

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:

THE VIRGINIA PEASANTRY:
A STUDY OF FARMS IN STAFFORD
AND CAROLINE COUNTIES, THE
EIGHTEENTH THROUGH THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY

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This dissertation reports the results of a study on family farms that existed in Stafford and Caroline counties, Virginia, between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. A framework based on the characteristics of the Latin American peasantry, as outlined by Eric Wolf (Wolf 1955, 1966), was applied to the data for this study. This research aims to expound on the current literature on farmstead archaeology and the understanding of a community with little formal history. While many local historians recognized the need to compile and publish their counties' histories, few outside researchers were interested in writing about either county.

THE VIRGINIA PEASANTRY: A STUDY OF FARMS IN STAFFORD AND CAROLINE
COUNTIES, THE EIGHTEENTH THROUGH THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

by

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the residents of Stafford and Caroline counties who gave up their family farms to support the military effort during World War II. These farms were among the few things your families had and provided everything you needed to survive. It would be difficult for people today to understand your families' sacrifice to support the war, so thank you.

Acknowledgments

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To Dr. Mark Leone, as the chair of my committee and my advisor for the entire time I attended the University of Maryland, College Park, thank you! You encouraged me to think critically about the African-American community in both counties and to make them a large part of this research.

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List of Abbreviations

FAPH	Fort A.P. Hill
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
MCBQ	Marine Corps Base Quantico
MCD	Mean Ceramic Date
MNV	Minimum Number of Vessels
TDA	Tennessee Division of Archaeology
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

Introduction

Until recently, farming was a labor-intensive job that relied on animal power and manual labor to cultivate a food surplus. During the early twentieth-century, about half of all available labor worked in agriculture (Dimitri et al. 2005:2). For many people who lived in rural areas of Virginia, farming was not just a job; it was part of their identity and family heritage.

Over the last 50 years, farming has become a commercial business. Farmers who lived in Stafford and Caroline counties during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries farmed the land with the help of some technology. The transition from farming as a strictly manual labor job to one that used farm technology, such as tractors or electric milk machines, had begun by the mid-twentieth century.

Local historians note that Stafford and Caroline counties have long histories that date back to the seventeenth century. Both counties began with the establishment of tobacco plantations and were relatively prosperous until the Civil War. The war destroyed much of the infrastructure that existed in these countries, including farms and single-family homes. The destruction makes piecing together records about farms in these counties difficult but not impossible (Campbell 1954, Eby 1997, Foundation Stones of Stafford County Virginia 1991, Goolrick 1976).

An article in the *Richmond Examiner* dated September 9, 1862, described the Union occupation as follows: “Nearly the whole county of Stafford has received a terrible blow, from which long years of patient toll will scarcely recover her (we may say) entire negro population, but the fencing of the county has been burnt – her horses, mules, sheep and hogs, corn and hay

used as though the Federal government had a vested right in each and all. A few farmers have escaped with slightly less, but they are exceptions” (*Richmond Examiner* 1862). The Union Army departed the county in 1863, but it would take years to rebuild the county from the damage done. George L. Gordon’s Jr.’s book *Highlights of Stafford County History* estimated that 100,000 troops occupied the county and destroyed most of it: “ [the Union]...either stole everything they could or burned it” (Gordon 1973:16). Not long after the war, people returned to the county, but there was little left to rebuild. Gordon noted that his mother’s family remembered that many people did not return to the county because “Virginia was too close to the damn Yankees, so every one of them took off for Texas” (Gordon 1973:16). Gordon observed that on the farms in the area just after the war, the only thing people could grow was corn; many did not have a horse when they returned, so the first four years were the most difficult in the county (Gordon 1973:17). Over time, the situation improved, and by the early twentieth century, farms had been rebuilt and were producing crops.

Oral History

Oral history projects aim to generate primary source material from personal recollections through planned interviews. The interviews are a way to record the recollections of people who lived in a particular time or place and thus preserve their perspective. In this case, there are few formal historical sources about either county. The oral history projects conducted by the Safford County Historical Society and Fort A.P.Hill captured perspectives that could come only from residents. Therefore, this study included oral histories as an additional data set that provided residents' perspectives on themselves, each other, and the broader community.

Oral histories recorded by the Stafford County Historical Society documented the stories of people born in Stafford in the first or second decade of the twentieth century. Many of these people recalled growing up on a farm. They attended one-room schoolhouses until after World War II, when new high schools were constructed. Others described how they transported dairy products and vegetables to Fredericksburg; they became known as truck farmers. A few people recalled milking cows by hand and then transporting the milk to the Virginia Dairy in Richmond, Virginia. Almost everyone interviewed recalled the county as a rural area but said they would occasionally take their horse and buggy to Fredericksburg or Bowling Green.

One example of a prominent farmer in Stafford County was Hunter W. Greenlaw. In 1933, when he was 15 years old, his father died, and he took over the family farm. For 60 years, he managed a 370-acre farm. At Greenlaw's funeral in 1999, John Grey, a local agricultural agent and friend of Greenlaw, spoke about him. He described his friend as "a farmer, maybe even a southern planter." He went on to say, "To the end of his life, if you gave him a seed, he'd just have to plant it" (Conner 2003:69). He was known as the type of farmer who worked hard but also knew the value of educating himself by reading all the latest journals and farm book

publications (Conner 2003:69). It is clear from the way Greenlaw was remembered that he was passionate about farming and that his identity was linked to his occupation as a farmer. The connection between the farm and the farm owner was a common cultural trait for residents of Stafford and Caroline counties.

The oral histories of people born and raised in Caroline County also indicated that they had strong ties to the land. While people acknowledged that their livelihood was simple and rooted in farming, they said it was meaningful and provided for their families. In 2009, the leadership and staff of Fort A.P. Hill (FAPH) commissioned an oral history project. People shared stories of growing up in Caroline County during the Depression and into World War II, which are a part of the county's history that could be told only by the people who lived it. Caroline County was described as a rural place where most people lived on farms. The participants described how one farmer who had a tractor or thresher would plow as many fields as possible for a share of the crop. Others recalled how their family used a small portion of the land to grow cash crops, such as tobacco, cucumbers, or sweet potatoes. Some interviewees noted that tenants lived on their farms and were essential to producing successful crops (Morton and Morton 2009).

The advancements in farm technology dramatically increased the productivity of farms; the "self-reliance" and the identity of the family farmer became more nostalgic and less of a real identity. Although these ideas of rugged self-reliance were once necessary for self-sufficient farmers, both counties have undergone dramatic changes since World War II. The urban sprawl in areas around Fredericksburg in Stafford County and Bowling Green in Caroline County grew along with the population. With the increase in population and infrastructure came the need for better means of transportation around the county beyond dirt roads. Route One is a state

highway connecting Alexandria to Richmond, Virginia. This road was mainly a dirt road for its first three hundred years in existence. It was one of a few main roads in the area. During the eighteenth century, it was known as the King's Highway.

By the nineteenth century, some areas of the road were renamed Telegraph Road, such as the section that ran through the town of Dumfries. In 1927, it was fully paved and renamed Jefferson Davis Highway (*A History of Roads* 2006:27). Despite the infrastructure changes in both counties, Stafford and Caroline counties were still rural areas before 1940. Few homes had electricity, indoor plumbing, or central heat. At the same time, people who lived in Fredericksburg or Bowling Green enjoyed the modern conveniences of local grocery stores, churches, schools, and indoor plumbing. The contrast between rural and urban was noticeable in this area until recently, when both counties grew significantly in population and infrastructure

Over the last 50 years, the number of farms and the percentage of people who work on farms has drastically decreased because of farm technology such as tractors, rural electrification, and the increased use of machines (*Agricultural Census* 1950:69). More than half of the American labor force worked in agriculture between the mid-nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Today, the number of people who work on a farm has drastically decreased to about 1.9% of the overall workforce in America (Dimitri et al. 2005:2).

Early twentieth-century historians recognized the importance of farming and its ties to slavery (Carman and Tugwell 1938, Schmidt 1940). Virginia began as a colony and was established through a land grant to set up tobacco plantations, which was done successfully until the mid-eighteenth century. However, this was not the case for all Virginians. Many farms began as mixed farms. These farms tended to stay within families through marriage or inheritance. While the American farmer is an iconic representation of hard work and self-

reliance, farms' tenants were responsible for most of the labor that made a farm productive. Tenancy existed before the Civil War but expanded out of the tenuous relationships between planters and slaves after the Civil War with the abolition of slavery. In 1850, Virginia had one of the largest slave populations in the country. Virginia's total population was recorded as 1,421,660, of which 472,528 (33%) were enslaved persons (U.S. Census 1850). Among other states where slavery existed, the next largest was Georgia, where the total population was 906,185, of which 318,682 (42%) were enslaved persons (U.S. Census 1850). It would be easy to assume that postbellum Piedmont would have an increased number of African-Americans who transitioned to being farmers or at least farm laborers; however, the literature on African-Americans in the postbellum South suggests that, at least in the Piedmont area of Virginia, African-Americans transitioned to being laborers but that few became actual farm owners (Irwin 1990:59).

According to Goldenweiser and Truesdell's census study of tenancy rates, the national tenancy average was 38% (Goldenweiser and Truesdell 1924:71). For African-Americans, the national tenancy average was 72% (Goldenweiser and Truesdell 1924:72). In Virginia, the statewide tenancy rate was about 28% (Social Explorer 2021, US Census 1880, 1900, 1920, 1930). Stafford and Caroline counties' tenancy rate between 1880 and 1930 was about 30% (Social Explorer 2021, US Census 1880, 1900, 1920, 1930). While tenancy existed in both counties, the archaeology in Stafford County shows that there was only one dwelling per parcel for most farms. In Caroline County, a few parcels had multiple dwellings on one property, but most did not have more than one house. Census data also show that when a tenant resided on the property, they were listed as such, but only a few census records connected to the parcels included in this study show tenants as part of the household.

African-American Farmers

Between the end of the Civil War and the mid-twentieth century, most farms in the South had tenants, and the majority of these tenants were African-American. In this study, a tenancy system of labor was found to exist in both counties. However, tenancy was not as prevalent as in other Virginia counties. Several African-American families were not even farmers. The following section highlights these families and provides some background on their occupations.

Most of the literature on African-American farms has focused on poverty, poor living conditions, lack of educational opportunities, racism, and the difficulties of sharecropping (Hurt 2003, Irwin and O'Brien 1998; Irwin 1990, Zeichner 1939). This study found that while the conditions described in previous research are prevalent in Stafford and Caroline counties' African-American communities, there were also African-American families that were not made up of farmers, tenants, or farm laborers. They worked in other professions, and while they may have identified as farmers, they maintained gardens, not farms. Unfortunately, these families are more difficult to find in historical records and are nearly impossible to find archaeologically without a historical record. During this research, several examples were found of African-American families from both counties who did not work as laborers or tenants but lived under the same social and economic conditions as every other family in the county. Eight African-American families in the historical record owned or rented a farm in Caroline County: Ruffin, Frye, Hicks, Purce, Morton, Ferguson, Woolfolk, and Rich. In Stafford County, three African-Americans were identified in the census, but none were farmers: Gibson, Jackson, and Miner.

Joseph Ruffin was listed in the 1930 census as single, a boarder, and his occupation was a teacher (U.S. Census 1930: 4A). By 1940, he was married and owned a 100-acre farm worth

\$1200. He lived with his wife, brother, mother, and a maid (U.S. Census 1940). Ida Frye was listed in the 1930 census with her husband, Virgie Fry [sic], with one son and four daughters (U.S. Census 1930:14A). Vergel was listed as the head-of-household, a farmer, and the owner of the farm (U.S. Census 1930:14A). The site survey indicated that this was the location of a local store but did not indicate who may have owned the store (Mullin 2018a:74); however, the parcel number shows that Ida Frye owned the 12-acres parcel where the store was located (Morton and Morton 2009). The Frye family were not farmers but store owners who were self-sufficient and maintained a small garden.

Samuel Hicks was listed in the 1930 census as a general farmer who resided with his wife and owned the land (U.S. Census 1930:13B). The 1920 census listed Hicks, his wife, and one tenant: William Lomax (U.S. Census 1920: 2A). The farm that Hicks owned was only 34 acres, with about 41% of the soil serving as prime farmland. The 1940 census indicated that the land was valued at \$1,000 (U.S. Census 1940:5B).

John Pruce was included in the 1920 census as a farm laborer, along with his wife and one son (U.S. Census 1920:13A). The parcel they resided on was only 46 acres, and no tenants were listed as part of the household (Morton and Morton 2009:374).

Melvinie Morton was listed in the 1900 census with her husband, James, and one son, James Jr. James and the son were both listed as farmers; her occupation was a midwife (U.S. Census 1900:2). The parcel they resided on was only 40 acres, with about 15 acres that were prime farmland with no tenants listed as part of the household (Morton and Morton 2009:371).

Herbert and Lillie Ferguson were listed in the 1920 census; Herbert was a farmer, but Lillie did not list an occupation. (U.S. Census 1920:4). The parcel they resided on was about

200 acres, but only 31% of the soil was prime farmland. No tenants were listed as part of their household.

Charles Rich was listed in the 1920 census as a general farmer, along with his wife, three daughters, and one son (U.S. Census 1920:4). His parcel was 422 acres, of which 153 acres were prime farmland.

William Woolfolk was an African-American farmer who started out as a tenant around 1850 and eventually purchased the land on which he had been a tenant on in 1892. In 1850, he was listed as a “renter” on land owned by Hay Sanders (CC DB 47:181). In 1892, he purchased a 25-acre parcel from Lavinia Saunders for \$150 (CC DB 63:465). However, the census listed Woolfolk in the 1910 census as a general farmer who rented the land (U.S. Census 1910:17B). Despite the discrepancy between the census and the deed, the parcel was small for a general farmer, only 25 acres.

Among the eight families, five were identified as farmers, but it is not likely that all five were actually farmers. Charles Rich was a general farmer and owned enough land to support the assumption that he was a general farmer. The other four, Woolfolk, Hicks, Pruce, and Ferguson, were not general farmers but probably grew a cash crop and produced enough additional crops to be self-sufficient.

In Stafford County, three families were identified in the data that were African-Americans, but none were listed in the census as farmers. Sandy Gibson was listed in the 1900 census as a blacksmith (U.S. Census 1900:8). He resided on a four-acre parcel near Garrisonville Road. Arthur Jackson also lived near Garrisonville Road. Arthur inherited this lot from his father, Henry Jackson (SC Will Books liber R, folio 454). The 1930 census listed Arthur as a Pullman porter and stated that he resided with his wife, mother, and servant Henry

Gladdis (U.S. Census 1930:5B). The parcel was large enough to be a farm. However, no additional dwellings were located on the lot, so it is likely that the tenant did not have a separate dwelling but was part of the household. James Miner resided on an 80-acre lot and did not identify as a farmer but rather as a laborer who did “odd jobs” (U.S. Census 1910:3B).

Jackson, Miner, Gibson, and Ruffin were not sharecroppers or tenants; they all worked outside of agriculture. Morton and Frye were African-American women with husbands who were not general farmers, but they maintained gardens and were self-sufficient families.

Peasants

The definition of “peasant” has two parts: the first defines a peasant as a person who “tills” his own land or rents a small piece of land, and the second is an uneducated person of low status (Merriam-Webster 2022). Stafford and Caroline counties residents often owned their land or rented a part of it, but these were not typically uneducated people. The census indicated that most people could read and write (U.S. Census 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940). However, the question of what a peasant was or was not did not become a topic of scholarly inquiry until the mid-twentieth century.

The study of peasants within the field of anthropology began after World War II when ideas about the “primitive” and the “tribal” were considered an oversimplified way of classifying the numerous types of people globally (Little 2006:1833). At the core of this study are people who made a living off the land. Robert Redfield defined peasants as people “who make a living and have a way of life through the cultivation of land” (Redfield 1956:27). He

went on to note that a “peasant is a man who is in effective control of a piece of land to which ties of tradition or sentiment have long attached him” (Redfield 1959:28).

Eric Wolf observed Latin American peasants and described them in terms of social, economic, and ideological characteristics (Wolf 1966). His observations led him to several conclusions about Latin American peasants. First, the relationship between the peasant and the city requires the peasant to balance his need to care for his family and produce a surplus to support the city (Wolf 1966:13,15). Second, he stated that the peasant often cultivated marginal land using traditional technology (Wolf 1957); this created conditions in which the peasant could not produce enough crops for the family and the broader community (Wolf 1957:457). Wolf inferred that the relationship between the peasant and the city is one of unequal power. Based on his observations, a working definition of a peasant can be extracted to build a framework and then used to analyze Virginia farmers.

Five defining characteristics of peasants stem from Wolf’s observations; peasants were primarily agricultural workers, were part of a broader community, usually produced a cash crop, used traditional technology, and lived on marginal land (Wolf 1966;1955:454–461). These characteristics will serve as the theoretical framework for this study. Based on the data collected, residents of both counties did not conform to all the characteristics outlined by Wolf, but some of the connections are stronger than others.

The analysis shows that most residents identified as farmers or laborers (who worked on farms) and grew cash crops; however, the connection to urban areas seemed less a part of the rural community. The oral history indicated that people occasionally traveled to Richmond, Washington, D.C., Alexandria, Fredericksburg, and Bowling Green. They would shop and sell their products there, but their connection was much stronger between neighboring farms than

with city residents. Many of the farmers did not farm on marginal land. Most farms in both counties were made up of 50% or more prime or state prime farmland. However, many farms used traditional technology, such as hand tools and horse-drawn plows, to cultivate the land, and at least one family used “traditional technology” to cut and sell timber.

Dissertation Data

The data for this research comes from surveys conducted on Marine Corps Base Quantico (MCBQ) and Fort A.P.Hill (FAPH). The surveys collected archaeological data, property records, census data, and maps to analyze these sites for eligibility on the National Register of Historic Places. This research project will not analyze the sites for eligibility but rather use the data to answer a research question: “Do Stafford and Caroline counties conform to Wolf’s peasant characteristics?” These characteristics are drawn from Wolf’s research on Latin American farmers (1955, 1966). These characteristics define peasants and will serve as the framework for this research project. In addition, the characteristics can be linked to other data sets to refine the definition and organize the data.

Four sets of data were incorporated into this study: archaeological, Geographic Information Systems (GIS), census, and oral history data. The archaeological site location is the lynchpin for all other data sets. Based on the site location, parcel maps were used to create a digital boundary in ArcPro. Then, the soil data was added to determine the types and number of acres of farmland soils for each parcel. The census data was cross-referenced with each parcel owner to determine how they identified their occupation in the census.

The artifacts assemblages from the sites were reviewed for examples of “traditional technology” and connection to the broader community based on the bottles found and where they were manufactured. Artifacts such as horse-drawn plows and steam-powered engines are examples of traditional technology. By the mid-twentieth century, gas-powered tractors were more common, and electricity had replaced steam-powered sawmills (Franzen and Nassaney 2020:71). The bottles recovered from sites do not clearly define the relationship between rural and urban areas; as Wolf noted, rural areas support urban ones. The bottles provide a glimpse of consumer preferences and insight into how far outside the counties products were shipped into dry goods stores or local pharmacies.

The agricultural census data show what types of cash crops were grown and how much was sold versus consumed by the families. The data also shows how much cotton and tobacco were produced, but other crops, such as cucumbers, became cash crops due to the pickle factory in Milford, Caroline County.

The oral histories provide a unique perspective about these communities from the residents’ perspective. The stories are about their experiences working on their family farms, the types of technology they used, attending school, and their connections to their neighbors. The oral histories also indicate that many people had little connection to Fredericksburg or Bowling Green because they described their travel to either of these cities as happening on an as-needed basis rather than regular trips.

Summary

This chapter presents some background information on peasants, oral histories, and the data sets used in this dissertation. Also included is a short summary of farming and how the industry has changed over the last fifty years. Notably, most people in both counties identified as farmers, but not all were general farmers. In fact, it is more accurate to say that people were self-sufficient because they maintained gardens and most probably also cultivated a cash crop. This section also provides another perspective on what an agricultural worker is beyond the definition. Wolf defined a peasant as an agricultural worker but also outlined his views on their role in society, their relationship with local cities, and farming practices (1955, 1966). In addition to the definitions and data outline, this section highlighted some examples of African-Americans from Stafford and Caroline counties who were not exclusively farmers but did farm a portion of their land. It is apparent that residents perceived themselves as farmers because they lived in a rural area; their neighbors may have been general farmers, and they did plant cash crops or a garden. All of this contributes to a person's identity and how they perceive themselves in the context of the larger community.

Chapter 2: Literature Review on Peasant Studies and Dissertation Framework

Introduction

Peasants as a research topic originated during the collectivization of Russian farms. Academic historians and other researchers, such as “Russian economists and rural statisticians,” conducted studies on various aspects of peasant communities (Silverman 1979:49). The vast majority of this research focused on the economic aspects of farm productivity. Early twentieth-century anthropological research in the United Kingdom and the United States focused on categorizing peasants or tribal people as primitive or civilized (Redfield 1940, 1955).

Early twentieth-century Stafford and Caroline Counties’ rural populations were similar to other peasant societies in that residents were the product of social upheaval and found it difficult to rebuild after the Civil War. They exhibited many of the characteristics of peasant cultures despite the fact that they were in the midst of growing urban cities, such as Fredericksburg, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. These small farm communities were loosely connected to outside cities by way of timber sales or the sale of farm products that were transported to the city by way of truck, horse and buggy, or train. However, these neighboring cities seemed to have had little influence on the development of either county. Farmers in both counties had more connections to each other than outside cities.

Definition of Peasant

The anthropological definition of a peasant evolved to reflect new interpretations of culture. A starting point for defining the term peasants would be “farmers who sell their surplus in the market” (Little 2002:1833). Webster’s dictionary definition states that a peasant is “a member of a European class of persons tilling the soil as small landowners or as laborers” or “a usually uneducated person of low social status” (Merriam-Webster 2020). Anthropological definitions draw on the idea that peasants are agricultural workers but expand on the details, adding households and surrounding cities to the definitions (Foster 1967, Lewis 1961, Redfield 1954, 1955, Wolf 1966).

A broad definition (Shalin 1987) of peasants encompasses three aspects. First, peasants are primarily agriculturalists. Second, what they produce is consumed by the household. Third, they are usually beholden to an outside “economic” or “political” power (Spencer and Bernard 2002:629). Raymond Firth defined peasants as “primarily an economic referent. By a peasant economy, one means a system of small scale producers...with simple technology...often relying on...what they produce for themselves” (Firth 2004:87). Robert Redfield defined peasant society as “how rural people control and cultivate their land for subsistence” (Redfield 1956:31). George Foster described peasant societies as “communities that represent the rural expression of large, class structured, economically complex...pre-industrial civilizations” (Foster 1960:175).

Russian Influence on Peasant Studies

Many researchers, such as economists, historians, university professors, and doctors, have analyzed farm production after the Bolshevik Revolution. They used the data to develop public policies that were “designed” to help increase the productivity of collective farms (Chayanov 1966:35–40). Unfortunately, many of these policies have failed to address the main issues with collective farms. Alexander Chayanov, a Russian rural sociologist, worked on this problem. He observed that many of the farms were self-sufficient, not commercial farms. Unlike all the other researchers, his study was designed to develop a theory of peasant economies, predict household economic activities, and use the data to develop policies for collective farms (Durrenberger 1980:133). The amount of data collected was massive, but he lacked the statistical tools to analyze his data. However, what his study lacked analytically was made up for in his observations of peasant societies. He noted a few key observations about peasants. As he defined them, “family farms” were not businesses but rather self-sufficient farms (Chayanov 1966:xiii). He argued that collective farms could not be analyzed in terms of wages, capital, rent, or profit because almost none of the family farms had any hired help; all of the labor came from the family (Chayanov 1966:xiii). In order to economically analyze these farms, he developed the concept of the labor–consumer balance, which meant there was an economic balance between “family needs” and necessary labor (Chayanov 1966:xiii). Essentially, these families produced what they needed because the number of family members determined how much work could be done on the farm. Since family farms did not act as commercial farms, they did produce year after year and sold their surplus (Chayanov 1966:xiii).

Chayanov’s research was one of many events that led scholars to research peasants. His work inspired anthropologists to consider peasants and their relationships with the state. After

World War II, anthropologists' research focused on peasant economic conditions, households, and the impact of economic development (Little 2002:1834).

Peasant Research in the Twentieth-Century

Twentieth-century peasant studies focused on three main areas: political, economic, and social. Social research concentrated on “revolutionary movements,” such as in Russia, Vietnam, and China (Spencer and Bernard 2002:630). Economic research started due to the collectivization of farms and Chayanov's influence on the anthropological studies of peasants (Spencer and Bernard 2002:630). Political research shifted from culture's social structure to peasant resistance, with analysis based on modernization theory (Spencer and Bernard 2002:630). Robert Redfield examined culture's origin, structure, and growth from primitive societies to civilizations. He viewed society from a functionalist framework. Redfield described peasant society as a “relativity stable intermediate between the primitive and urban society” (Redfield 1940:738). He hypothesized that “folk” societies were on a folk–urban continuum, meaning that “primitive or folk culture” was developmentally on a continuum between a primitive society and civilization (Redfield 1955:14). His comparative analysis of Mexican villages focused on how isolated, primitive villages became urbanized areas. His research suggested that “primitive (or folk) culture” would become urbanized but retain some characteristics of a primitive tribe (Redfield 1940:734). He assumed that the “great tradition” and the “little tradition” were the two main parts of civilization (Redfield and Singer 1954:55–56). The great tradition was the formal part of a culture in which traditions, customs, and values

were formalized. Little traditions developed in the outlying villages drew cultural traits from the great tradition and transformed them into local traditions (Redfield and Singer 1954:55–56).

According to Redfield, if we understand these more minor parts of society, we can understand civilization as a whole (Redfield 1940:738). By 1956, Redfield shifted his position on the nature of peasants from farmers to agriculturalists and agreed with Wolf (Redfield 1956:27).

Redfield and other anthropologists discovered Latin American communities as a place to conduct research, but his work also drew much criticism. His folk–urban continuum failed to explain the transition from the primitive to civilization, and it fostered a “romantic” view of peasant culture (Melhuus 2010:42). Many of the criticisms of Redfield’s work exposed the real weaknesses not only with the folk–urban continuum but with how Redfield viewed progress in Mexican cities. “The Progress that Chose a Village” accentuates many of these issues but not just from a theoretical position (Castañeda 1996:35–67). Castañeda wrote his critique from a “guidebook” perspective that demonstrates how tourism, archaeology, and popular culture had more to do with perceptions of Maya culture than with accurate depictions of it (Castañeda 1996:1). At the center of Castañeda’s argument; anthropology was instrumental in creating the Maya myth and globally exporting it through tourism and research (Castañeda 1996:18). Castañeda borrows from Foucault’s “specific intellectual” (Castañeda 1996:25) and de Certeau’s ideas to deconstruct Mayan culture by acting as an ethnographer, writing the “Guidebook to the Archaeology of Chichén Itza” (Castañeda 1996:2). He shows how it was imagined, reinvented, and then exported (Castañeda 1996:16–20).

Castañeda used the town of Pisté to show that Redfield’s folk–urban continuum was “simple, misleading, [and] historically naïve” (Castañeda 1996:43). Pisté was as modern as all of the other towns, but Redfield failed to acknowledge it because it did not fall within the

parameters of Redfield's categories; it was this "betwixt and betweenness that marks Pisté with disinterest" (Castañeda 1996:68). The underlying point for Castañeda was why Redfield left Pisté out of his analysis. Based on the location and the fact that Pisté was as modern as all other towns, Castañeda suggested that it simply did not fit with Redfield's descriptions (Castañeda 1996:47–48); this shows the weaknesses of preconceived notions of "folk" or "civilization."

