capital is needed to correct this imbalance. One way in which to create this bridging is for Manassas National Battlefield to create a series of partnerships with groups *in addition to* the Confederate groups to regain trust with the local community and reverse years of alienation with members of the local community. As with many national parks whose purpose is to tell a national story, finding their way to relevance in a local setting can be difficult, and ultimately, must include multiple local voices who then become invested in the stories that are told. These voices also highlight the importance of local history as context to a larger, national story, and in this case, it is not just the Civil War as national story, but the story of race relations. Partnerships between the local Manassas Museum, who already does a fine job of integrating multiple histories as well as national and local histories, would be productive, as would partnerships with the local NAACP and the Northern Virginia Community College (whose campus butts up to one edge of park land). Descendant communities are alive and well in this area of Virginia and beyond, including throughout the Ohio Valley. Oral history projects and partnering with these groups, such as the Robinson family and the Peters family, would also help balance social capital, as well as show the connections between local histories to those national histories and communities where descendants now reside throughout the United States.

A second focus at the park should be on landscapes. Landscapes, as noted above, include not just the natural environment that we see today, but standing buildings, archaeological sites and artifacts, and the meanings that different groups have for this combination of resources. A more holistic approach to landscape which integrates multiple histories and viewpoints at the park would go a long way to bridge the gap between interested publics and promote inclusive histories. As I have, I hope, shown through this dissertation, landscape analysis at Manassas National Battlefield Park has the potential to move far beyond the two battles of Manassas. While the battles can still serve as a starting point, integrating information about the African American archaeological sites on the battlefield into waysides and guided tours can focus interpretation not just on the battles outside of any context, but on the reasons and results of those battles on local populations. This conversation can then easily segway into larger discussions about the Civil War, race, the Lost Cause, class, gender, and consumer behavior. If the creation of additional waysides is currently not financially feasible, then more practical methods can be used to integrate such information – brochures and/or handouts along with special guided tours of the African American archaeological properties can be conducted until waysides can be procured. Further, if revealing the location of some archaeological resources may promote harm or looting, then sites that are already on public trails or that can be more easily monitored can at least be included. While interpretation of standing buildings – such as the visitor's center and the Henry House, can be expanded to include discussion of the Confederate history of the park by talking about their roles in it, when you envision the landscape by understanding below and above ground archaeological sites, features and artifacts, rather than merely visible “ruins” or “foundations,” the opportunities to expand the information about social history at the park are multiplied.

The third prong of the three pronged approach should focus on exhibits and educational materials. Text exhibits may be limiting and certainly the current museum at Manassas National Battlefield Park is sorely lacking any social history (along with suggesting that states’ rights are an equally valid cause of the Civil War). To balance this inequity, an exhibition of the archaeological materials from the sites discussed in this dissertation could be quite effective. Permanent exhibit space would be the ideal, however, until it becomes available a rotating or movable exhibit case with these materials could serve that function. Educational materials can be provided in various forms including flyers, handouts or tours led by local African American groups. Archaeological materials, when interpreted with care, have the ability to draw the visitor in and to inspire awe in the tangible evidence of the past. This inspiration can be a dynamic tool to help us address issues that may seem mundane (consumerism) but often have powerful meaning (access or denial to goods based on race) and sometimes devastating consequences in the past and present. What better way to highlight the many varied meanings of consumer behavior than with the products of consumerism? Because many of these materials are familiar to us (coke bottles, pieces of pottery), they also offer an avenue to discuss multivalency (mancala, quartz, blue beads) and connect the past and present. What better avenue to discuss the current state of our economy based on the United States' rampant, unregulated consumer behavior? What better way to discuss the gross disparity between income groups in the United States and connect this with race and current racial categories, than the meaning of consumer goods? And what better way to discuss the U.S's insatiable appetite for Wal-Marts, strip malls, and McMansions and the disturbing effects on our landscape and history than highlighting this issue?

I must end this discussion, however, by returning to the issue of partnering, because it is essential for a framework to encourage civic engagement. I list above some groups that would be productive for Manassas National Battlefield Park to partner with for a more inclusive history, however, a discussion of partnering should not just include a list of those groups that might be relevant, but a discussion of how to engage them. I am not the first to suggest that national parks can and should serve the role of public forums (see Pitcaithley 2008:9). Indeed, I believe that this role should be embraced, not just by Manassas National Battlefield Park, but by our parks nation-wide to discuss a multitude of difficult issues that face our nation including global warming, environmental issues, the economy, and race. The year 2008 saw the election of this nation's first African American President, Barrack Obama, but contrary to what some believe, I do not think it signals "the disappearance of racial inequality in America" (Jackson 2009) in this county. Obama's election does, however, present the possibility of a better, more inclusive, more democratic future. It puts a hopeful future within our reach, as Americans. In many ways it provides support for a national conversation about race, a crucial conversation about race. With parks like Manassas National Battlefield where race has shaped not just the local, but the national story, it is the appropriate place and time to have that conversation, however difficult it may be.   National parks can provide the space to discuss the civic affairs of our society, but how can we make them a forum where everyone is allowed to be heard?

Three scholars have given suggestions that I believe may offer a solution. Josie Fernandez suggests that cultural resource managers, “ can facilitate commemorative celebrations that are respectful of historical fact while leaving room for visitors to frame and understand the past from their own perspectives . . . If the past is contested terrain, perhaps the best we can do is provide a safe place to speak” (Fernandez 1998). However, I would argue, that while we can provide a safe place to speak, different groups should at least have the chance to be heard, and how do we become respectful of historical “fact” if “fact” may be different for different individuals? Chris Wilson has also confronted this issue, asking, “how to acknowledge the validity of diverse cultures [or versions of history] without undermining one’s own beliefs” (Wilson 1997:314). Wilson suggests a more inclusive history, contending, “Our job remains to overcome historical amnesia, challenge ethnic and tourist stereotypes, develop a sustainable economy, revitalize community, nurture myths worth believing, and foster a more humane society to pass on to coming generations” (Wilson 1997: 329). However, this is more an end result rather than a path to get there. While we can create a “safe place to speak,” and encourage a “more humane society” to pass on, Steven Seidman offers an approach to a more inclusive history that acknowledges identity politics and speaks of, “multiple, local, intersecting struggles [and the] . . .the creation of social spaces that encourage the proliferation of . . . voices, interests, modes of individuation and democratization" (Seidman 1993:106).

Manassas National Battlefield can bring together interested partners and be respectful of different beliefs, while at the same time promoting stewardship and good scholarship. It is essential to have communities help to define what are significant questions and important information in the archaeological and material records and how to approach the interpretation and dissemination of that information. It is essential to work with such partners to create a long term plan for the continued maintenance of these relationships. However, we must work together and create such plans in a responsible way that ensures the promotion of good scholarship with a willingness to hear critical evaluations of such, admit where we are wrong, and be amenable to growth and change. Discussion of the Confederate past, the Lost Cause, and their role in current race relations is an arduous task. Pitcaithley notes with regard to this discussion that, "Anti-intellectualism in American society is on the rise and we are certain to encounter it if we challenge traditional views of our parks or promote thinking about our parks and their values that rub up against, or challenge, assumed truths" (Pitcaithley 2008:10). He calls for the National Parks to be an, "exemplary steward of our intellectual inheritance" (Pitcaithley 2008:10). At the same time, however, we must practice what the European-American Collaborative Challenging Whiteness calls "critical humility," defined as,

> The practice of remaining open to discovering threat our knowledge is partial and evolving while at the same time being committed and confident

> about our knowledge and action in the word. The two parts of this definition capture the paradox with which we struggle. If we are to hold ourselves accountable for acting, we must have confidence that our knowledge is valid enough to shape our actions that are appropriate. At the same time, knowing that our knowledge is distorted by hegemony and possible self-deception, we need to be on constant alert about limits to the validity of our knowing (quoted in Little 2007:12).

If Manassas National Battlefield Park can do these things with its partners, if it can provide a perspective on the Civil War that is more than battles and politics, that asks visitors to reflect on stories that engender pride while at the same time engendering humility and an understanding of the complex legacies of the past, I believe we can, " . . . move beyond some of our old racial wounds and that in fact [we must] if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union (Obama 2008, Speech at the Constitution Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania).

Appendices

Appendix 1: Methodology of the Henry House Colonoware Minimum Vessel Analysis

A total of 16 attributes were recorded for each vessel as well as for the each sherd that could not be associated with a particular vessel as a means of further refining and recording the information on this type of ceramic found at the Henry House. When interpreting the data, percentages were based on the number of sherds rather than the number of vessels because so few vessels were found. While some of the attributes were chosen for recording basic or baseline data (such as paste color or segment), the majority of the attributes can be linked to technological and/or stylistic decisions (such as rim production methods or surface treatment). Each of these attributes is described below.

Form Vessel form or shape is a classificatory attribute based on geometry (such as square or oval), but is most useful for determining use, function, or a, "use-oriented system similar to that applied to modern culinary apparatus" (Rice 1987: 215). Since some vessel shapes are incompatible with some forming techniques, it can also provide information on how vessels were constructed (Rye 1981:62).

Thickness A measurement of thickness can provide information on vessel size, production methods, function, or paste characteristics, however, thickness can vary significantly on any vessel (Rice 1987; Rye 1981:67). Variations in thickness can result from later finishing techniques such as scraping or smoothing. Thickness was measured consistently 3 centimeters from the rim with calipers (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001), or 3 centimeters from the edge/break of a body sherd.

Rim Form / Production Methods Rim form and production methods were recorded if visible. Rim form records the basic geometry of the rim such as flat, round, inverted, or beveled. There are many ways to produce any given rim form such as cutting or paddling. Rim form and production method may indicate use, or individual style or technique (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001).

Foot Form / Base Form / Production Methods Like rim forms, foot and base forms were recorded if visible and can include flat bases/footless, or footed by an annular ring or disk. Bases can be coiled and smoothed before firing. Recording foot and base forms can provide information on construction, use, and/or individual technique (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001).

Number of Sherds Number of sherds was recorded for vessels only and can provide information on strength of the vessel as well as information on postdepositional movement of artifacts and crossmending.

Percent Complete This attribute was an approximation and was recorded to provide baseline data and/or comparative information for intrasite variability, as well as information on postdepositional movement of artifacts.

Provenience (Excavation Unit, Stratum/Strata) Provenience was recorded for baseline comparative information, crossmending, and postdepositional movement of artifacts.

Segment Segment of vessels (i.e., rim, base to rim, body), was recorded to provide baseline and/or comparative information and can provide information on vessel strength.

Spalling Spalling can occur when a vessel is heated too quickly or is not sufficiently dried before firing (Rye 1981:114), or it can indicate voids within the clay. Spalling may also indicate postdepositional activity, however, spalling that occurs during firing (and thus renders a vessel useless and is thrown away) can indicate on-site production (Espenshade 1999; Ferguson 1992; Wheaton 1993), as well as an unfamiliarity with local ceramic resources (Espenshade 1999). Spalling was recorded as present if visible.

Coil Breaks Coil Breaks or fractures occur where coils were poorly bonded, resulting in planes of weakness (Rice 1987:474) and occur along the coil juncture. Coil breaks were recorded as present, possible, or absent. They were considered present where there were regular latitudinal breaks with concave, convex, or beveled juncture planes (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001).

Dominant Paste Color Dominant paste color was recorded as baseline information and for use in future comparative work. Paste color can be related to composition of the clays used to make a vessel or the firing history of a vessel. Although there is not a direct link between color and firing history, trends have been noted. For instance, dark grays and blacks may indicate incomplete firing (Rice 1987) and tans and reds may be common in oxygen rich (or oxidized) firings (not unlikely in open air kilns). Finally, light grey and brown can indicate reduced oxygen firings (or a reducing environment) (Shepard 1980; see also Kennedy and Espenshade 2001; Stephen Potter, personal communication, August 2002). Paste color was recorded using a Munsell color chart.

Aplastics/Temper Temper refers to intentional additions to the clay (such as crushed shell). Aplastics refers to that additional material (such as quartz) that are inclusions in the clay rather than intentionally added. Aplastics/temper can relate to a range of technological choices such as clay source, needs of the potter, and possibly function. Ethnographic and archaeological studies have shown that native potters were aware of the effects that aplastics and temper had on vessels (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001; Rye 1981; Rice 1987; Shepard 1980). For comparative purposes, it is interesting to note that none of the Colonoware from the Henry House appears to have temper added, only a few examples of aplastics are present. Colonoware from

South Carolina, however, appears to have both aplastics and temper (Kennedy and Espenshade 2001). Aplastics were recorded by examining the material used and measured using size classes as follows: 0.125 to 0.5 mm diameter: Fine-Medium; 0.5 to 1.0 mm diameter: Coarse; 1.0 to 2.0 mm diameter: Very Coarse; and 2.0 to 4.0 mm diameter: Granule.

Surface Treatment Surface treatments were recorded for each sherd and vessel and included plain, burnished, or smoothed with a tool. Plain vessels lacked a rubbed or shiny surface and probably represent those that were just hand smoothed. Smoothed or paddled with a tool indicates that vessels were scraped or patted to compress coils with some objects such as a reed or bone implement. Burnished vessels refer to those that were rubbed with a hard object or tools such as a pebbles, sticks, or bones resulting in a shiny, smooth appearance. No surface decorations were observed, however, unintentional marks were recorded.

Smudging/Sooting Smudging or sooting is the result of a dark grey to black surface deposits of carbonaceous materials found on the interior and exterior of vessels. It may be the direct result of firing, use of the vessel over an open fire, or an intentional surface treatment. It was recorded as light, dark or very dark. Locational information was also given as interior or exterior or both interior and exterior. Smudging or sooting may determine use of a vessel. For instance, a vessel that may have been used in cooking or warming foods might have dark sooting. Those vessels used as serving vessels may not be smudged or sooted.

Fireclouds Fireclouds refer to light grey to dark grey, irregular or unintentional discolorations that suggest the vessel was fired in an open air kiln, or that the vessel was used in cooking or warming foods. They were recorded as visible.

Use Abrasions Use abrasions refer to unintentional wear visible on the vessel. Most often they occur as circular incisions on the sides of a vessel, on the rim, or as scrape marks on the base. They can be identified on sooted/smudged vessels as lighter marks made through the sooting/smudging. They can provide information on vessel use such as those that were used in mixing or stirring. They were recorded and drawn if visible.

Appendix 2:
Colonoware Analysis/Henry House: Form and Segment Information

Ves-sel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Provenience**	**Form**	**Seg-ment**	**Thick-ness**	**# of Sherds**	**% Com-plete**	**Rim Form/ Prod. Method**	**Base-Foot Form/ Prod. Method**	**Spalling**
1	1, 2 mend	Mana 60594 B1; EU 2	Large Bowl	Body	7.21 mm	2				Present, Interior
	3	Mana 60595 B1; EU 2		Rim	6.19 mm	1		Round, Burnished		
	4, 5 mend	Mana 60549 A; EU 2		Body	4.93 mm	2				
2	6, 7, 8, 11, 12 mend; 9, 10 do not mend	Mana 60693 A1 (4 sherds mend, 2 do not); EU 4; Mana 60733 A1.4a (1 sherd, mends); EU 4	Large Bowl	Body	7.89 mm	5 mend; 2 do not mend				
	13, 14, 15, 16	Mana 60693 A1 (3 sherds mend); EU 4 Mana 60733 A1.4a (1 sherd mends);	Large Bowl	Body	8.40 mm	4				

Ves-sel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Provenience**	**Form**	**Seg-ment**	**Thick-ness**	**# of Sherds**	**% Com-plete**	**Rim Form/ Prod. Method**	**Base-Foot Form/ Prod. Method**	**Spalling**
		EU 4								
3	17 - 27 mend; 28, 29, 30 do not mend	Mana 60782 B1; EU 5	Small shallow bowl	Base to Rim	4.27 mm	11 mend; 3 do not mend	55%	Flat, tooled rim; cutting, smoothing, burnishing	Applied, flat base; possibly tooled	
	31	Mana 60783 B1; EU 5	Small bowl	Body	6.19 mm	1				
4	32 - 36 mend	Mana 61239 A; EU 11	Small bowl	Base	6.60 mm	5	10%		Applied flat base; smoothed	
	37, 38, 39 mend	Mana 61240 A; EU 11	Small bowl	Base	7.61 mm	3			Smoothed	
5	40 - 44 mend	Mana 61245 A; EU 11	Deep bowl	Body	9.24 mm	5				
	45, 46 mend	Mana 61246 A; EU 11	Deep bowl	Body	7.41 mm	2				

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Provenience	Form	Seg-ment	Thick-ness	# of Sherds	% Com-plete	Rim Form/ Prod. Method	Base-Foot Form/ Prod. Method	Spalling
	47, 48 mend	Mana 61241 A; EU 11	Deep bowl	Body	10.26 mm	2				
	49, 50, 51 mend	Mana 61243 A; EU 11	Deep bowl	Body	10.91 mm	3				
	52, 53 mend	Mana 61244 A; EU 11	Deep bowl	Body	8.45 mm	2				
6	54	Mana 61084 B; EU 8	Small shallow bowl	Base to Body	3.59 mm	1	5%		Flat base	Present, Interior, Exterior
7	55 - 59 mend	Mana 61242 A; EU 11		Body	8.37 mm	5				
	60, 61, 62 mend	Mana 61247 A; EU 11		Body	8.17 mm	3				
	63, 64 mend	Mana 61248 A; EU 11		Body	8.31 mm	2				
	65	Mana 61234 A; EU 11		Rim	6.81 mm	1		Round; poss tooled		Present, Exterior

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Provenience	Form	Seg-ment	Thick-ness	# of Sherds	% Com-plete	Rim Form/ Prod. Method	Base-Foot Form/ Prod. Method	Spalling
8	66	Mana 61189 B; EU 10		Body	5.15 mm	1				
9	67	Mana 60903 B; EU 6		Body	7.05 mm	1				
10	68	Mana 61235 A; EU 11		Rim	5.56 mm	1		Flat, prob tooled		Present, Interior
	Pipe Stem	Mana 61018 B1; EU 7	Pipe stem	Reed stub stem	5.35 mm	1				
	69, 70 do not mend	Mana 61226 A; EU 11		Body	3.42 mm	2				Present, Interior
	71	Mana 61237 A; EU 11		Rim	4.76 mm	1		Flat, prob tooled		Present, Interior, Exterior
	72	Mana 61236 A; EU 11		Rim	5.95 mm	1		Prob round		
	73	Mana 61238 A; EU 11		Rim	4.28 mm	1		Flat		

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Provenience	Form	Seg-ment	Thick-ness	# of Sherds	% Com-plete	Rim Form/ Prod. Method	Base-Foot Form/ Prod. Method	Spalling
	74	Mana 61249 A; EU 11		Body	7.06 mm	1				
	75	Mana 61250 A; EU 11		Body	9.44 mm	1				
	76	Mana 61251 A; EU 11		Body	7.00 mm	1				
	77	Mana 61252 A; EU 11		Body	8.24 mm	1				
	78	Mana 61253 A; EU 11		Body	10.15 mm	1				
	79	Mana 61254 A; EU 11		Body	8.24 mm	1				
	80	Mana 61255 A; EU 11		Body	9.85 mm	1				
	81	Mana 61256 A; EU 11		Body	9.39 mm	1				
	82	Mana 61257 A; EU 11		Body	10.25 mm	1				

Ves-sel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Provenience**	**Form**	**Seg-ment**	**Thick-ness**	**# of Sherds**	**% Com-plete**	**Rim Form/ Prod. Method**	**Base-Foot Form/ Prod. Method**	**Spalling**
	83	Mana 61258 A; EU 11		Body	6.20 mm	1				
	84	Mana 61259 A; EU 11		Body	9.23 mm	1				
	85	Mana 61260 A; EU 11		Body	7.61 mm	1				Present, Interior
	86	Mana 61261 A; EU 11		Body	7.18 mm	1				Present, Interior
	87	Mana 61262 A; EU 11		Body; poss rim	8.37 mm	1				Present, Exterior
	88	Mana 61263 A; EU 11		Body	8.27 mm	1				Present, Interior
	89	Mana 61264 A; EU 11		Body	5.64 mm	1				Present, Interior
	90	Mana 61265 A; EU 11		Body		1				Present
	91	Mana 61266 A; EU 11		Body		1				Prob, Exterior

Ves-sel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Provenience**	**Form**	**Seg-ment**	**Thick-ness**	**# of Sherds**	**% Com-plete**	**Rim Form/ Prod. Method**	**Base-Foot Form/ Prod. Method**	**Spalling**
	92	Mana 61267 A; EU 11		Body	5.57 mm	1				Present, Interior
	93	Mana 61268 A; EU 11		Body	6.93 mm	1				Present, Interior
	94	Mana 61269 A; EU 11		Body		1				Present, Interior
	95	Mana 61270 A; EU 11		Body	6.72 mm	1				Present, Interior
	96	Mana 61271 A; EU 11		Body	7.25 mm	1				Present, Interior
	97	Mana 61272 A; EU 11		Body		1				Poss, Exterior
	98	Mana 61273 A; EU 11		Body	10.46 mm	1				Present, Exterior
	99	Mana 61274 A; EU 11		Body		1				Poss, Exterior
	100	Mana 61275 A; EU 11		Body	9.69 mm	1				Present, Exterior

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Provenience	Form	Seg-ment	Thick-ness	# of Sherds	% Com-plete	Rim Form/ Prod. Method	Base-Foot Form/ Prod. Method	Spalling
	101	Mana 61276 A; EU 11		Body	6.54 mm	1				Present, Exterior
	102	Mana 61277 A; EU 11		Body		1				Present, Exterior
	103	Mana 61278 A; EU 11		Body		1				Present, Exterior
	104	Mana 61279 A; EU 11		Body	8.05 mm	1				

*If “Form” column left blank it means sherd belongs to an unknown holloware
*If “Thickness” column left blank it means no thickness could be measured, most often due to spalling
*If % Complete column left blank it means it is under 5% of vessel
*Any other column left blank means attribute unkown or not visible
*Poss = possible; Prob = probably

Appendix 3:
Colonoware Analysis/Henry House: Clay, Firing and Additional Information

Ves-sel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Proven-ience**	**Coil Breaks**	**Dom. Paste Color**	**Aplastics / Temper**	**Surface Treatment**	**Smudging/ Sooting**	**Fire-clouds**	**Use Abras-ions**	**Additional Information**
1	1, 2 mend	Mana 60594 B1; EU 2		5 YR 7/1 Grey		Burnished, Interior	Very Dark, Interior			Exterior pitted; poss beginning of rim or base; some marks made post sooting/smudging
	3	Mana 60595 B1; EU 2		5 YR 7/1 Grey	Aplastics: possible mica, fine-medium	Burnished, Interior	Very Dark, Interior		Possible	Interior pitted; prob assoc w/ Vessel 1
	4, 5 mend	Mana 60549 A; EU 2		7.5 YR 8/0 White		Burnished, Interior	Very Dark, Interior			Exterior elongated pitting; prob assoc w/ Vessel 1; poss clay inclusions