Wolf showed that peasant cultures existed globally and had some common cultural characteristics without confining peasants to strict categories. He viewed culture as an interactive system that operates at the local and global levels. His work on peasants from a Marxist perspective hints at some of the same observations Chayanov made about Russian peasants. Wolf (1966) summarized the general characteristics of peasant culture. First, peasants were not farmers in the way Americans think of farms as businesses; they were "rural cultivators" (Wolf 1966:2). Wolf's issue was not the idea of commercial farms versus self-sufficient farms but what made peasant culture different from primitive culture. Peasants were connected to larger cities because they produced agricultural products consumed locally but were economically or politically controlled by larger communities (Wolf 1966:3–4). The fundamental difference between the two was that in primitive societies, peasants "controlled the means of production, including their labor," but peasants as "rural cultivators" also transferred their surplus to a "dominate group" (i.e., local town or city) (Wolf 1966: 3–4). Wolf's article "Types of Latin American Peasantry" further detailed what he thought was a "typology of peasants" (Wolf 1955:432). Peasants were primarily agricultural producers whose aim was "subsistence, not at reinvestment" (Wolf 1955:454). Peasant culture, according to Wolf, was part of a broader community, usually a large city. Peasants usually produced cash crops. Their social connections were limited to people within the community. They usually worked on

marginal land; when peasants owned land, it was through marriage or inheritance (Wolf 1955:455–461). More recent research examines peasants from a more “top-down” perspective, in that state, planning influences the economic conditions of peasant societies. James Scott (1998) included one chapter in *Seeing Like a State* about the relationship between the Soviet Union Communist Party and Russian peasants in the early twentieth century. The basic premise of *Seeing Like a State* was that countries organize to facilitate state functions. The state developed policies like assigning last names, city planning, tax rolls, and maps to make managing a country of thousands of people and multiple cities easier (Scott 1998:2, 2006). According to Scott, this organizing principle is called “high-modernist ideology” and refers to how governments view the “scientific or technical process” that they develop to improve society (Scott 1998:4). The chapter on “Soviet Collectivization, Capitalist Dreams” details an interesting aspect of farming practices between the Soviet Union and the United States to modernize farming and eliminate peasant farms.

American farmers followed the idea that the larger the farm, the more productive and profitable. The Montana Farming Corporation (Campbell Farms) was a 95,000-acre farm with about two million dollars of investments from the public sale of stock and government investments from the United States Department of Agriculture (Scott 1998:198). The land selected for this farm was fertile and flat, and every new available piece of agricultural machinery was used to industrialize the farm as much as possible. The real purpose of this farm was to demonstrate that commercial farms are superior to small family farms. However, the size of the Campbell Farm was far more difficult to manage (Scott 1998:198). Other commercial farms, droughts, labor shortages, payroll costs, and soil depletion showed that large commercial farms had no advantage over small self-sufficient farms (Scott 1998:198). As Chayanov pointed

out, the family farm is not as susceptible to market fluctuations, drought, and payroll costs because it can expand and contract with market conditions (Chayanov 1966). The idea of large collective farms in Russia appealed to American farmers because they reflected what many Americans thought of as the ideal farm (Scott 1998:200).

Russian farming was, as Scott described, a sterling example of “high modernist planning” (Scott 1998:201). To collectivize farms, the Soviet Union realized that it could not depend on local bureaucrats to implement state farm policy. Stalin dispatched thousands of selected people with new state powers to arrest people, confiscate grain, and force the collectivization of family farms (i.e., peasant farms) (Scott 1998:202). By the end of this process, an estimated three million people had died, and the stated goals of “raising the levels of grain production..., industrializing the workforce... or establishing the technically efficient farms they intended never materialized, but the controls over the farms were put in place” (Scott 1998:202–203). The collectivization of farms resulted in an angry and rebellious peasantry. Tax collection was difficult, at best. No one could accurately account for how much these farms produced, and records of who owned what parcels of land were nearly non-existent (Scott 1998:206–208). Farm collectivization was a deliberate and concerted effort to eliminate the peasantry and then use “science and technology” to produce grain efficiently (Scott 1998:211). According to the Soviet government, eliminating peasant farms would narrow the gap between rural and urban, thus making the country’s management more efficient (Scott 1998:211).

Sociological Studies of Peasants

Anthropologists were not the only twentieth-century researchers to write about peasants. Sociologists had an interest not only in peasants but also, more broadly, in Southern tenant farms and the role that race played on these former plantations.

Wayne Gard's 1937 article on "American Farm Tenants as Peasants" described the living conditions and some of the difficulties associated with tenant farming in the early twentieth century. The article described how government farm subsidies benefited landowners and perpetuated systemic poverty among tenant farmers (Gard 1937:47–48). Some of the characteristics of peasant culture are present in Gard's description of a peasant. All the people in the article worked as agriculturalists (Gard 1937:48–49). Second, many relied on "old technology," such as horse- or mule-drawn plows (Gard 1937:47). While it would be difficult, based on this article, to determine the extent of their connection to local cities or the quality of land that they were cultivating, it seems as though they were struggling tenants and were limited to marginal land.

Arthur Raper, a sociologist whose work focused on twentieth-century lynching, farming, and rural development, conducted an extensive study of the "Black Belt" (Raper 2005:7). His study focused on two counties in Georgia: Greene and Macon (Raper 2005:10). The purpose of this study was to analyze aspects of social "dynamics," such as "social, racial, political," but also the role of tenancy in these counties (Raper 2005:xix). According to Raper, agriculture was "still at the center of the nation's sense of self" (Raper 2005:xix). Plantations were some of the first farms in the area, and most transitioned to tenancy after the Civil War.

Similar to Stafford and Caroline Counties, Greene and Macon Counties exhibited many characteristics of peasant culture. Most people in Greene and Macon Counties were tenant

farmers or sharecroppers (Raper 2005:143–156). They tended to live and work on marginal land (Raper 2005:91). About 25% of agricultural workers did not have a mule or horse with which to till the land; however, those with farm animals usually had one horse or mule and a plow (Raper 2005:82–85). Raper did not clearly describe the nature of the connection to surrounding cities in Georgia. However, many people fled the farms to surrounding cities, pursuing monetary and other types of relief because of the Depression (Raper 2005:191–194). Most African-Americans who left Green County migrated to Atlanta between 1922 and 1927 (Raper 2005:199).

The purpose of this dissertation is to show that Stafford and Caroline counties began as tobacco plantations and transitioned into self-sufficient farms. By the twentieth-century, they had similar characteristics to other peasant communities. Many of the studies in the United States have focused on tenants or sharecroppers and described the general characteristics of peasant communities; no studies noted that Southern tenant farmers exhibited characteristics similar to those of peasant communities in Latin America. However, this study will draw on Wolf's characterization of peasant communities as a framework to analyze the transformation of both counties from plantations into peasant communities.

Tenant Farms in Literature

Erskine Caldwell was an American author who frequently wrote about poverty in Southern states during the Depression. His vivid descriptions of the living conditions of tenant farmers depicted the extent to which many white and African-American farmers lived in poverty. *Tenant Farmer* described the economic disparity between landowners and tenants and the living conditions of Georgia tenant farmers (Caldwell 1935). A closer reading of the story reveals some aspects of peasantry among the Southern tenant farmers. All the people Caldwell wrote about worked under a tenancy contract in Georgia (Caldwell 1935:4). Many plantations that were located on fertile land were “bled of all fertility,” and many landowners forced tenants to farm “steep hills and wasteland” (Caldwell 1955:4). Tenants relied on “old” farm equipment and hand tools (Caldwell 1935:12). It seemed from the description of Jefferson County in 1935 that many farms were spread out, and the distance to the nearest city was, on average, twenty miles (Caldwell 1935:12). One tenant described how he moved several miles away to find work at the nearest farm (Caldwell 1935:8). The tenancy issues seems to resonate across southern farms. The similarities are striking between tenants from different states and counties, despite the distances between these farms.

Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of Virginia Farms

The framework for this research will draw on two of Wolf’s publications on peasants: *Types of Latin American Peasantry* (1955) and *Peasants* (1966). *Peasants* is a study of rural populations and “their role in complex societies.” (Wolf 1966:1). *Types of Latin American Peasantry* used “social and cultural characteristics” and developed a “typology of Latin American peasants (Wolf 1955: 452). According to Wolf, “rural cultivators” are only one part

of a complex society but play an important role in that society (Wolf 1966:1). He noted that peasants are “agricultural workers” who “cultivate the land with traditional tools” (Wolf 1966:2, 12). Peasants produce “cash crops to get money” (Wolf 1955: 454), and they must often cultivate that crop on “marginal land” (Wolf 1955:457). The peasant has an unequal relationship with the urban areas in that they support local urban areas with a food supply (Wolf 1966:15).

This dissertation proposes to answer a series of questions related to two farm communities in Stafford and Caroline Counties, Virginia, within the framework of Wolf’s characterization of peasant culture. It also seeks to address questions concerning the material culture of farms and the persistence of an agrarian culture in these two Virginia counties:

1. **What was the material culture of the mid-nineteenth century to mid-twentieth century farms in Stafford and Caroline counties of Virginia?**
2. **What does the material culture from these sites reveal about connections to the local economy?**
3. **How did land-use changes in Stafford and Caroline counties affect farming practices?**
4. **Why did a predominately agrarian culture persist in these counties post-Civil War?**

Archaeology is the foundation of the analysis of all other data sets because the site location can establish who occupied the site based on the artifact deposits and remains of domestic dwellings found there. Once a site has been located, it can be linked to other data sets. The deed records indicate who owned the home and during what period, and the parcel size. The census shows the number of people in the household, their occupations, and whether there were tenants. The deeds also establish the parcel boundaries to enable an analysis of the soil types on each farm. The bottles showed the products the inhabitants purchased and discarded, providing a glimpse into their connection to urban areas. These data sets help determine who

was a farmer and who merely identified as a farmer. Then, the analysis of all the linked data sets can support or refute whether Wolf's characteristics apply to Virginia farmers.

The peasant framework was selected for several reasons; chief among them was to compare the collected data to Wolf's characteristics to determine whether they held for Virginia farmers. Caroline County was a predominantly agricultural area from the time it was established in the eighteenth century until after World War II. Stafford County began as an industrial county with more ironworks, sandstone quarries, and timber operations until the Civil War, when the Union Army destroyed much of this part of the economy.

Most people in both counties identified as farmers or farm laborers in the census at various times between 1800 and 1940. Some of the material culture recovered at these farms indicates that people relied on outdated farm technology, such as parts of horse-drawn steel plows, hand tools, and steam engines. Other aspects of the material remains of domestic sites indicate that the infrastructure for utilities was not well developed. For example, various parts of wood-burning stoves and iron pots were recovered from sites across the study area, all indicating that homes did not have indoor electricity, plumbing, or gas lines. People tended to rely on outdated or traditional technology. Two steam engines found in Stafford County had specific uses: one was used to cut lumber and the other was a thrasher. Both were built in the late nineteenth century and were still in use in 1942, even though tractors were widely available. Horse-drawn plow and carriage parts were found at sites in both counties that were occupied until 1942. These artifacts indicate that people did not always farm with tractors but used "traditional technology," such as horse-drawn plows.

Cities are usually connected to smaller communities. The bottles recovered in both counties show that people acquired products produced outside the county; however, the link

between larger cities and smaller rural communities was limited to periodic trips to acquire specific items or sell surpluses. The oral histories of the residents indicated that people had closer ties to their neighbors than to nearby cities. Wolf observed that peasant farmers tended to farm on marginal land. GIS data derived from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) soil data shows that the land in Stafford and Caroline Counties, in most places, was not marginal land but rather prime farmland. About half of all the farms included in this study were located on prime or state prime farmland.

Map data shows that land use in Stafford and Caroline counties changed over time due to several factors. One is that the soil became depleted from tobacco cultivation and a lack of fertilizer. As a result, large plantations were parceled into smaller farms that grew smaller amounts of tobacco but larger amounts of wheat and corn. This transition was well underway during the eighteenth century.

Summary

This dissertation draws on Wolf's description of the peasantry to build a framework that demonstrates the presence of the general characteristics of peasant culture, as outlined in the literature, on small family farms in two Virginia counties in the twentieth century.

The peasant culture framework facilitates the organization and analysis of all the data collected for this study. In addition, this framework helps organize the data collected from farm sites in Stafford and Caroline counties to answer the proposed research questions. The foundation for this analysis begins with the archaeological sites and the recovery of material culture. The location and the material are key to establishing a time frame for the sites' occupation, and the location may indicate who occupied the site based on the linkage of the deed records. The other data sets (soil, census, historical records) support additional analysis of the soil quality and census data to discern who identified as a farmer and whether they conformed to the characteristics outlined by Wolf.

Chapter 3: Historical Background

Introduction

Since the eighteenth-century, the family farm has been an essential aspect of American culture. However, the tradition of operating a family farm has slowly disappeared from the American landscape. Today, most of the population resides in suburban areas or large cities. Consequently, some of these “old farms” have become archaeological resources.

In *The Archaeology of North American Farmsteads*, Mark Groover analyzed themes related to the historical processes that farmers experienced, from “colonization and frontier settlement” to full industrialization into a commercial farm (Groover 2008:4); however, not all farms underwent this process. In Northern states, such as Minnesota and Wisconsin, farms fully transitioned into commercial operations by the mid-twentieth century. Conversely, farms in Southern states, such as Virginia, eventually became commercial farms, but at a slower pace.

This investigation focuses on two Virginia counties, Stafford and Caroline, as a microcosm of America’s larger agriculture history. In some ways, farms in these counties conform to many of the same historical circumstances as other rural communities in Virginia and the surrounding states. They are also unique because tenancy was not as prevalent, nor was tobacco cultivated on a large scale much past the mid-eighteenth century. These counties highlight a different perspective on the family farm’s transition, beginning with the establishment of Virginia as a colony until 1942, when the land was purchased for the expansion of MCBQ and FAPH. This study explores the historical processes that shaped these counties before and after the Civil War. The transition away from tobacco and toward more diversified farming was already in progress by the mid-eighteenth century. This research analyzes the extent to which residents of these counties conform to the characteristics of

peasants, as described by Wolf (Wolf 1955, 1966). Similar to Latin American peasants, they often chose not to invest in new farm technology but continued to use “traditional technology,” such as horse-drawn steel plows or steam engines. However, unlike peasants from Latin America, who may have farmed on marginal land, these farms were often situated on prime farmland soil.

Regional History of the Piedmont Area of Virginia

Sixteenth-century settlements in North America were initially established by the Spanish, French, and the Dutch. The English engaged in some exploration of the Atlantic coast, but it was not until the 1580s that there was a more robust effort by the English to establish a presence in the area they called Virginia (Taylor 2001:118; Voigt et al. 1998:22). The English established colonies through a joint venture known as the Virginia Company. In 1606, King James I granted the Virginia Company a charter to establish colonies on the east coast. Once they reached the coast in 1607, they settled on a small island on the James River and started constructing a fort. They named the colony Jamestown. John Rolfe was an early English settler in Virginia credited with successfully cultivating tobacco. He obtained seeds from the West Indies and began to cultivate them. His success became the basis for the Virginian economy for the next 100 years. However, cultivating tobacco was not the only reason the Virginia Company established colonies along the Chesapeake Bay; they were determined to convert the Native Americans into “a virtuous Christian commonwealth” (Musselwhite and Horne 2019:6). The English settlers started with lofty ideas about converting Native Americans and becoming wealthy planters. At first, they wore English clothes, purchased English ceramics, and

constructed homes in the Georgian style. Over time, people in the colonies transitioned away from English culture and became American, but the connection between tobacco, plantations, and English culture was the cornerstone of Virginian culture (Wertenbaker 2021:8).

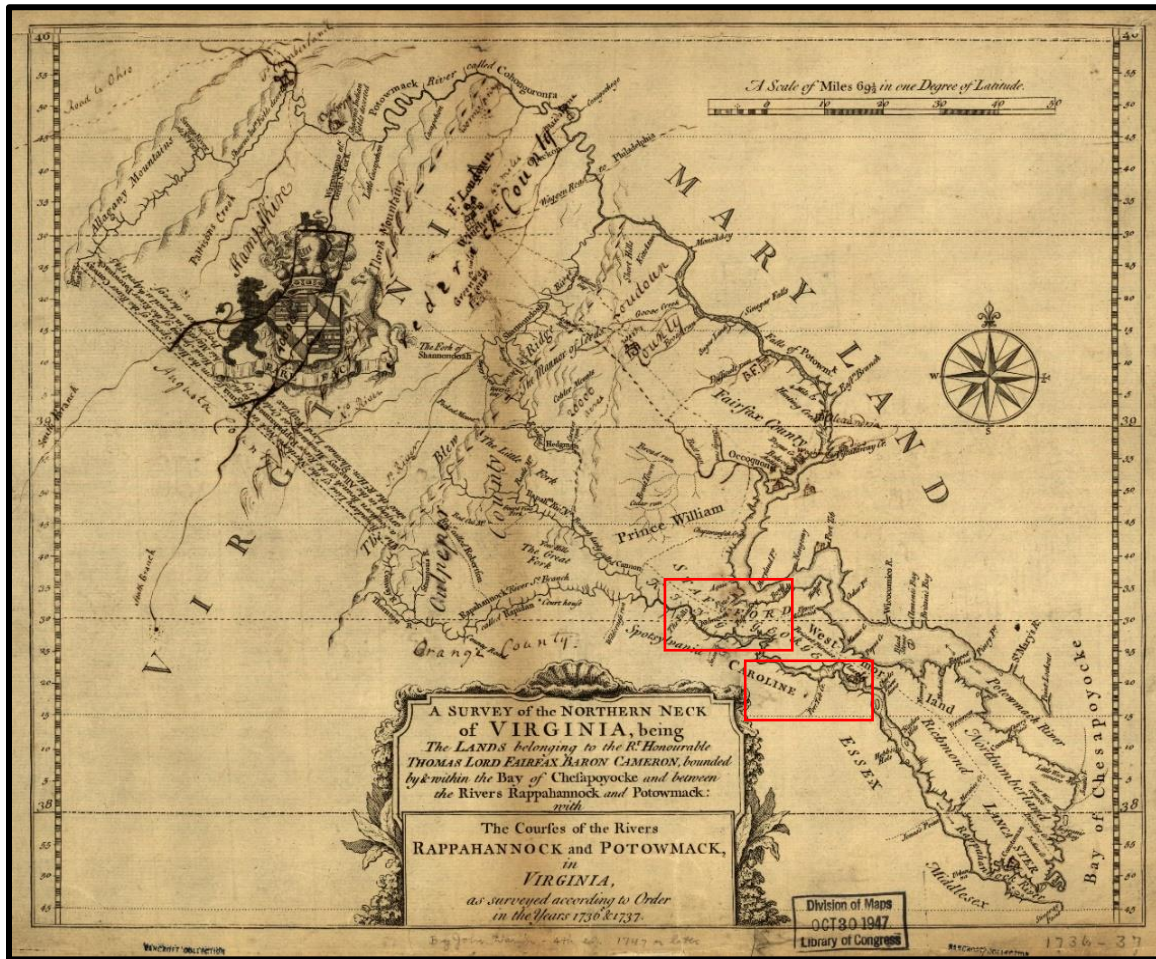


Figure 1: John Warner's 1737 Map of Northern Neck, Virginia. Stafford and Caroline counties are shown on this map in red boxes. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Map Division, map labeled by the author).

Seventeenth and eighteenth-century Virginia was an austere, sparsely populated area where large land grants, acquired through the headright system (and other types of land grants), were used to establish tobacco plantations (Figure 1) (Laird 2018:9). The headright system established a custom that rewarded planters with 50 acres for every individual they moved to

the colonies. The details of the contract, such as the length of service, were negotiated between the indentured servant and the planter (Musselwhite and Horn 2019:135). These grants were intended to encourage people to move to the colonies from England. However, not everyone who went to the colonies did so voluntarily; many were forced and became indentured servants, while others were imported as enslaved people.

As the population in the area grew, the number of indentured servants diminished, and the need for slave labor grew with the demand for tobacco and cotton. At that time, both counties were smaller parts of large land grants; Stafford was part of the Northern Neck Proprietary, and Caroline was within Old Rappahannock County.

Stafford County Historical Background

Stafford County began as part of a large land grant known as the Northern Neck Proprietary (Griffin 1991:19). This was a 5,282,000-acre area that encompassed twenty-four counties between West Virginia and Virginia (Groome 1927:65). The Northern Neck Proprietary did not last long; by 1664, it had been divided up into smaller counties as the population grew (Eby 1997:10). During the seventeenth century, the land was managed under a proprietary system where land was never actually bought or sold; it was granted to a person to rent (Groome 1927:56–57). The grantor had the right to collect “quit-rents” (Groome 1927:56). As the tobacco industry expanded, so did the need for roads, tobacco warehouses, and wharves. Along the Potomac River, towns such as Aquia and Dumfries were some of the first places to be established as part of the tobacco exchange network. In 1680, these towns were built near tobacco warehouses (Whitley and Pappas 1998:2–12). The Virginia General Assembly imposed

strict regulations on these warehouses. These were places to inspect and exchange tobacco according to the standards set forth by the Assembly. Tobacco was the main cash crop produced in Stafford until the Revolutionary War.

The Stafford County economy was not strictly based on tobacco; other industries flourished in the county. Aquia was home not only to one of the largest and most prominent parishes in the Northern Neck area, Aquia Episcopal Church, but it was one of the largest sources of sandstone. Many of these quarries were later sandstone sources for the U.S. Capitol Building and the White House. Other industries that thrived in the county were timber and seafood (Whitley and Pappas 1998:2–14). By the beginning of the nineteenth-century, Stafford was a prosperous county with a growing economy and developing infrastructure; this continued until the Civil War. Small family farms that produced wheat increased the demand to mill the wheat locally; twelve mills were included in Wood's 1820 map of Stafford County, but no tobacco warehouses (Figure 2).

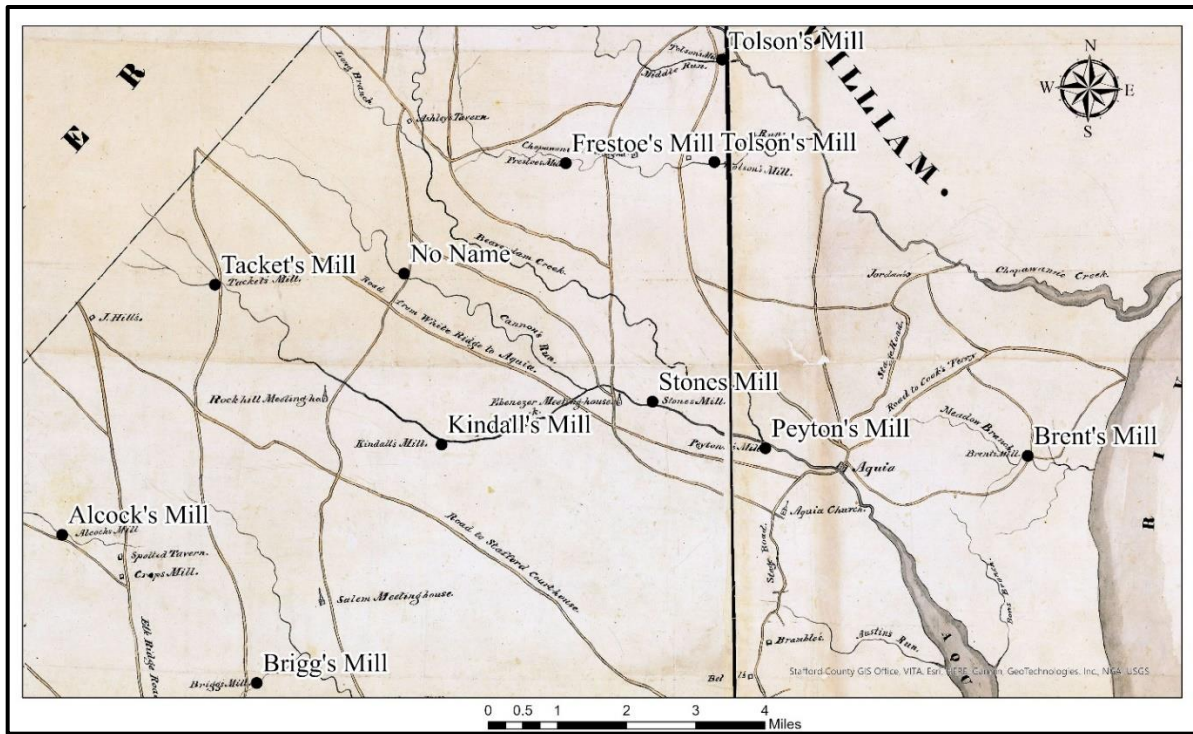


Figure 2: Wood's Map of 1820 showing Stafford County mills (Courtesy of the Library of Congress maps, mill points created by the author and geo-referenced in ArcPro).

The Civil War devastated Stafford and Caroline Counties. Some of the war's most significant battles were fought in or near these counties. The conflict destroyed homes, livestock, crops, railroads, and other infrastructure that economically and socially supported the counties. Stafford County was transformed from a productive, growing economy to one mired in inflation and poverty. Freed slaves and former planters struggled to redefine their relationships and societal roles. The infrastructure and economic damage from the war eventually corrected itself, but some farms and manufacturers could not fully rebuild. Many families that left the county in 1860 did not return. For those who returned, the struggle to rebuild lingered for many years after the war.

From 1870 until 1940, Stafford was a predominantly European American county in which most farms were owner-operated. Caroline County had a slightly higher African-

American population during the same period (U.S. Census 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1920, 1930, 1940), and more tenants were listed in the census.

County Architecture

Architecture as material culture represents the physical environment, which reflects people's ideals, values, and identity within a culture. At the local level, vernacular architecture develops from the social conditions of a place. In Stafford County, the architecture began with Georgian mansions and transitioned to wood-frame homes, then to concrete foundations with wood-frame structures. This transition paralleled the movement from large plantations to smaller farms managed by a growing class of "middling farmers" (Chappell and Richter 1997:3). The spatial layout of Chesapeake Bay farms tended to follow a general pattern that reflected economic and technological changes in farm practices within the region. The courtyard plan is a pattern in which the main house faces the road, and the barn is located behind the house, along with a farmyard (Lanier and Herman 1997:224). The linear plan is where the "ridges of house and the barn are aligned, and other outbuildings are oriented end to end" (Lanier and Herman 1997:224).

The perception that Chesapeake Bay architecture reflected a distinct dichotomy of rich and poor is not entirely accurate. In fact, there was a wide range from the early nineteenth century of "permanent and well-finished" homes of wealthy "middling" planters (Chappell and Richter 1997:3). The descendants of wealthy planters became self-sufficient farmers. This transition was reflected in the architecture of homes in the county dating to the twentieth century. A report compiled by the Virginia Polytechnical Institute on rural housing in Stafford

County farms provided insightful data about the conditions of farm housing during the 1940s, which enables a clearer understanding of this transition.

In 1940, Stafford had a farm population of 4,193, with 1,107 occupied farm dwellings (U.S. Census 1940). Of the dwellings occupied, 866 were white, and 132 were African-American. There were 109 tenants, of which 87 were white, and 22 were African-American. Eight hundred and fifty-seven of the dwellings had an average of five rooms, and 40% of these dwellings had an estimated value of \$7,00–1,499. Four hundred and eighty-two of these dwellings needed major renovations, including insulation, indoor plumbing, and electricity, and many needed repairs to the foundation. Fifty-five percent of African-American homes were valued under \$700; all of these dwellings had similar issues to the homes of European American farmers in the county. About 92% of all families lacked central heat or a stove; the majority used a wood stove (Garnett 1948).