Ves-sel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Proven-ience**	**Coil Breaks**	**Dom. Paste Color**	**Aplastics / Temper**	**Surface Treatment**	**Smudging/ Sooting**	**Fire-clouds**	**Use Abras-ions**	**Additional Information**
2	6, 7, 8, 11, 12 mend; 9, 10 do not mend	Mana 60693 A1 (4 sherds mend, 2 do not); EU 4; Mana 60733 A1.4a (1 sherd, mends); EU 4	Present	5 YR 5/4 Reddish Brown	Aplastics: possible, coarse; whitish color	Smoothed, Interior	Very Dark, Interior			Thick vessel; diff. clay source than Vessel 1; oxidized firing, not well kneaded
	13, 14, 15, 16	Mana 60693 A1 (3 sherds mend); EU 4 Mana 60733 A1.4a (1 sherd mends); EU 4	Present	5 YR 5/4 Reddish Brown	Aplastics: possible, coarse; whitish color	Burnished, Interior	Very Dark, Interior			Prob assoc w/ Vessel 2; exterior rough, pitted
3	17 -	Mana	Present	5 YR		Burnished,	Light,	Present,	Possible	Reducing

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Proven-ience	Coil Breaks	Dom. Paste Color	Aplastics / Temper	Surface Treatment	Smudging/ Sooting	Fire-clouds	Use Abras-ions	Additional Information
	27 mend; 28, 29, 30 do not mend	60782 B1; EU 5		7/3 Pink		Interior, Exterior; Smoothed, Exterior	Interior	Interior		environment - firing; well kneaded; silty clay; eating vessel; similar to vessel found in cellar of communal house - Pohoke/Portici
	31	Mana 60783 B1; EU 5		5 YR 6/1 Grey	Aplastics: possible sand, fine-medium	Burnished Interior; Smoothed Exterior, Interior		Present, Interior		Small amount of pitting on interior; residual, alluvial clays; prob assoc w/ Vessel 3
4	32 - 36 mend	Mana 61239 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/6 Reddish Yellow		Smoothed, Interior	Dark, Exterior, Interior	Possible, Exterior		Poss cooking or warming vessel; poss black clay inclusions; deep

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Proven-ience	Coil Breaks	Dom. Paste Color	Aplastics / Temper	Surface Treatment	Smudging/ Sooting	Fire-clouds	Use Abras-ions	Additional Information
										smoothing marks on interior prob made w/ tool
	37, 38, 39 mend	Mana 61240 A; EU 11		5 YR 5/3 Reddish Brown		Smoothed, Interior	Dark, Exterior, Interior	Possible, Exterior		Poss cooking or warming vessel; deep smoothing marks on interior prob made w/ tool; prob assoc w/ Vessel 4
5	40 - 44 mend	Mana 61245 A; EU 11	Present	7.5 YR 6/4 Light Brown		Burnished, Exterior; prob paddled	Dark, Interior			Pitting, exterior; poss black clay inclusions; similar to Pohoke/ Portici - Phase II 1791-1841
	45, 46	Mana	Present	7.5 6/4		Burnished,	Dark,			Poss black clay

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Proven-ience	Coil Breaks	Dom. Paste Color	Aplastics / Temper	Surface Treatment	Smudging/ Sooting	Fire-clouds	Use Abras-ions	Additional Information
	mend	61246 A; EU 11		Light Brown		Interior	Interior			inclusions; prob assoc w/ Vessel 5; some marks made post sooting/ smudging
	47, 48 mend	Mana 61241 A; EU 11		7.5 YR 7/2 Pinkish Grey		Burnished	Dark, Interior			Poss black clay inclusions; prob assoc w/ Vessel 5
	49, 50, 51 mend	Mana 61243 A; EU 11	Present	7.5 YR 6/2 Pinkish Grey		Burnished	Dark, Interior			cross-hatch incising visible - prob unintentional – poss associated with fabric or tooled paddling; poss black clay inclusions; prob

Ves-sel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Proven-ience**	**Coil Breaks**	**Dom. Paste Color**	**Aplastics / Temper**	**Surface Treatment**	**Smudging/ Sooting**	**Fire-clouds**	**Use Abras-ions**	**Additional Information**
										assoc w/ Vessel 5
	52, 53 mend	Mana 61244 A; EU 11	Poss	7.5 YR 6/4 Light Brown		Burnished, Interior, Exterior	Dark, Interior			Poss black clay inclusions; prob assoc w/ Vessel 5; some marks made post sooting/smudging
6	54	Mana 61084 B; EU 8		5 YR 7/3 Pink		Burnished, Interior	Light, Interior			Exterior and interior almost completely eroded/spalled, reducing environment - firing
7	55 - 59 mend	Mana 61242 A; EU 11		7.5 YR 6/2 Pinkish Grey		Burnished; poss tooled smoothing, exterior, interior	Dark, Interior; Exterior small amount			Pitting, interior; poss dark clay inclusions; sharp incised line

Vessel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Provenience	Coil Breaks	Dom. Paste Color	Aplastics / Temper	Surface Treatment	Smudging/ Sooting	Fire-clouds	Use Abrasions	Additional Information
										– prob unintentional – poss assoc w/ tooled smoothing; poss cooking vessel
	60, 61, 62 mend	Mana 61247 A; EU 11		7.5 YR 7/4 Pink; 10 R 4/3 Weak Red		Burnished, Exterior	Dark, Interior; Exterior small amount	Possible, Exterior		Pitting, interior; poss dark clay inclusions; poss cooking vessel; poss assoc w/ Vessel 7; some marks made post sooting/smudging
	63, 64 mend	Mana 61248 A; EU 11		7.5 YR 6/2 Pinkish		Burnished, Exterior; poss tooled	Dark, Interior, Exterior			Pitting, interior; poss dark clay

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Provenience	Coil Breaks	Dom. Paste Color	Aplastics / Temper	Surface Treatment	Smudging/ Sooting	Fire-clouds	Use Abrasions	Additional Information
				Grey		smoothing				inclusions; poss cooking vessel; poss burned on interior; sharp incised line on interior - prob unintentional - poss assoc w/ tooled smoothing; poss assoc w/ Vessel 7;
	65	Mana 61234 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/3 Light Reddish Brown		Burnished, Interior, Exterior	Dark, Interior, Exterior		Present on top of rim	Prob assoc w/ Vessel 7
8	66	Mana 61189 B; EU 10		5 YR 8/2 Pinkish White		Burnished, Interior, Exterior	Dark, Interior; Very Dark, Exterior			Uniform paste color, sooting on both exterior and interior; poss

Ves-sel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Proven-ience**	**Coil Breaks**	**Dom. Paste Color**	**Aplastics / Temper**	**Surface Treatment**	**Smudging/ Sooting**	**Fire-clouds**	**Use Abras-ions**	**Additional Information**
										cooking vessel; poss black clay inclusions; some marks made post sooting/smudging
9	67	Mana 60903 B; EU 6		5 YR 6/4 Light Reddish Brown		Burnished, Exterior; poss tooled smoothing	Very Dark, Interior			Uniform paste color, small amount of pitting; poss incised lines from tooled smoothing
10	68	Mana 61235 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/2 Pinkish Grey		Burnished, Interior; Smoothed, Interior	Dark, Interior, Exterior		Present, on rim	
	Pipe Stem	Mana 61018 B1; EU 7		5 YR 8/2 Pinkish White				Possible, Exterior		Poss use wear; interior dark soot; hand molded;

Ves-sel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Proven-ience**	**Coil Breaks**	**Dom. Paste Color**	**Aplastics / Temper**	**Surface Treatment**	**Smudging/ Sooting**	**Fire-clouds**	**Use Abras-ions**	**Additional Information**
										similar to Pohoke & Brownsville (?)
	69, 70 do not mend	Mana 61226 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/6 Reddish Yellow	Aplastics: quartz .0540 mm - coarse		Poss			
	71	Mana 61237 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/1 Grey			Dark, Interior, Exterior			
	72	Mana 61236 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/2 Pinkish Grey			Dark, Interior, Exterior			
	73	Mana 61238 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/2 Pinkish Grey			Dark, Interior, Exterior			
	74	Mana 61249 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/2 Pinkish Grey		Poss burnished, Exterior	Dark, Interior			

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Proven-ience	Coil Breaks	Dom. Paste Color	Aplastics / Temper	Surface Treatment	Smudging/ Sooting	Fire-clouds	Use Abras-ions	Additional Information
	75	Mana 61250 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/2 Pinkish Grey			Dark, Interior			
	76	Mana 61251 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/3 Pink			Dark, Interior	Poss, Exterior		
	77	Mana 61252 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/4 Light Reddish Brown		Burnished, Interior, Exterior	Dark, Interior			
	78	Mana 61253 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/2 Pinkish Grey		Burnished, Exterior	Dark, Interior			Pitting on interior
	79	Mana 61254 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/2 Pinkish Grey			Dark, Interior			
	80	Mana 61255 A;		5 YR 7/2			Dark, Interior			

Ves-sel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Proven-ience**	**Coil Breaks**	**Dom. Paste Color**	**Aplastics / Temper**	**Surface Treatment**	**Smudging/ Sooting**	**Fire-clouds**	**Use Abras-ions**	**Additional Information**
		EU 11		Pinkish Grey						
	81	Mana 61256 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/2 Pinkish Grey		Burnished, Exterior; Smoothed, Interior	Dark, Interior	Present Exterior		
	82	Mana 61257 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/3 Light Reddish Brown		Poss burnished, Exterior	Dark, Interior			Pitting on interior
	83	Mana 61258 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/3 Pink		Burnished, Interior	Dark, Interior			
	84	Mana 61259 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/2 Pinkish Grey		Burnished, Exterior	Dark, Interior			Pitting on interior
	85	Mana 61260 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/2 Pinkish Grey						

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Proven-ience	Coil Breaks	Dom. Paste Color	Aplastics / Temper	Surface Treatment	Smudging/ Sooting	Fire-clouds	Use Abras-ions	Additional Information
	86	Mana 61261 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/3 Light Reddish Brown			Light			
	87	Mana 61262 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/3 Pink		Burnished, Interior	Dark, Interior			Poss rim or coil break
	88	Mana 61263 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/3 Light Reddish Brown		Burnished, Exterior	Light, Interior			
	89	Mana 61264 A; EU 11		5 YR 5/3 Reddish Brown			Light, Interior			Pitting on interior
	90	Mana 61265 A; EU 11					Poss			Poss burned
	91	Mana 61266 A;		5 YR 5/4			Poss, Dark, Interior			

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Proven-ience	Coil Breaks	Dom. Paste Color	Aplastics / Temper	Surface Treatment	Smudging/ Sooting	Fire-clouds	Use Abras-ions	Additional Information
		EU 11		Reddish Brown						
	92	Mana 61267 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/3 Light Reddish Brown		Burnished, Exterior				Interior completely spalled
	93	Mana 61268 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/2 Pinkish Grey			Dark, Interior			
	94	Mana 61269 A; EU 11				Poss burnished, Interior	Dark, Interior			
	95	Mana 61270 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/2 Pinkish Grey						
	96	Mana 61271 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/2 Pinkish Grey						

Ves-sel #	Sherd #	Mana # / Proven-ience	Coil Breaks	Dom. Paste Color	Aplastics / Temper	Surface Treatment	Smudging/ Sooting	Fire-clouds	Use Abras-ions	Additional Information
	97	Mana 61272 A; EU 11		5 YR 5/3 Reddish Brown			Dark, Interior			
	98	Mana 61273 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/2 Pinkish Grey			Dark, Interior			
	99	Mana 61274 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/2 Pinkish Grey			Light, Interior			
	100	Mana 61275 A; EU 11		5 YR 6/2 Pinkish Grey			Dark, Interior			
	101	Mana 61276 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/3 Pinkish Grey		Burnished, Interior	Dark, Interior			
	102	Mana 61277 A;					Poss, Interior			Poss burned

Vessel #	**Sherd #**	**Mana # / Provenience**	**Coil Breaks**	**Dom. Paste Color**	**Aplastics / Temper**	**Surface Treatment**	**Smudging/ Sooting**	**Fire-clouds**	**Use Abrasions**	**Additional Information**
		EU 11								
	103	Mana 61278 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/3 Pink			Dark, Interior			
	104	Mana 61279 A; EU 11		5 YR 7/2 Pinkish Grey			Dark, Interior			

*Any column left blank means attribute unkown or not visible
*Poss = possible; Prob = probably

Appendix 4: Tables A1-A5

Table A1. Glass Assembladge, Form/Functional Type and Date Range/ROBINSON

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
1		CLEAR/WHITE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	THREADED FINISH, HANDLE TERMINAL	POST 1850	1850-1936
2		CLEAR/WHITE	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	POSSIBLE JAR OR LARGE CONTAINER		
3		CLEAR/WHITE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, PATENT/EXTRACT FINISH	POST 1889	1889-1936
4		CLEAR/WHITE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
5		PINK	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED		1919-1935	1919-1935
6		PINK	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
7		OPALESCENT	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	PROBABLY A VASE	POST 1865	1865-1936
8		GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
9		GREEN	BOTTLE	PERSONAL	SMALL, SHORT, JAR-LIKE		
10		GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	MACHINE MADE, CROWN FINISH	POST 1893	1893-1936
11		GREEN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
12		GREEN	BOTTLE	PERSONAL	PACKER FINISH, PROBABLY A SHOE POLISH OR INK BOTTLE		
13		WHITE	JAR	PERSONAL	THREADED FINISH	POST 1889	1889-1936
14		WHITE	JAR	PERSONAL			
15		WHITE	JAR	PERSONAL		1920-1964	1920-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
16		WHITE	JAR	PERSONAL	THREADED FINISH, BUT, RECTANGULAR BODY WITH ROUNDED CORNERS		
17		WHITE	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
18		WHITE	SAUCER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
19		OLIVE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	CUP BOTTOM, LIPPING TOOL	POST 1863	1863-1936
20		DARK GREEN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	MAMELON, PLATE MOLD	POST 1867	1867-1936
21		DARK GREEN	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED			
22		OLIVE/BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	MAMELON, PUSH UP, POSSIBLE CHAMPAGNE BOTTLE	1870-1920	1870-1920

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
23		DARK GREEN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
24		DARK GREEN	BOTTLE	WINE/CHAMPAGNE	PATENT/EXTRACT FINISH, TWO OR THREE PIECE MOLD	1750-1920	1750-1920
25		OLIVE	BOTTLE	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	TWO OR THREE PIECE MOLD, LIPPING TOOL	1750-1920	1750-1920
26		COBALT BLUE	JAR	PHARMACEUTICAL	THREADED FINISH	POST 1931	1931-1936
27		COBALT BLUE	JAR	PHARMACEUTICAL		POST 1931	1931-1936
28		COBALT BLUE	JAR	PHARMACEUTICAL		POST 1931	1931-1936
29		COBALT BLUE	JAR	PHARMACEUTICAL	THREADED FINISH, MACHINE MADE JAR	POST 1893	1893-1936
30		COBALT BLUE	JAR	PHARMACEUTICAL		POST 1931	1931-1936
31		COBALT BLUE	JAR	PHARMACEUTICAL		POST 1931	1931-1936
32		COBALT BLUE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		POST 1916	1916-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
33		COBALT BLUE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED		1870-1900	1870-1900
34		COBALT BLUE	JAR	PHARMACEUTICAL	THREADED, VERY SMALL, OCTAGONAL JAR	POST 1850	1850-1936
35		COBALT BLUE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	THREADED FINISH, MACHINE MADE, SQUARE, POSSIBLE A SHOE POLISH OR INK BOTTLE	POST 1893	1893-1936
36		COBALT BLUE	UNIDENTIFIED	UNIDENTIFIED	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
37		COBALT BLUE	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
38		BROWN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR, DOUBLE BEAD FINISH	POST 1904	1904-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
39		BROWN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
40		BROWN	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE	1935-1938	1935-1936
41		BROWN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, THREADED FINISH	POST 1904	1904-1936
42		BROWN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	POST BOTTOM, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
43		BROWN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1912-1929	1912-1929
44		BROWN	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
45		BROWN	BOTTLE	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	BRANDY FINISH, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
46		BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
47		BROWN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
48		BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	BEAD FINISH		
49		BROWN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
50		BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	CUP BOTTOM		
51		BROWN	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED			
52		BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
53		BROWN	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
54		BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	CUP BOTTOM		
55		BROWN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	CROWN FINISH, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
56		BROWN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	CROWN FINISH, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
57		BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	MAMELON		
58		BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	MAMELON		
59		BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
60		BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
61		BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	CUP BOTTOM		
62		BROWN	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	SQUARE BASE, KICK UP IN CENTER OF BASE		
63		BROWN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, THREADED FINISH	POST 1893	1893-1936
64		BROWN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	PATENT/EXTRACT FINISH, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
65		AMBER	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD		POST 1870	1870-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
66		AMBER	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	PROBABLY A SMALL MUG OR CREAMER	POST 1870	1870-1936
67		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	SMALL MAMELON ON BASE, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
68		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	CROWN FINISH, CUP BOTTOM	1875-1934	1875-1934
69		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	SQUARE BOTTOM, BEAD FINISH, TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARTATE BASE	1850-1920	1850-1920
70		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
71		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, THREADED FINISH	POST 1893	1893-1936
72		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE, PANELED, OIL FINISH	1850-1920	1850-1920
73		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OIL FINISH, TOW PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE, EXTREMELY PATINATED	1850-1920	1850-1920

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
74		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	LIPPING TOOL, BLOB LIP, TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE PART AND ROUND POST MARK	1830-1890	1830-1890
75		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OIL FINISH, TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE, HEAVILY PATINATED	1850-1920	1850-1920
76		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, PATENT/EXTRACT FINISH	POST 1907	1907-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
77		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OIL FINISH, TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE, PANELED	1850-1920	1850-1920
78		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	CROWN FINISH, MACHINE MADE, CUP BOTTOM, VALVE MARK ON BASE	POST 1893	1893-1936
79		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	CROWN FINISH, CUP BOTTOM	POST 1915	1915-1936
80		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD, GLASS TIPPED PONTIL, PROBABLY AN ESSENCE FOR STOMACH DISORDER	1815-1850	1815-1850

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
81		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	PACKER FINISH, TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE, PROBABLY SHOE POLISH OR MEDICINAL	1850-1920	1850-1920
82		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PERSONAL	PRIMARILY FOR USE IN SCHOOL HOUSES	1865-1895	1865-1895
83		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PERSONAL	PRIMARILY FOR USE IN SCHOOL HOUSES	1865-1895	1865-1895
84		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER			
85		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER			
86		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1901	1901-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
87		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1901	1901-1936
88		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1915	1915-1936
89		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1915	1915-1936
90		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1915	1915-1936
91		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		1903-1934	1903-1934
92		AQUAMARINE	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED			
93		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	SMALL MAMELON ON BASE, PLATE MOLD WITH NO LETTERING, PROBABLY FOR PAPER LABEL, HEAVILY PATINATED	POST 1875	1875-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
94		AQUAMARINE	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	PONTIL MARK HAS BOTH GLASS AND IRON ON IT, EXTREMELY PATINATED	1815-1870	1815-1870
95		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	CROWN FINISH	POST 1890	1890-1936
96		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER			
97		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	MACHINE MADE	1918-1923	1918-1923
98		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER			
99		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1901	1901-1936
100		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	PROBABLY A COCA COLA BOTTLE		

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
101		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1894	1894-1936
102		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1901	1901-1936
103		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1901	1901-1936
104		AQUAMARINE	FLASK	PERSONAL	ROUGH IRON PONTIL SCAR	1840-1860	1840-1860
105		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	LARGE BOTTLE WITH BULGE AROUND MIDDLE, POSSIBLY A HOUSEHOLD OR ALCOHOL BOTTLE		
106		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
107		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	CUP BOTTOM, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
108		AQUA, BLUE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		1916-1929	1916-1929
109		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL			
110		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
111		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
112		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		POST 1860	1860-1936
112		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	MACHINE MADE, PROBABLY SHOE POLISH OR MEDICINAL BOTTLE	POST 1893	1893-1936
114		AQUAMARINE	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
115		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	SEPARATE BASE PART		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
116		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	PATINATED, SEPARATE BASE PART, KICKUP	1850-1920	1850-1920
117		AQUAMARINE	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	BLOWN IN THE MOLD	1850-1920	1850-1920
118		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	LIPPING TOOL, OIL FINISH	PRE 1920	1840-1920
119		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		PRE 1920	1840-1920
120		AQUAMARINE	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED		1916-1929	1916-1929
121		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL			
122		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	SQUARE, OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1911-1929	1911-1929
123		LIGHT OLIVE GREEN	JAR	PERSONAL	SEPARATE BASE		

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
124		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD, HEAVILY PATINATED	1750-1880	1750-1880
125		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	HEAVILY PATINATED, BLOWN IN THE MOLD, LIPPING TOOL	1850-1920	1850-1920
126		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	PROBABLY A PHARMACEUTICAL OR ALCOHOL BOTTLE	POST 1893	1893-1936
127		LIGHT BLUE	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	STRANGE FLOURESCENT BLUE COLOR		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
128		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	NO MOLD LINES, GLASS TIPPED PONTIL, PATINATED, POSSIBLY DIP MOLDED OR FREEBLOWN	PRE 1870	1840-1870
129		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	GLASS TIPPED PONTIL	1750-1880	1750-1880
130		AQUAMARINE	JAR	UNIDENTIFIED	THREADED, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
131		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	THREADED, MACHINE MADE, CANNIN/FRUIT JAR, MASON BEADED NECK SEAL	POST 1900	1900-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
132		AQUAMARINE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	THREADED, MACHINE MADE, PATINATED, MASON SHOULDER SEAL	POST 1893	1893-1936
133		LIGHT GREENISH GRAY	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	THREADED, MACHINE MADE, MASON DEADED NECK SEAL	POST 1900	1900-1936
134		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	THREADED, MACHINE MADE, MASON DEADED NECK SEAL	POST 1900	1900-1936
135		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
136		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	VALVE MARK, BUBBLES IN GLASS	POST 1893	1893-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
137		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
138		AQUAMARINE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	PATINATED		
139		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	VALVE MARK, KICKUP	POST 1893	1893-1936
140		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
141		LIGHT GREENISH GRAY	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
142		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
143		AQUAMARINE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	FRUIT JAR/CANNING	POST 1858	1858-1936
144		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
145		AQUAMARINE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	VALVE MARK, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
146		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	VALVE MARK, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
147		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
148		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	THREADED MACHINE MADE, MASON BEADED NECK SEAL	POST 1900	1900-1936
149		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
150		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
151		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
152		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
153		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
154		AQUAMARINE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	VAVLE MARK, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
155		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
156		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
157		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
158		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
159		AQUAMARINE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	PATINATED	POST 1858	1858-1936
160		AQUAMARINE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	VALVE MARK	POST 1893	1893-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
161		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	VALVE MARK	POST 1893	1893-1936
162		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	VAVLE MARK	POST 1904	1904-1936
163		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
164		AQUAMARINE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MAMELON ON BASE		
165		AQUA, BLUE	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
166		LIGHT GREEN	BOWL	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MOLD LINES	POST 1920	1920-1936
167		LIGHT GREEN	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD		POST 1920	1920-1936
168	1	LIGHT GREEN	BOWL	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD		POST 1920	1920-1936
169	1	LIGHT GREEN	BOWL	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD		POST 1920	1920-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
170		LIGHT GREEN	PLATE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD		POST 1920	1920-1936
171		LIGHT GREEN	DISH	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD		POST 1920	1920-1936
172		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	BEAD FINISH, TWO PIECE MOLD	1750-1880	1750-1880
173		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD, SEPARATE BASE PART	1850-1920	1850-1920
174		COLORLESS	STRAPPED FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	TWO PIECE MOLD	CIRCA 1900	CIRCA 1900
175		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
176		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	1911-1929	1911-1929