The social and economic changes that took place in Stafford were reflected in the vernacular architecture. It appears that this county began as a community of wealthy Virginia planters and continued that way until after the Civil War. After the war, the rebuilding of the county was slow, and a lack of economic and population growth was reflected in the material culture and the built environment. The homes built in the twentieth century were constructed of local materials and reflected the perception that county residents were self-sufficient people living off the land. Vernacular architecture often reflects a community's social and economic conditions. The homes described in the report utilized locally obtained materials and indicated the extent to which many rural county residents were not connected to utilities.

Caroline County was created in 1727 from land located within Old Rappahannock County, a large land grant established in 1656. The land grant encompassed areas between the Piankatank and Rappahannock Rivers and the Chesapeake Bay to the Fall Line (Hodges 1985:30, Wingfield 1924:8). In 1607, when John Smith created his now famous map of the Chesapeake Bay, he noted all of the Native American Villages along the bay and the main rivers (James and Potomac) (Figure 10). At the time, approximately thirty Algonquian-speaking tribes lived in 150 different villages (Ayers and Beaudry 1979:35).

Beginning in 1607, with the establishment of Jamestown, the number of European settlers steadily increased. Large counties, such as Old Rappahannock, were subdivided into smaller counties (Hodges 1985:30). Within these counties were large plantations where land was consolidated under the headright system. The headright system of obtaining land grants in Virginia was supposed to encourage immigration to the colonies. Under this system, people who financed their own or another person's transport were given a certificate from the governor or the Virginia Council. After surveying the land, they would present the certificate to the county court to officially record the parcel (Morgan 1972:361–362). There were numerous issues with the system of land grants, including the time required for travel, conducting the survey, issuing the certificate, and the county to record the patent.

The headright system never accomplished what it was intended to do, and the replacement for this system was slavery and, later, tenancy (Morgan 1972:371). Despite this system's issues, people established large tobacco production plantations in the county. Robert Beverley, Ralph Wormeley, and John Catlett benefitted from the headright system and amassed some of the larger parcels into plantations. These men were deeply involved in trade and the politics of the colony (Hodges 1985:31). They had a great deal of influence over who received a

grant and where. Most of the more extensive, productive plantations were located along the banks of the James River; other smaller plantations were located more inland.

Early in the development of these plantations, the majority of laborers were indentured servants. They were later replaced with enslaved African laborers (Larid et al.:2018:9). Growing tobacco was not only a labor-intensive job, but growing it year after year tended to deplete the soil without fertilizer. Between 1750–1800, most of the Chesapeake Bay economy was firmly established in tobacco cultivation. This was the case for large landowners and smaller farmers (Larid et al., 2018:9). The problem with an economy that relies on a single crop, such as tobacco, is that prices and crop yields tend to fluctuate, and after yearly production, the soils deplete. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the overseas tobacco markets had disappeared, the soil was depleted, and farmers began to diversify their crops (Larid 2018:10). Throughout the nineteenth century, Caroline County continued to be an agriculture-based economy. During this time, the local industry was revitalized due to the railroad's establishment. The Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac (RF&P) Rail Road connected Fredericksburg and Bowling Green to Richmond. This opened new markets for local farmers who were previously unable to transport their products beyond local stores (Turner 1947:43–44).

The 1850 Agricultural Census indicated that farms in the county produced various crops, including tobacco, corn, oats, wheat, and fruits (1850 Agricultural Census). Between 1850 and 1890, Caroline farmers grew tobacco and small amounts of cotton, but the amount of land that could be used for cash crops was balanced against growing food for animals and people. Agricultural census data for tobacco and other farm staples are difficult to compare because they were not counted or recorded with standard measurements. In the nineteenth-century,

tobacco was recorded some years in pounds, some years in acres, and other years in both.

According to the available data, Caroline County’s tobacco production dramatically decreased over time. The data also indicates that Caroline County continued to produce tobacco after 1860 but not cotton (Figure 3).

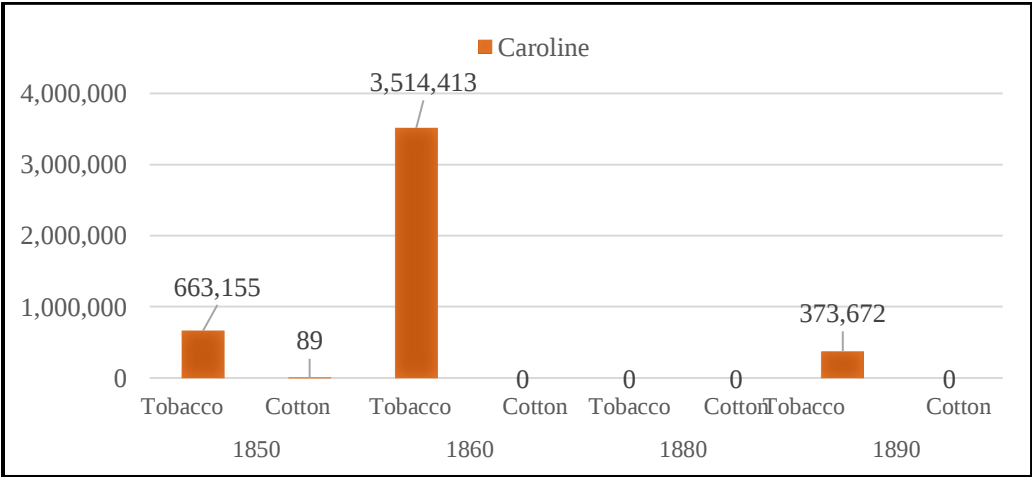


Figure 3: Nineteenth-century tobacco and cotton production in Caroline County (data compiled by the author from the Agricultural Census 1850, 1860, 1880, and 1890).

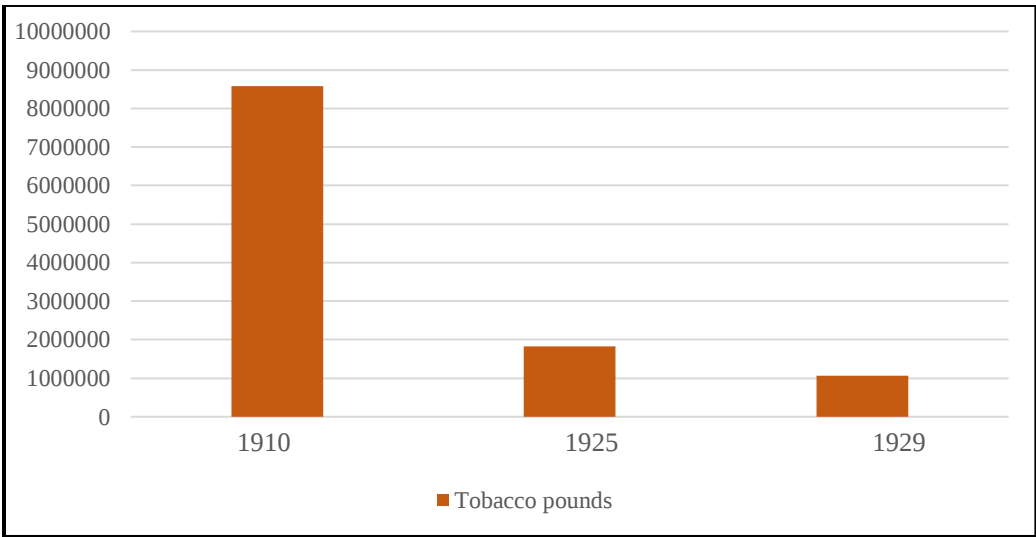


Figure 4: Twentieth-century tobacco production in Caroline County (data compiled by the author from the Agricultural Census 1910, 1925, and 1929).

By the twentieth century, tobacco production had decreased between 1910 and 1929 (Figure 4). Based on the data, it is difficult to say why tobacco production decreased; part of the reason may be that the number of farms was increasing, but the acreage decreased during the early twentieth century. Families had to balance growing cash crops with growing food necessary to sustain them throughout the year. Growing a small amount of tobacco for sale or personal use may have been more beneficial than growing large amounts.

Virginia Farming

From about 1607 to the 1630s, the labor pool in Virginia was almost entirely derived from indentured servants from England. A steady decline in servants from England and the passage of the Virginia Slave Codes in 1705 codified the legal status of “African workers” as property without legal rights and stated that their “offspring could be held in servitude for life” (Bryant 2010:7333). This became the legal basis for slavery in the United States.

Virginia farming practices slowly drifted away from the single-crop focus on tobacco between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Farmers began to diversify with corn, wheat, and other crops. The shift to more diverse crop production occurred for several reasons. The issues with Virginia farming had roots in the transition from tobacco to more diverse crops. Many Virginia farmers would stop using an area when its productivity dropped, and they had little knowledge of how to correct the problem (Bryant 2010:7334). John Taylor, a prominent member of Virginia society, published a book about farming issues in 1814. *Arator: Being A Series of Agricultural Essays, Practical and Political in Sixty-Four Numbers*, was about the state of farming (and politics) in Virginia, among other places. He noted that an Englishman,

Mr. Strickland, had published a pamphlet on the state of agriculture in America, saying that “Virginia...arrived at its lowest state of degradation,” along with several other quotes (Taylor 1814:10). He did not explain why he quoted Mr. Strickland or the time period he referred to but rather stated that if these observations were true, then Virginia farms were “awfully threatening to the liberty and prosperity of a country” (Taylor 1814:10).

Later in the book, Taylor described several farming techniques that would improve productivity; among them were “modes of fertilization” (Taylor 1814:72). He proposed that a system he called “inclosing” would fertilize the soil. He thought there were vast amounts of fertilizer in the atmosphere and that the plants could draw on this as the source of nutrients (Taylor 1814:73). Taylor’s farming ideas would not increase soil fertility, but he did note some important points about Virginia farming. He correctly identified that the soil was depleted and that few farmers put much thought into “improving” farming. The idea that Virginia’s farming had serious problems would resurface several times until the twentieth century. In reality, farming went through periods of high and low productivity. Figures 5 and 6 show the value of farms increased over time between 1850 and 1930. For the value of a farm to increase, the owner had to build support structures, such as silos, barns, and pens, which contributed to making a farm more valuable and productive because the farmer could use these additional structures to support and expand his operations. While the number of farms increased during this period, the data also indicates that more people constructed additional structures to support either a cash crop or their food supply.

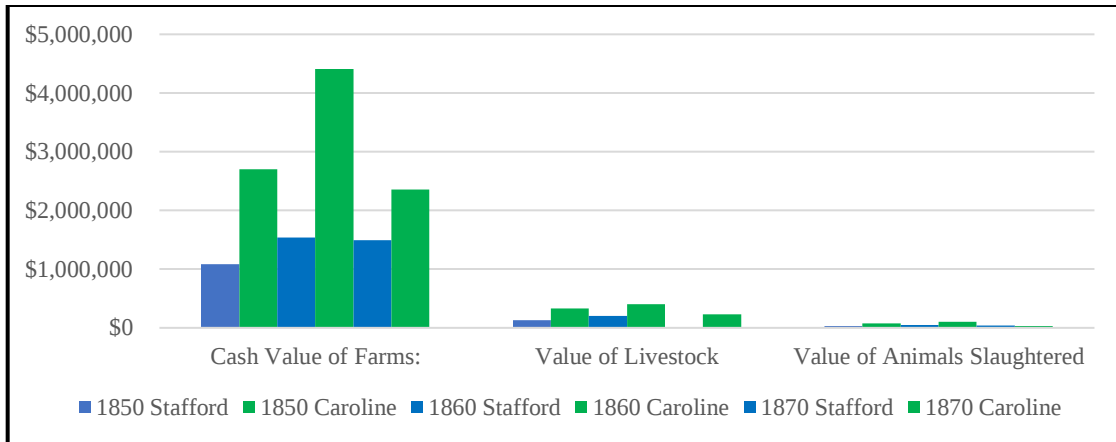


Figure 5: This chart shows the cash value of livestock and farms in both counties from 1850 to 1870 (data compiled by the author from the Agricultural Census 1850, 1860, and 1870).

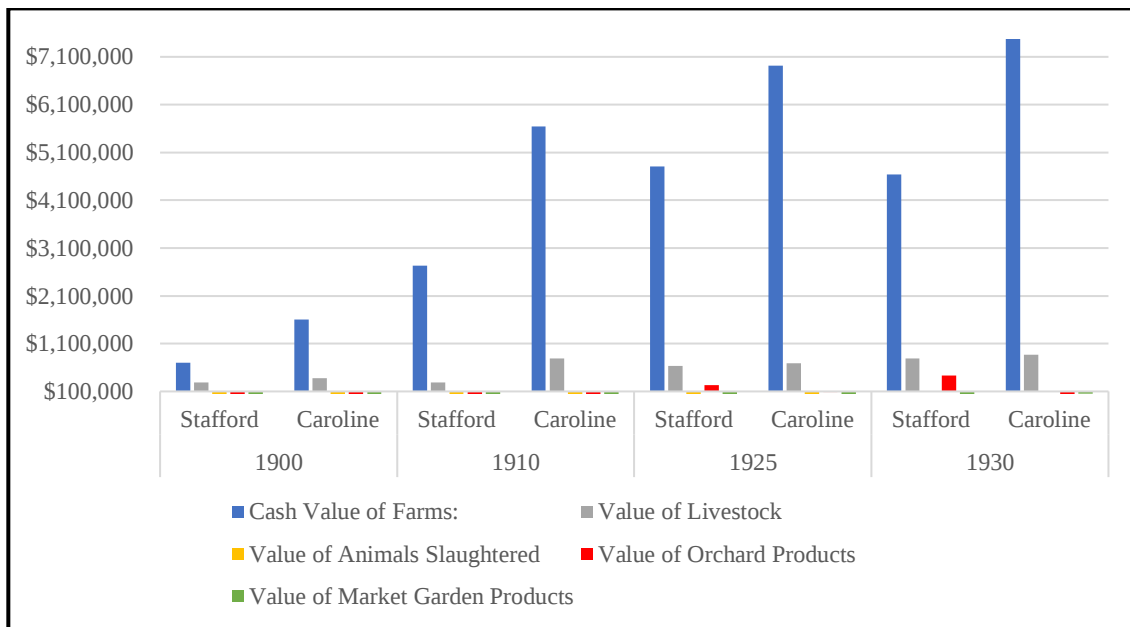


Figure 6: The twentieth-century data shows a steady increase in the value of farms for both counties between 1900 and 1930 (data compiled by the author from the Agricultural Census 1900, 1910, 1925, and 1930).

Between 1860 and 1940, farm journals and the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) attempted to encourage farmers to adopt modern farming methods to increase productivity and crop yields, but few Southern farmers were interested. George C. Osborn's 1955 article "Southern Agriculture Press and Some Significant Rural Problems, 1900–1940"

outlined some of the problems that he identified from farm journals: the one-crop system, poor soil quality, a lack of tractors, a lack of electricity in rural areas, and farm tenancy (Osborn 1955:117). However, after the Civil War, many Southern farms shifted to self-sufficient farms and never developed into commercial businesses by choice.

The USDA, farm journals, and the Virginia General Assembly assumed that because Northern farms had transitioned into business models, farms everywhere should follow suit. Based on the letters to the editor of these journals and the study conducted in 1930 by the Virginia General Assembly, Southern farms were mainly self-sufficient and chose not to become commercial businesses. One of the ways farmers communicated was through journals. There were several such publications, including *Southern Planter*. These journals were an open forum in which any farmer could write letters to the editor, articles were published on new farm technology, and advertisements for equipment or available land were printed. They provide some insight into the Virginia farmer's perspective on "farm issues," advice on growing specific crops, and success stories related to farming. A letter published in *Southern Planter* stated that the one problem with "our farmers" is that they "don't study farming; they rely on what they know" (Hale 1903:451). Other Virginia farmers chose to focus on sharing their knowledge, such as Margret Moncure, whose letter to the editor was published in *Southern Planter*. She offered farmers advice on how to raise a successful chicken coup. According to Margaret, one should start with "a healthy egg stock..." and the coop should be a long, rectangular structure that opens to the "south" with gates to control when the chickens can roam (Moncure 1912:298). Farmers from Caroline County also wrote to the editors asking if "hops could be successfully grown in Virginia?" (Gray 1905:101). Another asked whether using lime "would be likely to produce a stand" of alfalfa (Tomkins 1905:102). Many of the issues farmers wrote

about focused on local or personal issues, not broad commercial versus self-sufficient farming issues. Nonetheless, state-wide issues with farming caught the attention of Virginia state legislators.

In 1930, the General Assembly of Virginia commissioned a report on the *Condition of the Farmers of Virginia* (Burruss et al. 1930). The report aimed to analyze the issues of farm income and productivity across the state. The commission requested letters from farmers to detail some of the problems they experienced and proposed solutions. Most of the letters expressed concern that conditions were worse than in previous years, and about 22% stated things were better than in past years, but few offered serious solutions to these problems (Burruss et al. 1930:11).

Tenancy and Sharecropping

The level of tenancy and sharecropping in the South increased after the Civil War with the abolition of slavery. The mass exodus of formerly enslaved people who left the plantations and moved north or joined the Union Army created a labor shortage at a time when many planters wanted to reopen plantations (Zeichner 1939:22). Several years after the war, there was still confusion and uncertainty about national politics at both the local and national levels. At the national level, Reconstruction (1865–1877) was a time when issues concerning slavery would need to be settled (Hillstrom 2016:3). Questions that surfaced after the war, such as, “should Confederate leaders be punished and how?” “should land that was confiscated property be returned?” and “how much assistance would be necessary to help former slaves transition to citizens?” would need to be addressed to reunite the country (Hillstrom 2016:3). These issues

became highly politicized at a time when political and social instability was the norm. In response to the emancipation of enslaved people, many Southern states passed Black Codes. These codes were written to restrict African-Americans from becoming full citizens by limiting their participation in society. They prohibited African-Americans from serving jury duty and barred them from voting or the opportunity to work in certain occupations (Asante 2004:120). The crux of the problem for planters was that slavery was the basis for all agricultural labor. Soon after the war, planters focused on marginalizing and restricting formerly enslaved people and expected them to work under the conditions planters created for them. Planters wanted to take advantage of the high cotton prices for about two years after the Civil War. Both parties signed labor contracts that were manipulated to benefit the planter and almost always resulted in debt for the tenant (Fite 1979:5). Planters assumed that giving tenants a portion of the crop would motivate them to work efficiently (Fite 1979:5). This system failed for a few reasons. One, neither side found it satisfactory. Second, cotton prices fluctuated from year to year; cotton was never “uniformly” profitable. Third, there were no solvent banks after the war, so planters found it difficult to pay cash wages (Zeichner 1939:29).

The transition from slavery to wage labor contracts gradually developed into the tenant/sharecropper system. This was not an easy transition; it was a long and arduous process for both the planter and the freeman (Orser and Holland 1984:113). This process was difficult because former slaves realized early on that landownership was an integral element of the transition into citizens, and many were hesitant to enter into labor contracts with planters because of the nature of the relationship. Conversely, many planters were resentful at the loss of their wealth and enslaved people and were eager to resume planting because of the high price of cotton (Zeichner 1939:25). As most planters assumed that formerly enslaved people would not

work willingly, they created very constrained labor contracts. At the same time, formerly enslaved people were unwilling to sign contracts with planters because they limited their freedom and often resulted in debt (Fite 1979:5). In the minds of many formerly enslaved people, landownership was the path to social equity, but landownership was not entirely based on race, nor was it evenly distributed across the South. As noted earlier, Virginia had a different mix of farm tenancy and ownership throughout the state.

Several historians have argued that the uneven distribution of land ownership across Southern states was due to “race relations” (Reid and Bennett 2014:22). According to their research, during the Jim Crow era, there was a distinct difference between the “Upper” South and the “Lower” South. They found that there was a racial barrier that precluded many African-Americans from land ownership. However, they found that only some whites were unwilling to sell land to African-Americans, but many African-Americans had to negotiate legal barriers and literacy issues to purchase land (Reid and Bennett 2014:27). They also found that white farmers dealt with similar issues with obtaining a mortgage to buy land (Reid and Bennett 2014:30). Reid and Bennett were careful to point out that tenancy is not the same as land ownership. It did not translate into the social equality African-Americans hoped for after the Civil War, even for those who owned land.

Tenancy and Sharecropping in Virginia

Like other places in the South, in Virginia, tenancy and sharecropping increased after the Civil War and transformed labor relations between planters and formerly enslaved people. In the South, where cotton, tobacco, and peanuts were cash crops, most plantations transitioned to tenant or sharecropper farms that continued to produce these crops. The situation was similar

in Virginia: tenancy tended to be higher in counties where tobacco, cotton, and peanuts were grown more frequently than other crops. Conversely, areas with owner-operated farms, such as Stafford and Caroline Counties, had less tenancy.

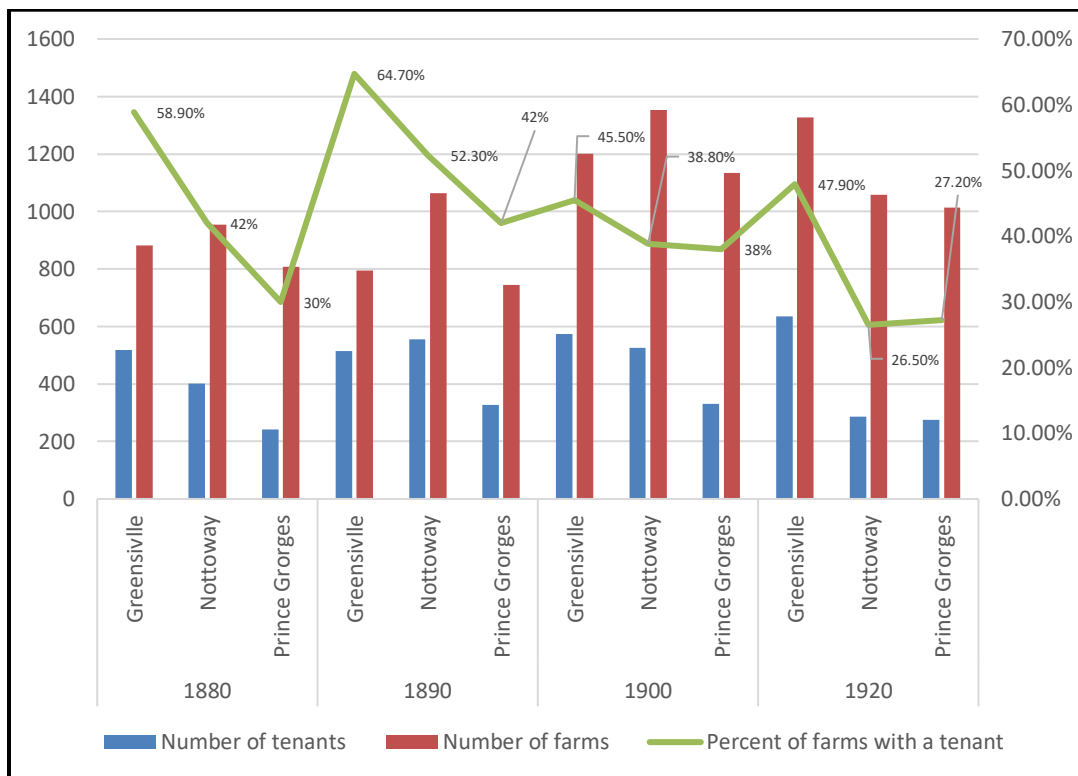


Figure 7: The number of farm tenants for Greenville, Nottoway, and Prince George's counties (data compiled by the author from Social Explorer 2020).

A comparison of counties (Greenville, Nottoway, and Prince Georges) that had a similar number of farms to Stafford and Caroline counties but tended to grow more tobacco, cotton, and peanuts shows the number of tenants goes up between 1880 and 1920 (Figure 7). Pittsylvania, Halifax, and Mecklenburg were three of the largest tobacco counties in the state. Between 1880 and 1920, an average of about 48% or more of these farms had tenants (Social

Explorer 2020). In 1900 in Pittsylvania, Halifax, and Mecklenburg, only 534 farms (36%) were owned by African-American families. In 1930, 913 farms (16%) were owned by African-American families in the same counties.

In 1924, the Census Bureau conducted a study of tenancy in the United States with statistics collected from across the country. The research found two correlating factors associated with tenancy. First, the number of farms with tenants tended to be higher in areas with better soil and where farming was the central aspect of the local economy (Goldenweiser and Truesdell 1924:64). Second, according to the authors, farmers often sold land when prices were high, and when prices were low, they tended to hire more tenants (Goldenweiser and Truesdell 1924:67–69). The relationship between real estate prices and tenancy may hold for nationwide data, but at the county level, the data creates a slightly different picture regarding the number of tenants when farm values increased in Stafford and Caroline Counties.

Figure 8 shows an increase for the 1900s and again for the 1910s state-wide (Social Explorer 2020). Between 1920 and 1925, property value decreased, but the number of tenants remained the same. At the county level, a similar situation existed in which farm values increased, but tenancy rates did not (Figure 9).

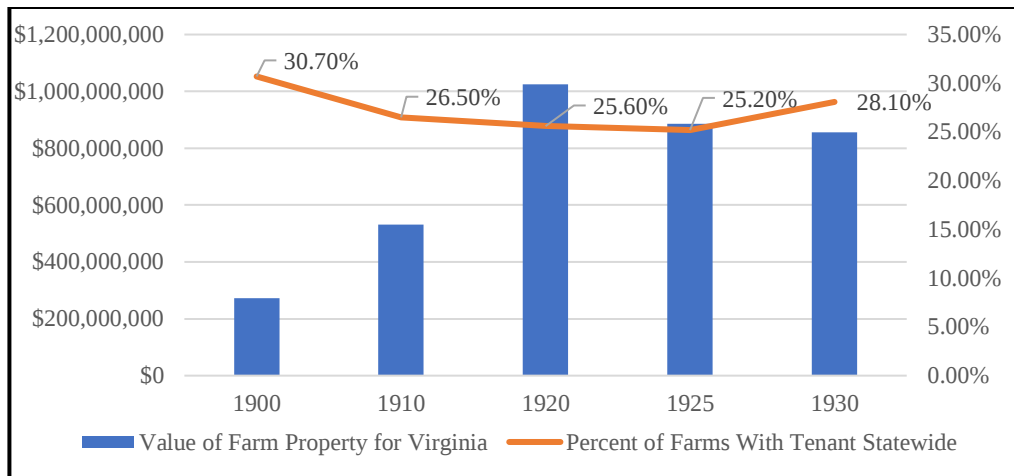


Figure 8: State-wide statistics for farm value and the percentage of farms with tenants (data compiled by the author from Social Explorer 2020).

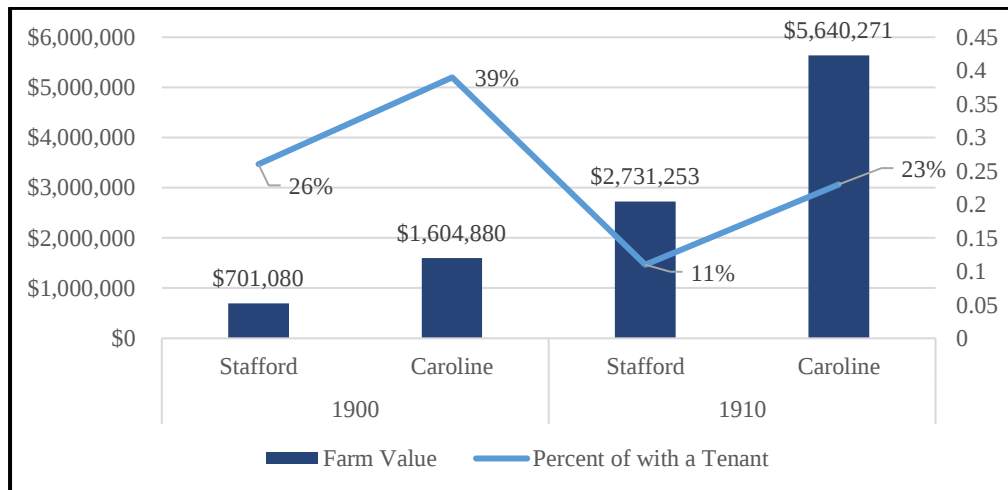


Figure 9: The chart shows the value of farms for both counties in relation to the value increase and the number of tenants (data compiled by the author from Social Explorer 2020).