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
177		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	PRE 1916	1840-1916
178		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
179		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	MACHINE MADE	1923-1925	1923-1925
180		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, BY PRESCRIPTION ONLY (UNTIL 1914)	1894-1914	1894-1914
181		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, BY PRESCRIPTION ONLY (UNTIL 1914)	1894-1914	1894-1914
182		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	VALVE MARK, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
183		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	1850-1920	1850-1920
184		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE, LETTERED PLATE	1850-1920	1850-1920
185		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PERSONAL	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE, POSSIBLY A PERFUME OR MEDICINAL BOTTLE	1850-1920	1850-1920
186		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR, PROBABLY A MILK BOTTLE	POST 1904	1904-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
187		COLORLESS	JAR	PERSONAL	THREADED, MACHINE MADE, VALVE MARK	POST 1908	1908-1936
188		COLORLESS	JAR	PERSONAL	THREADED, MACHINE MADE, VALVE MARK	POST 1908	1908-1936
189		COLORLESS	JAR	PERSONAL	THREADED, MACHINE MADE, VALVE MARK	POST 1908	1908-1936
190		COLORLESS	JAR	UNIDENTIFIED	THREADED, MACHINE MADE	1920-1964	1920-1936
191		COLORLESS	SALT/PEPPER SHAKER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	THREADED	POST 1850	1850-1936
192		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PERSONAL	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	POST 1871	1871-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
193		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	POST 1872	1872-1936
194		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD	1810-1920	1810-1920
195		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	1850-1920	1850-1920
196		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1929-1936	1929-1936
197		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1929-1936	1929-1936
198		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
199		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
200		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1929-1936	1929-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
201		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		POST 1868	1868-1936
202		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PERSONAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
203		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	TO MID 1920S	1840-1925
204		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	THREADED FINISH, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
205		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1916-1929	1916-1929
206		COLORLESS	FLASK	PHARMACEUTICAL		1911-1929	1911-1929
207		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHNE MADE, MEDICINE IS FOR WORMS	POST 1893	1893-1936
208		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
209		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
210		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, THREADED FINISH	POST 1893	1893-1936
211		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	1907-1920	1907-1920
212		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	1911-1929	1911-1929
213		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
214		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1920	1920-1936
215		COLORLESS	FLASK	UNIDENTIFIED	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
216		COLORLESS	JAR	PERSONAL	THREADED FINISH	POST 1850	1850-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
217		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	POSSIBLE JAR, GLASS, OR SMALL BOTTLE		
218		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1911-1929	1911-1929
219		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	POSSIBLE SMALL BOTTLE OR JAR		
220		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS			
221		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	RICKETTS-TYPE MOLD	1820-1920	1820-1920
222		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR, CANNIN/FRUIT JAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
223		COLORLESS	STRAPPED FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS			

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
224		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	PROBABLY A TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	1850-1920	1850-1920
225		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	PROBABLY A TWO OR THREE PIECE MOLD	1850-1920	1850-1920
226		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
227		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
228		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
229		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		1916-1929	1916-1929
230		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL			
231		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1929-1936	1929-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
232		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
233		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	1850-1920	1850-1920
234		AMETHYST	STRAPPED FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	1850-1920	1850-1920
235		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
236	2	COLORLESS	PITCHER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
237		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	PROBABLY A JUG, OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1929-1936	1929-1936
238		COLORLESS	SERVING DISH / PLATE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	PONTIL MARK	POST 1725	1725-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
239	2	COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
240		COLORLESS	DECANTER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
241		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
242		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	PROBABLY A PITCHER OR DECANTER		
243		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	TWO PIECE MOLD	1750-1880	1750-1880
244		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
245		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
246		COLORLESS	LID	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
247		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1927	1927-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
248		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1927	1927-1936
249		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1927	1927-1936
250		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
251		YELLOW / STRAW	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL			
252		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1920-1964	1920-1936
253		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	POSSIBLE TUMBLER		
254		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED		1920-1964	1920-1936
255		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
256		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1929-1954	1929-1936
257		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
258		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
259		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
260		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
261		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
262		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED		1920-1964	1920-1936
263		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, THREADED FINISH	POST 1893	1893-1936
264		COLORLESS	JUG	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
265		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	TWO PIECE MOLD	1750-1920	1750-1920
266		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
267		COLORLESS	UNIDENTIFIED	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
268		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
269		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER		POST 1927	1927-1936
270		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
271		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	1850-1920	1850-1920
272		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	1850-1920	1850-1920
273		COLORLESS	STRAPPED FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS			
274		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS			
275		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL			
276		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED		1916-1929	1916-1929
277		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	LIPPING TOOL	PRE 1893	1840-1893

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
278		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	CROWN FINISH, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
279		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
280		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
281		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD			
282		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
283		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	MACHINE MADE	POST 1916	1916-1936
284		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		1908-1935	1908-1935
285		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
286		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	POSSIBLY A WHISKEY OR WINE BOTTLE		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
287		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	PROBABLY A MILK BOTTLE, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
288	2	COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
289		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	THREADED FINISH, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
290		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
291		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
292		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1929-1954	1929-1936
293		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	THREADED FINISH		
294		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED		1920-1964	1920-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
295		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
296		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL			
297		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
298		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
299		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
300		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED		1916-1929	1916-1929
301		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1929-1954	1929-1936
302		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		1916-1929	1916-1929
303		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
304		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	1929-1954	1929-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
305		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PERSONAL	PROBABLY AN INK BOTTLE	POST 1901	1901-1936
306		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	GROUND LIP		
307		COLORLESS	STRAPPED FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	TWO PIECE MOLD WITH SEPARATE BASE	1850-1920	1850-1920
308		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
309		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
310		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
311		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
312		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
313		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD		1920-1964	1920-1936
314		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
315		COLORLESS	SHOT GLASS	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
316		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
217		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED		1908-1935	1908-1935
318		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED			
319		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
320		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
321	3	COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
322	3	COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
323		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
324		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
325		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD		1920-1964	1920-1936
326		COLORLESS	SALT/PEPPER SHAKER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE, THREADED FINISH	POST 1893	1893-1936
327		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
328		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
329		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
330		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD		POST 1903	1903-1936
331		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	LARGE VESSEL		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
332		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	NOT MACHINE MADE	PRE 1920	1840-1920
333		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL			
334		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
335		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	VALVE MARK	POST 1893	1893-1936
336		COLORLESS	FLASK	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS	MOLDED		
337		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
338		YELLOW	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER			
339		YELLOW	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	POST 1904
340		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	VALVE MARK	POST 1893	1893-1936
341		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	POST 1904

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
342		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		1929-1954	1929-1936
343		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED		1929-1954	1929-1936
344		COLORLESS	DECANTER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	NECK AND RIM APPLIED SEPARATELY		
345		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	THREADED, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
346		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	OWENS SUCTION SCAR	POST 1904	1904-1936
347		AMETHYST	CANDLESTICK HOLDER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
348		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE, BEADED NECK SEAL	POST 1882	1882-1936
349		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	THREADED, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
350		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	LIPPING TOOL, PROBABLE TWO PIECE MOLD	PRE 1920	1840-1920
351		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	CROWN FINISH	POST 1893	1893-1936
352		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
353		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE, THREADED	POST 1893	1893-1936
354		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
355		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	PROBABLY CARTERS INK BOTTLE		
356		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PERSONAL			
357		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
358		COLORLESS	JAR	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
359		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	ODD SHAPED, POSSIBLY A JUG		
360		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS			
361		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PERSONAL	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
362		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
363		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	POSSIBLE LIGHTING VESSEL		
364		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL			
365		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
366		COLORLESS	PLATTER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE**
367		COLORLESS	JUG	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1936
368		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL			
369		COLORLESS	VILE	PHARMACEUTICAL			
370		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED		PRE 1920	1840-1920
371		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		PRE 1920	1840-1920
372		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD	PROBABLY A BOWL		
373		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
374		COLORLESS	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
375		COLORLESS	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
376		COLORLESS	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
377		COLORLESS	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	COLOR	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE	DATE RANGE - ROB. HOUSE
378		COLORLESS	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
379		OPAQUE	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
380		COLORLESS	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
381		COLORLESS	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
382		COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/ HOUSEHOLD			
383		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL		1911-1929	1911-1929
384		COLORLESS	JAR	UNIDENTIFIED		POST 1893	1893-1936

Table A2. Glass Assembladge, Decorative Technique, Decoration Comments and Type/ROBINSON

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
1		CRACKLE GLASS		
2		CRACKLE GLASS	MOLDED	UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN ON BODY
3		CRACKLE GLASS		
4		CRACKLE GLASS	EMBOSSED	"...ROP CO./...(INC).", UNIDENTIFIED MARK ON BASE
5			MOLDED	LINES, POSSIBLY PANELED
6		TABLEWARE	MOLDED / CRIMPED	CRIMPED/PIE CRUST EDGE
7		TABLEWARE / CARNIVAL GLASS	MOLDED	RM IS WAVY MOLDED PATTERN
8			EMBOSSED	"VA. PEPSI-COLA/COMPANY/ 6 1/2 OZ./29N/CHARLOTTESVILLE/VA", ON BODY
9			EMBOSSED	"...PERFUM.../COMPA.../LOND..."
10				
11				
12			EMBOSSED	"...P CO/...5.", ON BASE
13		MILK GLASS	EMBOSSED	"MENTHOLATUM/REG/TRADE/MARK"

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
14		MILK GLASS		
15		MILK GLASS	EMBOSSED	EMBOSSING IS MAKERS MARK ON BASE
16		MILK GLASS	MOLDED	MOLDED ANNULAR LINES AROUND RIM AND BASE
17		TABLEWARE / MILK GLASS	MOLDED	FLORAL DESIGN ON BODY, VERTICAL LINES IN ANNULAR DISPLAY AROUND RIM
18		TABLEWARE / MILK GLASS		
19			EMBOSSED	"SAYLEHNERS/HUNYADI/JANOS/BITTERQUELL" , ON BASE
20				PATINATED, COLOR IS HUNTER/FOREST GREEN
21				
22				
23			EMBOSSED	"EU" ON BASE
24				
25				
26			EMBOSSED	EMBOSSING ON BASE IS A MAKERS MARK, A TRIANGLE WITHIN A TRIANGLE, NUMBERS ON THE EXTERIOR

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
27			EMBOSSED	EMBOSSING ON BASE IS A MAKERS MARK, A TRIANGLE WITHIN A TRIANGLE
28			EMBOSSED	EMBOSSING ON BASE IS A MAKERS MARK, A TRIANGLE WITHIN A TRIANGLE
29				
30			EMBOSSED	"VICK'S VAPORUB", ON BASE WITH TRIANGLE IN THE CENTER
31			EMBOSSED	"...APORUB" ON BASE
32			EMBOSSED	"M/9" ON BASE, M IS IN A CIRCLE
33			EMBOSSED	"D" ON BASE
34			EMBOSSED	"NOX/EMA" IN A BOX ON THE BASE
35				
36			EMBOSSED	".../8-9" ON BASE, "...OK..." ON BODY
37			EMBOSSED	"1" ON BASE
38			EMBOSSED	"RAWLEIGH'S" IN CURSIVE ON BODY, "5" ON BASE
39			EMBOSSED	PANELED, ON ONE SIDE:"TRADE/PISO'S/MARK", ON THE OTHER SIDE: "PISO CO. WARREN, PA. U.S.A."

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
40			EMBOSSED	"LYSOL" IN CURSIVE ON BODY, "LYSOL INCORPORATED/BLOOMFIELD, NJ", AROUND EDGE OF BASE, "BOTTLE MADE IN USA" WITH A MARK IN THE CENTER: UPSIDE DOWN TRIANGLE WITH "W/T" IN IT
41			EMBOSSED	EMBOSSING ON BASE IS UNIDENTIFIABLE
42			EMBOSSED	"...R JOHN'S/...ICINE/...MASS." ON SIDE PANEL
43			EMBOSSED	"...ERS IMPERIAL/...MEDICINE" ON FRONT PANEL, "...GLOVER CO" ON ON SIDE PANEL, "O" IN A BOX ON THE BASE
44			EMBOSSED	SPIDER WEB WITH SPIDER EMBOSSED ON THE BOTTLE, TRIANGULAR MAKERS MARK WITH "I" INSIDE
45			EMBOSSED	"OLD METHU....NE QUART"
46			EMBOSSED	"2" ON BASE
47			EMBOSSED	VERTICAL LINES AROUND BASE, "ROOT" ON BASE
48				
49			EMBOSSED	MEDICINAL TICK MARKS ON BODY, "IY.../NEW YORK" ON OUT SIDE OF CIRCLE, "...USA" ON INSIDE OF CIRCLE WITH MARK

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
50			EMBOSSED	"W.A.S." ON THE BASE
51			EMBOSSED	"K" , "MADE IN/U.S.A./6"
52			EMBOSSED	"Q" ON BASE
53				
54			EMBOSSED	"...ASHINGTON..." ON BODY, "J3/127" ON BASE
55				
56				
57				
58				
59			EMBOSSED	"2810" ON BASE
60				
61			EMBOSSED	"...83" ON BASE
62				PATINATED
63				
64				
65		TABLEWARE	PRESS MOLDED	UNIDENTIFIED PATTERN

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
66		TABLEWARE	PRESS MOLDED	GEOMETRIC DIAMOND SHAPED SHARP DESIGN
67				
68			EMBOSSED	"REGISTERED/SAML C. PALMER/WASHINTON/D.C./THIS BOTTLE IS NEVER SOLD" ON BODY, "384" ON BASE
69				PANELED ON ONE SIDE OF BODY
70			EMBOSSED	"FURST-MCNESS CO./FREEPORT, ILL." ON ONE SIDE OF BODY
71			EMBOSSED	"SMITH BROTHERS" ON ONE SIDE, "COUGH SYRUP" ON THE OTHER SIED, "S.B." ON BASE
72				
73			EMBOSSED	"COUGH SYRUP" ON ONE SIDE, "BALTIMORE" ON OTHER SIDE, "A" ON BASE
74			EMBOSSED	"C. ELLIS & CO/PHILADA"
75				
76			EMBOSSED	"FOLEY & CO." ON ONE SIDE, "CHICAGO, U.S.A." ON THE OTHER SIDE, MAKERS MARK ON BASE
77				
78				

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
79			EMBOSSED	"PIEDMONT/BOTTLING CORP'N/CULPEPPER,VA./584 8 FLU OZS. LS" ON FRON, "PROPERTY OF PIEDMONT BOTTLING CORPORATION" ON BACK, "M/SERIES 1915" ON BASE
80			EMBOSSED	"GENUINE/ESSENCE" ON BODY
81				
82			EMBOSSED	"J & I E M" ON BODY, "2" ON BASE
83			EMBOSSED	"...M" ON PANELED BODY
84			EMBOSSED	"KING COLA BOTTLING CORP/EDINBURG, VA"
85			EMBOSSED / MOLDED	"WASHINGTON/DC" ON BASE, MOLDED VERTICAL PANELS ON BODY
86			EMBOSSED	"PEPSI:COLA...TLING CO." ON ONE SIDE, "CAP 6 1/2 FLU. OZS./WARRENTON, VA." ON OTHER SIDE, "J" ON BASE
87			EMBOSSED	"PEPSI COLA/CAPACITY 6 FLUID OZS./WARRENTON, VA./2174-EG24" ON ONE SIDE, "PEPSI COLA/VA. PEPSI-COLA CO. INC." ON OTHER SIDE, "I/J/G24" ON BASE
88			EMBOSSED	"M/SERIES..." ON BASE, "...ORPORATION..." ON BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
89			EMBOSSED	"PIEDMONT/BOTTLING CORP'N/CULPEPER, VA./8 FLU. OZS." ON ONE SIDE, "PROPERTY OF /PIEDMONT BOTTLING/CORPORATION" ON OTHER SIDE, "M/SERIES 1915" ON BASE
90			EMBOSSED	"...PER, V.../8 FLU OZS" ON ONE SIDE" "...ORATION" ON OTHER SIDE, "M/SERIES 1915" ON BASE
91			EMBOSSED	"CHARLES JACOBSEN/THE ARLINGTON/ABC/BOTTLING CO/WASHINGTON, D.C./REGISTERED/1903" ON FRON, "EHE CO" ON BACK, "746/1" ON BASE
92			EMBOSSED	UNIDENTIFIED MARK, POSSIBLY "X"
93			EMBOSSED	"THIS BOTTLE/NOT TO/BE SOLD/RETURN WHEN EMPTY"
94			MOLDED	UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN
95				
96			EMBOSSED	"KING COLA BOTTLIN.../EDINBURG, VA"
97			EMBOSSED	"B...TLING CO/SAS-O/WASHINGTON DC/CONTENTS 7 FL. OZ"
98				

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
99			EMBOSSED	"...A-VA. PEPSI-COLA IN.../...25" ON BODY, "1623E/..." ON BASE
100			EMBOSSED	"FRONT ROYAL/VA." ON BASE, MOLDED VERTICAL PANELS AND HOURGLASS SHAPED BODY
101			EMBOSSED / MOLDED	"...OLA..." IN CURSIVE, "...BOTTLING CO/...ONTENTS 6 1/2 OZS.", "PAT APPLIED F...." ON BASE
102			EMBOSSED	"PEPSI.../PEPSI COLA BOTTLING CO." ON ONE SIDE, "...OLA/CAP 6 1/2 FLU. OZS. WARRENTON, VA." ON THE OTHER SIDE, "J" ON BASE
103			EMBOSSED	".../2 FLU. OZS./...RENTON, VA." ON BODY
104			MOLDED	SCROLLED FLASK
105			EMBOSSED / MOLDED	MOLDIN IS VERTICAL PANELS ENDING IN A POINT AROUND THE TOP OF THE BOTTLE, EMBOSSING IS WORN AND UNREADABLE
106			EMBOSSED	"...E..."
107			EMBOSSED	"BAKING POWDER DAVIS OK" ON BODY
108			EMBOSSED	"...OMP/...ANY/...S.A." ON BODY, "I" AND "8" ON BASE WITH MARK

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
109			EMBOSSED	"CASTORIA" ON ONE SIDE, "CHASLT..." ON OTHER SIDE, "18" ON BASE
110			EMBOSSED	"...S/...E" ON BODY, "6" ON BASE
111			EMBOSSED	"CH...", "FOLEY &..."
112			EMBOSSED	"TANLAC" ON BASE
112				
114		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	GEOMETRIC DESIGN OF STARS, OCTAGONAL CIRCLES, DESIGN IS RAISED, PROBABLY PRESS MOLDED
115			EMBOSSED	"X", TRIANGLE WITH DOT IN CENTER, "B3632", ALL ON BASE
116			PANELED	
117			EMBOSSED	"MURRAY'S/1519 ST. N. W./WASHINGTON D.C." ON BODY, "7" ON BASE
118				
119				
120			EMBOSSED	"I" IN TRIANGLE, "8", BOTH ON BASE
121			EMBOSSED	"...SON/...MD"

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
122			EMBOSSED	SQUARE WITH "O" IN CENTER ON BASE
123			EMBOSSED	"...R...'S/CELEBRATED/PETROLEUM JELLY/NEW YORK, ON BODY
124			EMBOSSED	"COOK & CREIGHTON" ON FRONT, "ALEXANDRIA VA: ON OTHER SIDE, "DRUGGISTS." ON SIDE, PANELLED
125				
126				
127				
128				NO DECORATION OR MOLD LINES
129			EMBOSSED	"TRICOPHEROUS/FOR THE SKIN/...HAIR: ON THE FRONT, "...RRY'S" ON THE SIDE
130				
131				
132				
133				
134				
135			EMBOSSED	"3" ON BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
136			EMBOSSED	"-2" ON BASE
137			EMBOSSED	"1"ON BASE
138			EMBOSSED	"18" ON BASE WITH A TRIANGLE
139				
140			EMBOSSED	"5 J" ON BASE
141			EMBOSSED	"V/1-1" ON BASE
142			EMBOSSED	"3" ON BASE
143			EMBOSSED	"...E.../...30.../...858" ON VOSY, "B I S..." ON BASE
144			EMBOSSED	"2" ON Vaw
145				
146			EMBOSSED	"3 3" ON BASE
147			EMBOSSED	"100" ON BASE
148				
149			EMBOSSED	BACKWARDS "6" ON BASE
150			EMBOSSED	"6" ON BASE
151			EMBOSSED	"4" ON BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
152			EMBOSSED	"3" ON BASE
153			EMBOSSED	"10" ON BASE
154			EMBOSSED	"2" ON BASE
155			EMBOSSED	"9" ON BASE
156			EMBOSSED	"5" ON BASE
157			EMBOSSED	"10" ON BASE
158			EMBOSSED	"6" ON BASE
159			EMBOSSED	"PAT NOV.../53/...7"
160				
161			EMBOSSED	"5" ON BASE
162				
163			EMBOSSED	"1" ON BASE
164				
165			EMBOSSED	"5" ON BASE
166		TABLEWARE / DEPRESSION GLASS	MOLDED	LEAVES AND FLOWERS, STIPPLING INSIDE DECORATION

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
167		TABLEWARE / DEPRESSION GLASS	MOLDED	SIMPLE PANELS AND HORIZONTAL LINES
168	1	TABLEWARE / DEPRESSION GLASS	MOLDED	SCALLOPED RIM, SUNKEN SQUARES
169	1	TABLEWARE / DEPRESSION GLASS	MOLDED	SCALLOPED RIM, SUNKEN SQUARES, SUNBURST ON BASE
170		TABLEWARE / DEPRESSION GLASS	MOLDED	VINES AND FLOWERS ON EDGE OF VESSEL AND BASE
171		TABLEWARE / DEPRESSION GLASS	MOLDED	FLOWERS, MALL STIPPLED DESIGNS AROUND EDGE AND SWAGED, BASE DECORATED, GEOMETRIC
172				
173			EMBOSSED	"T" ON BASE
174			EMBOSSED	MOLDED ANCHOR ON BASE
175			EMBOSSED	TRIANGLE ON BASE WITH MARKINGS INSIDE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
176			EMBOSSED	MEDICINE BOTTLE WITH TICK MARKS AND MEASUREMENT NUMBERS ALONG THE SIDE, MARK ON BASE
177			EMBOSSED	"M" ON BASE
178			EMBOSSED	"VICTORY/BOTTLINGWORKS/W.T.BUSSER" ON ONE SIDE, "PROP./VIENNA, VA"/"REGISTERED", "7 FL.OZ./23 34" ON OTHER SIDE, TRIANGLE ON BASE
179			EMBOSSED	"WHISTLE/REGISTERED/S. FARBER" ON ONE SIDE, "WHISTLE/6 1/2 FLD. OZS/WASHINGTON D.C." ON THE OTHER SIDE, "WHISTLE/REGISTERED" ON BASE
180			EMBOSSED	"LISTERINE/LAMBERT/PHARMACAL COMPANY" ON ONE SIDE, "...22" ON BASE
181			EMBOSSED	"LISTERINE/LAMBERT/PHARMACAL COMPANY" ON ONE SIDE, DIAMOND WITH "I" IN CENTER, AND "13" ON BASE
182				
183			EMBOSSED	"SAUR'S EXTRACTS" ON ONE SIDE, "14 4" ON BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
184			EMBOSSED	"FROM /COCKE'S/PHARMACY/MANASSAS, VA" ON ONE SIDE
185				
186			EMBOSSED	"7" ON BASE
187			EMBOSSED	"TRADE MARK/VASELINE/CHESEBROUGH/NEW-YORK"
188			EMBOSSED	"TRADE MARK/VASELINE/CHESEBROUGH/NEW-YORK"
189			EMBOSSED	"TRADE MARK/VASELINE/CHESEBROUGH/NEW-YORK"
190			EMBOSSED	MARK ON BASE
191		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	SUNBURST ON BASE
192			EMBOSSED	"HOYT'S 10C/COLOGNE" ON BODY (C IS CENT SYMBOL)
193			EMBOSSED	"USE DILL'S/FLAVORING EXTRACTS"
194			EMBOSSED	"10" ON BASE, GLASS IS SLIGHTLY DISCOLORED A YELLOW-GREEN, POSSIBLY SOLARIZED
195				

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
196			EMBOSSED	"THE J.R. WATKINS CO./REG. U.S. PAT. OFF." ON ONE SIDE, MM ON BASE, ALSO "9" ON BASE
197			EMBOSSED	"THE.../RE..." , MAKERS MARK ON BASE
198			EMBOSSED	"THE J.R. WATKINS CO./REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.", DIAMOND MAKERS MARK ON BASE
199			EMBOSSED	"THE J.R. WAT.../REG. U.S. P...", DIAMOND MAKERS MARK ON BASE
200			EMBOSSED	"TH..."
201			EMBOSSED	"THE J.R. WATK.../REC. U.S. PAT...", DIAMOND ON BASE WITH "14" BELOW IT
202			EMBOSSED	"CARTER'S/..." ON BASE
203			EMBOSSED	"AISQUITH & CO/PHARMACISTS/A/COURTHOUSE SQUARE/CHARLESTOWN/W.VA." ON BODY, "WT & CO./PAT JAN./...8/0" ON BASE
204			EMBOSSED / APPLIED PAPER LABEL	"K-4/912" ON BASE, APPLIED PAPER LABEL WITH SOME LETTERING, WORN
205			EMBOSSED	"MADE IN U.S.A." ON SIDE, MAKERS MARK ON BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
206			EMBOSSED	"MCCORMICK & CO./EXTRACTS/SPICES/& ETC./ BALTO. MD", ON BODY, MAKERS MARK ON BASE
207			EMBOSSED	"FREY'S/VERMIFUGE/BALTIMORE"
208			EMBOSSED	NUMBERS AND TICK MARKS ON BODY
209			EMBOSSED	NUMBERS AND TICK MARKS ON BODY, "ACW4" ON BASE
210			EMBOSSED	"511 2" ON BASE
211			EMBOSSED	"K" ON BASE
212			EMBOSSED	MAKERS MARK ON BASE, WITH "6...3"
213			EMBOSSED	"2 ACW" ON BASE
214			EMBOSSED / MOLDED	"PAT'D/JULY-20-1920/ORANGE/CRUSH/BOTTLE/6FL OZS" ON BOTH SIDES, BOTTLE HAS BOTH VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL LINES, "WASHINGTON/D.C." ON BASE
215				
216			EMBOSSED	"SHAMPOO JE..." ON BODY
217			EMBOSSED	"767" ON BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
218			EMBOSSED	"8...9", MAKERS MARK BETWEEN NUMBERS
219			EMBOSSED	UNREADABLE EMBOSSING ON BASE
220				
221			EMBOSSED	"...ST. N.W./...INGTON, DC JOHN WEEDERBURN"
222			EMBOSSED	"6" ON BASE
223			EMBOSSED	TRIANGLE ON BASE
224				
225				
226			MOLDED	VERTICAL LINES/BANDS ON BODY
227				
228			EMBOSSED	DIAMOND WITH NUMBER "663" IN IT, "9" ABOVE DIAMOND
229			EMBOSSED	"...N'S/...MENT" ON SIDE, MAKERS MARK ON BASE
230			EMBOSSED	"SLOAN'S LINIMENT" ON SIDE
231			EMBOSSED	"OWENS" ON BASE ABOVE MAKERS MARK, TICK MARKS AND NUMBERS ON BODY
232			EMBOSSED	UNIDENTIFIED MARK

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
233			EMBOSSED	"...ERS & SONS/...RIETORS/...VA."
234		SOLARIZED	EMBOSSED	
235		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	STARBUST ON BASE, UNIDENTIFIED GEOMETRIC DESIGN ON BODY
236	2	TABLEWARE	MOLDED / ETCHED	FLUTES AROUND BASE, ETCHED FLORAL DESIGN ON THE INTERIOR
237			MOLDED	FLUTED SIDES
238		TABLEWARE	PATTERN MOLDED	GEOMETRIC DESIGN
239	2	TABLEWARE	MOLDED / ETCHED	FLUTED AROUND BASE, ETCHED FLORAL DESIGN ON THE INTERIOR
240		TABLEWARE		
241		TABLEWARE		
242		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	SUNBURSTE ON BASE, RAISED DESIGNS ON BODY
243			EMBOSSED	EMBOSSED MAKERS MARK ON BASE, UNIDENTIFIABLE, POSSIBLY AN ACORN
244			EMBOSSED	"...VLELAND/F/FRUIT JUICE CO." ON BASE
245				

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
246		TABLEWARE	MOLDED / PRESSED	GEOMETRIC DESIGN AND LEAVES (STIPPLED)
247			EMBOSSED / MOLDED	"STAR BOY PATENETED FEB. 8, 1927/VA. PEPSI-COLA COMPANY INCORPORATED SHARLOTTESVILLE, VA" ON BODY, "3494...629 6 1/2 FL. OZ." ON BASE, STARS AND LINES ON BODY
248			EMBOSSED / MOLDED	"STAR BOY PATENETED FEB. 8, 1927/VA. PEPSI-COLA COMPANY INCORPORATED SHARLOTTESVILLE, VA" ON BODY, "3494...629 6 1/2 FL. OZ." ON BASE, STARS AND LINES ON BODY
249			EMBOSSED / MOLDED	"STAR BOY PATENETED FEB. 8, 1927/VA. PEPSI-COLA COMPANY INCORPORATED SHARLOTTESVILLE, VA" ON BODY, "3494...629 6 1/2 FL. OZ." ON BASE, STARS AND LINES ON BODY
250			EMBOSSED	"OD" ON BASE
251		SOLARIZED		
252			EMBOSSED	EMBOSSED MAKERS MARK ON BASE WITH "K861/49"
253				

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
254			EMBOSSED	EMBOSSED MAKERS MARK ON BASE WITH "K861/17" AROUND IT
255			APPLIED PAPER LABEL / EMBOSSED	EMBOSSED MAKERS MARK ON BASE, UNIDENTIFIABLE, PRODUCT FOR BALDNESS
256			EMBOSSED	"D1" AND "13" ON SIDES WITH LINES AND LEAVES AROUND BOTTOM, "DES PAT/54/5/9561" ON BASE
257			EMBOSSED	"2" ON BASE
258			EMBOSSED	"CELFAND'S/1-K-678/BALTIMORE" ON BASE
259			EMBOSSED	"CELFAND'S/12/BALTIMORE" ON BASE, ALSO MAKERS MARK BUT UNREADABLE
260			EMBOSSED	"CELFAN.../18.../B..."
261			EMBOSSED	"...AND'S/15/BALTIMORE" ON BASE, ALSO MAKERS MARK, BUT UNREADABLE
262			EMBOSSED	"10/CELEFAND'S", MAKERS MARK UNDER THESE WORDS ON BASE
263				
264				
265				

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
266			MOLDED	TWO BANDS AROUND BOTTOM OF BOTTLE
267		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	PROBABLY PRESSED, STARBURST ON BASE
268				
269			EMBOSSED / MOLDED	"VA. PEPSI-COLA CO. INC. CH..." ON SIDE, "6 1/2 FL OZ." ON BASE, STARS AND BANDS ON BODY
270			EMBOSSED	"X/9" ON BASE
271			EMBOSSED	"J T F" ON BASE
272			EMBOSSED	"J T F" ON BASE
273			EMBOSSED	"J T F" ON BASE
274			EMBOSSED	"J T F" ON BASE
275			EMBOSSED	NUMBERS AND TICK MARKS
276			EMBOSSED	"10 9" WITH MAKERS MARK BETWEEN NUMBERS, "ILLINOIS" BENEATH MAKERS MARK
277				BOTTLE IS PATINATED GIVING OPALESCENT LOOK
278				
279				

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
280			EMBOSSED	"FULL PINT / 3" ON BASE
281		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	PANELED
282			EMBOSSED	"CAPACITY/4/ONE FULL Q..." MAKERS MARK IN CENTER, ON BASE
283			EMBOSSED	"PIEDM.../...TTLING O.../...ULPEPER/8 FLU. OZS." ON ONE SIDE, "PROPERY OF /PIEDMONT BOT/CORPORATION" ON OTHER SIDE, "M/SERIES 1916" ON BASE
284			EMBOSSED	"SAUR'S EXTRACTS" ON TWO SIDES, "A.G.W." ON BASE
285			EMBOSSED	"5" ON BASE
286			MOLDED	VERTICAL BANDS AROUND NECK
287				
288	2	TABLEWARE	MOLDED / ETCHED	ETCHED FLORAL DESIGN ON INTERIOR
289				
290		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	BASE IS FLUTED
291			EMBOSSED	"3" ON BASE
292			MAKERS MARK	

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
293			MOLDED	MOLDED BANDS AROUND BODY
294			MAKERS MARK	
295			EMBOSSED	"7" ON BASE
296			EMBOSSED	ARROW EMBOSSED ON BASE
297			EMBOSSED	"12/X" ON BASE
298			EMBOSSED	"4/..." ON BASE
299			EMBOSSED	"9" ON BASE
300			EMBOSSED	"9" BELOW MAKERS MARK
301			EMBOSSED	MAKERS MARK WITH NUMBERS AROUND IT
302			EMBOSSED	"...CO." ON BODY, MAKERS MARK ON BASE
303		TABLEWARE		
304			EMBOSSED / MOLDED	"ONE PINT" ON BODY WITH UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN, SHORT VERTICAL BANDS ON BACK PANEL, "D450/57 9/MADE IN USA/PAT D 9546" ON BASE WITH MAKERS MARK
305			EMBOSSED	"PATENTED/AUG 20/1901" ON BASE, SMALL VERTICAL LINES/BANDS AROUND BOTTOM OF BOTTLE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
306				
307				
308		TABLEWARE	RIBS / NOTCHES	
309		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	MOLDED PANELS AROUND BODY, DESIGN ONBASE IS HORSESHOE WITH A STAR IN THE CENTER
310		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	MOLDED PANELS AROUND BODY, DESIGN ONBASE IS HORSESHOE WITH A STAR IN THE CENTER
311		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	MOLDED PANELS AROUND BODY, DESIGN ONBASE IS HORSESHOE WITH A STAR IN THE CENTER
312		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	RIBBED AROUND BOTTOM OF BASE
313		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	PANELED AROND BOTTOM OF CUP
314		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	GEOMETRIC DESIGN
315		TABLEWARE		
316			MOLDED	GEOMETRIC DESIGN, SPIDER WEB - LIKE
217			EMBOSSED	"R194 70..." ALSO MAKERS MARK IS AN "A" IN A CIRCLE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
318				
319				
320				
321	3	TABLEWARE	RIBBED / NOTCHED	
322	3	TABLEWARE	RIBBED / NOTCHED	
323		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	PANELS ON SIDE, STARBUTST ON BASE
324		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	PANELED ON SIDE, SUNBURST ON BASE
325		TABLEWARE	EMBOSSED / MOLDED	PANELED ON SIDE, MAKERS MARK ON BASE
326		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	CIRCULAR AND FLORAL-LIKE DECORATIONS AROUND RIM, STARBURST ON BASE
327		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	SIDES ARE PANELED
328		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	PANELED ON SIDES
329		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	GEOMETRIC DIAMOND PATTERN
330		TABLEWARE	EMBOSSED	"203/PAT FEB 10, 03." ON BASE
331				
332				
333				

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
334			EMBOSSED	ON BASE: DIAMOND WITH "20" IN IT, AND "2" BELOW IT
335				
336				
337			EMBOSSED	"33" ON BASE
338		SOLARIZED	EMBOSSED / MOLDED	UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN ON THE BODY, POSSIBLY AN ANIMAL, "S. WASHINTON, VA. CONTENTS 6 1/2 FL. OZS." ON BODY, "12B31" ON BASE
339		SOLARIZED	EMBOSSED	UNIDENTIFIED MARK ON BASE
340			EMBOSSED	"B-E8" ON BASE
341			EMBOSSED	"3" ON BASE
342			EMBOSSED	"7 3/11" AROUND MAKERS MARK
343			EMBOSSED	MAKERS MARK, "DE...PAT 84"
344		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	INTRICATE GEOMETRIC DESIGN ON BODY, TEXTURED, STARBURST ON BASE
345				
346			EMBOSSED	"2" ON BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
347		TABLEWARE / SOLARIZED	MOLDED	UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN
348				
349				
350				
351				
352				
353				
354				
355			EMBOSSED	"...ER'S/NO. 7 1/2/...U.S.A."
356			MOLDED	GEOMETRIC CROSSING LINES TO FORM RECTANGLES
357				
358				
359			MOLDED	BANDS/LINES AROUND BODY
360			EMBOSSED	"ONE P..."
361			MOLDED	BAND AROUND NECK

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
362				
363			MOLDED	SCENE OF BIRD IN TREE
364			EMBOSSED	"...TORE/...W."
365		TABLEWARE		
366		TABLEWARE	PRESSED / MOLDED	SUNBURST IN CENTER OF BASE, FLORAL DESIGNS
367				
368				
369				
370				
371				
372		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN
373		TABLEWARE	PRESSED / MOLDED	GEOMETRIC DESIGN, THICK GLASS
374		TABLEWARE	CRIMPED	PIE CRUST EDGE
375		TABLEWARE	CRIMPED	PIE CRUST EDGE
376		TABLEWARE	CRIMPED	PIE CRUST EDGE
377		TABLEWARE	CRIMPED	PIE CRUST EDGE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
378		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	SCALLOPED RIM
379		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	SCALLOPED RIM
380		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	SCALLOPED RIM
381		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	SCALLOPED RIM , BANDS / CRIMPING
382		TABLEWARE	MOLDED	BANDS, STARBURST ON BASE
383				
384				

Table A3. Glass Assembladge, Manufacture and Contents/ROBINSON

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8		VIRGINIA PEPSI-COLA COMPANY	VIRGINIA PEPSI-COLA COMPANY	CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA		PEPSI-COLA
9					LONDON, ENGLAND	PERFUME
10						
11						
12						
13						MENTHOLATUM

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
14						
15		HAZEL ATLAS GLASS COMPANY		WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA		
16						
17						
18						
19			THE APPOLLINARIS COMPANY, LIMITED		LONDON, ENGLAND	BITTERS/TONIC
20						
21						
22						
23						
24						WINE/CHAMPAGNE
25						

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
26			VICK'S CHEMICAL COMPANY			VICK'S VAPORRUB OR VATRONOL
27			VICK'S CHEMICAL COMPANY			VICK'S VAPORRUB OR VATRONOL
28			VICK'S CHEMICAL COMPANY			VICK'S VAPORRUB OR VATRONOL
29						
30			VICK'S CHEMICAL COMPANY			VICK'S VAPORUB
31			VICK'S CHEMICAL COMPANY			VICK'S VAPORUB
32		MARYLAND GLASS CORPORATION	THE EMERSON DRUG COMPANY	BALTIMORE, MARYLAND		BROMOSELTZER
33		DAVEY & MOORE, LIMITED		BRIMSDOWN, MIDDLESEX, ENGLAND		

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
34						NOXEMA COLD CREAM
35						
36						
37						
38			RAWLEIGHS			
39		PISO COMPANY		WARREN, PENNSYLVANIA		
40		WITALL BROTHERS &TATUM	LYSOL, INCORPORATED	MILLVILLE, NEW JERSEY	BLOOMFIELD, NEW JERSEY	LYSOL
41						
42			FATHER JOHN'S MEDICINE COMPANY		LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS	FATHER JOHN'S MEDICINE
43		OWENS BOTTLE COMPANY	H. CLAY GLOVER COMPANY		NEW YORK	GLOVER'S IMPERIAL MANGE MEDICINE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
44						"ANTIQUE"
45						
46						
47						
48						
49					NEW YORK	
50						
51						
52						
53						CHEMICALS
54					WASHINGTON, D.C.	
55						
56						
57						
58						

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
59						
60						
61						
62						
63						
64						
65						
66						
67						
68		SAML C. PALMER		WASHINGTON, D.C.		SODA
69						
70			FURST-MCNESS COMPANY		FREEPORT, ILLINOIS	
71			SMITH BROTHERS			COUGH SYRUP
72						
73					BALTIMORE	COUGH SYRUP

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
74			C. ELLIS & COMPANY		PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA	
75						
76			FOLEY & COMPANY		CHICAGO, ILLINOIS	
77						
78						
79		PIEDMONT BOTTLING CORPORATION		CULPEPPER, VIRGINIA		
80						
81						
82			J. & I. E. MOORE		WARREN, MASSACHUSETTS	INK
83			J. & I. E. MOORE		WARREN, MASSACHUSETTS	INK

VESSEL NUMBE R	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
84		KING COLA BOTTLING CORPORATION	KING COLA CORPORATION	EDINBURG, VIRGINIA		SODA
85				WASHINGTON, D.C.		SODA
86		PEPSI COLA BOTTLING COMPANY	PEPSI COLA COMPANY	WARRENTON, VIRGINIA		SODA
87		PEPSI COLA BOTTLING COMPANY	PEPSI COLA COMPANY	WARRENTON, VIRGINIA		PEPSI-COLA
88		PIEDMONT BOTTLING CORPORATION		CULPEPPER, VIRGINIA		
89		PIEDMONT BOTTLING CORPORATION		CULPEPPER, VIRGINIA		
90		PIEDMONT BOTTLING CORPORATION		CULPEPPER, VIRGINIA		

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
91		CHARLES JACOBSEN AND THE ABC, ARLINGTON BOTTLING COMPANY		WASHINGTON, D.C.		
92						
93						
94						
95						
96		KING COLA BOTTLING CORPORATION		EDINBURG, VIRGINIA		
97				WASHINGTON, D.C.		SAS-O
98						
99		PEPSI COLA BOTTLING COMPANY	PEPSI COLA COMPANY	VIRGINIA		
100						

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
101			COCA COLA COMPANY			COCA COLA
102		PEPSI COLA BOTTLING COMPANY	PEPSI COLA COMPANY	WARRENTON, VA		PEPSI COLA
103		PEPSI COLA BOTTLING COMPANY	PEPSI COLA COMPANY	WARRENTON, VA		PEPSI COLA
104						
105						
106						
107					DAVIS, OKLAHOMA	BAKING POWDER
108		ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY		ALTON, ILLINOIS		
109						CASTORIA
110						
111						

VESSEL NUMBE R	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
112			INTERNATIONAL PROPRIETARIES		DAYTON, OHIO, OR ATLANTA, GEORGIA	TONIC AND SYSTEM PURIFIER
112						
114						
115						
116						
117			MURRAY'S		1519 7 STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D.C.	
118						
119						
120		ILLINOIS GLASS COMAPANY				
121				MARYLAND		
122		OWENS BOTTLE COMPANY				

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
123					NEW YORK	
124			COOK & CREIGHTON		ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA	
125						
126						
127						
128						
129			ALEXANDER C. BARRY (OR BARCLAY & CO, POST 1873)		NEW YORK	HAIR RESTORATIVE
130						
131						
132						
133						
134						
135						

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
136						
137						
138						
139						
140						
141						
142						
143						
144						
145						
146						
147						
148						
149						
150						
151						

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
152						
153						
154						
155						
156						
157						
158						
159						
160						
161						
162						
163						
164						
165						
166						
167						

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
168	1					
169	1					
170						
171						
172						
173						
174		ANCHOR GLASS COMPANY		LONDON, ENGLAND		
175		WHITALL-TATUM COMPANY		MILLVILLE, NEW JERSEY		
176		OWENS BOTTLE COMPANY				
177		MARYLAND GLASS CORPORATION		BALTIMORE, MARYLAND		
178				VIENNA, VIRGINIA		

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
179		FARBER BOTTLING COMPANY		401 F ST., NORTHEAST WASHINGTON D.C.		
180		OBEAR-NESTER GLASS COMPANY	LAMBERT PHARMACAL COMPANY	EAST ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI	ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI	LISTERINE
181		ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY	LAMBERT PHARMACAL COMPANY		ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI	LISTERINE
182						
183			SAUER'S			
184			COCKE'S PHARMACY		MANASSAS, VIRGINIA	
185						
186						
187			CHESEBROUGH MFG. COMPANY		NEW YORK	VASELINE
188			CHESEBROUGH MFG. COMPANY		NEW YORK	VASELINE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
189			CHESEBROUGH MFG. COMPANY		NEW YORK	VASELINE
190		HAZEL-ATLAS GLASS COMPANY		WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA		
191						
192			E.W. HOYT & COMPANY		LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS	COLOGNE
193			THE DILL MEDICINE COMPANY		NORRISTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA	EXTRACTS
194						
195						
196		OWENS ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY	THE J.R. WATKINS COMPANY		WINONA, MINNESOTA	
197		OWENS ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY	THE J.R. WATKINS COMPANY		WINONA, MINNESOTA	
198			THE J.R. WATKINS COMPANY		WINONA, MINNESOTA	

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
199			THE J.R. WATKINS COMPANY		WINONA, MINNESOTA	
200			THE J.R. WATKINS COMPANY		WINONA, MINNESOTA	
201			THE J.R. WATKINS COMPANY		WINONA, MINNESOTA	
202			CARTER'S INK COMPANY			INK
203		WT & COMPANY	AISQUITH AND COMPANY	MILLVILLE, NEW JERSEY	CHARLESTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA	
204						
205		ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY		ALTON, ILLINOIS		
206		OWENS BOTTLE COMPANY	MCCORMICK & COMPANY		BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	
207			FREY'S		BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	VERMIFUGE
208						
209						

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
210						
211		KINGHORN BOTTLE COMPANY		FIFESHIRE, SCOTLAND		
212		OWENS BOTTLE COMPANY				
213						
214				WASHINGTON, D.C.		ORANGE CRUSH
215						
216						SHAMPOO
217						
218		OWENS BOTTLE COMPANY				
219						
220						
221			JOHN WEDDERBURN		WASHINGTON, D.C.	