Goldenweiser and Truesdell's study indicates that there tended to be more tenants in areas where the soil is better suited for agriculture, and low land prices usually correlate with a greater number of tenants (Goldenweiser and Truesdell 1924). On average, neither county had as many tenants as areas where more farms produced cash crops such as cotton, tobacco, and peanuts. The correlations found by Goldenweiser and Truesdell's study may hold for national averages, but the two sets of comparable data at the county level do not support the assumption

that land prices and tenancy rates had a cause–effect relationship. While there may have been a strong relationship between tenants and land prices, this data set does not support that assumption.

The Archaeology of Farmsteads

During the 1980s, the archaeology of farmsteads became a routine part of not only cultural resource management surveys but also peer-reviewed publications (Adams 1980, Beaudry 1986 and 2001, Cabal et al. 1999 and 1997, Catts 2001, Orser and Holland 1884 and 1988, Stine 1989). Farmstead research covers various topics and theories related to historical archaeology, such as settlement patterns, ethnicity, and modernization. One of the issues with tenant farm research addressed in the literature is that farm sites are often overlooked or ignored because there is an abundance of this type of site. One reason farms are ignored maybe that determining the background of a farm requires an enormous amount of research to discern who occupied it and whether records related to it exist. Despite its underrepresentation in the literature over the last thirty years, the body of research that has been compiled on this topic is significant.

Over the last thirty years, the literature on farmstead archaeology has grown tremendously, and many of these studies tend to focus on a single site within a specific time period. Some of the main themes that farmstead archaeology has addressed are rural settlement patterns, the modernization of farms, and tenant farms, but there is little literature on rural communities as a whole.

Many soil studies show how soil data can be helpful in analyzing plantations or farmsteads. One example of a study analyzing eighteenth-century tobacco plantations in Virginia was by Lukezic (1990). This study created survey blocks around Williamsburg, Virginia, to determine whether the soils in that area were suitable for cultivating tobacco (Lukezic 1990: 6–7). He found that about 87% of the plantations within the survey blocks were on prime tobacco soil (Lukezic 1990:15).

Another example was the study at the Bennette farm in York County, Virginia. Very few records are associated with the site; much of what is currently known about it comes from archaeology. Unlike many of the large plantations in Virginia, this farm belonged to the category of “Middling Farmer” (Luccketti 1990:vii). Based on all the data collected from the survey, Luccketti concluded that the Bennette family was able to meet basic self-sufficient needs and earn cash from the sale of tobacco (Luccketti 1990:82). As with many Virginia plantations and farmsteads, there may or may not be historical records that fill in the historical particulars of residents who occupied the site over time. The archaeological site is sometimes is often the only remaining source of information about the people who have occupied Stafford and Caroline counties since the establishment of Virginia.

Summary

This chapter outlines the history of the Virginia Piedmont, county history, county architecture, farming, and Virginia tenancy. The historical context created from these sources is essential to interpreting these sites.

Virginia Piedmont history indicates that the area was established through large land grants that became counties. During the seventeenth century, large tracts of land were parceled out within the counties to set up plantations. By the eighteenth century, most of the plantations had become diversified farms. Parcels continued to become smaller into the twentieth century. The link between land use and the landscape is an important distinction because, as the parcels decreased in size, the number of farms increased, and land use transitioned from the large plantations that produced tobacco to farms that produced corn, wheat, rye, and a smaller portion of cash crops.

This chapter also examines the role of tenancy and sharecropping in the Virginia Piedmont. The census indicated that at least 30% of farms in either county had a tenant or sharecropper. However, counties that produced more tobacco, cotton, and peanuts tended to have much higher tenancy rates.

Farmstead archaeology is an essential part of the larger body of anthropological literature. Farms became a common research topic during the 1970s with the expansion of cultural resource management surveys. Rural sites are important to historical archaeology because so many American households farmed their land. Archaeology has facilitated a better understanding of rural life during the twentieth century.

Chapter 4: Data

Introduction

This chapter details the data collected for this study and organizes it by period within the framework derived from Wolf. Each of the data sets supports or refutes the observations made by Wolf about peasants. The archaeological data support the assumption that these parcels each had at least one dwelling. Based on a site's location, the deed records were cross-referenced to determine who owned the property, when they sold it, and how many times the lot was turned over to a new owner. Establishing a timeline, where possible, identifies instances in which archaeology supports or refutes historical records. The deed provided the property owner's name, which was cross-checked with the census. The census data recorded the number of people in the household, their occupations, and their race, among other pieces of data. The soil data supports the assumption that these farms were not on marginal soil; most of the farms were located on prime or state prime farmland. The bottle data show that people consumed many products imported from outside the county. However, the oral histories indicate that few people had strong ties to urban areas and were connected mainly to their neighbors and people within the community. Agricultural census data and oral histories support Wolf's assumption that farmers grew and sold cash crops locally. The population census data shows that most people reported to the census enumerators that they were farm owners or worked as farm laborers. By linking the data together, this research found that Virginia farmers conform to three of the five characteristics of peasants: agricultural workers, produced cash crops, and used traditional technology.

The data compiled for this study was derived from surveys conducted between 1979 and 2012 on MCBQ (Stafford County) and FAPH (Caroline County). Some sites were located

through Phase I testing, others were tested at the Phase II level, and a few had a Phase III survey (Table 1). The discrepancy with the surveys was because these sites were slated for development or Section 110 testing to comply with National Historic Preservation Act requirements. The range of surveys conducted on these sites has produced a large body of literature and artifact assemblage; however, only a sample was selected for this study (63 sites with 21,081 artifacts). In order to make the data comparable, artifact tables found in these surveys were translated into a single table using Stanly South's categories, which are part of his pattern recognition methods. The purpose was not to use the categories to find patterns, as he suggested, but to standardize the data to make the sites comparable (South 1977).

All of the sites included in this study are domestic; however, not all are farms. Most eighteenth-century sites were plantations; a few nineteenth-century sites began as farms and became small dwellings by the mid-twentieth century. Finally, some twentieth-century sites were dwellings carved out of larger parcels but had additional components, such as an adjacent dry goods store or abandoned cemeteries.

The following section examines contemporary maps to show the landscape changed between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. These changes reflected land use and infrastructure changes in both counties.

Site Number	Site Type	Survey Type	Date Range
44ST1118	Domestic	Phase I	1820–1942
44ST1056	Domestic	Phase I	1890–1942
44CE0806	Domestic	Pedestrian Survey	1850–1942
44CE0889	Domestic	Pedestrian Survey	1900–1942
44CE0888	Domestic	Pedestrian Survey	1900–1942
44CE0371	Domestic	Phase I	1850–1890
44ST1057	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44ST0365	Domestic	Phase I	1835–1942
44ST1117	Domestic	Phase I	1800–1942
44ST0871	Domestic	Phase I	1800–1942
44CE0361	Domestic	Pedestrian Survey	1980–1942
44CE0368	Domestic	Phase I	1850–1890
44CE0380	Domestic	Phase I	1820–1942
44ST0262	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44CE0363	Domestic	Phase I	1850–1942
44ST1119	Domestic	Phase I	1820–1942
44CE0430	Domestic	Phase II	1900–1942
44CE0429	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44CE0487	Domestic	Phase II	1820–1942
44ST1170	Domestic	Phase I	1880–1942
44ST1055	Domestic	Phase I	1800–1942
44ST0890	Domestic	Phase I	1720–1780
44ST0493	Domestic	Phase I	1671–1942
44ST0364	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1964
44ST0870	Domestic	Phase I	1880–1942
44CE0476	Domestic	Phase I	1500–1840
44ST0867	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44CE0466	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44ST0363	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44ST0632	Domestic	Phase I	1880–1942
44CE0462	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44CE0863	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44CE0903	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44CE0864	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44ST0539	Domestic	Phase I	1820–1942
44CE0478	Domestic	Phase I	1850–1942
44CE0871	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44CE0482	Domestic	Phase II	1850–1942

44CE0402	Multi-Component	Phase II	1850–1900
44CE0488	Domestic	Phase III	1762–1840
44CE0294	Domestic	Phase I	1690–1840
44CE0516	Domestic	Phase II	1870–1942
44ST0215	Domestic	Phase I	1671–1942
44CE0848	Domestic	Phase I	1880–1942
44ST0300	Domestic	Phase I	1850–1942
44CE0862	Domestic	Phase I	1900–1942
44CE0483	Domestic	Phase II	1820–1942
44CE0508	Domestic	Phase II	1860–1915
44ST0337	Domestic	Phase II	1820–1942
44CE0479	Domestic	Phase I	1840–1890
44CE0821	Domestic	Phase II	1770–1942
44CE0822	Domestic	Phase II	1770–1942
44CE0896	Domestic	Phase II	1900–1942
44CE0507	Domestic	Phase II	1850–1942
44ST0304	Domestic	Phase II	1690–1942
44ST0323	Domestic	Phase II	1837–1942
44ST0322	Domestic	Phase I	1757–1942
44CE0499	Domestic	Phase I	1800–1942
44CE0110	Domestic	Phase III	1640–1860
44ST0494	Domestic	Phase II	1810–1942
44ST0399	Domestic	Phase II	1620–1805
44ST0196	Domestic	Phase II	1600–1942
44ST0890	Domestic	Phase I	1770–1830
44ST0492	Domestic	Phase I	1770–1942

Table 1: Site type, survey level, and approximate occupation period (data compiled by the author).

Stafford and Caroline Counties, Landscapes

The landscape is the context in which all archaeological sites form and will eventually become the basis for understanding the sites in the area. In Stafford and Caroline Counties, the landscape transformed to create a context in which self-sufficient farms became the basis for most residents' livelihoods.

Landscape is difficult to define because many definitions, meanings, interpretations, methods, and theories have been used to explain it (Cosgrove 1984, Johnson 2007). Landscape can be defined as political (Bender 1998), as a cultural construct (Ashmore and Knapp 1999), as a heritage site (Cotter et al. 2001, Groth and Bressi 1997, Horning 2000, Shackel 2001), within the context of everyday space (Groth and Bressi 1997), as a place (Basso 1996), and as phenomenology (Tilley 1994). An attachment to the land was prevalent among people in Stafford and Caroline counties because, in 1942, the federal government purchased the land to expand military bases in Virginia. Local accounts of how the land was obtained and people's reactions demonstrated that residents had an emotional attachment to their land. One article published in the *Free-Lance Star*, dated October 6, 1942, declares, "there is nothing dearer to a Virginian than his land" (*Free Lance-Star* 1942). While some people were willing to move, many found it difficult to give up their family farm because it provided everything they needed. In many cases, these farms had passed on through several previous generations.

In this study, the landscape is a central part of demonstrating how the land was used over time, transitioning from tobacco farms that utilized slave labor to small family farms that were mainly self-sufficient. This transition occurred over a 200-year period. The material culture alone does not demonstrate that this transition took place. However, analyzing various data sets, such as census data, maps, and artifact assemblages, clarifies how and when these

farms transitioned. How do farmsteads connect with data and ideas about the landscape?

According to John Wilson's article on the investigation of farmsteads, "We've Got Thousands of These! What Makes a Historic Farmstead Significant?" (Wilson 1990:23), many farm sites are not surveyed because there are so many. They are often dismissed as unimportant or characterized as typical; therefore, they cannot contribute any new information to broader ideas about agrarian culture in America. As many are overlooked, questions related to the archaeological or historical processes related to farming are rarely asked at the community level (Wilson 1990: 23). Wilson also noted that rather than being used to *find* farms, landscape data should be used in conjunction with other data sets to answer regional questions about land use over time. (Wilson 1990:23–24).

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the landscape and the spatial layout of Stafford farms usually included one dwelling and at least one outbuilding. In the same period, Caroline County farms seem to have had either one dwelling and one outbuilding or several dwellings when tenants resided on the property.

Eighteenth-century plantations did not have a distinct spatial layout due to the multiple buildings on the property, at least in Stafford County. However, farms with one structure within their boundaries could fall into one of a few types of dwelling categories: tenant house , renter, or slave house. However, assigning a site type to any of these categories is difficult because, while these structures were located within the boundary of a known farm, sources that could positively identify these sites could not be located in most cases.

Land Use and Historical Maps

Historical maps are key to reconstructing past cultures because they provide a record of landscape features, such as roads, cities, homes, and places that may no longer exist.

Eighteenth-century Stafford and Caroline counties maps are not very detailed, but they reveal some essential landscape characteristics of the county and how land use changed between centuries. A general settlement pattern for the Piedmont area of Virginia is that seventeenth-century Europeans established large plantations primarily for growing tobacco. These large plantations created a dispersed settlement pattern in which plantations were located along major waterways and roads (Samford 2007:25). By the eighteenth century, tobacco production had depleted the soil, and less tobacco was produced, but it was still widely cultivated. In the areas around the plantations, towns such as Dumfries, Fredericksburg, and Falmouth were established, and main roads such as King's Highway were expanded to transport tobacco to warehouses. These were small towns with limited populations well into the nineteenth century. Often, small collections of family farms clustered around a local dry goods store with multiple functions, such as a post office and a funeral parlor, and an associated cemetery. Most people practiced self-sufficient farming and often had second jobs to supplement their income. By the mid-twentieth century, the clusters of farms continued to expand, but the area was still rural with a local agriculture-based economy.

In order to discern what the landscape was like between the seventeenth and the mid-twentieth centuries, the best source of information is contemporary maps. While these early maps were not always drawn to scale, they provided some information concerning the landscape when they were drawn and how the built environment changed over time.

For example, the earliest map to include both counties was John Smith's 1607 map (Figure 10). This map shows Native American villages and major waterways, such as the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River. This was an accurate depiction of this area at the time because it was not until about the mid-seventeenth century that Europeans settled the area in larger numbers.

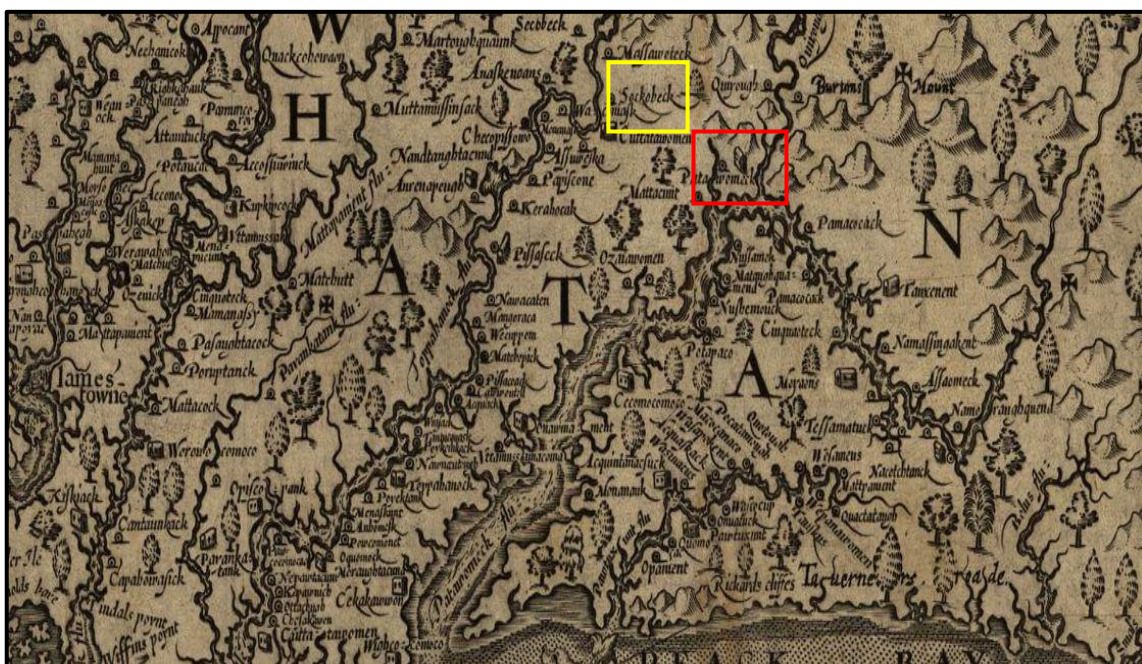


Figure 10: Approximate area where Stafford and Caroline counties are located. The red box is Stafford County and the yellow box is Caroline County (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, map labeled by the author).

Eighteenth-century maps reflected the growing European population in the area. Fry and Jeffery's map was one of the most detailed maps of Stafford and Caroline counties at the time (Figures 11 and 12). It shows roads, ports such as Marleboro [sic], churches, mills, small towns like Dumfries, and warehouses, which were primarily associated with the sale of tobacco. The map also shows the location of farms and plantations. While the map does not differentiate

between the two, it illustrates that most of the plantations were located along major roads and waterways.



Figure 11: Stafford County area map 1755. Fry and Jeffery's 1755 map, courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography, and Map Division (map labeled by the author).¹

¹ Blue = towns, Orange = plantations, Green = ports, Purple = warehouses, Red = mills.

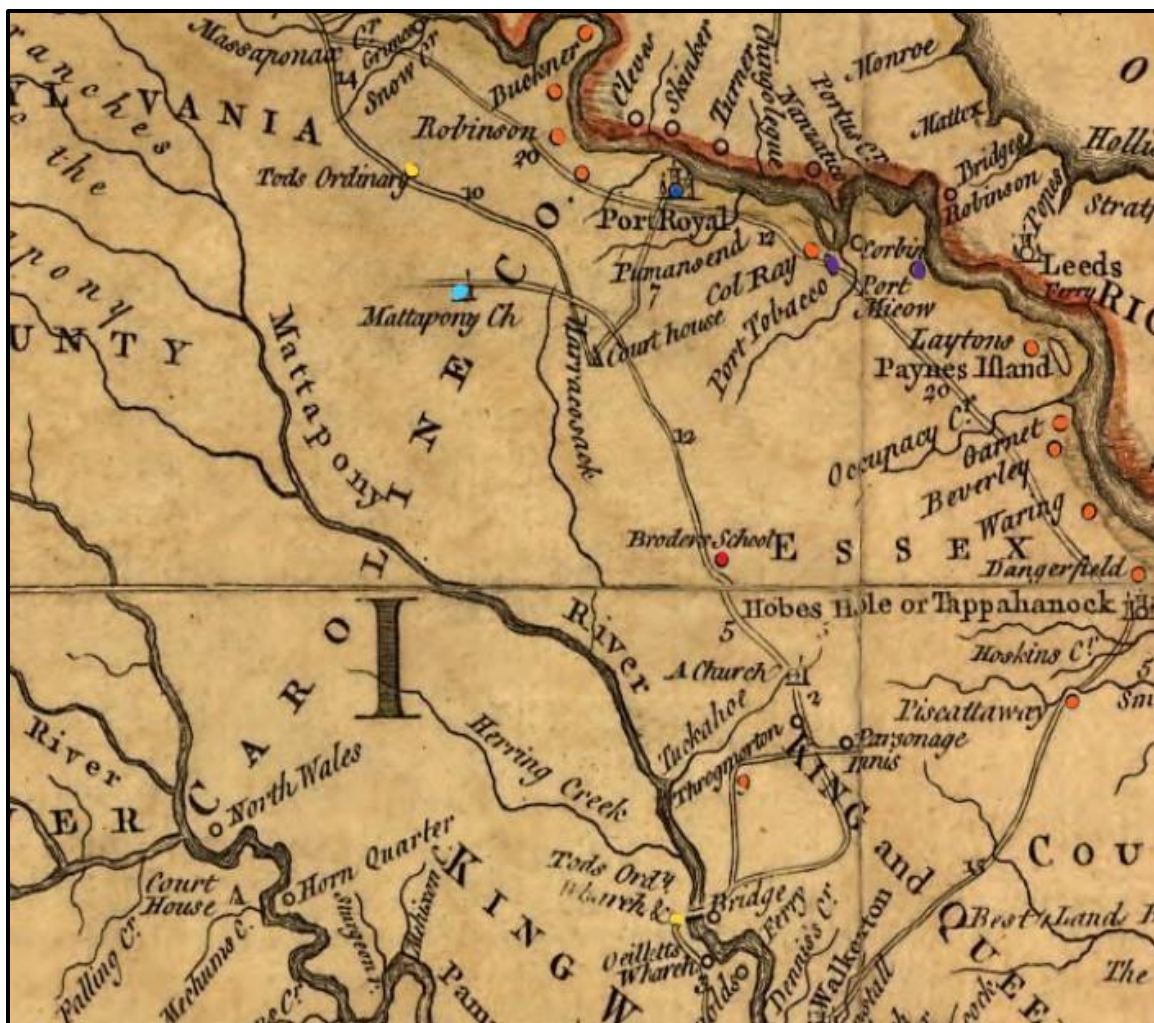


Figure 12: Caroline County area map 1755 (Fry and Jeffery's 1755 map. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography, and Map Division; map labeled by the author).²

In 1820, John Wood produced a map of Stafford County. It does not show standing structures associated with farms, plantations, or tobacco warehouses. However, the map does show roads, bodies of water, and all the mill locations around Stafford County. The addition of the mills to the map is a key detail because the number of mills indicated a land-use change from mainly tobacco to more diversified farming in the county. The 1755 map shows only one

² Red = school, orange = plantations, blue = town, purple = warehouse, yellow = tavern, and green = port.

mill, Brent Mill Run (Figure 13). The 1820 Wood map shows fourteen mills in Stafford County (Huston and Downing 1994:25).

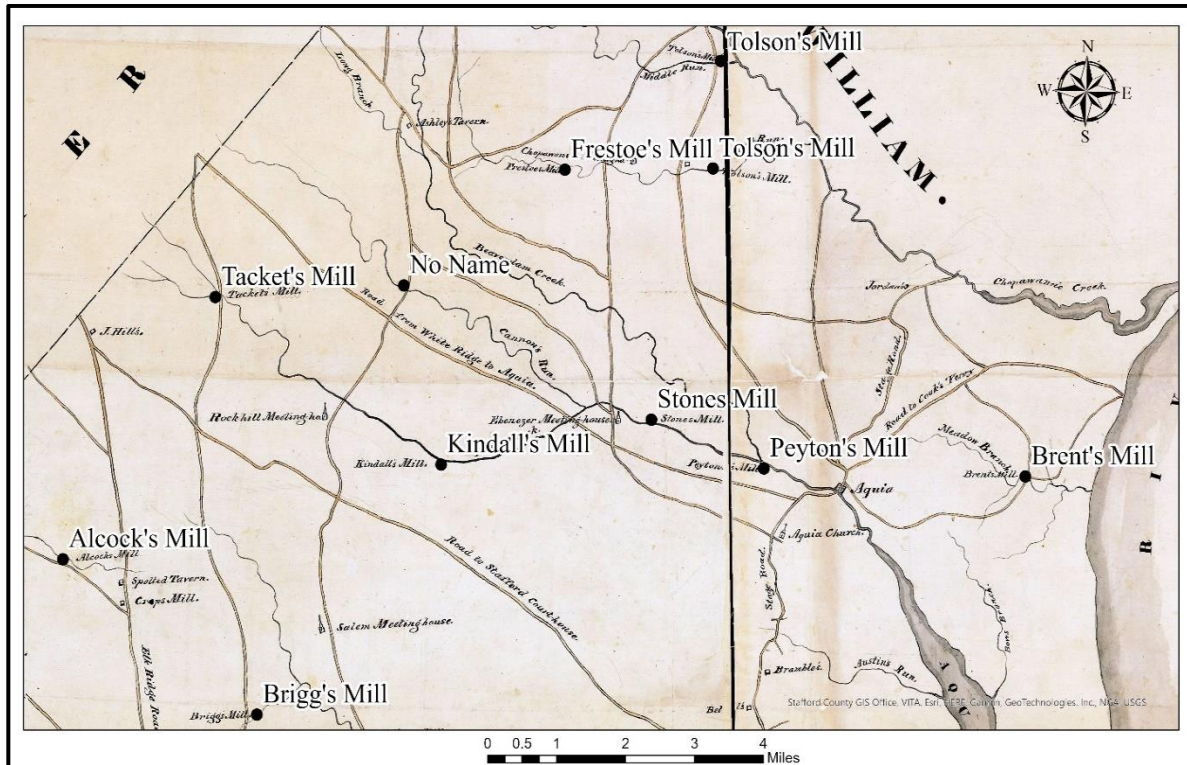


Figure 13: 1820 Wood's map of Stafford County. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division; mill points created by the author).

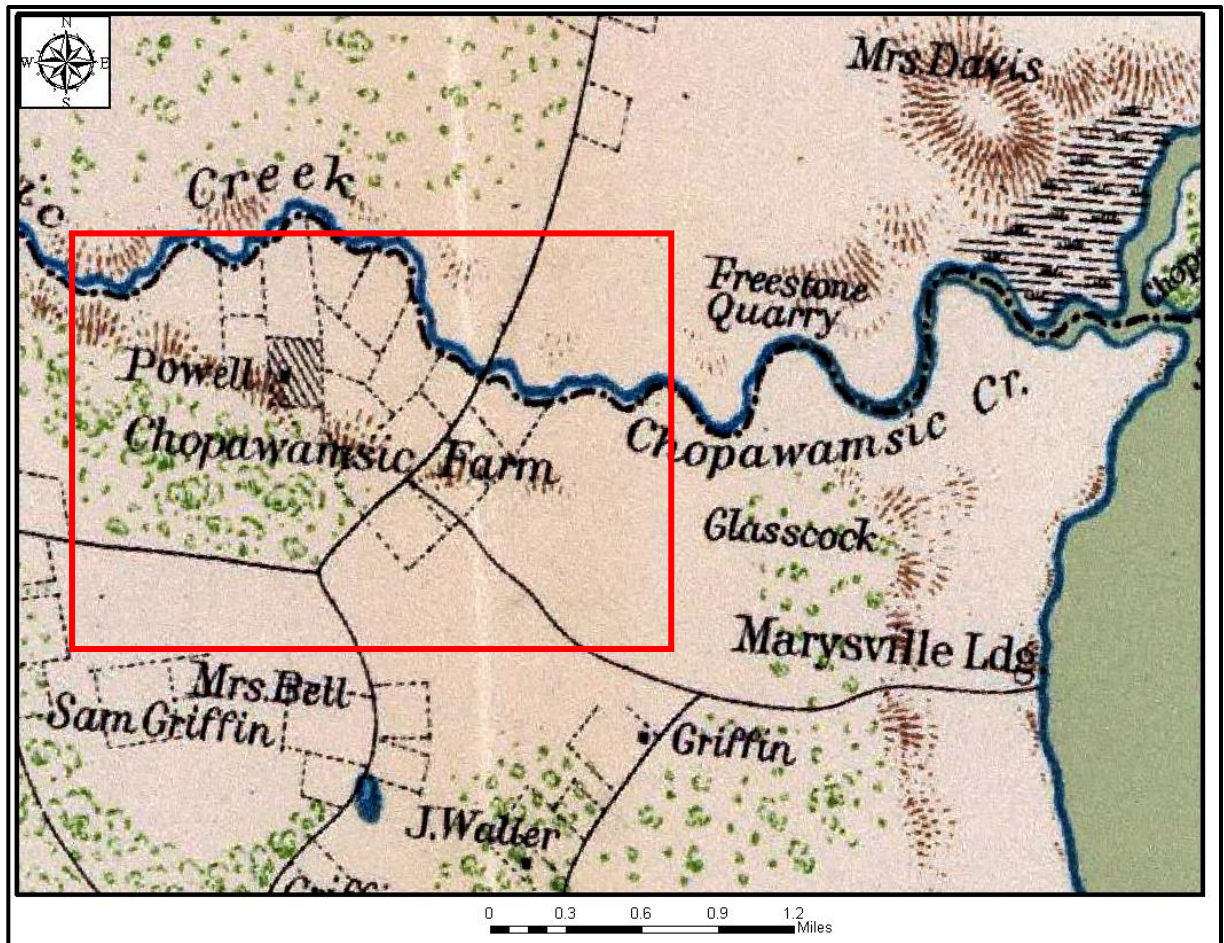


Figure 14: The 1862 U.S. Army Engineer map. This section shows a small area of Stafford County where the Chopawamsic farm was located. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division; map created in ArcPro by the author).