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
222						
223						
224						
225						
226						
227						
228						
229		ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY				LINIMENT
230			DR. EARL S. SLOAN			LINIMENT
231		OWENS ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY				
232						
233					VIRGINIA	
234						
235						

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
236	2					
237		OWENS ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY				
238						
239	2					
240						
241						
242						
243						
244						FRUIT JUICE
245						
246						
247			PEPSI COLA COMPANY		CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA	STAR BOY
248			PEPSI COLA COMPANY		CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA	STAR BOY

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
249			PEPSI COLA COMPANY		CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA	STAR BOY
250						
251						
252		HAZEL ATLAS GLASS COMPANY		WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA		
253						
254		HAZEL ATLAS GLASS COMPANY		WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA		
255						
256		OWENS ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY				WHISKEY
257						
258			CELFAND'S		BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	
259			CELFAND'S		BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
260			CELFAND'S		BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	
261			CELFAND'S		BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	
262		HAZEL ATLAS GLASS COMPANY	CELFAND'S		BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	
263						
264			WHITE HOUSE VINEGAR			VINEGAR
265						
266						
267						
268						
269			PEPSI COLA COMPANY		CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA	STAR BOY
270						
271						
272						

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
273						
274						
275						
276		ILLNOIS GLASS COMPANY				
277						
278						
279						
280						
281						
282						
283		PIEDMONT BOTTLING CORPORATION		PIEDMONT, VIRGINIA		
284		AMERICAN GLASS WORKS		RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND PADEN CITY, WEST VIRGINIA		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
285						
286						
287						
288	2					
289						
290						
291						
292		OWENS ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY				
293						
294		HAZEL ATLAS GLASS COMPANY		WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA		
295						
296						
297						

VESSEL NUMBE R	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
298						UNIDENTIFED SUBSTANCE PRESENT
299						
300		ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY				
301		OWENS ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY				
302		ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY				
303						
304		OWENS ILINOIS GLASS COMPANY		UNITED STATES		WHISKEY
305						
306						
307						
308						
309						

VESSEL NUMBE R	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
310						
311						
312						
313		HAZEL ATLAS GLASS COMPANY		WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA		
314						
315						
316						
217		AMERICAN GLASS WORKS		RICHMOND, VIRGINIA OR PADEN CITY, NEW JERSEY		
318						
319						
320						
321	3					
322	3					

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
323						
324						
325		HAZEL ATLAS GLASS COMPANY		WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA		
326						
327						
328						
329						
330						
331						
332						
333						
334						
335						
336						
337						

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
338				S. WASHINTON, VIRGINIA		
339						
340						
341						
342		OWENS ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY				
343		OWENS ILLINOIS GLASS COMPANY				
344						
345						
346						
347						
348						
349						
350						
351						

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
352						
353						
354						
355						
356						PERFUME
357						
358						
359						
360						
361						INK
362						
363						
364				BALTIMORE, MARYLAND		
365						
366						

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
367						
368						
369						
370						
371						
372						
373						
374						
375						
376						
377						
378						
379						
380						
381						
382						

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
383		OWNES BOTTLE COMPANY				
384						

Table A4: Glass Assembladge, Vessel Measurements and Segment/ROBINSON

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
1					LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
2					LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
3		1.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
4					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
5			2.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
6					LESS THAN 10%	RIM
7					LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
8					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
9					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
10		1.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
11					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
12		1.5"	1.75"		30-50%	RIM TO BASE
13			1.5"	2.0"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE
14			2.0"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
15					30-50%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
16				2.75"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
17					LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
18		5.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BASE
19		1.0"	3.0"	9.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
20			2.5"		90-100%	BASE TO LIP
21					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
22			2.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
23			2.5"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
24		.75"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
25		1.0"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY
26		1.5"	1.75"	2.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
27			1.75"		50-70%	BASE TO BODY
28					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
29		1.5"			50-70%	RIM TO BODY
30			1.5"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
31					LESS THAN 10%	BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
32					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
33					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
34					30-50%	BASE TO NECK
35			1.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
36					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
37			1.5"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
38			1.0"	8.75"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
39		1.75"		5.5"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE
40		1.0"	1.5"	4.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
41		.75"		4.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
42					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
43					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
44					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
45		1.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
46					50-70%	BASE TO BODY
47			2.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
48		1.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
49					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
50			2.25"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
51					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
52			2.25"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
53		2.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
54			2.5"		10-30%	BASE
55		1.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
56		1.0"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY
57					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
58					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
59					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
60					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
61					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
62					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
63		.5"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
64		1.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
65					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
66					10-30%	BODY WITH HANDLE
67		1.25"	1.50"	3.25"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
68		1.0"	1.25"	8.75"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
69				4.25"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE
70		1.25"		8.75"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
71		.25"		5.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
72		.25"		5.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
73		.25"		5.75"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE
74		1.25"	2.75"	7.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
75		.25"		5.5"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE
76		.25"		4.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
77		.50"		6.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
78		.50"	2.0"	10.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
79		1.0"	2.5"	7.75"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
80		.50"		4.75"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
81		1.0"	1.0"	3.25"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
82			2.25"		90-100%	RIM TO BASE
83			2.25"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
84			2.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
85			2.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
86			2.0"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
87			2.0"		90-100%	BASE TO BODY
88					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
89			2.25"		90-100%	BASE TO BODY
90			2.25"		10-30%	BASE
91			2.25"		90-100%	BASE TO BODY
92					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
93			2.50"		90-100%	BASE TO BODY
94					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
95			1.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
96			2.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
97			2.0"		50-70%	BASE TO BODY
98					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
99					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
100			2.25"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
101					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
102			2.0"		50-70%	BASE TO BODY
103					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
104					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
105			2.25"		90-100%	BASE TO BODY
106					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
107			2.25"		90-100%	BASE TO BODY
108					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
109					50-70%	BASE TO BODY
110					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
111		.5"			50-70%	RIM TO BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
112					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
112					10-30%	RIM TO BODY
114					LESS THAN 10%	BODY
115			2.5"		10-30%	BASE
116					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
117					70-90%	BASE TO BODY
118		.5"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
119		.5"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
120					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
121					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
122					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
123			2.0"		70-90%	BASE TO BODY
124					90-100%	BASE TO NECK
125		1.0"		7.0"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE
126		.75"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
127					LESS THAN 10%	BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
128			1.25"		90-100%	BASE TO NECK
129					50-70%	BASE TO BODY
130					10-30%	RIM TO BASE
131		2.5"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY
132		2.5"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
133		2.5"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY
134		2.5"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY
135					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
136					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
137					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
138		3.25"			LESS THAN 10%	BASE
139			3.5"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
140			4.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
141			3.5"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
142			4.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
143					10-30%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
144			3.5"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
145			3.5"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
146			4.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
147			4.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
148		2.5"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
149			3.5"		10-30%	BASE
150			3.5"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
151			3.5"		10-30%	BASE
152			4.0"		10-30%	BASE
153			4.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
154					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
155					10-30%	BASE
156			4.0"		30-50%	BASE
157					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
158					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
159					10-30%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
160					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
161					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
162					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
163			3.5"		10-30%	BASE
164			4.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
165			4.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
166		4.5"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
167					LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
168	1	4.25"		1.5"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE
169	1	4.25"		1.5"	10-30%	RIM TO BODY
170		8.0"			50-70%	RIM TO BASE
171		4.25"		1.25"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE
172		1.25"		6.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
173		.75"		4.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
174		.75"		6.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
175		.75"		5.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
176		.75"		3.75"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
177		1.0"		4.5"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE
178		1.0"	2.25"	8.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
179		1.0"	2.0"	8.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
180		.75"	1.5"	4.25"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
181		.75"	1.5"	4.25"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
182		1.0"		6.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
183		.50"		5.0"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE
184		1.0"		6.0"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE
185		.5"		2.75"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
186		1.25"	2.0"	7.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
187		1.25"	1.5"	2.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
188		1.25"	1.5"	2.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
189		1.25"	1.5"	2.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
190		2.0"	2.5"	3.25"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
191		1.25"		2.75"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
192		.75"	1.0"	3.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
193		.75"		5.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
194		.75"		5.25"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE
195		1.0"		4.25"	WHOLE	RM TO BASE
196		1.0"		8.75"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
197					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
198		.75"		5.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
199					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
200					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
201					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
202		1.0"		2.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
203		1.0"		4.75"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
204		.75"		5.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
205		.75"		5.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
206		.75"		5.35"	90-100%	RIM TO BASE
207		.75"		4.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
208		.5"		3.0"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
209		.75"		5.25"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
210		.75"		6.75"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
211		.50"		5.75"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
212		.75"		5.5"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
213		.75"		5.50"	WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
214			2.0"		90-100%	BASE TO NECK
215		.75"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
216					10-30%	RIM TO BODY
217			1.25"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
218					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
219			1.25"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
220					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
221					70-90%	RIM TO BODY
222			4.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
223					10-30%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
224					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
225		1.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
226					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
227		.75"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
228			1.0"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
229					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
230					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
231					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
232			4.25"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
233					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
234					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
235			2.25"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
236	2				50-70%	RIM TO BODY
237			5.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
238			5.5"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
239	2		2.25"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
240		1.25"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
241					10-30%	RIM TO BODY
242					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
243					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
244					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
245		.75"			70-90%	RIM TO BODY
246					30-50%	RIM TO BODY
247			2.0"		50-70%	BASE TO BODY
248			2.0"		50-70%	BASE TO BODY
249			2.0"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
250			2.5"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
251					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
252			2.25"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
253			2.50"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
254			2.25"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
255					50-70%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
256					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
257			3.5"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
258			2.50"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
259			2.50"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
260					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
261			2.50"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
262			2.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
263					10-30%	RIM TO BODY
264					LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
265		5.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
266					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
267			3.50"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
268					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
269			2.0"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
270					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
271					30-50%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
272					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
273					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
274					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
275		1.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
276					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
277		1.25"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
278		1.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
279		.75"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
280					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
281			2.0"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
282			3.25"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
283			2.50"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
284					70-90%	BASE TO BODY
285					10-30%	BASE
286		1.0"			10-30%	RIM TO NECK
287		2.0"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
288	2				10-30%	RIM TO BODY
289		1.25"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
290		3.0"			50-70%	RIM TO BODY
291					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
292					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
293					10-30%	RIM TO BODY
294			2.25"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
295					90-100%	BASE TO NECK
296					70-90%	BASE TO BODY
297					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
298			1.5"		70-90%	BASE TO BODY
299					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
300			3.5"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
301					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
302					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
303			2.5"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
304					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
305					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
306					LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
307					30-50%	BASE TO BODY
308			1.75"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
309			2.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
310			2.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
311			2.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
312			2.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
313			1.5"	3.25"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE
314					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
315			1.25"	2.25"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE
316					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
217					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
318			2.25"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
319		1.25"			30-50%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
320					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
321	3		2.25"		10-30%	BASE
322	3		2.25"		10-30%	BASE
323					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
324			2.0"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
325			2.25"		50-70%	RIM TO BASE
326			1.5"	2.75"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE
327			1.75"	3.5"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE
328			2.25"	4.0"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
329					10-30%	RIM TO BODY
330			2.0"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
331		2.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
332		1.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
333					50-70%	BASE TO BODY
334			3.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
335					10-30%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
336					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
337					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
338			2.0"		30-50%	BASE TO BODY
339			4.0"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
340			4.0"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE
341			4.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
342					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
343					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
344		2.0"	2.5"	5.25"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE
345		2.5"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY
346			4.0"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
347					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
348		2.5"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY
349		2.25"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY
350		1.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
351		1.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
352		1.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
353		1.0"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY
354		.75"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
355					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
356					10-30%	BASE TO BODY
357		.75"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
358					10-30%	RIM TO BODY
359		1.5"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
360		1.25"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY
361		1.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
362		1.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
363					10-30%	BODY
364					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
365					30-50%	RIM TO BASE
366			4.0"		LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
367		1.25"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
368		1.0"			10-30%	RIM TO BASE
369		.25"			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
370		1.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
371		1.0"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
372					LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
373					LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
374		2.5"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
375		2.5"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
376		2.5"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
377		2.5"			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
378					LESS THAN 10%	RIM
379					LESS THAN 10%	RIM
380					LESS THAN 10%	RIM
381					LESS THAN 10%	RIM
382			1.75"		10-30%	BASE TO BODY
383					10-30%	BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
384		1.0"			30-50%	RIM TO BODY

Table A5: Glass Assembladge, Location/ROBINSON

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**EXCAVATION UNIT**	**CATALOG NUMBER**	**STRATUM/ LAYER**	**BAG NUMBER**	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
1		28	MANA40264	B3	87	1
2		28	MANA40261	B3	87	1
3		28	MANA38942	B2	84	1
4		28	MANA38943	B2	84	1
5		28	MANA38851, MANA38852	B2	84	2
6		28	MANA38849	B2	84	1
7		28	MANA41836	D2	93	3
8		28	MANA38335	B1	83	2
9		28	MANA40354	B3	87	1
10		28	MANA40346	B3	87	1
11		28	MANA40348	B3	87	1
12		25	MANA36749	B1	83	2
13		28	MANA38907, MANA40269	B2, B3	84,87	2
14		28	MANA42841	D4	96	1
15		28	MANA37979	B1	83	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
16		28	MANA38908, MANA40268, MANA40270	B2, B3	84, 87	3
17		28	MANA37988	B1	83	1
18		28	MANA37989	B1	83	1
19		28	MANA42456	D3	95	1
20		28	MANA41878	D2	93	1
21		28	MANA42465	D3	95	1
22		28	MANA38845	B2	84	1
23		28	MANA41127, MANA42845	D1, D4	88, 96	3
24		28	MANA41850	D2	93	1
25		28	MANA42463	D3	95	1
26		28	MANA37970	B1	83	1
27		28	MANA40304	B3	87	1
28		28	MANA38900	B2	84	1
29		25	MANA36757	B1	68	1
30		28	MANA38901	B2	84	1
31		28	MANA37369	A	82	1

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**EXCAVATION UNIT**	**CATALOG NUMBER**	**STRATUM/ LAYER**	**BAG NUMBER**	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
32		28	MANA37971	B1	83	1
33		28	MANA38902	B2	84	1
34		28	MANA38899, MANA40305	B2, B3	84, 87	2
35		28	MANA40294	B3	87	1
36		28	MANA40306	B3	87	1
37		28	MANA40307	B3	87	1
38		28	MANA40309	B3	87	1
39		28	MANA37995	B1	83	2
40		25	MANA36775	B1	68	1
41		28	MANA38961	B2	84	1
42		28	MANA40322	B3	87	1
43		25	MANA36735	B1	68	3
44		28	MANA40338	B3	87	2
45		25	MANA36731	B1	68	2
46		25	MANA36257	A	66	1
47		28	MANA41864	D2	93	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
48		28	MANA41857	D2	93	1
49		28	MANA38963	B2	84	1
50		28	MANA38960	B2	84	1
51		28	MANA37388	A	82	1
52		28	MANA40372	B3	87	1
53		28	MANA40311	B3	87	1
54		28	MANA44046	D6	111	1
55		28	MANA40310	B3	87	1
56		28	MANA38958	B2	84	1
57		28	MANA40323, MANA40334	B3	87	2
58		28	MANA40325	B3	87	1
59		28	MANA38968	B2	84	1
60		28	MANA20326	B3	87	1
61		28	MANA38967	B2	84	1
62		28	MANA41859	D2	93	1
63		28	MANA38959	B2	84	1

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**EXCAVATION UNIT**	**CATALOG NUMBER**	**STRATUM/ LAYER**	**BAG NUMBER**	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
64		28	MANA37998	B1	83	2
65		28	MANA42836	D4	96	1
66		28	MANA38972	B2	84	1
67		28	MANA42494	D3	95	1
68		28	MANA41870	D2	93	1
69		28	MANA40467	B3	87	1
70		28	MANA40465	B3	87	1
71		28	MANA40356	B3	87	1
72		28	MANA43814	D5	107	1
73		28	MANA44060	D6	111	1
74		28	MANA42858	D4	96	1
75		28	MANA42495	D5	107	2
76		28	MANA41165	D1	88	1
77		28	MANA40466	B3	87	1
78		28	MANA38982	B2	84	1
79		28	MANA38035	B1	83	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
80		28	MANA44059	D6	111	1
81		28	MANA43815	D5	107	1
82		28	MANA39548	C1	86	1
83		28	MANA42519	D3	95	1
84		28	MANA40435	B3	87	1
85		28	MANA40366	B3	87	1
86		28	MANA41194	D1	88	1
87		28	MANA38983	B2	84	1
88		28	MANA41891	D2	93	1
89		28	MANA41282	D1	88	1
90		28	MANA41189	D1	88	1
91		28	MANA44057	D6	111	1
92		28	MANA38030	B1	83	1
93		28	MANA42515	D3	95	1
94		28	MANA40484	B3	87	3
95		28	MANA42496	D3	95	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
96		28	MANA41195	D1	88	1
97		28	MANA40365	B3	87	1
98		28	MANA40371	B3	87	1
99		25	MANA36794	B1	68	1
100		25	MANA36750	B1	68	1
101		28	MANA40444	B3	87	1
102		28	MANA41193	D1	88	1
103		28	MANA41885	D2	93	1
104		28	MANA41218	D1	88	1
105		28	MANA42513	D3	95	1
106		28	MANA40370	B3	87	1
107		28	MANA42854	D4	96	1
108		28	MANA39003	B2	84	1
109		28	MANA40367	B3	87	1
110		28	MANA41202	D1	88	1
111		28	MANA41166	D1	88	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
112		28	MANA40369	B3	87	1
112		28	MANA38059	B1	83	1
114		28	MANA41221	B1	83	1
115		28	MANA40368	B3	87	1
116		28	MANA42517	D3	98	1
117		28	MANA42514	D3	95	1
118		28	MANA42507, MANA43152	D3, E	95, 101	2
119		25	MANA36795	B1	68	1
120		28	MANA41217	D1	88	1
121		28	MANA44072	D6	111	1
122		28	MANA40454	B3	87	1
123		28	MANA44054	D6	111	1
124		28	MANA42864	D4	96	1
125		28	MANA42860, MANA42865	D4	96	3
126		28	MANA38999	B2	84	1
127		28	MANA40443	B3	87	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
128		28	MANA43821	D5	107	1
129		28	MANA42866	D4	96	1
130		28	MANA39001	B2	84	1
131		28	MANA39013	B2	84	1
132		28	MANA40473	B3	87	1
133		28	MANA38980	B2	84	1
134		28	MANA40468	B3	87	1
135		28	MANA38063	B1	83	1
136		28	MANA39037	B2	84	1
137		28	MANA40450	B3	87	1
138		28	MANA41196	D1	88	1
139		25	MANA37155	D1	76	1
140		28	MANA40449	B3	87	1
141		28	MANA41188	D1	88	1
142		28	MANA41197	D1	88	2
143		28	MANA41880	D2	93	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
144		28	MANA40446	B3	87	1
145		28	MANA44063	D6	111	1
146		28	MANA41200	D1	88	1
147		25	MANA36742	B1	68	1
148		28	MANA38048	B1	83	1
149		28	MANA40445	B3	87	1
150		28	MANA40448	B3	87	1
151		28	MANA40447	B3	87	1
152		28	MANA39031	B2	84	1
153		28	MANA41198	D1	88	2
154		25	MANA36743	B1	68	1
155		28	MANA39034	B2	84	1
156		28	MANA40434	B3	87	1
157		28	MANA39032	B2	84	1
158		28	MANA38065	B1	83	1
159		28	MANA42869	D4	96	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
160		25	MANA36740	B1	68	1
161		28	MANA40437	B3	87	1
162		28	MANA40436	B3	87	1
163		28	MANA41199	D1	88	1
164		28	MANA44062	D6	111	1
165		28	MANA39033, MANA39035	B2	84	2
166		28	MANA40395	B3	87	1
167		28	MANA38889	B2	84	1
168	1	28	MANA38018, MANA38883, MANA40411	B1, B2, B3	83, 84, 87	4
169	1	28	MANA38880	B2	84	1
170		28	MANA38872, MANA40407	B2, B3	84, 87	4
171		28	MANA38869, MANA38875	B2	84	3
172		28	MANA42561	D3	95	1
173		28	MANA43832	D5	107	1
174		28	MANA42560	D3	95	1
175		28	MANA40530	B3	87	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
176		28	MANA40536	B3	87	1
177		28	MANA40528	B3	87	1
178		28	MANA40525	B3	87	1
179		28	MANA40414	B3	87	1
180		28	MANA40526	B3	87	1
181		25	MANA36787	B1	68	1
182		28	MANA39538	C1	86	1
183		28	MANA41283	D1	88	1
184		28	MANA40545	B3	87	1
185		28	MANA40532	B3	87	1
186		28	MANA38095	B1	83	1
187		28	MANA40546	B3	87	1
188		28	MANA40547	B3	87	1
189		28	MANA39081	B2	84	1
190		28	MANA38096	B1	83	1
191		28	MANA40548	B3	87	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
192		28	MANA44084	D6	111	1
193		28	MANA40524	B3	87	1
194		28	MANA41285	D1	88	1
195		28	MANA43833	D5	107	1
196		28	MANA38089	B1	83	1
197		28	MANA38215, MANA38224	B1	83	2
198		28	MANA40531	B3	87	1
199		28	MANA38090	B1	83	1
200		28	MANA38100	B1	83	1
201		25	MANA36786	B1	68	1
202		28	MANA40534	B3	87	1
203		28	MANA44088	D6	111	1
204		28	MANA40527	B3	87	1
205		28	MANA38097	B1	83	1
206		25	MANA36788	B1	68	1
207		28	MANA40535	B3	87	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
208		28	MANA40537	B3	87	1
209		28	MANA39082	B2	84	1
210		28	MANA39080	B2	84	1
211		28	MANA41284	D1	88	1
212		28	MANA39079	B2	84	1
213		25	MANA36737	B1	68	1
214		28	MANA39214	B2	84	1
215		25	MANA36766	B1	68	1
216		28	MANA42579	D3	95	1
217		28	MANA39234	B2	84	1
218		28	MANA39228	B2	84	1
219		28	MANA38237	B1	83	1
220		28	MANA42598	D3	95	1
221		28	MANA42889	D4	96	1
222		28	MANA39220	B2	84	1
223		28	MANA42614	D3	95	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
224		28	MANA44098	D6	111	1
225		28	MANA41300	D1	88	1
226		28	MANA39211	B2	84	1
227		25	MANA36816	B1	68	1
228		28	MANA39210	B2	84	1
229		28	MANA41343	D1	88	1
230		25	MANA36739	B1	68	1
231		28	MANA40615	B3	87	1
232		28	MANA39221	B2	84	1
233		28	MANA43177	E1	101	1
234		28	MANA44053	D6	111	1
235		28	MANA40591	B3	87	1
236	2	28	MANA41985	D2	93	1
237		28	MANA39206	B2	84	1
238		28	MANA42883	D4	96	3
239	2	28	MANA42602	D3	95	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
240		28	MANA37407	A	82	1
241		28	MANA41414	D1	88	2
242		28	MANA40597	B3	87	1
243		28	MANA43284	E2	104	1
244		28	MANA40587	B3	87	1
245		28	MANA38093	B1	83	1
246		28	MANA40544	B3	87	4
247		28	MANA40586	B3	87	1
248		28	MANA38094	B1	83	1
249		28	MANA39215	B2	84	1
250		28	MANA42601	D3	95	1
251		28	MANA42898	D4	96	1
252		28	MANA39204	B2	84	1
253		28	MANA40606	B3	87	1
254		28	MANA39194	B2	84	1
255		28	MANA40585	B3	87	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
256		28	MANA40596	B3	87	1
257		28	MANA39224	B2	84	1
258		28	MANA39212	B2	84	1
259		28	MANA39213	B2	84	1
260		28	MANA37428	A	82	1
261		28	MANA40616	B3	87	1
262		28	MANA38207	B1	83	1
263		28	MANA40578	B3	87	1
264		28	MANA40554	B3	87	1
265		28	MANA43828	D5	107	1
266		28	MANA41340	D1	88	1
267		28	MANA40618	B3	87	1
268		28	MANA40608	B3	87	1
269		28	MANA40599	B3	87	1
270		28	MANA41969	D2	93	1
271		28	MANA41961	D2	93	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
272		28	MANA42599	D3	95	1
273		28	MANA41919	D2	93	2
274		28	MANA41344	D1	88	2
275		28	MANA41306	D1	88	1
276		28	MANA38208	B1	83	1
277		28	MANA42575	D3	95	1
278		28	MANA40558	B3	87	1
279		28	MANA41947	D2	93	1
280		28	MANA41342	D1	88	1
281		28	MANA40598	B3	87	1
282		28	MANA41373	D1	88	1
283		28	MANA41331	D1	88	3
284		28	MANA40619	B3	87	1
285		28	MANA40609	B3	87	1
286		28	MANA41302	D1	88	2
287		28	MANA42572	D3	95	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
288	2	28	MANA42572	D3	95	1
289		28	MANA40549	B3	87	1
290		28	MANA43831	D5	107	3
291		28	MANA42608	D3	95	1
292		28	MANA38205	B1	83	1
293		28	MANA41939	D2	93	1
294		28	MANA39198	B2	84	1
295		28	MANA39223	B2	84	1
296		28	MANA41962	D2	93	2
297		28	MANA41337	D1	88	1
298		25	MANA36802	B1	68	1
299		28	MANA37477	A	82	1
300		28	MANA38188	B1	83	1
301		28	MANA37427	B1	83	1
302		28	MANA38223	B1	83	1
303		28	MANA43842	D5	107	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
304		28	MANA37417	A	82	1
305		28	MANA42604	D3	95	1
306		28	MANA39147	B2	84	1
307		28	MANA42600	D3	95	1
308		28	MANA42616	D3	95	1
309		28	MANA39196	B2	84	1
310		28	MANA40600	B3	87	1
311		28	MANA40622	B3	87	1
312		28	MANA43852	D5	107	1
313		28	MANA40611	B3	87	1
314		28	MANA40614	B3	87	1
315		25	MANA36796	B1	68	1
316		28	MANA38200	B1	83	1
217		28	MANA37487	A	82	1
318		28	MANA39246	B2	84	2
319		28	MANA39093	B2	84	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
320		28	MANA41333	D1	88	2
321	3	28	MANA43845	D5	107	1
322	3	28	MANA43285	E2	104	1
323		28	MANA40595	B3	87	1
324		28	MANA40589	B3	87	1
325		28	MANA39197	B2	84	1
326		28	MANA41418	D1	88	3
327		28	MANA41372	D1	88	4
328		28	MANA41935	D2	93	1
329		28	MANA39106	B2	84	1
330		28	MANA41335	D1	88	1
331		28	MANA41944	D2	93	1
332		28	MANA41308	D1	88	1
333		28	MANA39236	B2	84	1
334		28	MANA41371	D1	88	1
335		28	MANA40590	B3	87	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
336		28	MANA40429	B3	87	1
337		28	MANA36382	A	82	1
338		28	MANA38098	B1	83	1
339		28	MANA38187	B1	83	1
340		28	MANA39222	B2	84	1
341		25	MANA36797	B1	68	1
342		28	MANA39208	B2	84	1
343		25	MANA36335	A	66	1
344		28	MANA40533	B3	87	1
345		28	MANA40550	B3	87	1
346		28	MANA38189, MANA38209	B1	83	2
347		28	MANA40430	B3	87	1
348		28	MANA39084	B2	84	1
349		28	MANA39095	B2	84	1
350		28	MANA41917	D2	93	1
351		28	MANA40575	B3	87	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
352		28	MANA40568	B3	87	1
353		28	MANA38155	B1	83	1
354		28	MANA38152	B1	83	1
355		28	MANA41353	D1	88	1
356		28	MANA42659	D3	95	1
357		28	MANA39116	B2	84	1
358		28	MANA38127	B1	83	1
359		28	MANA41430	D1	88	1
360		28	MANA40538	B3	87	1
361		28	MANA40570	B3	87	1
362		28	MANA40580	B3	87	1
363		28	MANA42645	D3	95	1
364		28	MANA42617	D3	95	1
365		28	MANA39092	B2	84	1
366		28	MANA38184	B1	83	1
367		28	MANA41938	D2	93	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
368		28	MANA40576	B3	87	1
369		28	MANA39173	B2	84	1
370		28	MANA44085	D6	111	1
371		28	MANA41953	D2	93	1
372		28	MANA43839	D5	107	1
373		28	MANA44081, MANA44082	D6	111	2
374		28	MANA40562	B3	87	1
375		28	MANA41287	D1	88	1
376		28	MANA40561	B3	87	1
377		28	MANA42574	D3	95	1
378		28	MANA41293	D1	88	1
379		28	MANA41299	D1	88	1
380		28	MANA39178	B2	84	2
381		28	MANA38198	B1	83	1
382		28	MANA40594	B3	87	1
383		28	MANA39229	B2	84	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/ LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
384		28	MANA40560	B3	87	1

Appendix 5: Tables B1-B4/ROBINSON

Table B1. Ceramic Assembladge, Ware Type And Decoration/ROBINSON

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
1		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE		OFF WHITE		MOLDED LINE GOING AROUND VESSEL UNDER RIM
2		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE	UNKNOWN	OFF WHITE	ORANGE-BROWN	
3		WHITE PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE	CLEAR GLAZE	DARK YELLOW	CLEAR	
4		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE	BRIGHT BLUE	OFF WHITE	MOLDED DECORATION - UNIDENTIFIABLE, SALT GLAZED INTERIOR
5		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE	MOLDED	LIGHT BROWN	DARK BROWN	DARK BROWN COLOR DUE TO POOLING OF GLAZE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
6		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE	PAINTED	GRAY	BLUE	STAMPED "1", POORLY FIRED, BODY LOOKS REDDISH, INTERIOR UNGLAZED
7		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE	PAINTED	GRAY	BLUE	SALT GLAZED, INCISED OR MOLDED LINE UNDER RIM, POORLY FIRED, BODY LOOKS REDDISH, INTERIOR UNGLAZED
8		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE		CLEAR		
9		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE	DARK BROWN	OFF WHITE	MOLDED LINES AROUND TOP OF VESSEL
10		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE	DARK BROWN	OFF WHITE	
11		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE	DARK BROWN	OFF WHITE	

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
12		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE	DARK BROWN	OFF WHITE	
13		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE	DARK BROWN	OFF WHITE	PAINTED OUTLINE OF "1 1/"
14		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE	DARK BROWN	OFF WHITE	
15		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE		OLIVE/BLACK		THICK BLACK/BROWN GLAZE WITH OLIVE COLOR MOTTLED WITHIN, LOOKS OILY/SHINY/METALLIC
16		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP		DARK BROWN		
17		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP		DARK BROWN		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
18		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP		DARK BROWN/BLACK METALLIC		RIM LOOKS BLACK METALLIC, BODY AND INTERIOR ARE VERY DARK BROWN
19		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP		BLACK METALLIC, BROWN MOTTLED		BLACK METALLIC ON EXTERIOR, MOTTLED BROWN ON INTERIOR
20		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE	DARK BROWN	OFF WHITE	MOLDED LINE AROUND BODY UNDER RIM
21		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE		BROWN MOTTLED		
22		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE		BROWN MOTTLED		
23		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE		BROWN		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
24		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE		DARK BROWN, BROWN MOTTLED		
25		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP	CLEAR GLAZE	DARK BROWN	CLEAR	
26		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE	COLOR GLAZE	OFF WHITE/GRAY	BROWN	
27		BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP	BRISTOL-LIKE GLAZE	DARK BROWN	OFF WHITE	
28		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE	PAINTED	CLEAR	BLUE	ALSO IMPRESSED WITH MAKERS MARK ON SIDE NEAR RIM: MANUFACTURERS NAME AND MARK (PROB ANCHOR), PAINTED DECORATION IS PROBABLY A FLOWER

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
29		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE	PAINTED	CLEAR	BLUE	PAINTED DECORATION IS LEAVES OR FLOWERS LOCATED JUST BELOW RIM, INCISED/MOLDED LINES AROUND BODY BELOW RIM
30		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE	PAINTED	CLEAR	BLUE	UNIDENTIFIED PAINTED DECORATION (PROBABLY LEAVES AND/OR FLOWERS), MOLDED LINE AROUND BODY UNDER RIM, INTERIOR UNGLAZED, SLIGHT WASH (ORANGE)
31		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE	PAINTED	CLEAR	BLUE	UNIDENTIFIED PAINTED DECORATION

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
32		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE		CLEAR		INCISED "1" BELOW RIM/NECK, INTERIOR UNGLAZED
33		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE	WASH	CLEAR	REDDISH BROWN	MOLDED LINES AROUND RIM
34		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE		CLEAR		INCISED/MOLDED LINES AROUND BODY UNDER RIM
35		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE	PAINTED	CLEAR	BLUE	INCISED/MOLDED LINES AROUND BODY UNDER RIM, UNIDENTIFIED PAINTED DECORATION, INTERIOR TAN/BROWN WASH
36		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE	ALBANY-TYPE SLIP	CLEAR	DARK BROWN	POORLY FIRED, BODY APPEARS REDDISH
37		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE		OLIVE		POORLY FIRED, BODY APPEARS REDDISH

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
38		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR SALT GLAZE	WASH	BROWN METALLIC	BROWN METALLIC	
39		GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	COLOR GLAZE	COLOR GLAZE	DARK ORANGE/ BRASSY	GREEN-GRAY	
40		ROCKINGHAM BENNINGTON LIKE WARE	COLOR GLAZE	MOLDED	MOTTLED BROWN AND LIGHT BROWN		REBEKAH AT THE WELL TEAPOT, CAN SEE HER FACE/HEAD
41		BUFF PASTE EARTHENWARE	COLOR GLAZE	MOLDED	GREEN		MOLDED DECORATION IS A SWIRL/CURL, AND UNIDENTIFIED
42		YELLOWWARE	CLEAR GLAZE	MOLDED	CLEAR		MOLDED DESIGN IS BASKETWEAVE
43		YELLOWWARE	CLEAR GLAZE	CLEAR			
44		REDWARE					UNGLAZED

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
45		BUFF PASTE EARTHENWARE	CLEAR GLAZE		CLEAR		BODY PROBABLY POORLY FIRED
46		WHITEWARE					CERAMIC HAS BEEN BURNED/HEATED
47	1	WHITEWARE	PAINTED		CRANBERRY		THE ONLY DECORATION VISIBLE IS A PAINTED BAND AROUND THE EDGE OF THE VESSEL
48	2	WHITEWARE	PAINTED		BLUE		THE ONLY DECORATION VISIBLE IS A PAINTED BAND AROUND THE EDGE OF THE VESSEL
49	3	PEARLWARE	COLOR GLAZE	MOLDED	GREEN/BROWN		SHORT VERTICAL LINES UNDER RIM (MOLDED), POSSIBLE ENGINE TURNED, MAY BE DEFINED AS MOCHA

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
50	4	PEARLWARE	SHELL EDGED		GREEN		SCALLOPED EDGE WITH "BUD" PATTERN
51	4	PEARLWARE	SHELL EDGED		GREEN		SCALLOPED EDGE WITH "BUD" PATTERN
52	5	WHITEWARE	SPONGED		BLUE		SPONGED ON THE EDGE/RIM OF VESSEL
53	6	WHITEWARE	PAINTED		GREEN, DARK ORANGE, BLACK		UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN/DECORATION, BLACK DECORATION LOOKS STENCILED
54		WHITEWARE	COLOR GLAZE		MOTTLED PINK, GREEN, BROWN		
55	7	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		BLACK		FLORAL MOTIF ON EXTERIOR, INTERIOR ONE SMALL LINE BELOW THE RIM

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
56	8	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	MOLDED	RED, GREEN, PURPLE		EDGE OF VESSEL IS MOLDED IN SWEEPING FEATHER-LIKE ARCH, DECORATION MAY BE PAINTED ALSO
57	9	WHITEWARE	FLOW BLUE LIKE		BLUE		THE PIECE IS NOT TRANSFER PRINTED, BUT PAINTED AROUND THE RIM AND THEN FIRED TO CREATE THE "FLOW" EFFECT. RIM IS EVENLY SCALLOPED
58	10	WHITEWARE	COLOR GLAZE	MOLDED	BLUE		MOLDED INTO CORN (COB) SHAPE, GILDING AROUND THE RIM (WORN)

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
59	11	WHITEWARE	MOLDED	LUSTRED		UNIDENTIFIED	LUSTRE IS FADED AND LOOKS ORANGE, IT MAY HAVE BEEN ANOTHER COLOR, MOLDING IS BEADED WITH CURLS/SWIRLS BENEATH
60	12	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	PAINTED		GREEN		"HOTELWARE", GREEN BANDS UNDERGLAZE AROUND RIM
61	13	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	BOTH DECAL AND GILDING ARE IN SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDS AROUND THE VESSEL
62	13	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	BOTH DECAL AND GILDING ARE IN SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDS AROUND THE RIM

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
63	13	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	BOTH DECAL AND GILDING ARE IN SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDS AROUND THE RIM, VESSEL ALSO HAS MOLDED DESIGN OF SWIRLS, DOTS, AND TONGUE SHAPED MOTIF, RIM IS SCALLOPED
64	14	WHITEWARE	UNIDENTIFIED		BLUE		PROBABLY DECALCOMANIA IN SIMPLE BANDS AROUND THE EDGE
65	15	WHITEWARE	SHELL EDGED		BLUE		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
66	16	WHITEWARE	SHELL EDGED (AMERICAN)	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	PROBABLY PART OF THE SHELL EDGE REVIVAL OF THE 1920'S BY EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERIES, SCALLOPED RIM, "BUTTERFLY" PATTERN
67	16	WHITEWARE	SHELL EDGED (AMERICAN)	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	PROBABLY PART OF THE SHELL EDGE REVIVAL OF THE 1920'S BY EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERIES, SCALLOPED RIM, "BUTTERFLY" PATTERN, GILDED PATTERN IS SWIRLS/CURLS

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
68	16	WHITEWARE	SHELL EDGED (AMERICAN)	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	PROBABLY PART OF THE SHELL EDGE REVIVAL OF THE 1920'S BY EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERIES, SCALLOPED RIM, "BUTTERFLY" PATTERN
69	16	WHITEWARE	SHELL EDGED (AMERICAN)	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	PROBABLY PART OF THE SHELL EDGE REVIVAL OF THE 1920'S BY EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERIES, SCALLOPED RIM, "BUTTERFLY" PATTERN, GILDING IS SWIRLS/CURLS, AND DOTS

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
70	17	WHITEWARE	SHELL EDGED (AMERICAN)	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	PROBABLY PART OF THE SHELL EDGE REVIVAL OF THE 1920'S BY EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERIES, SCALLOPED RIM, "BUTTERFLY" PATTERN, GILDING IS SWIRLS/CURLS, AND DOTS, DECALCOMANIA BAND BELOW RIM - BLUE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
71	18	WHITEWARE	EDGE DECORATED	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	POSSIBLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE EDGE DECORATED REVIVAL OF THE 1920'S BY EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERIES, GILDING IS SWAGS OF FLOWERS AND LEAVES, RIBBONS, RIM HAS MOLDED CURVES WITH VERTICAL LINES

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
72	18	WHITEWARE	EDGE DECORATED	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	POSSIBLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE EDGE DECORATED REVIVAL OF THE 1920'S BY EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERIES, GILDING IS SWAGS OF FLOWERS, RIM HAS MOLDED CURVES WITH VERTICAL LINES
73	18	WHITEWARE	EDGE DECORATED	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	POSSIBLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE EDGE DECORATED REVIVAL OF THE 1920'S BY EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERIES, GILDING IS SWAGS OF FLOWERS, LEAVES, RIBBONS, WREATHS

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
74	19	WHITEWARE	EDGE DECORATED	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	POSSIBLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE EDGE DECORATED REVIVAL OF THE 1920'S BY EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERIES
75	20	WHITEWARE	EDGE DECORATED	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	POSSIBLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE EDGE DECORATED REVIVAL OF THE 1920'S BY EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERIES
76	21	WHITEWARE	MOLDED	UNIDENTIFIED			MOLDING IS A SERIES OF CURVED LINES WHICH CROSS AT INTERVALS, MAY HAVE BEEN GILDED OR DECALED

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
77	22	WHITEWARE	EDGE DECORATED	GILDED	BLUE	GOLD	UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN/DECORATION
78	23	WHITEWARE	EDGE DECORATED	DECALCOMANIA	BLUE	GRAY, ORANGE, RED, GREEN	DECAL IS FLORAL, ALSO GILDING AROUND THE RIM - UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN
79	23	WHITEWARE	EDGE DECORATED	DECALCOMANIA	BLUE	GRAY, ORANGE, GREEN	DECAL IS FLORAL, ALSO GILDING AROUND THE RIM - UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN
80	24	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		MULBERRY		UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN
81	25	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		MULBERRY		VESSEL ALSO HAS PURPLE "BLED" INTO GLAZE, UNIDENTIFIED DESIGN
82	26	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		GREEN		"WILD ROSE PATTERN"

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
83	27	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		BLUE		WILLOW PATTERN, PROBABLY THE TRADITIONAL PATTERN WITH AN ENGLISH MANUFACTURER
84	28	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		BLUE		TRANSFER PRINT ON INTERIOR IS FLORAL AND EXTERIOR IS UNIDENTIFIED, POSSIBLY A LANDSCAPE, HAS SIMPLE MOLDING
85	28	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		BLUE		FLORAL
86	29	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	GRAY, GREEN, PINK	GOLD	DECAL IS AROUND THE RIM, A "THISTLE" PATTERN, GILDING IS SIMPLE BAND ON RIM

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
87	30	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	YELLOW, BROWN, BLACK, GREEN, ORANGE	GOLD	FLORAL DECAL, GILDING ONLY A BAND AROUND THE RIM
88	30	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	YELLOW, BROWN, BLACK, GREEN, ORANGE	GOLD	FLORAL DECAL, GILDING ONLY A BAND AROUND THE RIM
89	31	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA		BLUE		DECAL IS OF A BLUEBIRD
90	32	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	MOLDED	YELLOW, RED, BLUE, PURPLE, GREEN		FLORAL DECAL, SCALLOPED RIM, SIMPLE MOLDED BORDER, GLAZE HAS CREAMY CAST/COLOR

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
91	33	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	MOLDED	BROWN, PINK, YELLOW, GREEN		FLORAL DECAL WITH EDGE BANDING, SIMPLE BEADED MOLDING ON RIM, GLAZE HAS A CREAMY CAST
92	34	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	ORANGE, RED, BLUE, GREEN	GOLD	FLORAL AND BANDED DECAL, BANDING ON RIM, GLAZE HAS A CREAMY CAST
93	35	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	GREEN, PINK, BLACK	GOLD	DECAL IS A LEAF, GILDING AROUND THE RIM, MOLDING IS FEATHERED AROUND THE RIM AND BODY HAS SWIRLS/CURLS
94	36	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA		PINK, RED, GREEN, GRAY		ROSE DECAL WITH LEAVES

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
95	36	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA		PINK, RED, GRAY, GREEN		ROSE DECAL WITH LEAVES
96	37	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	PINK, RED, GREEN, GRAY	GOLD	DECAL IS ROSES AND LEAVES, GILDING IS SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
97	37	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	PINK, RED, GREEN, GRAY	GOLD	DECAL IS ROSES AND LEAVES, GILDING IS SIMPLE ANNULAR BAND
98	37	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	PINK, RED, GREEN, GRAY	GOLD	DECAL IS ROSES AND LEAVES, GILDING IS SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
99	38	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	MOLDED				SIMPLE MOLDED BORDER
100	39	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	MOLDED				SIMPLE MOLDED BORDER

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
101	40	WHITEWARE	DECALCOMANIA		BLUE, GREEN, OTHER		COLORS OF DECAL HAVE FADED, SCALLOPED RIM
102	41	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	MOLDED				BASKETWEAVE PATTERN
103	42	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		GILDING IS A FLORAL PATTERN AROUND RIM, SCALLOPED RIM
104	43	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	GILDED	UNIDENTIFIED	GOLD	GREEN	SIMPLE MOLDING AROUND RIM, FLORAL GILDING AROUND RIM, SCALLOPED RIM
105	44	WHITEWARE	GILDED	MOLDED	GOLD		GILDING IS BAND OF "CHAIN" PATTERN AROUND RIM, RIM IS SCALLOPED
106	45	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		FLORAL GILDING ONLY ON RIM

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
107	46	WHITEWARE	GILDED	MOLDED	GOLD		BEADED MOLDING AROUND RIM, GILDING COVERS MOLDING, SCALLOPED RIM
108	47	WHITEWARE	GILDED	MOLDED	GOLD		GILDING IS SIMPLE BAND AROUND RIM, MOLDING IS SIMPLE BEADED AND FLORAL MOTIF AROUND RIM
109	48	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
110	48	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
111	48	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
112	49	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		GILDING IS BANDS AROUND RIM, SLIGHT FEATHERED LOOK TO BANDS

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
113	50	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
114	50	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
115	50	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
116	51	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
117	51	WHITEWARE	GILDED		GOLD		SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
118	52	WHITEWARE	MOLDED				SIMPLE MOLDED BORDER WITH FLOWERS, SWIRLS/CURLS, AND BEADS
119	53	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	MOLDED	GILDED		GOLD	SHELL OR FAN-LIKE MOLDING, UNIDENTIFIED GILDED DECORATION, POSSIBLY FLORAL