Figure 14 is an 1862 U.S. Army Engineers map showing the eastern side of Stafford County. As the maps were used during the Civil War, they were created based on surveys and field reports from army units in the area. This map had more landscape details but did not have an accurate scale. It shows roads and cities, farms, what areas were improved versus unimproved farmland, and farm names.

Figure 15 shows the landscape in Caroline County sometime in the 1860s. This map has similar details to the Stafford County map, showing roads and streams, family farm names, and unimproved areas.

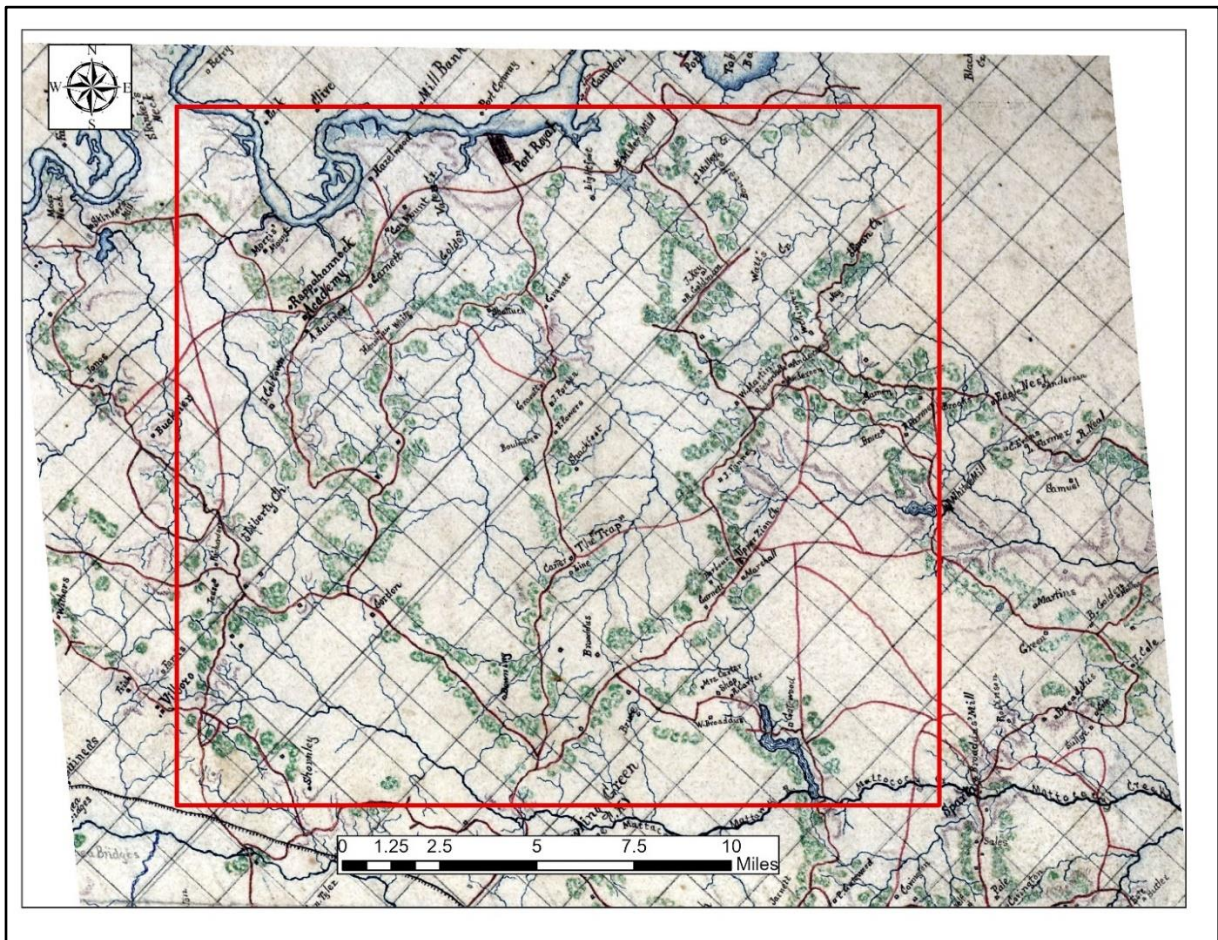
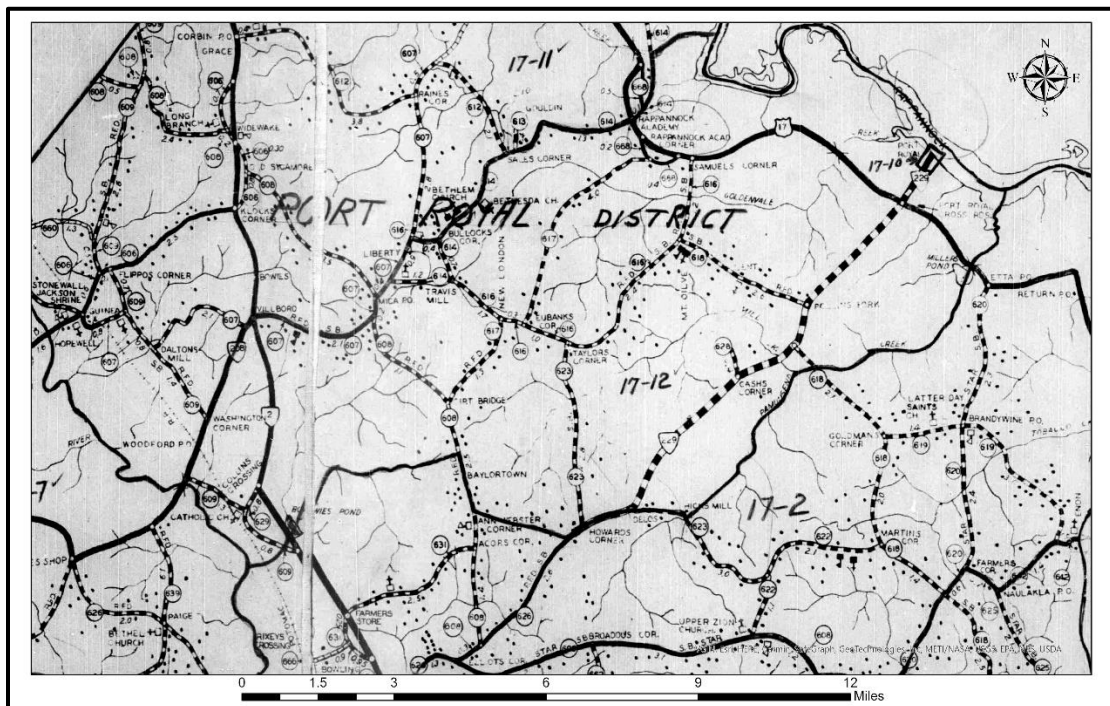
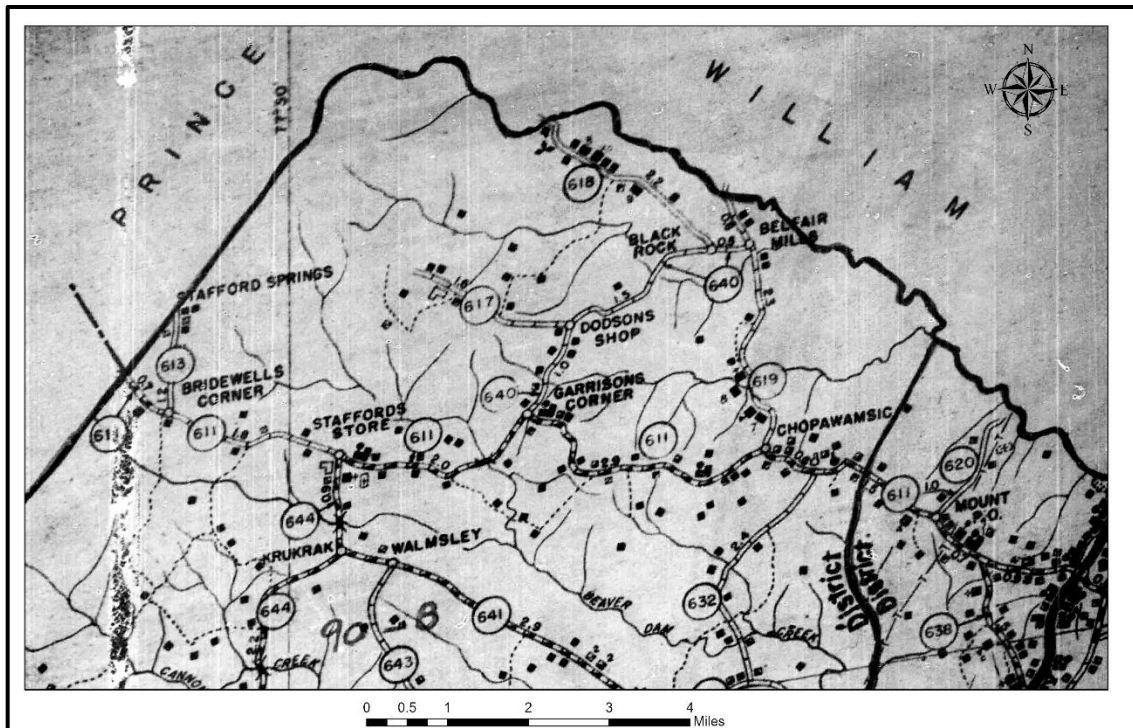


Figure 15: 1860s map of the area around Fort A.P. Hill, Caroline County, Virginia. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division; map created in ArcPro by the author).



By 1940, the census map had far more landscape detail regarding major roads, secondary roads, homes, gas stations, churches, and local stores, but a side-by-side comparison of these maps exemplifies how the landscape had developed over time. All the small black squares are farms that the census enumerator identified during their survey. It is easy to see how the number of farms increased, along with the infrastructure, in both counties (Figures 16 and 17).

Archaeological literature has characterized landscape as the “worlds of cultural products...” (Anschuetz et al. 2001:160). Anschuetz makes an important point relevant to this study in that landscapes “are the milieu in which those populations survive and sustain themselves” and that “landscapes are dynamic constructions, with each community and each generation imposing its own cognitive map...” (Anschuetz et al. 2001:161).

Broadly defined, landscape is where space and place intersect (David and Thomas 2008:28). Landscape analysis has a wide application for historical archaeology. The landscape can be localized to just one site or can broadly include changes over long periods. Much of historical archaeologists’ research has focused on how social dynamics and the use of the landscape were manipulated to create social barriers or to redefine the social order (Cressey et al. 1982, Deagan 1983, Dell 1996, Hood 1996, Mullins 1996, Orser 1996, Paynter and McGuire 1991, Spencer-Wood and Baugher 2010, Scott 1994, Shepard 1982, Wurst 1991).

Land use in both counties began to change by the mid-eighteenth century in the direction of an increased number of smaller farms. Nineteenth-century agricultural census data indicate that this trend of smaller but more numerous farms continued well into the twentieth century. In the absence of census data to show the number and acreage of average farms during the eighteenth century, the question becomes, “What constitutes a small farm in Virginia” (William 1969:92)?

D. Alan William's article *The Small Farmer in Eighteenth-Century Virginia Politics* stated that a small farm was considered to be 50 to 500 acres and that the wealthier "local gentry" owned between 500 to 700 acres. The Tidewater area plantations were between 750 and 1000 acres, but only about 10% of the population were considered to be Virginia gentry; the majority of farmers had an annual income between 25 and 40 pounds from the sale of tobacco (William 1969:92). Based on William's assessment, it seems that the majority of farms produced tobacco but were already diversified and employed tenants. The connection between land use and the social power structure that comes with plantation ownership diminished with the shift to smaller farms, but equally important were the aspects of life people thought necessary to be considered Virginia gentry (Hudgins 1990:59). The architecture of these plantations shows that wealthy families thought of themselves as part of the Virginia gentry. Over time, as the plantations transitioned to small farms, large brick mansions transitioned to wood-frame balloon homes, and people began to identify as farmers rather than part of the Virginia gentry.

Eighteenth-Century Architecture and Spatial Layout of Farms

By 1750, Virginia's tobacco production was firmly established, and a small number of Virginia families emerged as the "plantation aristocracy" (Novelli 2015:8). These families constructed Georgian-style homes out of brick, fashioned in the styles noted in pattern books, such as *A Book of Architecture* (1729) and *Architecture Improved* (1752). These brick dwellings were more the exception to and not the rule of Virginia dwellings. Many homes built during the eighteenth century were either wood-frame or I-frame, with a center passage and gabled chimneys (Eby 1997, Glassie 1975, Upton 1980). The majority of wood-frame dwellings were relatively small; they usually measured 40 x 40 square feet or less (Fidel et al. 2012:93). These

homes were not replicas of English dwellings but were built with the style and symmetry of Georgian construction, with some modifications. For example, Virginia Georgian mansions typically have smaller windows, taller ceilings, and multiple gabled chimneys (Novelli et al. 2015: 9).

Dell Upton noted that there are three aspects of English box framing that are common in the Virginia house: roof framing, close studding, and the down brace (Upton 1982:95–119). These changes in style and construction techniques were due partly to the new social order of the New World and ideas about controlling space within that home. The idea of the public space and what a Virginia gentry home should contain was modified from the Georgian ideal to suit Virginians. The terms “chamber” and “great room” were replaced with “hall and parlor” (Upton 1982: 102).

The homes in Piedmont and the Tidewater area show considerable material and size differences. The Piedmont area was settled after the Tidewater area; many of the buildings in the Piedmont area were constructed from hewn logs, as they were newly established plantations.

Stafford County Eighteenth-Century Architecture

Early eighteenth-century Stafford County was a sparsely populated area of plantations, farms, and grist and sawmills. All of these were located along the banks of the Chopwamsic and Aquia creeks and the Potomac River. Many homes in the area were wood-frame, made with hewn or pit-sawn logs. A sample of thirteen eighteenth-century homes in Stafford County indicates that six were of the Georgian style. These structures had a brick foundation, a center passage, and double-pile rooms with two stories (Eby 1997). The other seven homes were

wood-frame homes, usually single-story, single pile, with gabled chimneys (Eby 1997; Fidel et al. 2012: 94).

Three of the plantation homes located on MCBQ were brick (Clermont, Chopwamsic, Somerset) covered with clapboard, and one was wood-frame covered with clapboard (West Farm). The historical information on the design of the homes and the layout of the property in Stafford County indicate that some of its plantation homes were typical Georgian mansions. However, while the three plantation homes included in this study (Clermont, Chopwamsic, and Somerset) were brick, the descriptions do not explicitly support the assumption that they were Georgian in design. Based on insurance maps, there is wide variation in the spatial layout and design of the dwellings of all four farms. The West Farm map shows (44ST0399) the main house with three additional structures on the west side: a barn, a school house, and a stone kitchen (Eby 1997: 41). The school was about 53 feet away, and the kitchen was 49 feet from the house. The barn was 190 feet from the house (Eby 1997:41).

Clermont (44ST0981) had four structures listed on the insurance map: a large brick house, a wood-frame kitchen, a wood-frame house, and a dairy. All the structures were located about 24 feet north of the main house (Eby 1997:56). Chopwamsic farm had five structures listed on the 1850 insurance map: two smaller structures (44ST0492 and 44ST0493), what could be the main house (44ST0304), a barn to the east of the main house, and the fifth structure, but the label on the map was difficult to interpret (Eby 1997:76). Somerset (44ST0196) had an 1805 insurance map showing four structures: the main house, which was a wood-frame structure, a kitchen located on the south side of the house, a smokehouse on the east side, and a small structure to the north of the house, but the label was not clear (Gardner et al. 1999:70).

A comparison to other Georgian homes in Virginia shows that Stafford homes were not among the largest in Virginia but were similar to other homes constructed at the time. One of the largest Georgian mansions in Virginia was Robert Carter's house. A 1978 survey uncovered a two-story, single-pile structure with a brick foundation that measured 40 by 90 square feet and that had a half basement (Hudgins 1985:103). The footprint of the foundation divided the house into three large rooms: a center passage with a parlor room, a "chamber," and "two large closets" with two gabled chimneys (Hudgins 1985:105). According to the site map, the spatial layout included five structures and a well. These included the main dwelling and four additional structures to the north. The four additional structures were three dwellings constructed after the main house, the function of one (structure 3) of which could not be determined. According to Galssie, most homes in eighteenth-century Virginia were one-story, single-pile dwellings with gabled chimneys (Galssie 1975:34). This may be true, and it seems that most of the homes located on MCBQ were likely Georgian-style homes, but the descriptions do not directly support this conclusion. The West Farm dwelling was a wood-frame home that had two brick wings and porticos on the front and back of the house (Eby 1997:41). Clermont had a brick foundation, two stories, and two brick wings, but the entire structure was covered with clapboard (Eby 1997:56). Somerset also had a brick foundation, two stories, and a wing on each side and was covered with clapboard (Eby 1997:58). The Chopwamsic farm's map shows the buildings and the locations but does not provide any descriptions of the buildings. The sketch of the main house shows that it would be a typical Georgian home, but without specific details, it is difficult to know the design of the house.

Newspaper advertisements from the *Virginia Gazette* show that most homes in Virginia were less than 50 square feet during the eighteenth century and were either one- or two-story,

double-pile, with gabled chimneys (Ellis 1997:25). More specific information in contemporary advertisements provides a glimpse of the spatial layout and a description of typical homes.

Alexander Scott was the pastor of the Overwharton Parish in Stafford County. He owned a plantation known as the Dipple Plantation. This parcel was about a mile north of the Summerset and Cook plantations on MCBQ. In 1736, he posted an advertisement in the *American Weekly Mercury* to rent tenants smaller parcels of 150 acres (Scott 1736). The Dipple house was a two-story, double-pile brick Georgian home (Morton 1938:np). A 1762 petition to the House of Burgesses described the dwelling as a “large brickhoufe [sic] two stories high, with cellard [sic] under the whole and completely finished.” The surrounding property was “448 acres of land” with “gardens, orchards and a fine meadow...” (McIlwain 1907:121).

William Fitzhugh placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser* for a 6,000-acre parcel with a mill, stating that the land may be purchased as a small plot or as one property (Fitzhugh 1784). In the *Williamsburg Virginia Gazette*, a 1900-acre parcel was for sale with a “new brick house with five rooms on a floor...a Grist Mill...and tobacco houses.” The location and the owner of the property were not listed, but the advertisement says the property was within fifteen miles of Fredericksburg (*Williamsburg Virginia Gazette* 1754).

In 1769, Mrs. Brough advertised that she was renting her “large and commodious [sic] brick house” in Hampton, Virginia; this family dwelling was also a tavern. The house description in the advertisement was very detailed: “adjoining to it is a very good neat kitchen and loft, and a private chamber, very good cellars [sic]...” (Brough 1769).

Nineteenth-century advertisements and insurance documents from MCBQ plantations and other plantations in Virginia imply that almost all of these properties had at least one brick home and several outbuildings but no formal property arrangement.

The next section compiles property records and other historical sources to create a site-specific context for Stafford County. These sources indicate who owned the properties and for approximately how long they occupied the site.

Stafford County Site-Specific Context

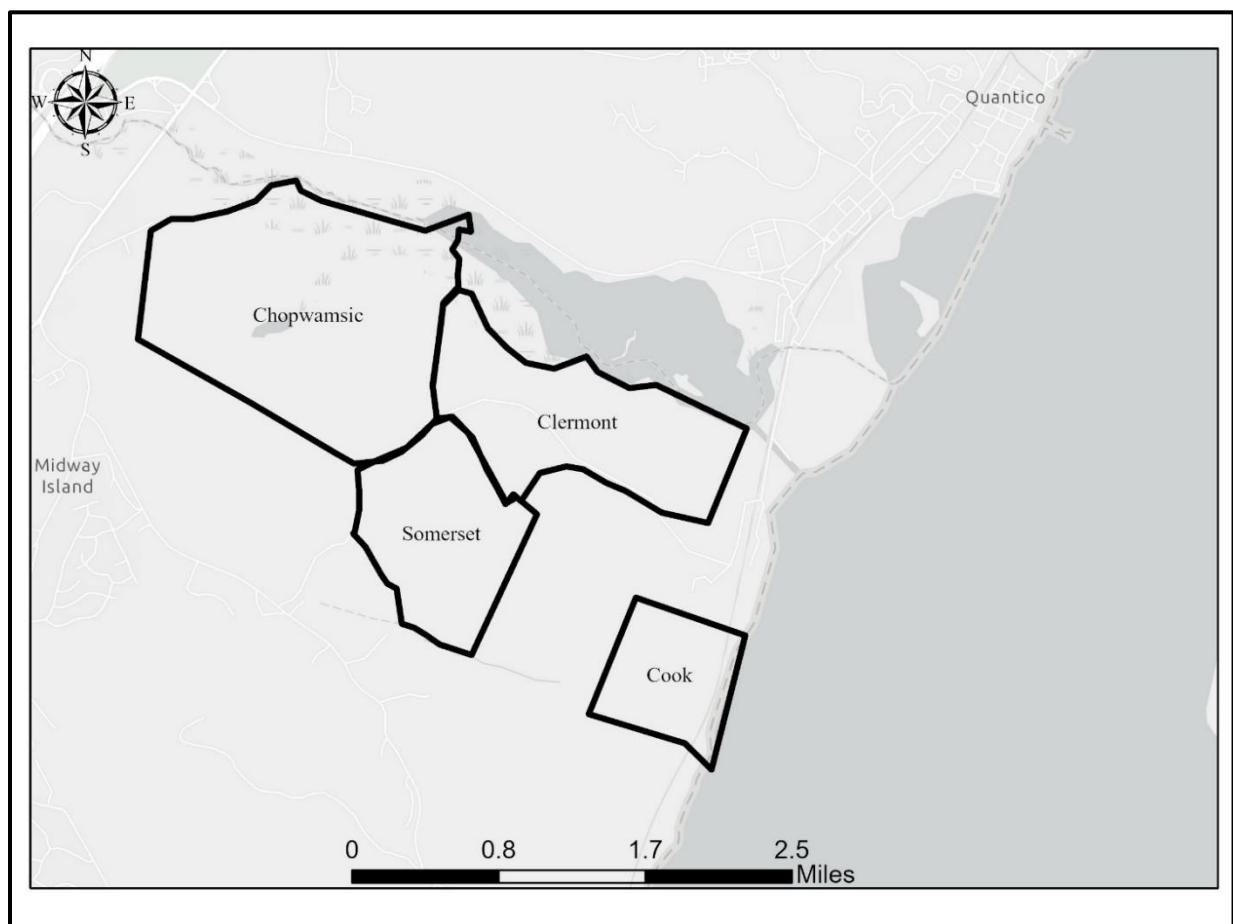


Figure 18: Stafford County Plantations. (ArcPro background map; plantation boundaries created by the author).

The eighteenth-century sites in Stafford County have some site-specific context important to analyzing the artifacts and establishing the site's occupation. The property records and other historical sources help clarify who occupied the site, when, and if the property was inherited or sold. Four plantations in Stafford County were included in this study. The site-specific context is outlined below for each plantation.

John Cook established the Cook Plantation, also known as West Farm (44ST0399) (Figure 18)(Auman et al. 2001:2–20). He immigrated to Stafford County in the early 1700s. John and his wife had four children: Travers, Ann, Hanna, and Millian. Cook died in 1732; he willed the 462-acre plantation to his wife, Elizabeth Cook, and an additional 40 acres to Travers upon Elizabeth's death (Sparacio 1987 *M*:81). In 1754, Travers married Mary Doniphan and had two sons, John and Mott. Travers died in 1759, and the property was divided again between his wife and two sons (Virginia Gleanings 1913:375–376). John Cook (the grandson) likely built the brick house that was part of a "Mutual Assurance" policy assessed in 1806. The property was subdivided several more times over the next few generations, but most of the land stayed within the Cook family through inheritance and marriage until 1942, when the federal government purchased the property (Auman et al. 2001: 2–18–2-20).

Second is the Chopawamsic farm. George Mason II was the original owner of this plantation (Figure 18). In 1709, he purchased 833 acres along the north and south sides of Chopawamsic Creek in Stafford County (Balicki et al., 2004:171; SC Wills liber Z, folio 461). Around the same time he purchased the land, he built a stone house on the south side of Chopawamsic Creek. George Mason III inherited many parcels upon his father's death in 1716; this included the Chopawamsic farm in Stafford County (Balicki et al. 2004:171). He did not continue the tobacco plantations his father had started. Instead, he leased most of the land to

local farmers. George Mason III was married to Ann Thomson Mason, and they had three children, one of whom was Thomson Mason. When his mother died, Thomson inherited the farm in Stafford County. Between 1764 and 1771, twelve enslaved people and three white servants resided with the Mason family on the farm (Copeland and MacMaster 1989:59–60). Tomson Mason was married to Elizabeth Westwood. When Tomson died in 1785, he willed the Chopawamsic farm to his wife (Balicki et al., 2004:172). According to available property records, enslaved people and tenants continued to work on the Chopawamsic farm until the Civil War (Copeland and MacMaster 1989:84–86). However, there was a gap in property taxes records until 1862. At this time, Walter Hore and his eldest son, A.W. Hore, purchased 800 acres of the farm. He was listed in the slave schedule as owning several enslaved people but not as a resident of Stafford County in the population schedule (Balicki et al. 2004:177). Between 1862 and 1917, the farm was leased several times, then bought and sold through public auction (SCLR liber 7, folio 584). In 1917, the federal government leased the land as a training camp for Marines deployed to France during World War I. By 1918, the parcel had been officially purchased, along with a second lot located along the Potomac River that was owned by the Quantico Shipping Company, which became part of the original 5,600 acres of MCBQ (Fleming et al. 1979: 24).

The third was the Clermont Plantation (44ST0981) (Figure 18). It was located on the south side of Chopawamsic Creek, east of the Chopawamsic Plantation. The 400-acre plantation was initially owned by Reverend John Moncure of Overorton Parish (Stafford County Courthouse 1760 Deed Book:291). The property records associated with this land provide details concerning John Moncure's house around 1754. According to an advertisement in the *Free Lance Print* in July 1886, the farm contained 358 acres with a two-story brick house with

“commanding eminence” and eight rooms built along the Chopawamsic Creek, “overlooking the valley” (*Free Lance Print* 1886). A photograph of the house taken in the late nineteenth century shows a symmetrical two-story brick house with a center passage, a unique jack arch above the door, and a decorative brick pattern on the sides (Voight et al. 1998: 46). Additions to the house indicate that the original structure may have been a one-and-a-half-story configuration. A raised porch was attached to three sides, and the rear of the house had additional second-story windows (Voight et al. 1998:46). The house was continually occupied from the time it was built until 1942, when the Hill family sold the property to the federal government as part of the expansion of MCBQ.