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
120	54	WHITEWARE	MOLDED				RIM IS SLIGHTLY SCALLOPED, BEADED, SWIRLS, AND DOTS
121	55	WHITEWARE	MOLDED				CURVED/CURLED LINES AROUND RIM
122	55	WHITEWARE	MOLDED				CURVED/CURLED LINES AROUND RIM
123	56	WHITEWARE	MOLDED				RIM HAS MOLDED CURVES WITH VERTICAL LINES
124	56	WHITEWARE	MOLDED				RIM HAS MOLDED CURVES WITH VERTICAL LINES
125	57	WHITEWARE	MOLDED				SMALL ARCS AROUND THE CENTER OF THE VESSEL
126	58	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	MOLDED				CALLED "IRONSTONE", ANGULAR IN SHAPE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
127	59	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
128	60	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED, UTILITARIAN
129	61	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED, UTILITARIAN
130	62	WHITEWARE					UTILITARIAN, SLIGHTLY MOLDED
131	63	WHITEWARE					UTILITARIAN, SLIGHTLY MOLDED, LINES, VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL
132	64	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
133	64	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
134	65	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
135	66	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
136	67	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
137	68	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
138	69	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
139	70	WHITEWARE					SLIGHTLY MOLDED AT THE BASE, SMALL CURVING LINES
140	70	WHITEWARE					SLIGHTLY MOLDED AT THE BASE, SMALL CURVING LINES
141	70	WHITEWARE					SLIGHTLY MOLDED AT THE BASE, SMALL CURVING LINES
142	70	WHITEWARE					SLIGHTLY MOLDED AT THE BASE, SMALL CURVING LINES
143	70	WHITEWARE					SLIGHTLY MOLDED AT THE BASE, SMALL CURVING LINES
144	71	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
145	72	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED, GLAZE/BODY HAS SLIGHT YELLOWISH/CREAMY CAST
146	73	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
147	74	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED, MOLD LINES ON HANDLE
148	75	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
149	76	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
150	77	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
151	78	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
152	79	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
153	80	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
154	81	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
155	82	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
156	83	WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
157	84	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE					UNDECORATED
158	85	PORCELAIN	PAINTED OVERGLAZE	MOLDED	GREEN, PINK		MOLDING IS FLORAL DESIGN AND UNKNOWN, PAINTING IS A FLORAL DESIGN
159	86	PORCELAIN	LUSTRED	MOLDED	PINK		MOLDED DECORATION IS SWIRLS/CURLS AROUND RIM, LUSTRE COVERS RIM AND MOLDING, VESSEL IS GILDED ALONG THE HANDLE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
160	86	PORCELAIN	LUSTRED	MOLDED	PINK		MOLDING IS CURLS/SWIRLS/CURVY LINES AND BEADS AROUND RIM, PINK LUSTRE COVERS MOLDING (MOST IS WORN OFF), GOLD GILDING EXISTS AROUND THE OUTER RIM AND IN A BAND AROUND THE CENTER
161	86	PORCELAIN	MOLDED	GILDED		GOLD	MOLDING IS CURLS/SWIRLS/CURVY LINES AND BEADS AROUND THE RIM, VESSEL WAS PROBABLY LUSTRED AT ONE TIME, GOLD GILDING AROUND THE OUTER RIM AND CENTER

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
162	87	PORCELAIN	LUSTRED	MOLDED	OPALESCENT		MOLDED HANDLE AND BEADED AROUND BODY
163	87	PORCELAIN	LUSTRED	MOLDED	OPALESCENT		MOLDING IS CURVED LINES AROUND RIM
164	88	JAPANESE PORCELAIN	PAINTED OVERGLAZE	GILDED	GREEN, BROWN, ORANGE, RED, YELLOW, GRAY	GOLD	FLORAL/LANDSCAPE DESIGN
165	89	JAPANESE PORCELAIN	PAINTED OVERGLAZE	LUSTRED	ORANGE, BLUE, GREEN, PURPLE, BROWN	ORANGE	LANDSCAPE SCENE, LUSTRED AROUND RIM
166	89	JAPANESE PORCELAIN	PAINTED OVERGLAZE	LUSTRED	ORANGE, GREEN, BLUE, BROWN, BLACK	ORANGE	LANDSCAPE SCENE, LUSTRED AROUND RIM, SCALLOPED RIM

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
167	90	JAPANESE PORCELAIN	DECALCOMANIA	PAINTED OVERGLAZE	ORANGE	GREEN, BLACK, ORANGE	GEISHA GIRL PATTERN/DESIGN, JAPANESE GARDEN SCENE WITH HUMAN FIGURES, PAINTING IS AN ATTEMPT TO FILL IN, ALSO, ORANGE BAND AROUND THE RIM
168	90	JAPANESE PORCELAIN	DECALCOMANIA	PAINTED OVERGLAZE	ORANGE	ORANGE, BLACK, GREEN	GEISHA GIRL PATTERN/DESIGN, JAPANESE GARDEN SCENE, PAINTING IS AN ATTEMPT TO FILL IN, ALSO, ORANGE BAND AROUND THE RIM

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
169	91	PORCELAIN	DECALCOMANIA	GILDED	GREEN, BROWN, ORANGE, GRAY	GOLD	DECAL IS BOARS HEAD ABOVE CHAIN LINKS, SURROUNDED BY WREATH WITH A RIBBON, POSSIBLE FRATERNAL SYMBOL, ALSO ORANGE BAND AROUND THE RIM, GILDING IS GOLD AROUND THE RIM
170	92	PORCELAIN	MOLDED				BEADED AND ALSO ANNULAR DECORATION
171	93	PORCELAIN	GILDED		GOLD		SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
172	93	PORCELAIN	GILDED		GOLD		SIMPLE ANNULAR BANDING
173	94	PORCELAIN					UNDECORATED
174	95	PORCELAIN					UNDECORATED
175	96	PORCELAIN					UNDECORATED

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
176	97	PORCELAIN					UNDECORATED

Table B2. Ceramic Assembladge, Manufacturer, Date Range, And Form Information/ROBINSON

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**
1			OVOID	WIDE MOUTHED JAR	HAS LID LEDGE	POST 1915
2					VERY SMALL SHERD	
3				BOTTLE	ALE OR BEER BOTTLE	
4						
5			SHORT	WIDE MOUTHED JAR		POST 1870
6			OVOID	JAR/CROCK	RIM IS THIN TAPERED ROLL, FLAT RIM, CUPPED HANDLES	
7				JAR/CROCK		
8			TALL-CYLINDRICAL	WIDE MOUTHED JAR		POST 1890
9			OVOID	WIDE MOUTHED JAR		
10			TALL-CYLINDRICAL	WIDE MOUTHED JAR		POST 1870

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**
11			CYLINDRICAL			POST 1870
12			TALL-CYLINDRICAL	WIDE MOUTHED JAR		POST 1890
13			TALL-CYLINDRICAL	WIDE MOUTHED JAR		POST 1870
14						
15				JUG		
16				JUG		
17				BOWL		POST 1890
18				BOWL/CROCK		POST 1890
19				BOWL		POST 1890
20			OVOID	WIDE MOUTHED JAR		POST 1870
21				BOWL/CROCK		POST 1890
22				BOWL/CROCK		POST 1890
23				JUG		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**
24						
25						
26						
27						
28		BC MILBURN	TALL-CYLINDRICAL	WIDE MOUTHED JAR		
29			TALL-CYLINDRICAL	WIDE MOUTHED JAR		POST 1870
30			OVOID	WIDE MOUTHED JAR		
31			OVOID	WIDE MOUTHED JAR	HAS LID LEDGE, HAS CUPPED HANDLE ATTACHED ALONG LENGTH	
32				JUG		
33			OVOID	JAR/CROCK	RIM IS THIN TAPERED ROLL, FLAT RIM	

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
34			OVOID	JAR/CROCK	RIM IS THIN TAPERED ROLL, FLAT RIM	
35				JAR		
36				JAR/CROCK		
37					POSSIBLE LID	
38					PROBABLE JUG	
39				BOTTLE	PROBABLY A GINGER BEER OR ALE BOTTLE	
40			TEAPOT			1830-1900
41			PITCHER			
42		PROBABLY FROM AN EAST LIVERPOOL, OHIO POTTERY	HOLLOWWARE		PROBABLY A TEAPOT	1880-1910
43					VERY SMALL SHERD	
44			HOLLOWWARE		POSSIBLE FLOWERPOT	

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
45			HOLLOWWARE	CONDIMENT LID		
46			HOLLOWWARE		POSSIBLE JAR	
47	1		FLATWARE			POST 1830
48	2		FLATWARE			POST 1830
49	3		HOLLOWWARE			1780-1840
50	4		MUFFIN			1800-1840
51	4		PLATE			1800-1840
52	5		SAUCER			1840-1880
53	6		HOLLOWWARE		POSSIBLE CUP	
54			HOLLOWWARE		POSSIBLE SMALL BOWL	
55	7		HOLLOWWARE		POSSIBLE TEA OR COFFEE CUP	POST 1830
56	8		PLATE			POST 1880
57	9		BOWL			

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**
58	10		HOLLOWWARE			POST 1850
59	11		PLATE	TABLE PLATE		POST 1900
60	12		PLATE	SUPPER PLATE		POST 1885
61	13		OVOID	JAR		POST 1870
62	13		BOWL		PROBABLE SERVING BOWL	POST 1870
63	13		DISH		POSSIBLE SERVING DISH	POST 1870
64	14		FLATWARE			
65	15		FLATWARE			POST 1840
66	16	PROBABLY AN EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERY	MUFFIN		POSSIBLE SMALL BOWL/DISH	POST 1920
67	16	PROBABLY AN EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERY	SAUCER			POST 1920
68	16	PROBABLY AN EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERY	MUFFIN			POST 1920

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
69	16	PROBABLY AN EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERY	PLATE	SUPPER PLATE		POST 1920
70	17	PROBABLY AN EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERY	SAUCER			POST 1920
71	18	"...R.../...IN...", UNIDENTIFIABLE	SAUCER			POST 1900
72	18	PROBABLY AN EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERY	MUFFIN			POST 1900
73	18	PROBABLY AN EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERY	BOWL			POST 1900
74	19	PROBABLY AN EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERY	MUFFIN			POST 1900
75	20	PROBABLY AN EAST LIVERPOOL OHIO POTTERY	BOWL			POST 1900
76	21		FLATWARE			POST 1900

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
77	22		FLATWARE			POST 1850
78	23		HOLLOWWARE		PROBABLY A CREAMER	POST 1900
79	23		TEACUP			POST 1900
80	24		HOLLOWWARE			1840-1870
81	25		HOLLOWWARE		POSSIBLY A SUGAR BOWL, HAS LID LEDGE	1840-1870
82	26	"ADAMS/ TUNSTALL/ ENGLAND"				POST 1896
83	27	PROBABLY ENGLISH	FLATWARE			
84	28		TEACUP			POST 1820
85	28		SAUCER			POST 1820
86	29	"...A.../...U.S.A. .../...12"	SAUCER			POST 1891
87	30		TEACUP		HANDLE TERMINAL PRESENT	POST 1880

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
88	30		TEACUP		HANDLE TERMINAL PRESENT	POST 1880
89	31		FLATWARE			POST 1880
90	32		MUFFIN			POST 1900
91	33		FLATWARE			POST 1900
92	34		FLATWARE			POST 1880
93	35		PITCHER			POST 1900
94	36	"EDWIN M. KNOWLES/CHINA CO./1412"	SAUCER			POST 1900
95	36	EDWIN M. KNOWLES CHINA CO.	TEACUP			POST 1900
96	37	"...EST END/8 25" WEST END POTTERY, EAST LIVERPOOL, OHIO	SAUCER			POST 1900
97	37	WEST END POTTERY, EAST LIVERPOOL, OHIO	PLATE	SUPPER PLATE		POST 1900

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
98	37	WEST END POTTERY, EAST LIVERPOOL, OHIO	TEACUP			POST 1900
99	38		PLATE			POST 1900
100	39		PLATE			POST 1900
101	40		PLATTER			POST 1880
102	41		HOLLOWWARE		POSSIBLE SMALL PITCHER OR CREAMER, POSSIBLE DECORATIVE PIECE	
103	42	"...LAUGHLIN/...U.S.A.", THE HOMER LAUGHLIN CHINA COMPANY	SERVING DISH			POST 1850
104	43		DISH		PROBABLE SERVING DISH	POST 1900
105	44		HOLLOWWARE		PROBABLY A LARGE BOWL	POST 1850
106	45		PLATE	TABLE PLATE		POST 1850
107	46		SAUCER			1870-1900

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**
108	47		TEACUP			1870-1900
109	48		PLATE	TABLE PLATE		1870-1900
110	48		TEACUP			1870-1900
111	48		TEACUP			1870-1900
112	49		FLATWARE			POST 1850
113	50	"K.T.&K/S--------V/CHINA/P.C...", KNOWLES, TAYLOR, KNOWLES, EAST LIVERPOOL, OHIO	DISH		POSSIBLY A SMALL/SHALLOW BOWL	1870-1900
114	50	KNOWLES, TAYLOR, KNOWLES, EAST LIVERPOOL, OHIO	SAUCER			1870-1900
115	50	KNOWLES, TAYLOR, KNOWLES, EAST LIVERPOOL, OHIO	TEACUP		HANDLE TERMINAL PRESENT	1870-1900
116	51		HOLLOWWARE		POSSIBLE DISH	1870-1900

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
117	51		TWIFFLER			1870-1900
118	52	"ROYAL/SEMI-PORCELAIN/JOHNSON/BROS/ENGLAND"	PLATE	SUPPER PLATE		POST 1900
119	53		UNIDENTIFIED			POST 1900
120	54		SAUCER			POST 1900
121	55		PLATE	SUPPER PLATE		POST 1900
122	55		SAUCER			POST 1900
123	56		SAUCER			POST 1900
124	56		FLATWARE			POST 1900
125	57		SAUCER			1880-1900
126	58		PITCHER			POST 1820
127	59		PITCHER		SMALL PITCHER	POST 1820
128	60		WASH BASIN		LARGE AND CHUNKY	POST 1820
129	61		SERVING DISH		OVAL SHAPED	POST 1820

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
130	62		GRAVY BOAT			POST 1820
131	63		HOLLOWWARE		POSSIBLE SUGAR BOWL	POST 1820
132	64		SAUCER			POST 1820
133	64		SAUCER			POST 1820
134	65	"E.B.P. .../WARRA.../S..."	SAUCER			POST 1885
135	66		SAUCER		THICK AND CHUNKY	POST 1820
136	67		SAUCER			POST 1820
137	68		SAUCER			POST 1820
138	69	"...OTTERY CO."	SAUCER			POST 1885
139	70		TEACUP		HANDLE TERMINAL PRESENT	POST 1820
140	70		TEACUP			POST 1820
141	70		TEACUP		HANDLE PRESENT	POST 1820
142	70		TEACUP		HANDLE TERMINAL PRESENT	POST 1820

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
143	70		TEACUP		HANDLE TERMINAL PRESENT	POST 1820
144	71		TEACUP			POST 1885
145	72		TEACUP			POST 1820
146	73		COFFEE CUP		THICK AND CHUNKY	POST 1885
147	74		COFFEE CUP			POST 1885
148	75		COFFEE CUP			POST 1885
149	76		COFFEE CUP			POST 1820
150	77		TEACUP			POST 1820
151	78	"SEMI/GRANITE/... P/..."	PLATE	SUPPER PLATE		POST 1820
152	79	"SEMIPORCELAIN" , HARKER POTTERY, OHIO	TWIFFLER			PRE 1900
153	80		TWIFFLER		THICK AND CHUNKY	

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**
154	81	"HOMER...", THE HOMER LAUGHLIN CHINA COMPANY	PLATE			POST 1877
155	82	"...& Co..."	PLATE			POST 1820
156	83	"WARRAN..."	PLATTER		THICK AND CHUNKY	POST 1820
157	84		PLATE	SUPPER PLATE		POST 1885
158	85		VASE			
159	86		TEACUP		HANDLE IS PRESENT	POST 1900
160	86		SAUCER			POST 1900
161	86		SAUCER			POST 1900
162	87		HOLLOWWARE		POSSIBLY A SMALL PITCHER OR CREAMER	
163	87		FLATWARE		POSSIBLE SAUCER	
164	88		PITCHER			
165	89		MUFFIN		PROBABLY A DECORATIVE ITEM	

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
166	89	"...PA.../...G..."	FLATWARE		PROBABLY A DECORATIVE ITEM	
167	90		SAUCER			POST 1921
168	90		TEACUP			POST 1921
169	91		TEACUP			POST 1880
170	92		FLATWARE			
171	93		TEACUP		HANDLE REPRESENTS A SHERD	1870-1900
172	93		TEACUP			1870-1900
173	94		SAUCER			
174	95	"...R & Co."	SAUCER			
175	96		TEA/COFFEE CUP			
176	97		CUP		MAY BE A TEA OR COFFEE CUP AND/OR UTILITARIAN	

Table B3. Ceramic Assembladge, Measurements and Segment/ROBINSON

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
1		7.0"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
2				LESS THAN 10%	RIM
3		1.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
4				10-30%	BASE TO BODY
5		8.0"	3.5"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE
6		5.5"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
7		4.25"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
8		8.0"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
9		5.25"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
10		7.0"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
11		7.5"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
12		6.5"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
13		6.5"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
14				LESS THAN 10%	RIM
15		1.0"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
16		1.0"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO NECK
17		10.25"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
18		9.0"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
19		10.0"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
20		5.5"	7.5"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
21				LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
22		10.0"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
23		1.0"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
24				LESS THAN 10%	RIM
25				10-30%	BASE TO BODY
26				LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
27				LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
28		6.0"	7.5"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
29		8.0"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
30		7.5"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
31		6.5"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
32		1.25"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
33		6.0"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
34		6.0"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
35		4.25"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
36				LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
37				LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
38		1.75"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM
39				LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
40		3.25"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
41				10-30%	RIM TO BODY
42				10-30%	BASE TO BODY
43				LESS THAN 10%	RIM
44				LESS THAN 10%	RIM
45		5.0"		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
46		2.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
47	1			LESS THAN 10%	RIM

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
48	2			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
49	3			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
50	4	7.5"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
51	4			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
52	5	6.0"	1.5"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
53	6			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
54				10-30%	BASE TO BODY
55	7	2.5"	2.5"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
56	8			10-30%	BASE TO BODY
57	9	6.5"	1.75"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
58	10			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
59	11	10.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
60	12	9.0"	1.0"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
61	13	4.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
62	13	8.5"	1.5"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
63	13	7.5"	1.5"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
64	14			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
65	15			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
66	16	5.25"	1.0"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
67	16	6.0"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
68	16	7.0"	.75"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
69	16	9.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
70	17	6.0"	1.0"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
71	18	6.0"	.75"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
72	18	5.5"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
73	18	7.5		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
74	19	6.5"	.50"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
75	20	6.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
76	21			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
77	22			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
78	23			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
79	23			10-30%	RIM TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
80	24			LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
81	25			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
82	26			10-30%	BASE
83	27			10-30%	BASE TO BODY
84	28	3.0		LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
85	28			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
86	29	5.5"	.75"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
87	30	3.25"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
88	30	3.25"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
89	31			LESS THAN 10%	BODY
90	32	7.0"	.25"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
91	33			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
92	34			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
93	35			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
94	36	6.0"	.75"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
95	36	3.25"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
96	37	6.0"	.75"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
97	37	9.0"	.75"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
98	37			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
99	38			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
100	39		.75"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
101	40		1.25"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
102	41			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
103	42	8.5"	1.5"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
104	43			10-305	RIM TO BODY
105	44			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
106	45	10.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
107	46	6.0"	.75"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
108	47	3.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
109	48	10.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
110	48	3.75"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
111	48	3.75"	2.50"	90%-WHOLE	RIM TO BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
112	49			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
113	50		1.25"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
114	50	6.0"	.75	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
115	50	3.5"			RIM TO BODY
116	51	7.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
117	51	8.5"	1.0"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
118	52	9.0"	1.0"	90%-WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
119	53			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
120	54	6.0"	.75"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
121	55	9.0"	.75"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
122	55	6.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
123	56	6.0"	.50"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
124	56			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
125	57	6.0"	.75"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
126	58		7.5"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
127	59		6.0"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
128	60	12.0"		10-30%	RIM TO BODY
129	61		1.75"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
130	62		4.75"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
131	63			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
132	64	6.0"	1.0"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
133	64	6.0"	1.0"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
134	65	6.0"	.75"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
135	66	6.0"	1.0"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
136	67	6.0"	1.0"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
137	68	6.0"	.75"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
138	69	6.0"	.50"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
139	70	3.5"	2.5"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
140	70			30-50%	BASE TO BODY
141	70	3.5"	2.5"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
142	70	3.5"	2.5"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
143	70	3.5"	2.5"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
144	71	3.5"	2.25"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
145	72	3.75"	2.25"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
146	73	3.5"	3.0"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
147	74	3.5"		50-70%	RIM TO BODY
148	75	3.5"		10-30%	RIM TO BASE
149	76	3.5"	3.25"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
150	77	3.25"	3.0"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
151	78	9.0"	1.0"	90%-WHOLE	RIM TO BASE
152	79	8.5"	.50"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
153	80	8.0"	.75"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
154	81	11.0	1.25"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
155	82		1.0"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
156	83		1.25"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
157	84	9.0"	1.0"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
158	85			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
159	86	3.5"		70-90%	RIM TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
160	86	6.0"	1.0"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
161	86	6.0"	1.0"	50-70%	RIM TO BASE
162	87			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
163	87			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
164	88			10-30%	BASE TO BODY
165	89	7.0"	.75"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
166	89			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
167	90		.75"	10-30%	RIM TO BASE
168	90			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
169	91			10-30%	RIM TO BODY
170	92			LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
171	93	3.5"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
172	93	3.5"		30-50%	RIM TO BODY
173	94	6.0"	1.0"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
174	95	6.0"	1.0"	30-50%	RIM TO BASE
175	96	3.5"	3.0"	70-90%	RIM TO BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
176	97			LESS THAN 10%	HANDLE AND BODY

Table B4. Ceramic Assembladge, Location/ROBINSON

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**EXCAVATION UNIT**	**CATALOG NUMBER**	**STRATUM/LAYER**	**BAG NUMBER**	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
1		28	MANA43714, MANA42073	D5, D3	107, 95	1, 2
2		28	MANA42056	D3	95	1
3		28	MANA41577	D2	93	1
4		28	MANA37519, MANA38376	B1, B2	83, 84	2, 2
5		25	MANA36157, MANA37524, MANA37523	A, B1	66, 83	3, 2, 3
6		28	MANA39575	B3	87	3
7		25	MANA36440	B1	68	1
8		28	MANA42086, MANA42717, MANA43718, MANA43947	D3, D4, D5, D6	95, 96, 107, 111	1, 1, 1, 1
9		28	MANA41543, MANA41584	C2, D2	92, 93	1, 1
10		28	MANA37278, MANA37526, MANA37527, MANA38370	A, B1, B2	82, 83, 84	1, 2, 1, 1
11		28	MANA40693	D1	88	1
12		28	MANA39599	B3	87	11

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
13		28	MANA38361, MANA39581	B2, B3	84, 87	1, 1
14		28	MANA40694	D1	88	1
15		28	MANA39605	B3	87	2
16		28	MANA39615	B3	87	1
17		28	MANA41586	D2	93	1
18		28	MANA42064, MANA42711	D3, D4	95, 96	1, 1
19		28	MANA39594	B3	87	2
20		28	MANA41587, MANA41589	D2	93	2, 5
21		28	MANA41594	D2	93	1
22		25, 28	MANA36448, MANA40685	B1, D1	68, 88	4, 3
23		28	MANA38368	B2	84	1
24		28	MANA42063	D3	95	1
25		28	MANA42057	D3	95	1
26		28	MANA40691	D1	88	2
27		28	MANA37531	B1	83	1
28		28	MANA43080	E1	101	5