Somerset was the fourth plantation in Stafford County included in this study. This area was originally part of the Clermont plantation (Eby 1997:57)(Figure 18). Three sites were associated with it: 44ST0196, the dwelling; 44ST0197, the family cemetery; and 44ST0662, Katherine and Henry W. Moncure’s farm prior to 1942 (44ST0662).

Reverend John Moncure immigrated to Stafford County in 1733. He became the pastor of the Aquia Church in 1738 (Eby 199: 58). In 1741, he married Frances Brown, and they had four children (three daughters and one son): Frances, Ann, Jean, and John (Gardner et al. 1999:68). After 1741, the Moncure home was built on a 1,100-acre parcel located on the south side of Chopwamsic Creek. In 1800, John Moncure III insured a new dwelling, known as “Summer Set [sic],” on the parcel (Copage and Tackett 1982:4). A Mutual Insurance policy insured this new home for \$800. The house was described as a single-story, wood-frame house with a stone foundation. Two porticos were attached to the house, one on the east and one on the west. Several outbuildings were listed: one smokehouse, two sheds, a dairy, and a kitchen (Gardner et al. 1999:69). In 1838, the Stafford County Tax Office listed the parcel as

“Somerset” and collected tax on approximately 3,000 acres from John Moncure IV (SCLR 1838:17). The Moncure family did not do well financially after the Civil War. By the early twentieth century, the family no longer lived at the house full time; it had become a summer home. The last Moncures to own the property were Katherine, Georgianna B., and Frances S.; they sold the property to the federal government in 1942 (Stafford County Deeds 50: 237–249).

The next section outlines and examines eighteenth-century artifacts from the four Stafford County plantations. The artifacts are mostly architectural and domestic (ceramics), with a few personal items, such as clay pipes and glass beads.

Material Culture

James Deetz defined material culture as “that segment of man’s physical environment which is purposely shaped by him according to culturally dictated plans” (Deetz 1970:10). Aside from the interpretation that objects are “indicators of wealth” (Johnson 1996:186), Matthew Johnson defined material culture as objects with “multifaceted” meanings or products of the environment that produced them (Johnson 1996:186). The post-processual definition assumes that material culture is an object that is “active” in that its meaning can be “repurposed” (Johnson 1996:186). Mary Beaudry argued for the importance of the connection between the context and the material culture (Beaudry et al. 1991:164). She stated that historical archaeology is not a “science of material culture” but rather “complex matrices” of “...structure, formation, and the relationship...” of the site sediment, deposition, and artifacts as a “vital component of archaeological research” (Beaudry et al. 1991:164). Other definitions, such as

Rathje's, move the focus away from objects' meaning to a definition of the interaction between the context and the material culture "regardless of time or space" (Rathje 1979:2).

The study of material culture in eighteenth-century Chesapeake Bay tends to focus on three broad categories: tobacco production and the creation of wealth, the consumer revolution, and the Georgian Mindset (Deetz 1997, Martin 1994, Mullins 2011). These topics are interwoven and influence the interpretation of material culture today. The basis of all of these ideas was that the shift from the medieval to the modern world was visible in the material culture and mindset of eighteenth-century people (Bedell 2001:83).

This study examines the types of vessels and bottles recovered from these sites to establish occupation timelines and determine where products from outside the counties were manufactured. Well-established manufacturing dates are associated with various styles of creamware, pearlware, and porcelain, among other ceramics that support the establishment of occupation periods.

Stafford County Eighteenth-Century Material Culture

Archaeologists interpret material culture to show how people identify collectively or individually in society's broader context (Mullin 2011:3). The linkage between the material and historical record facilitated the idea that people often base their identity on the material culture they purchased and displayed. It is possible to establish this link because the historical record often provides the names of the people who occupied a particular dwelling. The material culture recovered from the sites was interpreted according to the historical context associated with the time and place of the site. If the locations of the sites were unknown, it would be difficult to determine whether they were or were not part of a larger geographic network of people.

However, these plantations were part of an extensive social network of people who considered themselves the Virginia gentry until the eighteenth century, when people identified as farmers and were no longer part of a gentry social class of Virginians.

The artifact distribution from eighteenth-century sites included in this study reveals that some of the people who lived in Stafford County constructed wood-frame or brick homes with windows. There were outbuildings, such as schools, ice houses, and additional dwellings, presumably for tenants or enslaved people. They used the latest ceramics from England, such as creamware, pearlware, and delftware. The clay pipes indicated that people smoked tobacco, and the timeframe in which the pipes were manufactured, based on size, indicated when the earliest occupation occurred at these farms. The bottles were handmade and contained wine and liquor, indicating that they were produced during the eighteenth century.

Artifacts from four sites in Stafford County indicated that these were domestic sites established in the eighteenth century. There were numerous plantations within Stafford County during the eighteenth century, but four were located within the study area of MCBQ: Chopawamsic (44ST0304, 44ST0492, 44ST0493), Clermont (44ST0981), Somerset (44ST0196), and Cook (44ST0399).

Site 44ST0215 and 44ST0890 had no subsurface deposits that indicated any brick structures on the site. Therefore, based on the architectural material, there were wood-frame dwellings on the site but no brick Georgian homes with multiple outbuildings.

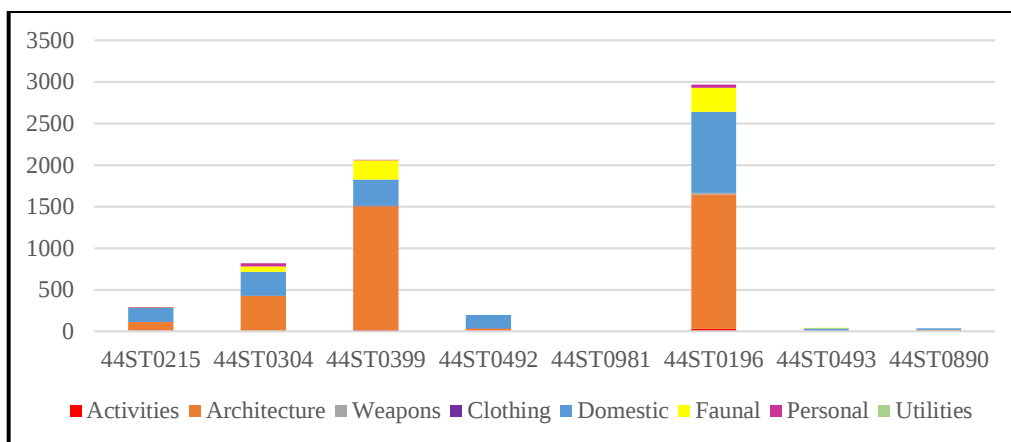


Figure 19: Eighteenth-century artifact assemblages from Stafford sites (chart created by the author).

The artifact distribution shows the types of material and the amount found at these sites (Figure 19). Architecture and domestic items were the two largest artifact categories for datable material in the eighteenth century. The total number of artifacts was 6,410. The architecture category comprised about 60% of the overall assemblage, and the domestic category comprised about 30% of the total. The faunal material was the third-largest category but was only 0.09% of the total. There were no artifacts in the utility category (Figure 19).

Artifacts in the architecture category were mainly nails and bricks, with some window glass (Figure 19). The use of nails to date the structures from these sites is not the most accurate way to determine their age. However, it provides at least one indicator of when these dwellings were constructed. The nails that were dated to the eighteenth century were mainly hand-wrought rose head, L-head, or T-head nails (Figure 21). These nails were used to frame windows, finish floors, or attach clapboards. Site 44ST0399 was the only wood-frame dwelling of the four plantation dwellings. The main house was a large wood structure with a brick foundation; most of the nails found (n=187) were hand-wrought, and the rest (n=30) were unidentified (Figure 20).

The survey conducted at 44ST0196 found two structures: structure one was the main house and structure two was a summer kitchen. Test units around structure one contained some architectural material (n=142). The nails recovered were found on the east side of the structure, which was likely the back of the house. Most of the nails were cut nails that fell into one of two manufacturing dates: 1790 to 1820 and 1815 to 1830 (Noel Hume 1969:253) (Figure 20).

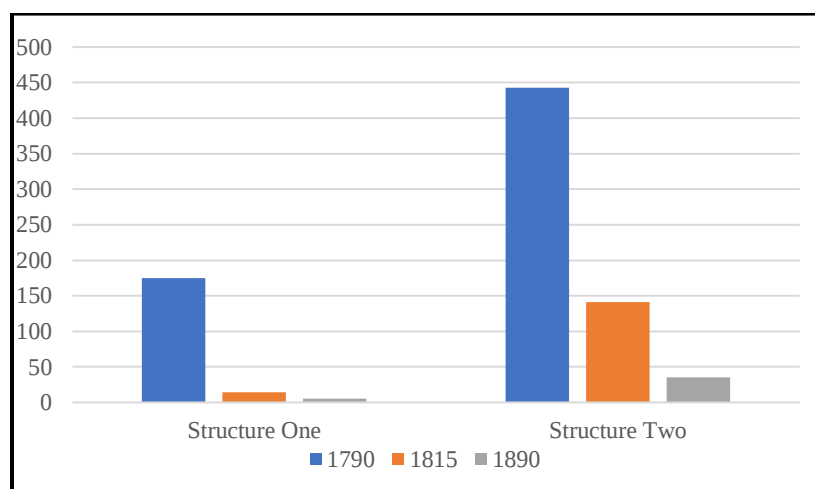


Figure 20: Site 44ST0196 nail counts from both structures (chart created by the author).

Structure two was a wood-frame building that was south of the main house. This building was designated as the kitchen on the 1805 insurance map. There were deposits of “kitchen artifacts” on all sides of the building (n=651) (Gardner et al. 1999:106).

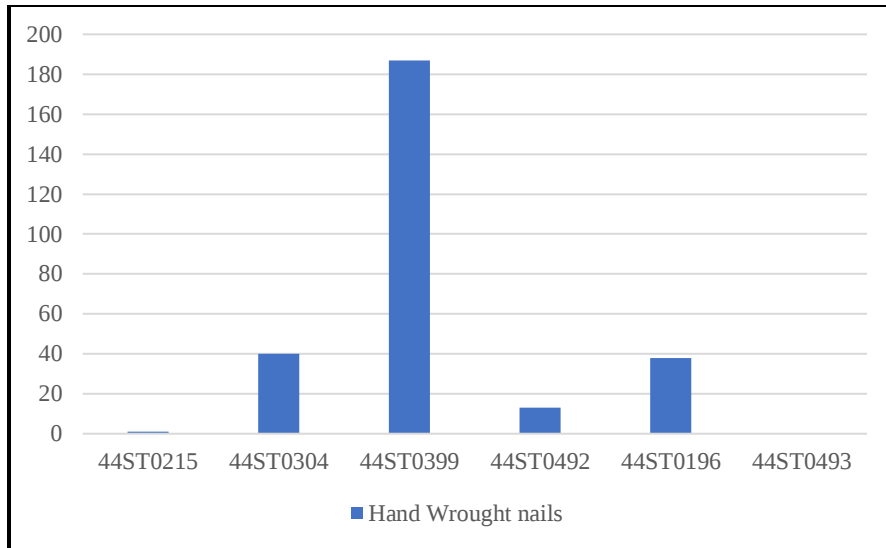


Figure 21: Eighteenth-century nail distribution from Stafford sites (chart created by the author).

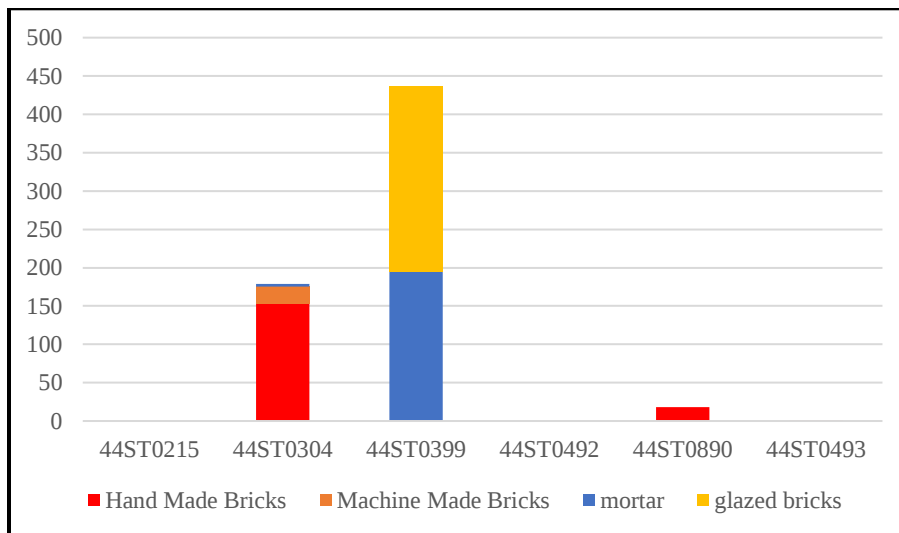


Figure 22: Bricks from Stafford sites (chart created by the author).

The bricks recovered from 44ST0304, 44ST0890, and 44ST0399 were common building bricks; most were unglazed, but some were glazed. Site 44ST0981 was a brick foundation made of unglazed bricks. At site 44ST0493, only one brick fragment was recovered, and no bricks were present at 44ST492 (Figure 22). Other artifacts dated to the eighteenth century included a

clay pipe with the maker's mark "W. MORGAN," recovered from 44ST0399. This pipe came from Liverpool, England, and was likely produced between the 1760s and 1800. Other pipe stems were identified as 6/64, 5/64, 4/64, and 7/64 bore in diameter, dating to the eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1970:296–299; Gregory et al. 2014:203). A second pipe from 44ST0304 had a rouletted bowl and no other decoration.

The glass found was difficult to date because it was a mix of necks, bases, and body fragments. Figure 23 shows the overall distribution of the bottle glass fragments. All these fragments were thick and dark green, and most were identified as fragments from eighteenth-century liquor bottles based on the necks and bases.

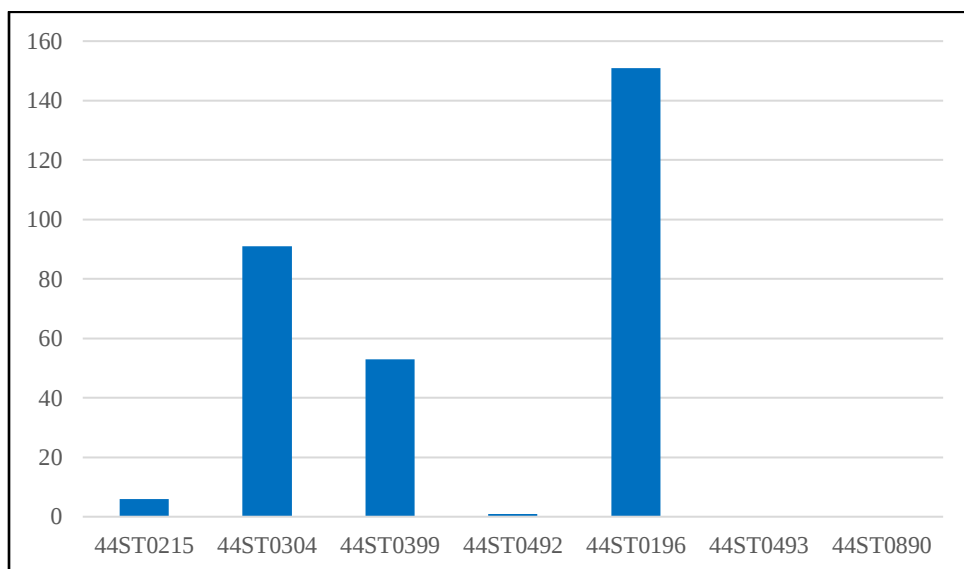


Figure 23: Bottle fragments from an eighteenth-century context from Stafford sites (chart created by the author).

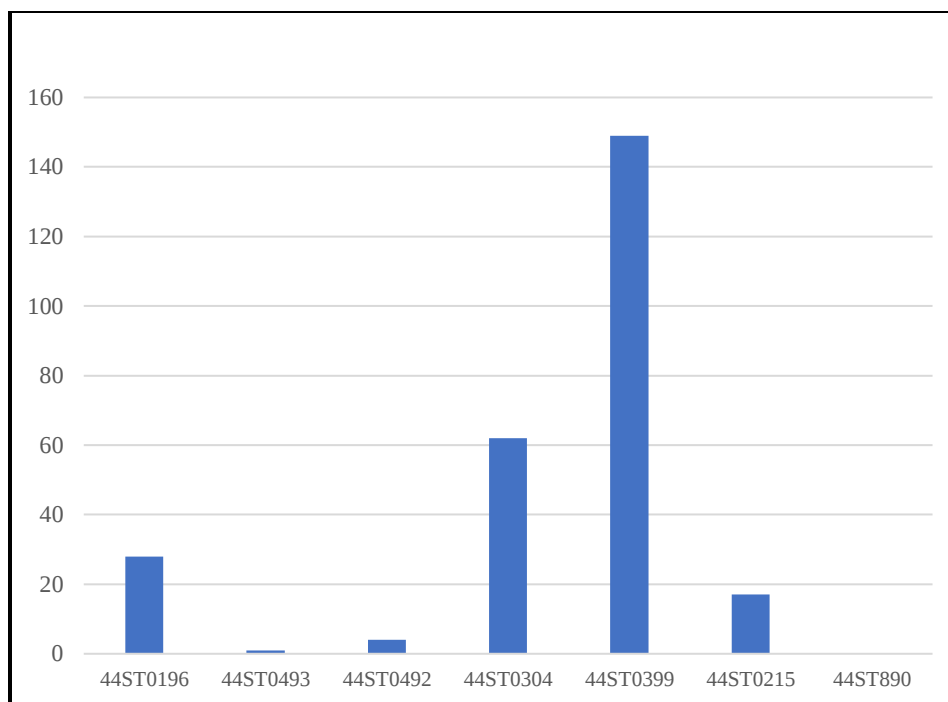


Figure 24: Flat glass fragments recovered from eighteenth-century Stafford County sites (chart created by the author).

Clear flat glass usually functions as window glass unless another purpose can be determined. In this case, all the main dwellings were built in the eighteenth century; the flat glass was likely window glass (Figure 24). Somerset (44ST0196) plantation was constructed between 1791 and 1800. According to John Moncure's county tax records, he paid tax on a 1,400-acre property with a structure (Copage and Tackett 1982:4; Gardner et al. 1999:68). In 1806, he purchased insurance on the property and had a survey done as part of the policy. The main house was described as a large wood structure with a stone foundation (Gardner et al. 1999:70). Based on the types of window glass found at the site, the original structure likely had clear glass windows, and some of the windows had been replaced before 1864 and others after 1864. For structure one, 24 pieces of window glass were dated to 1864 and 17 after 1864. Structure two had 60 pieces dated to 1864 and 49 pieces dated after 1864.

West Farm (44ST0399) also had two structures within the site's boundary: the main locus and the south locus (Auman et al. 2001:5–32). The 1806 insurance map showed a detached kitchen and schoolhouse on the property. Based on the locations of those structures on the map, the foundations that were located during the survey align with the kitchen and the school.

One hundred forty-seven pieces of window glass were recovered from the main locus area and only two from the south area. According to the description of these two structures, the kitchen was a one-story, single-pile stone structure covered with wood planks, and the school had a stone foundation with a wood-frame structure (Auman et al. 2001:2–22). The map description and the foundations that were found at the site did not match. Brick foundations were located at both loci, and no stone foundations from the main locus were found (Auman et al. 2001: 5–46). It is difficult to say why the insurance map and the archaeology are not more compatible, but these two structures align as far as location on the ground according to the map.

Site 44ST0493 had no foundation remains, and only one fragment of brick, one nail, and one piece of window glass was found at the site. Site 44ST0492 had two depressions that were likely part of a larger foundation. There were a few architectural artifacts from this site, four pieces of window glass, 11 cut nails, 15 hand-wrought nails, and zero bricks. Site 44ST0304 had 63 pieces of window glass and other architectural material but no foundation. No window glass was found at 44ST0890.

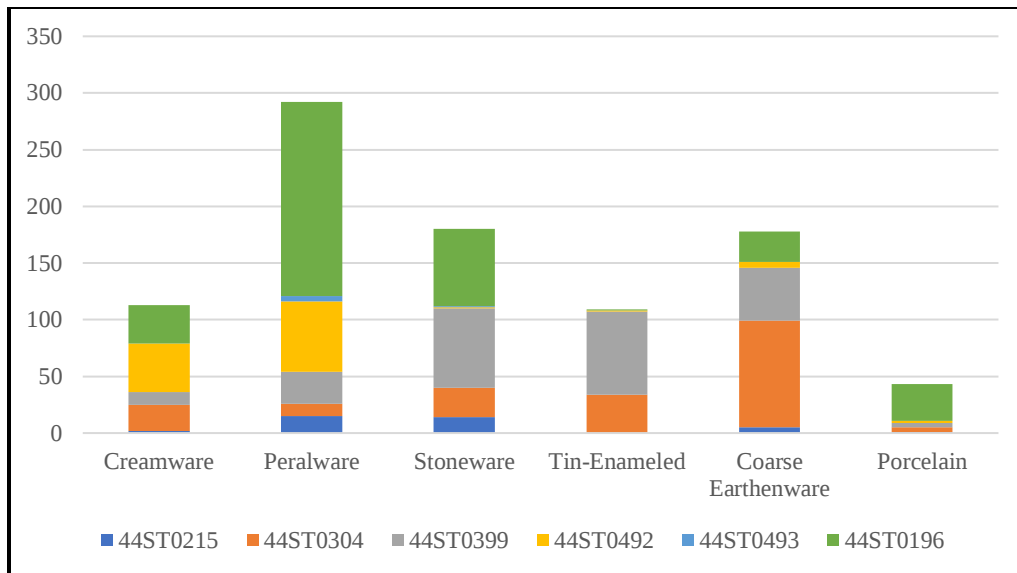


Figure 25: Ceramic fragment site distribution from Stafford eighteenth-century sites (chart created by the author).

Ceramics are usually separated into two categories: refined and unrefined earthenware. In this study, eighteenth-century refined ceramics include creamware, pearlware, tin-enameled, and porcelain (Figure 25). In terms of vessel type, these are usually tableware. Unrefined ceramics are coarse earthenware and stoneware. These vessels are utilitarian and were used for food preparation or storage. The total number of ceramic fragments dating to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is 915. Pearlware comprised the largest percentage of the total at 31%, and porcelain was the smallest percentage at 0.04%. The tin-enameled sherds were about 12% of the total (n=109), but the pieces recovered from 44ST0399 were tiny; while they were likely part of at least one vessel, there were no bases or rim pieces to calculate a more accurate Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV).

Coarse earthenware was about only 19% of the total for eighteenth-century ceramics within the Stafford County sites, and only four of the eight sites had any coarse earthenware

(Figure 25). Most of this type of ceramic was red paste with a clear glaze (n=40). There were also six black glaze sherds and eight Buckley sherds.

Ceramics are an effective way to date the occupation of a historical site. The ware and decorative techniques have specific manufacturing dates that can identify the occupation dates of these sites. Collectively, the ceramic distribution shows that the earliest date for occupation was 1600, and the latest date was 1942. Individually, all sites had different start and end dates (Table 2). An analysis of the occupation dates will be addressed in Chapter 5.

Site Number	Start Date	End Date
44ST0890	1770	1830
44ST0493	1671	1942
44ST0492	1770	1942
44ST0304	1690	1942
44ST0399	1620	1805
44ST0215	1671	1942
44ST0196	1600	1942

Table 2: Occupation dates based on ceramics (table created by the author).

The next section outlines site-specific information from Caroline County plantations. Four sites are included in this section, of which only one was a plantation. Its name was changed from Windsor to Spring Garden. The other two sites were not identified as part of plantations and were included as examples of smaller eighteenth-century farms.

Caroline County Site-Specific Context

The 1755 map of Caroline County (Figure 12) shows six plantations; there were more than that, but they were not included on the map. The four sites included in this study dated to the eighteenth century; however, two had no property records associated with them.

Site 44CE0110 was an eighteenth-century plantation known as the Windsor Plantation. William Woodford, the owner of Windsor, arrived in Virginia around 1702. In 1711, he purchased land in Caroline County, which became the Windsor plantation (Stewart 1973:3). William Byrd visited the plantation in 1732, where he noted a tobacco barn and a “meat-house” (Byrd 1841: 40–41), but no details of the main dwelling.

Woodford was married three times. His first two wives were Elizabeth Battaile and Mary Whitaker. Elizabeth already had five children when she married William. Her children were young adults when she died in 1719 and managed their own property. Mary was also a widow when she married William but had no children; she did in 1732. That same year, Woodford married Anne Cocke, and they had five children: Thomas, Catesby, John, Henry, and William Jr. Anne had family members in other prominent families in the Northern Neck area: the Catesby and Brent families. Woodford died in 1755, and there are no records of when Anne died, but it seems that around 1750, William Woodford Jr. took over the management of the family’s plantations (Fidel et al. 2012:18–19, Stewart 1973).

At age 20, William Woodford Jr. acquired a commission in the Virginia Militia, fought in the French and Indian War, and was at Fort Necessity (1754) and the failed ambush on Fort Duquesne in 1755. After the war, he traveled back to Virginia and continued as a farmer until the Revolutionary War, when he was recalled to service and assisted Patrick Henry as one of the leaders of the Virginia Militia (Ward 1999:1).

By 1780, Woodford was in poor health but was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General and ordered to South Carolina, where he was captured and subsequently died. After his death, his widow Mary Woodford took over managing the plantations until her son John Thorton Woodford married Mary Turner Taliaferro in 1786. John and his wife lived in Windsor with his mother and eleven children and were very active in politics. He was elected to the Virginia Assembly and represented Caroline County. By 1820, the soil at Windsor was depleted from about a century of tobacco cultivation and was no longer a profitable plantation. In addition to the land William Woodford Jr. owned in Virginia, he was given a “bounty” of 13,749 acres in Kentucky that John Thornton Woodford inherited; most of the family moved to this property around 1820 (Fidel et al. 2012:26).

In that same year, John T. Woodford sold the Windsor plantation to Thomas Dew. He supposedly built a second structure on site 44CE0488. No records indicate that Thomas ever lived on the property, but many tenants lived there between 1820 and 1942 (Fiedel et al. 2012: 26; Site Assessment 2001:5–101). A third site (44CE0082), approximately 200 meters (656 feet) north of 44CE0110, was a nineteenth-century dwelling. However, based on survey data, this dwelling burned down (Fidel et al. 2012:12).

Site 44CE0476 had a lengthy occupation dating back to the Revolutionary War. At that time, it was supposedly the location of the second Caroline County courthouse; however, no deed records or maps showed the location of the courthouse. The Department of the Army purchased this parcel in 1942 from Alice M. Broaddus. She was a descendant of Thomas Broaddus on her father’s side (U.S. Census, 1850, 1860, 1910, 1920). Thomas owned a 1500-acre plantation in the area between 1820 and 1860. Maps from 1860 through 1940 do not show any structures in the area until 1940, when the Bowling Green map shows one on parcel 673.

The 1820 and 1860 slave schedules show that Thomas owned many enslaved people, and tenants also lived on the property. The 1820 census indicated that 32 enslaved people and nine tenants lived on the Broaddus property (U.S. Slave Schedule 1820). In 1860, 38 enslaved people were on the plantation (U.S. Slave Schedule 1860). Thomas Broaddus did not reside on the plantation but lived in the area (Fiedel et al. 202: 26). The 1860s map shows a Broaddus farm and a W. Broaddus farm (Figure 26).