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**EXCAVATION UNIT**	**CATALOG NUMBER**	**STRATUM/LAYER**	**BAG NUMBER**	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
29		28	MANA43081	E1	101	1
30		28	MANA41572	D2	93	1
31		28	MANA42719	D4	96	1
32		28	MANA39603	B3	87	2
33		28	MANA37534	B1	83	1
34		28	MANA39602	B3	87	1
35		28	MANA41566	D2	93	1
36		28	MANA41571	D2	93	1
37		28	MANA40711	D1	88	1
38		28	MANA39596	B3	87	1
39		28	MANA39609	B3	87	1
40		28	MANA39484, MANA40721, MANA41602, MANA41603	C1, D1, D2	86, 88, 93	1, 1, 1, 1
41		28	MANA37517, MANA38386	B1, B2	83, 84	2, 1
42		28	MANA39592, MANA40728	B3, D1	87, 88	1, 2
43		28	MANA43960	D6	111	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
44		28	MANA37514	B1	83	1
45		25, 28	MANA37075, MANA41600	D1, D2	76, 93	1, 1
46		28	MANA43869	E3	108	1
47	1	28	MANA43744	D5	107	1
48	2	28	MANA43109, MANA43875	E1, E3	101, 108	1, 1
49	3	28	MANA42756	D4	96	1
50	4	28	MANA42230	D3	95	2
51	4	28	MANA43391	D6	111	1
52	5	28	MANA42749	D4	96	4
53	6	28	MANA40985	D1	88	1
54		28	MANA43253	E2	104	1
55	7	28	MANA40972	D1	88	1
56	8	28	MANA40057	B3	87	1
57	9	28	MANA42206	D3	95	3
58	10	28	MANA41743	D2	93	1
59	11	28	MANA37664, MANA38616	B1, B2	83, 84	3, 1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
60	12	25, 28	MANA36490, MANA38661	B1, B2	68, 84	2, 1
61	13	28	MANA39998	B3	87	1
62	13	28	MANA41726	D2	93	1
63	13	28	MANA41725, MANA42216	D2, D3	93, 95	1, 1
64	14	28	MANA39999	B3	87	1
65	15	28	MANA38633	B2	84	1
66	16	25, 28	MANA36455, MANA40932, MANA42231	B1, D1, D3	68, 88, 95	1, 4, 1
67	16	28	MANA40001, MANA40009, MANA40010	B3	87	1, 1, 1
68	16	28	MANA38639	B2	84	1
69	16	28	MANA41702, MANA42235	D2, D3	93, 95	1, 1
70	17	28	MANA41701, MANA41710	D2	93	1, 2
71	18	28	MANA40949, MANA41698	D1, D2	88, 93	2, 1
72	18	28	MANA41697	D2	93	4
73	18	28	MANA42247	D3	95	1
74	19	28	MANA40004	B3	87	2

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
75	20	28	MANA40039	B3	87	1
76	21	28	MANA40896	D1	88	1
77	22	28	MANA41714	D2	93	1
78	23	28	MANA40043	B3	87	1
79	23	28	MANA41719	D2	93	1
80	24	28	MANA42760	D4	96	1
81	25	28	MANA41744	D2	93	1
82	26	28	MANA40957	D1	88	1
83	27	28	MANA43992	D6	111	1
84	28	28	MANA40958	D1	88	1
85	28	28	MANA43110	E1	101	1
86	29	28	MANA39982	B3	87	4
87	30	28	MANA38653	B2	84	1
88	30	28	MANA38652	B2	84	1
89	31	28	MANA37662	B1	83	1
90	32	28	MANA37718, MANA38651	B1, B2	83, 84	2, 1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
91	33	28	MANA37716	B1	83	1
92	34	28	MANA42267	D3	95	1
93	35	28	MANA39981	B3	87	1
94	36	28	MANA40928, MANA41736	D1, D2	88, 93	4, 2
95	36	25	MANA37178	D2	78	1
96	37	28	MANA37707	B1	83	1
97	37	28	MANA38626	B2	84	1
98	37	28	MANA39988	B2	87	1
99	38	28	MANA43983	D6	111	1
100	39	28	MANA42215	D3	95	1
101	40	28	MANA39996, MANA40055	B3	87	1,1
102	41	28	MANA42750	D4	96	2
103	42	28	MANA39932	B3	87	2
104	43	28	MANA41732	D2	93	1
105	44	28	MANA40913	D1	88	1
106	45	28	MANA39935	B3	87	1

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**EXCAVATION UNIT**	**CATALOG NUMBER**	**STRATUM/LAYER**	**BAG NUMBER**	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
107	46	28	MANA41689, MANA42256	D2, D3	93, 95	4, 1
108	47	28	MANA42755	D4	96	2
109	48	28	MANA39959	B3	87	3
110	48	28	MANA38562	B2	84	1
111	48	28	MANA38559, MANA37682	B1, B2	84, 83	4, 1
112	49	28	MANA37311	A	82	2
113	50	28	MANA41688	D2	93	1
114	50	28	MANA40910	D1	88	3
115	50	28	MANA40914	D1	88	4
116	51	28	MANA41690	D2	93	1
117	51	28	MANA40806	D1	88	1
118	52	28	MANA43740, MANA43981, MANA43980	D5, D6	107, 111	1, 1, 2
119	53	28	MANA40918	D1	88	1
120	54	28	MANA38474	B2	87	1
121	55	28	MANA41670	D2	93	2
122	55	28	MANA41671	D2	93	1

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**EXCAVATION UNIT**	**CATALOG NUMBER**	**STRATUM/LAYER**	**BAG NUMBER**	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
123	56	28	MANA39895	B3	87	1
124	56	28	MANA37314	A	82	1
125	57	28	MANA41643	D2	93	1
126	58	28	MANA43739	D5	107	7
127	59	28	MANA42089	D3	95	13
128	60	28	MANA40730, MANA41613	D1, D2	88, 93	1, 1
129	61	28	MANA39620	B3	87	4
130	62	28	MANA37607, MANA38396, MANA38397	B1, B2	83, 84	1, 1, 1
131	63	28	MANA37605	B1	83	1
132	64	28	MANA39630	B3	87	2
133	64	28	MANA39621	B3	87	2
134	65	28	MANA42108	D3	95	1
135	66	28	MANA42727	D4	96	2
136	67	28	MANA39622	B3	87	2
137	68	28	MANA38395	B2	84	1
138	69	28	MANA41685	D2	93	3

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
139	70	28	MANA40862, MANA40868	D1	88	2, 1
140	70	28	MANA40049	B3	87	1
141	70	28	MANA39637	B3	87	1
142	70	28	MANA39667, MANA40863	B3, D1	87, 88	1, 5
143	70	28	MANA40869, MANA40870	D1	88	1, 1
144	71	28	MANA39627	B2	87	2
145	72	28	MANA38392, MANA38403	B2	84	1,1
146	73	28	MANA43730	D5	107	1
147	74	28	MANA39638, MANA39639	B3	87	1, 1
148	75	28	MANA42106, MANA43732	D3, D5	95, 107	1, 1
149	76	28	MANA40871, MANA41641	D1, D2	88, 93	1, 2
150	77	28	MANA42105	D3	95	2
151	78	28	MANA42726	D4	96	8
152	79	28	MANA40791	D1	88	3
153	80	28	MANA43728	D5	107	2
154	81	28	MANA41680	D2	93	4

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
155	82	28	MANA43729	D5	107	1
156	83	28	MANA42107	D3	95	1
157	84	28	MANA42109	D3	95	1
158	85	28	MANA40093	B3	87	1
159	86	28	MANA42748	D4	96	1
160	86	28	MANA42270	D3	95	3
161	86	28	MANA42269	D3	95	2
162	87	28	MANA41004	D1	88	2
163	87	28	MANA39504	C1	86	1
164	88	28	MANA40102	B3	87	2
165	89	28	MANA38678	B2	84	4
166	89	28	MANA37746, MANA37751, MANA38686	B1, B2	83, 84	3, 1, 1
167	90	28	MANA38691	B2	84	1
168	90	28	MANA40088, MANA41006	B3, D1	87, 88	1, 2
169	91	28	MANA40092	B3	87	1
170	92	28	MANA41752	D2	93	1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
171	93	28	MANA40086, MANA41001	B3, D1	87, 88	1, 2
172	93	28	MANA40084, MANA41002	B3, D1	87, 88	2, 1
173	94	28	MANA40095	B3	87	2
174	95	28	MANA38654	B2	84	3
175	96	28	MANA38703, MANA40082, MANA40083	B2, B3	84, 87	1, 2, 1
176	97	28	MANA41745	D2	93	2

Appendix 6: Tables C1-C5

Table C1. Glass Assembladge, Form/Functional Type and Date Range/NASH

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - NASH**
1		WHITE	LID LINER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	MACHINE MADE, CANNIN/FRUIT JAR,	1868-	1868-1900
2		OLIVE, LIGHT	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD		PRE 1900	1860-1900
3		OLIVE, DARK	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	MOLDED/MOLD LINE VISIBLE	PRE 1900	1860-1900
4		OLIVE, DARK	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	THIN	PRE 1900	1860-1900
5		AMBER	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	SMOOTH LIP		
6		AMBER-BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	OVAL BASE, PONTIL	PRE 1870	1860-1870
7		AMBER-BROWN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	OVAL, LARGE PONTIL, POST MOLD	1840-EARLY 1900S	1860-1900

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - NASH**
8		COLORLESS	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD			
9	1	COLORLESS	TUMBLER	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD			
10		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	OWNES SUCTION SCAR, MOLDED	POST 1904	POST OCCUPATION
11		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	GROUND LIP, LEADED		
12		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	PROBABLY CROWN FINISH AND POST BOTTOM, MOLDED	1893	1893-1900
13		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	PROBABLY “WHITE HOUSE”		
14		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED			
15		COLORLESS	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	SCAR ON BASE		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - NASH**
16		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	WHISKEY BOTTLES/FLASKS			
17		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	OVAL, POST MOLD	1893	1893-1900
18		COLORLESS	BOTTLE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	MOLDED		
19		AQUA, BLUE	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	MOLD LINE		
20		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	CROWN FINISH, MACHINE MADE	POST 1893	1893-1900
21		AQUA, BLUE	BOTTLE	SODA/ALE/BEER/MINERAL WATER	PATINATED, LIPPING TOOL	PRE 1893	1860-1893
22		AQUA, GREEN	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	THREADED (POSSIBLE JAR)		
23		AQUAMARINE	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	MOLD BLOWN, PANELED, KICKUP		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - NASH**
24		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	POST BOTTOM, OVAL	1893	1893-1900
25		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	CUP MOLDED, BOTTOM, SMALL VESSEL, OVAL	1850-1920	1860-1900
26		AQUA, GREEN	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	PATINATED, SMOOTH KICKUP		
27		AQUA, GREEN (LIGHT)	BOTTLE	UNIDENTIFIED	CUP BOTTOM, VERY SMALL	1850-1920	1860-1900
28		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	PANELED		
29		AQUA, GREEN (LIGHT)	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	PANELED		
30		AQUA, GREEN	BOTTLE	PHARMACEUTICAL	PANELED		
31	2	AQUA, GREEN	HOLLOWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	PATINATED, MOLDED		

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**COLOR**	**FORM**	**FORM TYPE**	**FORM COMMENTS**	**DATE RANGE**	**DATE RANGE - NASH**
32		AQUA, GREEN (LIGHT)	HOLLOWWARE	UNIDENTIFIED	MOLDED		
33	3	AQUA, GREEN (VERY LIGHT)	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	UNUSUAL SHAPE, POSSIBLY BURNED		
34		AQUA, GREEN	HOLLOWWARE	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	LARGE, THIN		
35		AQUA, GREEN (LIGHT)	LAMP CHIMNEY	FOOD/CONDIMENT/HOUSEHOLD	PATINATED		

Table C2. Glass Assembladge, Decorative Technique, Decoration Comments and Type/NASH

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE	DEC. COMMENTS
1		MILK GLASS	EMBOSSED	“....AIN”
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8		LEADED		
9	1	TABLEWARE	RIBBED / NOTCHED	
10				“H.J. HEINZ; 143; PAT 2.”
11				
12			EMBOSSED	“VICTORY BOTTLING WORKS, W.T. BUSER CROP.. . .NA, VA”; POSSIBLY VIENNA, VA.
13			EMBOSSED	LETTERS
14			EMBOSSED	LINES
15				

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
16			EMBOSSED	“W.A.S. ...” / “...NE PINT LIQUI...” / “REGISTERED” / “30-7TH ST. S. . .
17			EMBOSSED	“B. .... 16" ON BASE
18				
19				
20				
21				
22				
23			EMBOSSED	“B” IN KICKUP; PANELED SIDE AND FRONT
24				
25				
26				
27				
28			EMBOSSED	“...COMP....” / “....PECT....”
29			EMBOSSED	“BA....”
30				

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
31	2	TABLEWARE		
32				
33	3	TABLEWARE, LEADED		
34				
35				

Table C3. Glass Assembladge, Manufacture and Contents/NASH

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL**	**MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL**	**PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT**	**CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)**
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9	1					
10		H.J. HEINZ				CONDIMENT
11						
12		VICTORY BOTTLING WORKS		VIRGINIA (POSSIBLY VIENNA)		
13						POSSIBLY VINEGAR

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
14						
15						
16						PROBABLY WHISKEY
17						
18						
19						
20						PROBABLY SODA
21						
22						
23						MEDICINAL
24						
25						
26						
27						
28						MEDICINAL

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER OF VESSEL	MANUFACTURER OF PRODUCT	PLACE OF MAN. OF VESSEL	PLACE OF MAN. OF PRODUCT	CONTENTS (PREVIOUS)
29						MEDICINAL
30						MEDICINAL
31	2					
32						
33	3					
34						
35						

Table C4: Glass Assembladge, Vessel Measurements and Segment/NASH

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**BASE DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
1					LESS THAN 10%	RIM
2					LESS THAN 10%	BODY-SHOULDER
3					LESS THAN 10%	
4					LESS THAN 10%	BODY
5					LESS THAN 10%	RIM
6					10-20%	BASE TO BODY
7					10-20%	BASE
8					LESS THAN 10%	BODY
9	1				LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
10					40-50%	BASE TO BODY
11					LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
12					10-20%	BODY
13					LESS THAN 10%	BODY
14					LESS THAN 10%	BODY
15					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
16					20%	BODY
17					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
18					LESS THAN 10%	NECK
19					LESS THAN 10%	BODY
20					10-20%	RIM TO NECK
21					10%	RIM TO NECK
22					LESS THAN 10%	NECK
23					10-20%	BASE TO BODY
24					10-20%	BASE TO BODY
25					10-20%	BASE TO BODY
26					LESS THAN 10%	BASE
27					LESS THAN 10%	BASE TO BODY
28					LESS THAN 10%	BODY
29					LESS THAN 10%	BODY
30					LESS THAN 10%	BODY
31	2				LESS THAN 10%	BODY

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	RIM DIAMETER	BASE DIAMETER	HEIGHT	PERCENT COMPLETE	SEGMENT
32					LESS THAN 10%	BODY
33	3				LESS THAN 10%	RIM TO BODY
34					30-50%	BODY
35					LESS THAN 10%	BODY

Table C5: Glass Assembladge, Location/NASH

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**EXCAVATION UNIT**	**CATALOG NUMBER**	**STRATUM/LAYER**	**BAG NUMBER**	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
1		38	MANA 33023	1		2 IN BAG, DO NOT MEND
2		49	MANA 33324	1		1 (3 IN BAG, DO NOT MEND)
3		81	MANA 33495	2		1
4		82	MANA 33570	2		1 (3 IN BAG, DO NOT MEND)
5		81	MANA 33475	1		1 (MORE SHERDS IN BAG, DO NOT MEND)
6		39	MANA 33153	2		2 BASE SHERDS MEND; OTHER SHERD IN BAG IS A BODY SHERD
7		39	MANA 33152	2		1

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**EXCAVATION UNIT**	**CATALOG NUMBER**	**STRATUM/LAYER**	**BAG NUMBER**	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
8		61	MANA 33382	4		1
9	1	27	MANA 32766; MANA 32821;	1		2 (MENDS)
10		47	MANA 33218	1		2 (MENDS)
11		81	MANA 33480	1		1
12		28	MANA 32811 (3 MEND, 1 DOESN’T)	1		3
13		28	MANA 32816	1		2 (8 IN BAG)
14		26	MANA 32676			1
15		28	MANA 32819	1		2 (DO NOT MEND)
16		49	MANA 33318, MANA 33342	1, 2		2
17		27	MANA 32773	1		2 (DO NOT MEND)
18		38	MANA 33011	1		4 (DO NOT MEND)
19		82	MANA 33571	2		1
20		28	MANA 32827	1		1

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
21		39	MANA 33106	1		1
22		37	MANA 32954	3		1
23		39	MANA 33159	2		2 (MENDS)
24		39	MANA 33160	2		3 (MENDS)
25		39	MANA 33169	2		1
26		28	MANA 32829	1		2
27		39	MANA 33164	2		3
28		37	MANA 32958	3		1
29		82	MANA 33520	1		1
30		9	MANA 32517	1		1
31	2	37	MANA 32921	2		1
32		39	MANA 33163	2		1
33	3	17	MANA 32575	2		1
34		26	MANA 32669	1		199
35		37	MANA 32950	3		1

Appendix 7: Tables D1-D4

Table D1. Ceramic Assembladge, Ware Type And Decoration/NASH

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
1	3	GRAY PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR SALT GLAZE				
2	4	WHITE PASTE STONEWARE	CLEAR GLAZE				
3	5	BUFF PASTE STONEWARE	IRON OXIDE GLAZE				MOTTLED BROWN ON ONE SIDE, DARK BROWN-BLACK ON THE OTHER SIDE
4	6	REFINED REDWARE	BLACK GLAZE				
5	7	REFINED REDWARE	LUSTER; CLEAR GLAZE	INCISED	WHITE	CLEAR	INCISING ON EXTERIOR

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**WARE TYPE**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 1**	**DEC. TECHNIQUE 2**	**DEC. COLOR 1**	**DEC. COLOR 2**	**DEC. COMMENTS**
6	8	ROCKINGHAM-BENNINGTON / YELLOWWARE	EMBOSSING				POSSIBLY REBEKAH AT THE WELL
7	9	WHITEWARE	PAINTED/ANNULAR		BLUE	PURPLE	
8	10	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		LIGHT BLUE		ALONG EDGE AND IN CENTER; SIMILAR TO VESSELS 9,10, SETS 11, 12
9	11	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		LIGHT BLUE		SIMILAR TO VESSELS 8, 10 SETS 9, 10
10	12	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		LIGHT BLUE		SIMILAR TO VESSELS 8, 9 SETS 10, 11
11	13	WHITEWARE	TRANSFER PRINTED		MULBERRY		FLORAL

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	WARE TYPE	DEC. TECHNIQUE 1	DEC. TECHNIQUE 2	DEC. COLOR 1	DEC. COLOR 2	DEC. COMMENTS
12	14	WHITEWARE	SHELL EDGED		DARK BLUE		POSSIBLY NON-MOLDED
13	1	WHITEWARE	UNDECORATED				
14	1	WHITEWARE	UNDECORATED				
15	1	WHITEWARE	UNDECORATED				
16	1	WHITEWARE	UNDECORATED				
17	2	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	MOLDED				
18	1	WHITEWARE	UNDECORATED				
19	1	WHITEWARE	UNDECORATED				
20	2	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	UNDECORATED				
21	2	HARDPASTE WHITEWARE	MOLDED				

Table D2. Ceramic Assembladge, Manufacturer, Date Range, And Form Information/NASH

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
1	3		HOLLOWWARE			
2	4		HOLLOWWARE	SMALL JAR	SMALL APOTHECARY JAR	
3	5		HOLLOWWARE	STORAGE		
4	6		TABLEWARE	FINIAL FOR LID/SUGAR BOWL OR TEAPOT	SUGAR BOWL, CREAMER, OR TEAPOT	1763-1820
5	7		TABLEWARE	HOLLOWWARE	TEAPOT OR CREAMER	1763-1820
6	8		TABLEWARE	HOLLOWWARE	TEAPOT OR JUG	1830-1900
7	9		TABLEWARE	TEACUP		1785-1840
8	10		TABLEWARE	PLATE		
9	11		TABLEWARE	TWIFFLER		
10	12		TABLEWARE	TEA CUP		
11	13		TABLEWARE	SAUCER		1840-1870

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	MANUFACTURER	FORM	FORM TYPE	FORM COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
12	14		TABLEWARE	SAUCER		POST 1840
13	1		TABLEWARE	SAUCER		POST 1820
14	1		TABLEWARE	TEACUP		POST 1820
15	1		TABLEWARE	TEACUP		POST 1820
16	1		TABLEWARE	TEACUP		POST 1820
17	2		TABLEWARE	FINIAL FOR LID	TEAPOT	POST 1820
18	1		TABLEWARE	SUPPER PLATE	LARGE	POST 1820
19	1		TABLEWARE	SUPPER PLATE	LARGE	POST 1820
20	2		TABLEWARE	TEAWARE		POST 1820
21	2		TABLEWARE	BOWL		POST 1820

Table D3. Ceramic Assembladge, Measurements and Segment/NASH

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
1	3			LESS THAN 10%	BODY
2	4			10-20%	BASE TO BODY
3	5			10%	BASE
4	6			LESS THAN 10%	FINIAL
5	7			LESS THAN 10%	BODY
6	8			LESS THAN 10%	BODY
7	9			LESS THAN 10%	RIM
8	10			10%	BASE TO BODY
9	11			LESS THAN 10%	BASE
10	12			LESS THAN 10%	BODY
11	13			LESS THAN 10%	BODY
12	14			LESS THAN 10%	BODY-RIM
13	1			70%	RIM TO BASE
14	1			LESS THAN 10%	BASE
15	1			LESS THAN 10%	BASE

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**RIM DIAMETER**	**HEIGHT**	**PERCENT COMPLETE**	**SEGMENT**
16	1			10%	RIM TO BODY
17	2			LESS THAN 10%	FINIAL

Table D4. Ceramic Assembladge, Location/NASH

VESSEL NUMBER	SET ID	EXCAVATION UNIT	CATALOG NUMBER	STRATUM/LAYER	BAG NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHERDS
1	3	48	MANA 33293	4		1
2	4	49	MANA 33333, MANA 33351	2, 3		2 (MENDS)
3	5	37	MANA 32930	3		1
4	6	81	MANA 33439	1		1
5	7	49	MANA 33304	1		1
6	8	76	MANA 33398; MANA 33426	1		4
7	9	37	MANA 32929	3		1
8	10	76	MANA 33415	4		1
9	11	26	MANA 32642	1		1
10	12	81	MANA 33443	1		1
11	13	27	MANA 32738	1		1
12	14	49	MANA 33303	1		1
13	1	39	MANA 33125	2		18
14	1	9	MANA 32489	1		3

VESSEL NUMBER	**SET ID**	**EXCAVATION UNIT**	**CATALOG NUMBER**	**STRATUM/LAYER**	**BAG NUMBER**	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
15	1	9	MANA 32525	2		2
16	1	37	MANA 32928	3		2
17	2	48	MANA 33292	4		2 (MENDS)
18	1	82	MANA 33526	2		1
19	1	82	MANA 33530	2		1
20	2	82	MANA 33525	2		1
21	2	81	MANA 32905	2		1

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