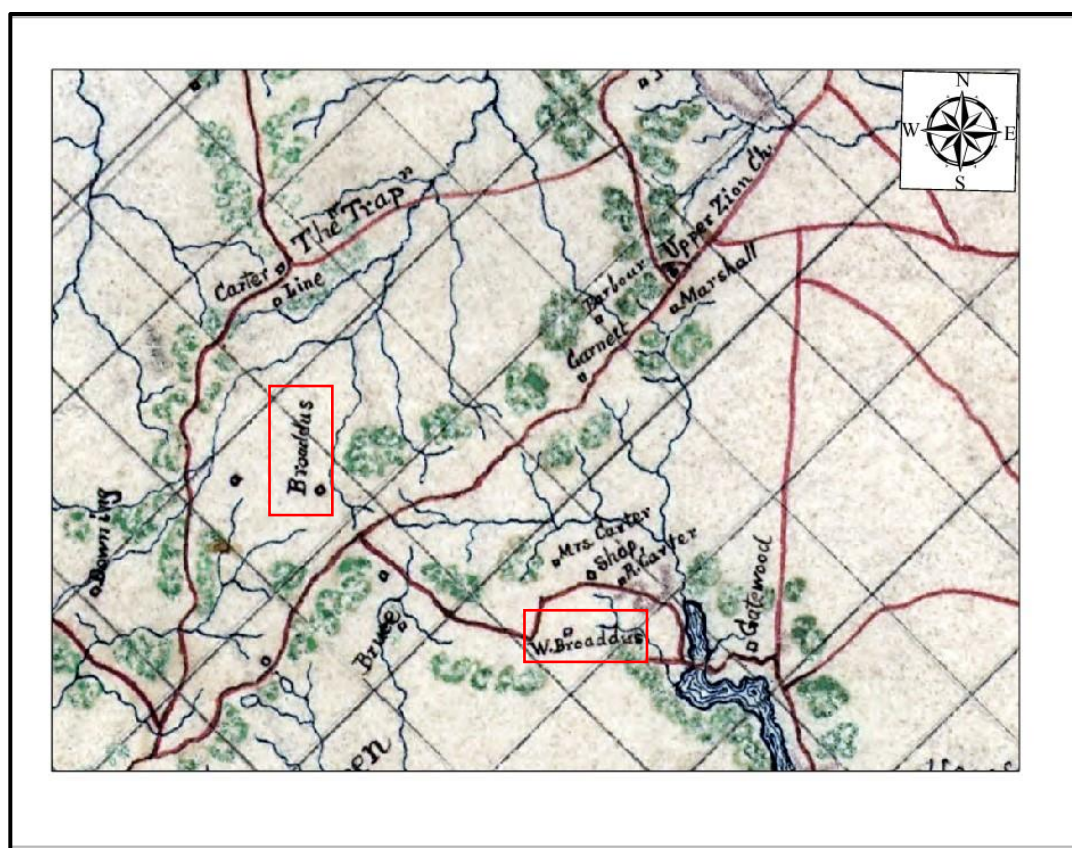


Figure 26: 1860s map of the Broaddus properties in Caroline County (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Map Division; map labeled by the author).

Site 44CE0294 was the main dwelling located on the Gouldin farm. The only deed record available for this parcel was the record of its sale to the Department of the Army in 1942. The artifacts recovered at the site date from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth

century. James D. Gouldin was the last owner of the property. The 1900 census listed him as a farmer who owned the land and lived with his wife and son. The son was recorded as a farm laborer (U.S. Census 1900).

Caroline County Architecture

As in Stafford County, Virginia planters in Caroline County who considered themselves to be part of the Virginia gentry often built brick Georgian mansions on their plantations; Woodford was undoubtedly part of this group. There was a 15 X 6 meters (50 x 20 feet) brick foundation with a wood frame structure based on the high number of nails recovered at the site (n=571) (Fidel et al. 2012: 93; Site Assessment 2001: 5–102). No insurance maps were produced from the Windsor plantation; the only information available concerning spatial layout comes from the archaeology conducted at the site.

The 1983 survey identified nine features, but only three were dated to the eighteenth century. Feature one was likely the main house, and feature two (to the east of feature one) was identified as an ice house. Feature four also had a brick foundation, but this structure had eighteenth- and twentieth-century artifacts; it was difficult to determine the function of the structure based on the artifacts found in the vicinity (Opperman and Thomas 1983: II-70-II 79).

Site 44CE0488 was co-located on the Windsor parcel. Around 1820, Thomas Dew purchased the land, but he may have never lived on it (Fidel et al. 2012: 26, Site Assessment 2001:5–101). Thomas Dew was listed in the 1860 slave schedule, but only the county was listed, not the home or any of the names of the enslaved persons (U.S. Slave Schedule 1860). Philip Dew was Thomas' son; he was listed in the 1880 Population Census as a physician and farmer but lived near the Reedy Church in Caroline (U.S. Census 1880:32), about 15 miles

south of the site. Several architectural artifacts (brick, wrought, and cut nails) were found at the site, but no foundations.

Site 44CE0476 did not have any foundation remnants, but brick fragments, six rose head nails, two wrought nail fragments, and one cut nail fragment were found at the site; there may have been a structure on the site between 1780 and 1830, but it is difficult to confirm this (Mullin 2007: 40).

Site 44CE0294 had no foundation remains; however, bricks, cut and wrought nails indicated that at least one structure existed on the site that was constructed in the mid-eighteenth century and occupied until the mid-nineteenth century.

These two sites may have been tenant farms because of the ephemeral nature of the site. Two other authors have suggested that sites lacking definitive structures, with low artifact assemblages, and with no sub-surface deposits may indicate tenant farms rather than large plantations (Bedell 2007, Voigt et al. 1998).

Caroline County Eighteenth-Century Material Culture

The material culture found at the Caroline County sites exhibits a similar pattern to that of Stafford in that the two largest categories were domestic and architectural materials. These farms were not necessarily smaller than those in Stafford, but the total number of artifacts recovered from Caroline County sites was lower than that of Stafford County. There were 2,952 artifacts from Caroline County and 6,410 from Stafford County (Figure 27). The ceramics

establish site occupation dates, and the distribution shows how many artifacts were at each site and from which categories.

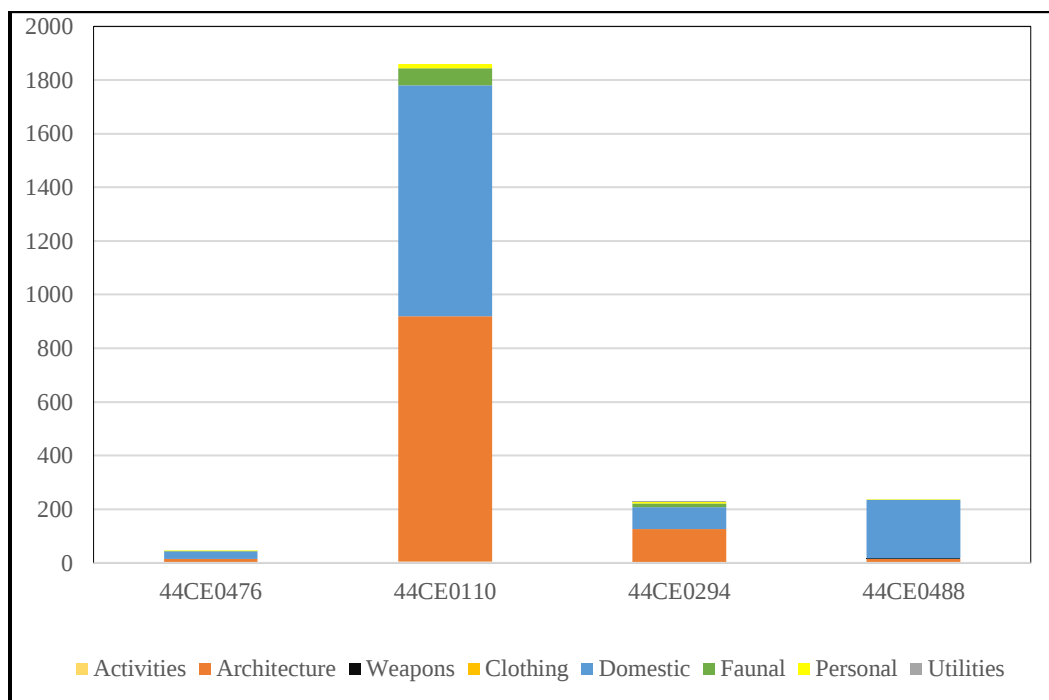


Figure 27: Eighteenth-century artifact distribution from Caroline County sites (chart created by the author).

Ceramics at the Windsor Plantation

The ceramic distribution for the Windsor plantation is somewhat confusing, considering that 4CE0488 was established after 44CE0110. These two sites are also close in proximity; 44CE0488 is roughly 288 meters (944 feet) south of 44CE0110.

Site 44CE0110 had a more diverse ceramic distribution over an extended time period. Tin-glazed (Delftware plain) was the earliest, from 1640 to 1800 (Mean Ceramic Date 1720), and the latest was ceramic whiteware (MCD 1830) and yellowware (MCD 1840) to the last deposit in 1942 (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland: Colonial Ceramics 2022).

Most of the ceramics were tableware and not utilitarian. Site 44CE0110 had a total of 485 ceramic sherds; of that, 227 (46%) were cups, plates, or bowls (Figure 28). Site 44CE0488 had 179 sherds in total, of which 178 were tableware (Figure 29). The majority of ceramics at 44CE0488 were creamware, pearlware, and porcelain, with almost no ceramics to show the site had a long occupation until 1942.

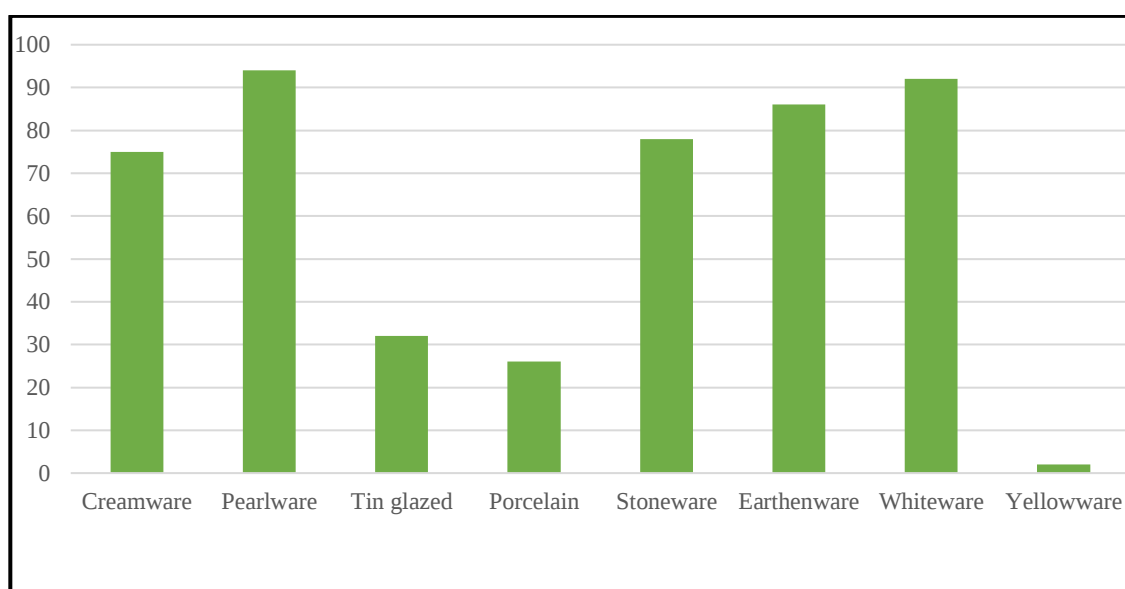


Figure 28: Ceramic distribution at site 44CE0110 (chart created by the author).

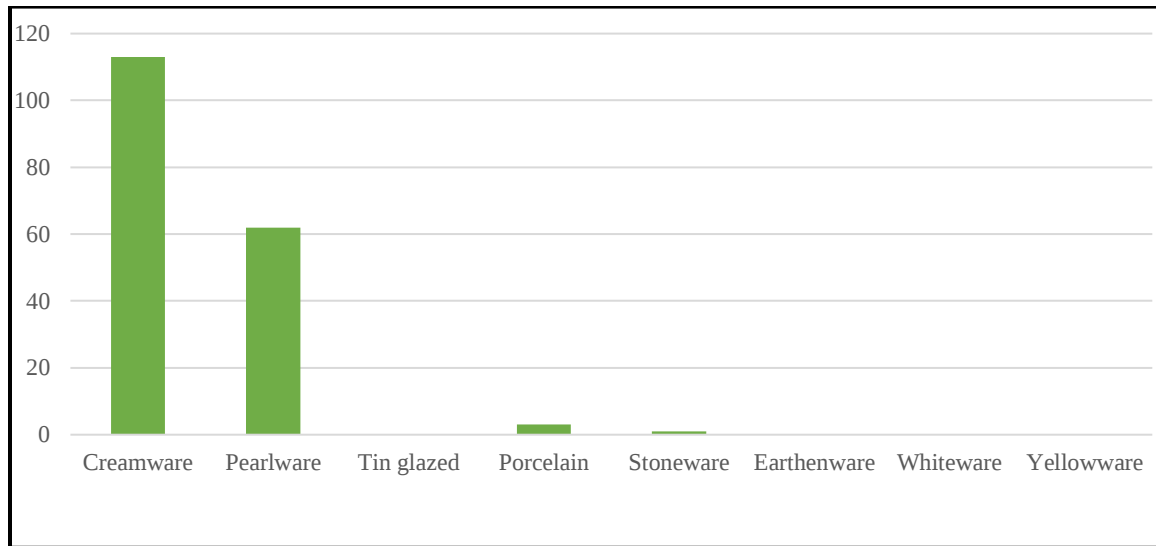


Figure 29: Ceramic distribution for site 44CE0488 (chart created by the author).

Two other eighteenth-century sites in Caroline County, 44CE0294 and 44CE0476, do not have any deed records that indicate who may have held the land grant at that time. However, by the twentieth-century, both lots were owned by farmers. Site 44CE0294 was located on parcel 621, owned by the Gouldin family. Site 44CE0476 was on parcel 673, owned by Alice Broaddus and her husband Woodson, who identified as a farmer in the 1920 census (U.S. Census 1920:5A).

Site 44CE0294 ceramics show a lengthy occupation between 1690 and 1942. However, there are ceramic outliers that stretch the occupation of this site. One fragment of brown salt-glazed stoneware dates from 1690–1775 (Florida Museum, Stoneware 2022), and five fragments of plain whiteware date between 1830 and the last known occupation of the site in 1942 (Florida Museum, Whiteware 2022). The 1690 date fits with the first land grants in the county. These early land grants in Caroline County were issued in 1676 (Ayers and Beaudry 1979:42). The only other dateable artifact found at the site was a pipe stem and a bowl dated

1720–1750 (Deetz 1996:28). Without the stoneware and the whiteware, the site occupation would shorten to between 1720 and 1840.

Site 44CE0476 also had a lengthy occupation based on the ceramic assemblage. There was one fragment of unglazed coarse redware dating between 1500 and 1750 (Florida Museum, Redware 2022) and plain pearlware dating from 1780 to 1840 (Florida Museum, Pearlware, Plain 2022). There were no remnants of a brick foundation, but brick fragments, rose heads, and wrought nails were collected from the site. Other common indicators of domestic dwelling are cedar trees and yucca plants, both of which were found at this site.

The ceramic dates for the eighteenth-century Caroline County sites show that the earliest occupation date was 1500, and the latest was 1860 (Table 3). These dates are outside of the timeframe in which land grants were issued for this area of Virginia, which began in 1676 (Ayers and Beaudry 1979:42), and do not align with the sale of the property to the government. It is likely that as the lots were sold over time, new dwellings were constructed in different periods. The older homes were demolished to clear the land because additional dwellings on both properties date to different periods. In the vicinity of 44CE0476, there are two other dwellings, one dated to the twentieth century and the other to the nineteenth century, although these homes have some distance between them. One is about 900 meters (2,952 feet) south, and the second is 1100 (3,608 feet) east of 44CE0476.

Site 44CE0294 also had two additional dwellings in close proximity that appeared to be within the twentieth-century property boundary. These dwellings also date to different periods: one was a nineteenth-century dwelling, and the other was a twentieth-century one.

Site Number	Start Date	End Date
44CE0294	1690	1840
44CE0476	1500	1840
44CE0488	1762	1840
44CE0110	1640	1860

**Table 3: Summary of site occupation dates based on ceramics
(table created by the author).**

The next section addresses nineteenth-century material culture from sites in both counties. The artifact assemblages in this period were larger than those of the eighteenth or twentieth centuries. In this section, there is an analysis of the architectural and domestic materials, as well as an analysis of the embossed bottles. The bottles alone are not clear indicators of the nature of the relationship between urban and rural areas, but they provide some data regarding where the products were produced, the companies that produced them, and the types of products contained in the bottles.

Nineteenth-Century Material Culture

The expansion of consumer culture in America was in full effect by the end of the nineteenth century. However, the roots of consumer goods date back to when the first ceramics were mass-produced in Europe and shipped globally to countries outside Europe.

In Virginia, all eighteenth-century plantations had artifacts imported from Europe; among them were Delftware, Chinese porcelain, creamware, pearlware, and liquor bottles. There were also furniture, clothing, spices, and teas, all of which were imported and shipped to every part of the Chesapeake Bay.

At the start of the nineteenth-century, the railroad and the improved road system within Virginia facilitated the expanded shipping of consumer goods in larger quantities and at lower

prices. Consumers in urban areas such as Washington, D.C., Fredericksburg, and Bowling Green had more choices and outlets than in rural areas. The artifacts found at nineteenth-century sites suggest that distance from home did not deter rural residents from acquiring many kinds of consumer goods

By the late nineteenth-century, a national market had emerged, and consumer products could be shipped quickly and in mass numbers throughout the United States. The pharmaceuticals, soda bottles, and baking products manufactured in Chicago or Boston were available in Fredericksburg or the local dry goods store, such as the Stafford Store.

Nineteenth-century consumer artifacts show some consumer connections between the rural and urban areas of Stafford and Caroline Counties, but the divergence between the rural and urban was prevalent in both counties. Wolf described the connections and the relationship between urban and rural areas as less strong in this area than in other parts of Virginia. The artifacts from nineteenth-century sites provide a glimpse into the nature of the urban and rural connection. The architectural materials and styles residents used to construct their homes were vernacular and utilized local building materials. The domestic wares they chose to display in their kitchens and dining spaces were often the more popular wares, such as whiteware and ironstone, which were widely accessible across Virginia. The bottles provided the best insight into urban and rural relationships because of where they were and when they were manufactured.

Stafford County Nineteenth-Century Site-Specific Background

Nineteenth-century parcels have some specific background information that helps contextualize the archaeological sites. Property in Stafford was bought, sold, rented, or inherited frequently during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; this complicates the archaeological record, making it more difficult to discern who deposited the artifacts.

Site 44ST0337 was part of the Maxwell farm. According to Stafford County records, Scythia Tolson had 240 acres that were placed in a deed of trust (SSC, Deed Book RR: 73). The records indicated that she inherited a parcel known as “Marble Hill” in 1853 (SCC, Land Book 1855). In 1855, John C. Cooper purchased the parcel at auction and retained the land until his death. The 1850 slave schedule listed John C. Cooper, Stafford County, as the owner of five enslaved people (Federal Slave Schedule 1850). Around 1880, Francis Tolson, the owner of an adjacent parcel, purchased a smaller part of Marble Hill, but the exact number of acres was not listed in the deed (SCC, Chancery Orders CC, 1866–1900:233). In 1882, she sold a 38-acre parcel to George Maxwell (SCC, Deed Book 2:240). He also purchased several other parcels in Stafford County. In 1890, George Maxwell died. R.H. Bryan was given a deed of trust to help Edmonia E. Maxfield, George Maxwell’s wife, manage the property (SCC, Deed Book, 3:393). In 1914, Edmonia sold a 75-acre parcel to Michael Pancak and the other 75 acres to John Saklos. These gentlemen were from Ohio and moved to Stafford County to farm, presumably as tenant farmers, because the deed noted that the dwelling and the crop would be retained (SCC, Deed Book 15:172). David Arrington was the last farmer to purchase land from the Marble Hill parcel (SCC, Deed Book 44:91). His 440-acre farm was sold to the Department of the Navy in 1942 as part of the expansion of MCBQ.

Site 44ST0632 was known as the Stafford Store. This site supposedly has a history that dates back to the eighteenth century. The Combs family were the original owners of a parcel that ran along the north side of the Beaverdam Run between 1740 and 1750; however, there are no records to support this due to missing deeds. By 1766, John Combs expanded the parcel to over 1,000 acres through an inheritance upon his father's death (Balicki et al. 2005: 106). The other brother, Joseph, had a daughter named Jane. She married a man named John Ashby. They opened a local tavern known as Ashley's Tavern, but it did not appear on any Stafford County map until 1820 (Figure 30). In addition to the tavern, they may have built a small dwelling in the area (44ST0215), but no deed records show that they owned the house located at 44ST0215.

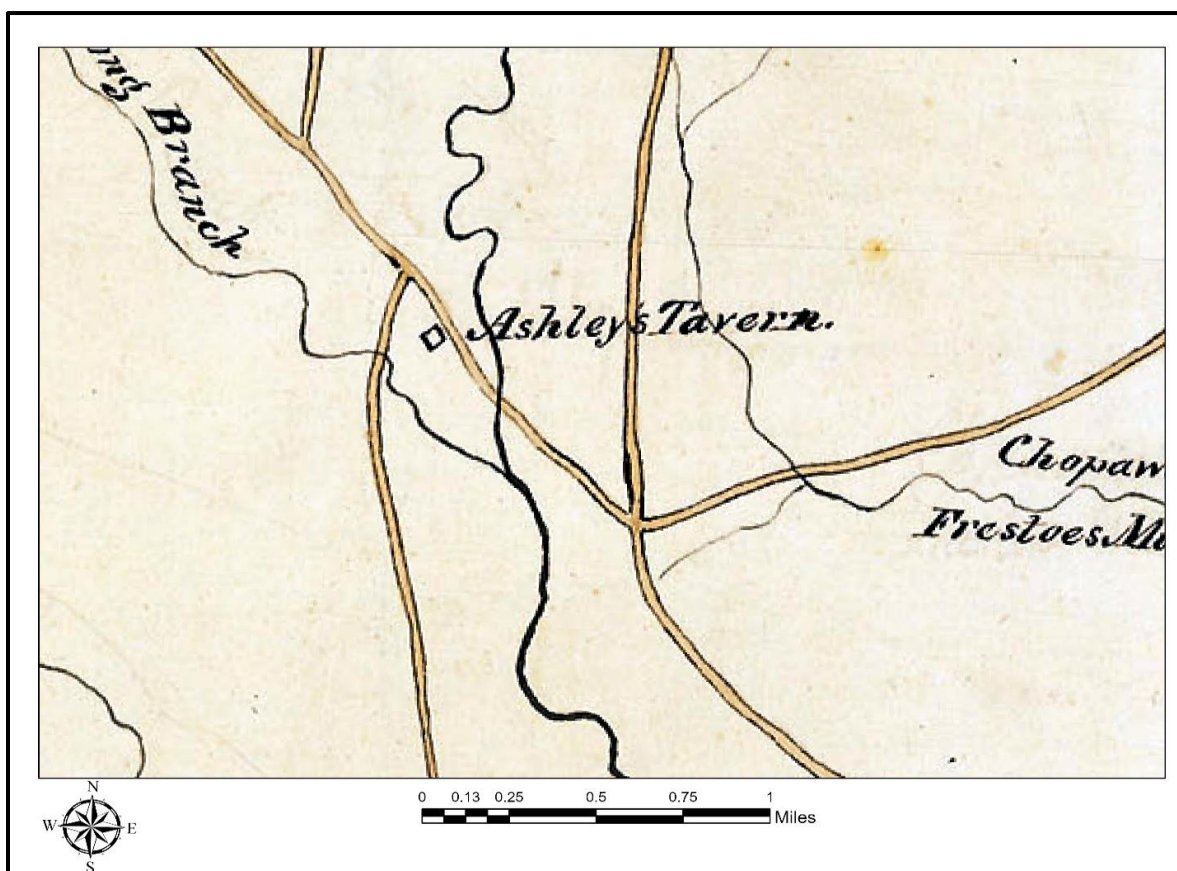


Figure 30: Ashley's Tavern shown on the 1820 Wood's map (Woods map Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography, and Map Division; map labeled in ArcPro by the author).

A second family, the Paynes, lived on the property beginning in 1830. One of the daughters, Prudence Payne, married Benjamin P. Tolson. They had several children; the oldest was James Alexandr Tolson. In 1865, James married Mary Jane Ratcliff. They did not live in Stafford County; they owned a small farm in Prince William County. Their oldest son was named Marion. Ledman Payne, Marion's grandfather, willed a 16-acre parcel along Brent Town Road to Marion (44ST0632). The Tolson house and the Stafford store were located on this parcel. In addition to farming, Marion managed the store and a post office and was the local undertaker for about 30 years. (Balicki et al. 2005: 107–108). Marion eventually closed the store and the post office but continued to farm until 1942, when the Department of the Navy purchased the land to expand MCBQ (Balicki et al. 2005: 108).

Site 44ST0539 was part of a plantation known as Travler's Rest. This site was not included in the study because most of the land was outside the MCBQ boundary, but a small 22-acre parcel was given to Henry Jackson after the Civil War. According to Stafford County Land Records, Cecilia and N. Fenton Jones gave Henry Jackson 22 acres "in consideration of services rendered by Henry Jackson to the family and their ancestors" (SCLR liber 2, folio 299). Arthur Jackson, Henry Jackson's son, inherited the property, but he lived in Washington, D.C. His mother, Martha Ann Jackson, lived on the property with a tenant, Frank Edwards (Stafford County Will Books, liber 6, folio 324). A second tenant lived on the property, Henry Gladdis (U.S. Census 1930:5B). There is no deed information about 44ST0867 or 44ST1170.

Definition of Farm and Occupation Data

By the nineteenth-century, the plantation was still a part of Virginia culture, but there were fewer large plantations because many could not grow large quantities of tobacco and move on to become diversified farms. Many residents identified as farmers in the various censuses but were more likely self-sufficient than market farmers. The nuance between these types of farmers is crucial because a market farmer supports local urban areas with food and jobs, but a self-sufficient farmer is more family oriented and does not provide food sources for urban areas.

The definition of a farm changed with the 1900 Agricultural Census to one that “includes all the land, under one management, used for raising crops and pasturing livestock, with the wood lots, swamps, meadows, etc., connected therewith, whether consisting of one tract or of several separate tracts” (Instructions to Enumerators 1900:44). The instructions note that “market” and “truck” farms and other small gardens can be farms “provided the entire time of at least one individual is devoted to their care” (Instructions to Enumerators 1900:44). The definitions of “market” and “truck” farm were consistent between 1900 and 1940 with minor changes; for example, in 1910, instructions for enumerators said to account for the amount of money a truck or market farm produced to place it in that category (Instructions to Enumerators 1910:42).

For this study, the definition of a farm is twofold: first, a farm that is less than 100 acres is considered a “truck” farm and is likely to be self-sufficient. Second, lots over 100 acres are general farms or “market” farms.

Some confusion about who may have been a market farmer versus self-sufficient comes from the census itself because it does not always maintain the same data requirements from

decade to decade. Some of the censuses had county-wide occupation data. From the population censuses, some data was available regarding the type of jobs people had in both counties.

In the 1820 census, 45% of Stafford residents identified as agriculture workers, and 25% did in Caroline County (U.S. Census 1820, Social Explorer 2022). In 1840, the percentage of people employed in agriculture decreased to 28% in Stafford and 32% in Caroline County (U.S. Census 1840, Social Explorer 2022). The 1890 census listed the number of farm families versus non-farm families. Stafford County had a total of 1,428 families, of which 1,102 were counted as farm families (or 77% of the total) (U.S. Census 1890, Social Explorer 2022). In Caroline County, there were 2,912 families total, of which 2,127 were farm families (73% of the total) (U.S. Census 1890, Social Explorer 2022). The 1940 census provided a more detailed breakdown of the types of employment within the counties.

For Stafford, 80% of the residents were wage laborers; in Caroline County, 57% were wage workers (U.S. Census 1940, Social Explorer 2022). Based on the census data, it is reasonable to conclude that people in both counties were either employed by farm owners or owned their farms. The population census recorded a person's occupation, but the Agricultural census provided more farm details. Between 1850 and 1900, the census defined a farm as being "for the purpose of the agricultural schedule, include all considerable nurseries, orchards, and market gardens, which are owned by separate parties, which are cultivated for pecuniary profit, and employs much as the labor of 1 able-bodied workman during the year" (Agricultural Schedules 1850 to 1900:746). The broad definition of a farm does nothing to sort out who was a market farmer and which families were self-sufficient. However, the additional data on parcel size and census data help to separate the two groups within the counties.

Nineteenth-Century Stafford County Architecture

Architecture in Stafford County in the nineteenth century followed similar trends to other places in Virginia. There were some design and construction changes to nineteenth-century homes, but most fit into one of four categories: two-bay houses, I-houses, L-houses, and the T-house (Traceries 1992:15–17). After the Civil War, many homes in both counties were burned. Those families that did return to the counties afterward utilized more diverse designs and building materials.

Several foundations were found at site 44ST0494, but none are shown on any contemporary maps of this area. Foundation one was a 6 x 12-meter (19 X 39 feet) brick rectangle with a chimney on the northeast corner (Balicki et al. 2005:198–199); a decorative stone wall was found that may have been part of a garden on the front side of the house, along with two wells. Based on the footprint of the foundation, it would be difficult to determine the style of architecture for this home, but it is likely that it was a center passage with a gable chimney.

Sites 44ST0337 and 44ST1056 had stone field foundations, but neither had associated artifacts indicating the structures' functions. At 44ST0323, test unit one was placed in the northeast corner of the foundation. Most of the artifacts were domestic, and an iron bedframe was just outside the foundation. This site area was interpreted as a dwelling based on the size, architectural artifacts, and the foundation's configuration.

Two other examples of early-nineteenth-century homes in Stafford County were located on MCBQ: the Smith house and the Davis house. The Smith house was a two-story, single-pile, wood-frame structure with gabled chimneys on a stone foundation (Fidel et al. 2003:5–27). The

Davis House was a center passage, two-story, wood-frame house constructed on a stone foundation (Figure 31).



Figure 31: The Davis house on MCBQ (photo by the author).

The next section will analyze some of the farm-related artifacts at a few sites in both counties. The tools are relevant for two reasons. One, they are a material indication of the types of technology used on these farms. Second, they are also examples of traditional technology because they were still used past the time they could be replaced with more modern farm equipment.

Farm Tools from Stafford County

Few artifacts were found to support the assumption that many of these parcels were farms rather than dwellings on small plots of land or that they were self-sufficient or truck farms rather than market farms. Without over-emphasizing the lack of artifacts typically associated with farming, there are many reasons that artifacts may or may not be present; among them, the family may have taken the tools with them when they moved off the farm or may not have had

any tools. Before deciding whether these farms had or did not have any farm tools, it is important to show what type of tools would typically be found on a nineteenth-century farm. Peter Henderson published a book in 1867, *Gardening for Profit*, which included a chapter on the types of tools one would need for a garden or a farm. While there were hundreds of farm implements, and people often had a local blacksmith or their own blacksmith shop, many of their tools were handmade. Among the tools he mentioned were several different types of plows, harrows, forks, shovels, hand tools, scythes, and what he called “market wagons” (Henderson 1867:35–43). Other types of material culture that would likely be found on a farm include harnesses, harness chains, horseshoes, various metal fasteners, and various types of locks.

The artifacts recovered from 11 nineteenth-century sites show that only two sites had any artifacts associated with farm work (Table 4). The Shackelford farm (44ST0494) had 13 farm-related artifacts: part of a steel plow, harness chains, wagon parts, and part of a harvester machine blade.

The Stafford Store (44ST0632) had one metal spring that was part of a wagon; this is not necessarily indicative of farm tools but would be a typical mode of transportation at the time. The remaining sites did not have any farm-related artifacts found on the site.

Although the archaeology does not necessarily support the notion that most Stafford County residents were farmers, the oral history recorded from people who lived in the county during the early twentieth century provided more detailed evidence that people were farmers. The oral histories recorded details about the types of tools and equipment they used and how people managed their work on the farm. Almost all interviewees indicated that they grew up on farms in rural areas of both counties.

Site number	Tools	Site Type
44ST0300	0	Farm/local hotel
44ST0322	0	Farm
44ST0323	0	Farm
44ST0337	0	Farm
44ST0494	13	Farm
44ST1055	0	Farm
44ST1056	0	Farm
44ST1057	0	Farm
44ST0867	0	Dwelling
44ST1170	0	Dwelling
44ST0632	1	Farm/rural store
44ST0539	0	Tenant Farm

Table 4: The table shows the number of farm tools found on Stafford County sites (table created by the author).

Oral History of Farms in Stafford County

Stafford County Historical Society collected oral histories of people born in the early twentieth century in the county. The interviewees were asked about living conditions, whether they resided on a farm, and where they went to school, among other questions. While none of these oral histories are directly from people living on what was MCBQ, they provide a glimpse of the types of tools and machines people used on farms in Stafford County. The stories indicate that farmers used a mix of “traditional tools” and modern equipment to run their farms during the early twentieth century.

Altamont Dickerson was not a farmer; he worked as the Commissioner for the Virginia Department of Rehabilitation Services. However, he grew up in Stafford County on his family farm. He recalled how he used to milk cows before there was electricity available in rural areas: “We would get up and milk the cows. That was before we had electricity. We had milking machines, but it was operated by what we called a vacuum pump and a little, half-horsepower gasoline motor” (Spotsylvania Oral History Project 2000: 15). He remembered how his father

used horses to “plow and cultivate the crops, and then when we got ready to harvest the hay, for example, we had a mowing machine pulled by two horses. It had a blade on it...had a gear...” (Spotsylvania Preservation Project 2000a: 15). Not all chores on the farm were done by hand; they also had a machine to fill the silo to feed to cows: “In the evenings after we finished milking the cattle I’d go out and cut enough corn so my dad could use that the next day to fill the silo. We had to get up in the silo, as the silage was coming down. We had a machine that blew it down inside, and you’d have to go around and pack it down in the silo” (Spotsylvania Preservation Project 2000a: 16). Archie Newton was born in 1909. He was a farmer and a fisherman. He recalled that his family used mules and then transitioned to a tractor: “At first we had horses, then we got a pair of mules, then sold the mules, then bought a tractor” (Stafford County Oral History 1986b:3). His family owned a W.D. Tractor. The Allis Chalmers company produced them between 1948 and 1953 (Tractor Data 2022). W. Hansford Albe was also a Stafford County farmer. He was born in 1908. He spoke about attending a one-room school, and after school, he would come home and cut wood with a “cross-bent saw...” (Stafford County Oral History 1986a:10). He told the story of how his mother used to wash clothes: “Well, she had a washtub and a washboard and wash and scrub them on the board” (Stafford County Oral History 1986a:7). He recalled how his family raised hogs and produced all their own food (Stafford County Oral History 1986a :6–8). He stated that when he was 18 years old, he worked as a farm laborer. By the time he was 25 years old, he had purchased a neighboring farm; he did not mention whom he had purchased it from, but did say it was in 1945 (Stafford County Oral History 1986a :21). Albe also noted that he owned a second farm, the Wallace farm. It was a 518-acre farm that also had a sawmill where he managed a timber operation.

Ida Brooks was born in 1900. She grew up on Grafton farm. Her family's dairy farm was Route 17 near a small town known as Warrenton, Virginia, in Stafford County. Her family sold cream to Farmer's Creamery in Fredericksburg, Virginia. She recalled as a child how she carried the milk to the creamery in a horse and buggy (Stafford County Oral History 1986c:8). She talked about how her father hired tenants to do the work because, during "World War I, they were short of men, so they drafted every man of age, you see. And all the help Papa could get was old men that were too old to go in the service and the boys that were young" (Stafford County Oral History 1986c:8).

In addition to the typical tools used on these farms, larger pieces of farm equipment were located during pedestrian field surveys. It is difficult to say precisely how long the thresher and the hit-or-miss engine were used, but the Bowering steam engine had additional historical information available about the property owner and provided some indications of how long it was used on the Atchison farm.

As Wolf mentioned, a common characteristic of Latin American peasants was the use of outdated or "traditional technology" (Wolf 1955:457). Wolf referred to peasants who lived in Latin America and whose communities were products of Spanish colonial policies; in response to these policies, some Latin American countries became "closed corporate peasant communities" (Wolf 1955:457). The characteristics of these Latin American communities share this similarity with Stafford and Caroline County farmers in their use of traditional technology to cultivate their land.

Caroline County Oral History

The oral history of life on a farm in Caroline County describes a scene in which most of the chores were done by manual labor, aided by horses and mules. Few farms had tractors, and the ones that did would assist as many other farms as possible in exchange for a portion of the harvest or other compensation. The histories reveal that farm labor, the family, and the community all worked together to produce enough food for everyone; while cash crops were cultivated, they were produced in smaller amounts (Morton and Morton 2009:5).

The oral histories included in this section are summarized from *Wealthy in Heart: Oral History of Life Before A.P.Hill* (Morton and Morton 2009). Unlike the *Stafford County Oral History Project*, which was published as transcribed interviews with the questions and answers available, *Wealthy in Heart* did not publish the entire interviews but used the interviews to weave together a story. Some of the entries were much longer and covered a variety of topics, while others were short excerpts. Regardless of the published format, the stories provide a glimpse of what the residents experienced as farmers in Caroline County in the early half of the twentieth century.

Genevieve Davis remembered that early in her childhood, her family did all the farm chores by hand until her father purchased a tractor. She stated that her family raised wheat and corn, but they also had a garden with all of the other vegetables they grew for the family (Morton and Morton 2009:6).

Daisy Houston spoke about her family farm as small, at only 20 acres. They grew tobacco, cucumber, and tomatoes and had only one cow (Morton and Morton 2009:10). Lucille Tompkin said that her family grew tobacco and cucumbers and that her father would take them to Milford. He also grew corn and sweet potatoes for the family (Morton and Morton 2009:11).

Many residents recalled that their families grew watermelons, tomatoes, and tobacco, but most of it was for family consumption. Lillian Miles (along with other residents) noted that they would save a portion of their cucumbers, and when they collected a full bushel, they would take it to Milford to sell at the pickle factory (Morton and Morton 2009: 12).

Milford is a small town about three miles west of Bowling Green and 15 miles east of Port Royal. The RF&P railroad built a train station in Milford in 1834 (Cultural and Historic Resources 2022:5–6) next to a small store known as Blatt’s Store (Cultural and Historic Resources 2022:5–5). People who lived around Bowling Green frequently traveled there because it was close; it had a post office and a few stores.

Residents recalled that most farms did not have electricity and would store dairy products in a root cellar. As children, they learned how to cure and can meat, fruit, and vegetables in order to have food over the winter (Morton and Morton 2009:5–51).

As important as the family was to farms in Caroline County, the census indicated that many of these farms had tenants. A few of the interviewees discussed their tenants and what they recalled about the tenants who worked for them.

Mary Broaddus-Haley remembered a tobacco warehouse in Richmond and how all of the “tenants” would take the tobacco there and sell it (Morton and Morton 2009:37).

Francis Bruce revealed that his family did not have any money to pay tenants for summer work; he would travel to the RF&P railroad station in Milton, where he would pick up “Hobos” and pay them with food. Some African-American families lived close to the Bruce family but not on the farm. They would help his father pick cucumbers, but they were paid with cash, not food (Morton and Morton 2009:16).

The accounts that people gave of growing up on a farm in Caroline County not only described what they had produced but how they consumed most of it and sold some of the crops for cash. Most residents also talked about how they would have to do all the farm chores by hand or with the help of tenants, but some were able to purchase farm equipment to make the work less labor-intensive and time-consuming.

For most of the farms in either county, the use of farm machinery was often the exception, not the rule. Some farmers made use of traditional technology to the extent that they could use it. Wolf spoke about how Latin American farmers used traditional technology, in that manual labor was the most common farming method (Wolf 1955: 457). In both counties, manual labor was often the primary source of power for most farms, but a few had equipment that made thrashing or timber cutting a manageable operation.

Traditional Technology

The Bowering Steam Engine

A portable steam engine was discovered along a small tributary during a 2009 pedestrian survey within one area of MCBQ (Figures 33 and 34). Initial research into the Bowering steam engines indicated that these steam engines were produced at the Hope Foundry during the nineteenth century in Fredericksburg, Virginia. John F. Scott was the original owner of the foundry. Benjamin Bower was one of the managers, and after Scott's death in 1870, Bower became the owner. This steam engine found on MCBQ was a portable engine built at the Hope Foundry. It was likely in operation until 1942. The property on which the engine was found belonged to the Atchison family (Figure 32). A search of land records indicated that around 1875, Gustav Schneider operated a sawmill on the property (SCLR 1:389). The engine seems to have been sold with the property through 1942, meaning this parcel was a timber business for at least 67 years, which would explain the high purchase price in 1942 (Table 5).

Date	Name of Buyer	Acres	Amount	Improvements	Land Record
1871	Henry Dugan	374	\$3,800	None	SCLR TT:276
1875	Gustav Schneider	374	No amount listed	Timber and railroad ties	SCLR TT:502
1882	John Hofman	374	\$1,684.72	Timber (cut and uncut)” and “railroad ties (cut and uncut)”	SCLR 1:389
1898	George Smith	202	\$1,000	Buildings	SCLR 7:492
1902	Welford Atchinson	202	\$900		SCLR 10:207
1943	United States Department of the Navy	323			NREA CRM records

Table 5: The property deeds for the Atchinson farm with available land records (Land Records for the Atchinson farm, NREA CRM files, SCLR 1871-1942, table created by the author).

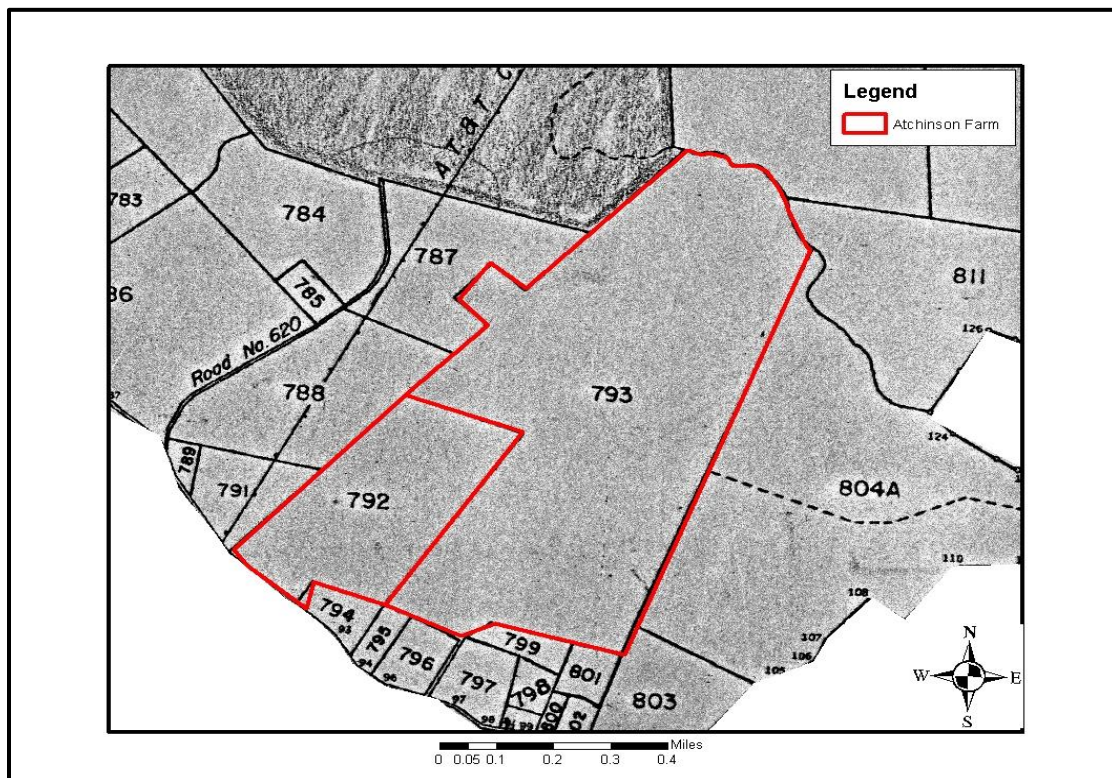


Figure 32: The boundary of the Atchinson farm in 1940. The family owned parcels 792 and 793 (parcel map, NREA CRM files, parcel boundaries created by the author in ArcPro).

In December 1865, the *Fredericksburg Ledger* posted an advertisement for Hope Foundry portable steam engines (Hope Foundry 1865). Schneider likely purchased the steam engine sometime during or after 1866 but could have purchased the engine around the same time he purchased the land in 1875. It was impossible to establish when he purchased the engine, but it was likely between 1866 and 1875 (Figures 33 and 34).



Figure 33: The Engine Piston and Regulator (photo by the author).



Figure 34: Steam engine boiler (photo by the author).

Portable Steam Thrasher

Nagle was an ironworks company established in 1879. The company was located in Erie, Pennsylvania, and it produced portable steam engines. By 1884, they produced five different sizes of portable steam engines (Cope 2006:164). The Green family owned the land on which this steam thrasher was found. According to the 1910 census, Allen Green and his family lived in Brentsville, Virginia. Two lodgers were also listed as part of the household: Luther Renoe and Jessee Green (U.S. Census 1910).

Brentsville is about 10 miles from the parcel owned in Stafford County. It is difficult to say why the Greens lived in Brentsville and owned a farm in Stafford. This area was surveyed, but no sites were found within the parcel boundary; however, the steam thrasher was found during a pedestrian survey of the area (Figures 35 and 36). Neither the Virginia 1927 Quantico Quad map nor the Virginia 1940 Quantico Quad map shows any structures within the boundary

of the Green farm. It seems that the Green family's tenants were seasonal laborers and lived in Brentsville with the family.



Figure 35: Portable steam thresher found at the Green farm (photo by the author).



Figure 36: Nagle Engine and Bolier Works, where the steam thresher was built (photo by the author).

Hit-and-Miss Engine

The hit-and-miss engine was found at the bottom of a hill along the shore of the Potomac River in Stafford County (Figure 37). It appears that the engine was used to mine sandstone in the area. In 1872, the Potomac Land Company owned a 5,600-acre tract north of Little Creek and east of Dumfries, and plans were made to develop the area (Voigt et al. 1998:30). The company planned to rebuild the local infrastructure. They went as far as incorporating the town of Potomac but never proceeded with the development (Fleming et al. 1978:17). The Quantico Company took over the land about 1916 and built a shipyard on Shipping Point, now called Hospital Point. About a year later, the Quantico Company leased the land to the Department of the Navy, and the first Marines arrived in May 1917 to train in trench warfare in anticipation of deployment to France (Fleming et al. 1978:24).

The Domestic Engine Company built this engine in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. This was a dual-cylinder engine in which one cylinder provided power, and the other acted as an air compressor (Linebaugh 2018).



Figure 37: Hit-n-miss engine(photo by the author).

It was difficult to determine how long the engine was used, but available historical records indicate that the area was mined between 1872 and 1917, when the land was leased to the Department of the Navy. Unfortunately, no additional records were available that indicated that the engine was there when the Navy acquired the property or the last time it may have been used.

Caroline County Traditional Technology

In Caroline County, a few examples of traditional technology were found on parcels included in this study. The oral histories captured more details of farmers who used traditional technology. Nancy Napier spoke of how her dad owned a sawmill: “See, my dad had a sawmill also when he was at A.P. Hill. He moved the sawmill to wherever it needed to be...the sawmill itself, I have seen them, you know, [was] really not that big that they can’t be transported by horse and wagon” (Morton et al. 2009:146). Charles Royce was an African-American farmer. He described how his [great] grandfather was a sawmill worker and had a talent for cutting trees into lumber, building houses, and keeping the engines running on the gas-powered sawmills:

“You see, everybody didn’t have that combustible knowledge either, and I think this was his gift back then in the early 1900s. He knew how the combustible engine worked. Because everybody else was basically horse and buggy, ax, and saw” (Morton et al. 2009: 152). Many other people mentioned in their oral history that they farmed with a horse-drawn plow and recalled how most of the people in the county traveled by horse and buggy (Morton et al. 2009).

Wolf’s observation that peasants used traditional technology to cultivate their land holds true for some farms in both counties. Although not all farmers used traditional technology, some residents recalled in their oral history that by the 1930s, more people had purchased tractors, and the expanded rural electrification facilitated more farms to use electricity rather than manual labor. The “market” farms apparently invested in modern farm equipment, but the self-sufficient farms stayed with horse-drawn plows and hand tools.

Wolf also stated that peasants often farmed on marginal land. The following section examines whether or not this was an accurate observation or just Wolf’s assumption about the soil quality on Latin American farms.

Soil Data

Wolf described how Latin American peasants were often remanded to farm on “marginal land” (Wolf 1955: 457). According to Wolf, peasants farmed marginal land because

of the social structure of Latin American communities. Wolf does not explain what he meant by marginal land, but he indicates that “Marginal location and traditional technology together limit the community’s production power of the community” (Wolf 1955: 457). One could reasonably assume that Wolf meant that “marginal land” was an area without good irrigation or requiring additional fertilizers to increase crop yields. However, soil quality and agricultural production are not linear assessments. There are many different types of soils, and some are better suited for specific crops than others. For example, the best soil for corn is well-drained and fertile. These are usually sand or loam soils. Conversely, lettuce and beans grow better in clay soils.

Generally, good irrigation and fertilizer can increase crop yields in soil that may be considered marginal. One of the factors that made the East Coast attractive to Europeans was that it had fertile soil (i.e., was suitable for growing tobacco). In Virginia, the soil was initially fertile and well suited to grow tobacco, but over time, it was depleted (Pogue 2017:5), and growing any crop became difficult without fertilizer.

Previous surveys conducted within the study area of Stafford and Caroline counties suggested that the vast majority of farms had poor soil quality and that, in some areas, the soil was so depleted that the land could only be used for pasture and forestry (Ayres and Beaudry 1979, Botwick and McClane 1998:22, Linebaugh and Blanton 1996:28, Turner 1976). Based on the sites that were part of this study, it would seem that at least one farm harvested timber, such as the Atchinson farm, while other farms were likely self-sufficient farms, and at least a few were “market farms.”

A closer analysis of the soil types in the county supports the argument that much of the soil needed to be tilled and fertilized to produce a crop; however, most of the soils were classified by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) as either prime or state prime

farmland.

The USDA soil studies divide the soil types into three main categories of farmland: state prime farmland, prime farmland, and not prime farmland. These are further divided into soil subtypes that are described in detail as to land use suitability, acidity, and several other subcategories (Eastham et al. 2009). The USDA 2009 report stated that prime farmland is an “area of soils that nearly meet the requirements for prime farmland and that economically produce high yields of crops when treated and managed according to acceptable farming methods,” and state prime farmland is defined as “land that has the best combination of physical and chemical characteristics for producing food, feed, forage, fiber, and oilseed crops and is available for these uses” (Eastham et al. 2009:90).

Stafford County Soil

Stafford County’s current soil survey, conducted by the USDA in conjunction with Virginia Poly-Technical Institute (2022), found that the most common soil type within the county is wet alluvial land, which is not prime farmland (Ae) (USDA Soil Survey 2022). The second most common soil type was Nason silt loam with a 6% to 15% slope (NaC2), which is considered state prime farmland. Nason (NaB) is also a state prime farmland soil type. Caroline (CaB2) is prime farmland. Caroline Sassafras (CdE), Appling (AIC2), Aura (AwE), Bourne (BmB), Wehadkee (Wh), Sand, and Gravel, and Water (W) are not prime farmland (Figure 38).

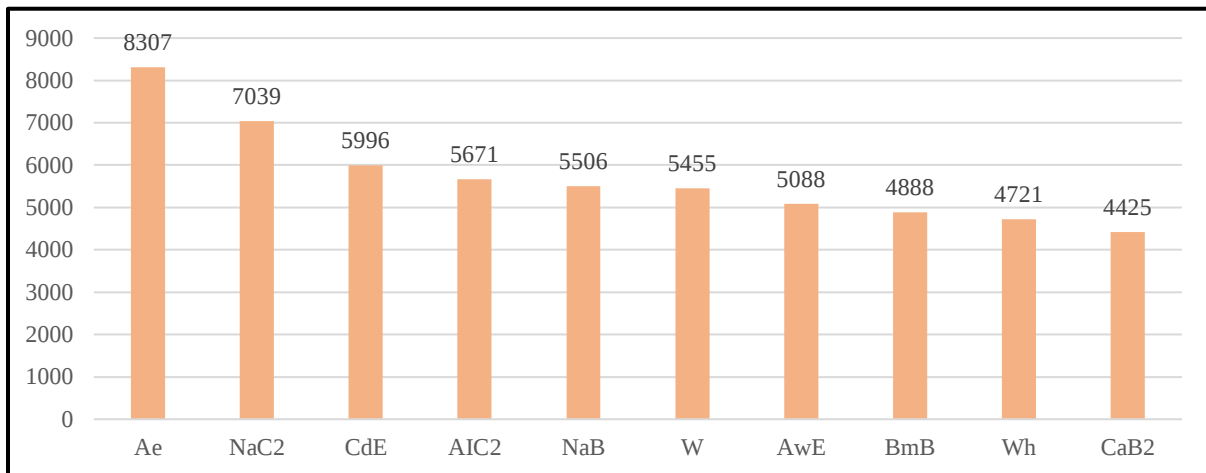


Figure 38: Most common soil types in Stafford County (data compiled by the author from USDA soil survey 2022).

Within Stafford County, 87,532 acres of land are considered either state or prime farmland (Figure 39). Within the study area (MCBQ), there are 35,473 acres; of that area, 18,865 acres are considered either state or prime farmland, and 15,539 acres are not prime farmland (Figure 40). A closer look at just the parcels selected as part of this study shows a total of 4,413 acres, of which 1,958 acres are state or prime farmland and 2,192 acres are not prime farmland (Figure 41). Based on the acreage and the map of where the state and prime farm soils were located within the parcels, most farms appeared to have some state or prime soil and, in some cases, both soil types (Figure 42).

The issue of land ownership is important to farmers because it is an essential aspect of their livelihood. In places where Wolf conducted research, such as Latin America, landownership often places a person in a higher social position. Wolf wrote about several landownership types: patrimonial, prebendal, and mercantile domain (Wolf 1966: 58). These systems existed at various times and places, and the landowners were often not the farmers; usually, the owner was another person higher up in the social system. In both counties,

landowners were often farm operators, and the tenants were less visible in archaeological and historical records.

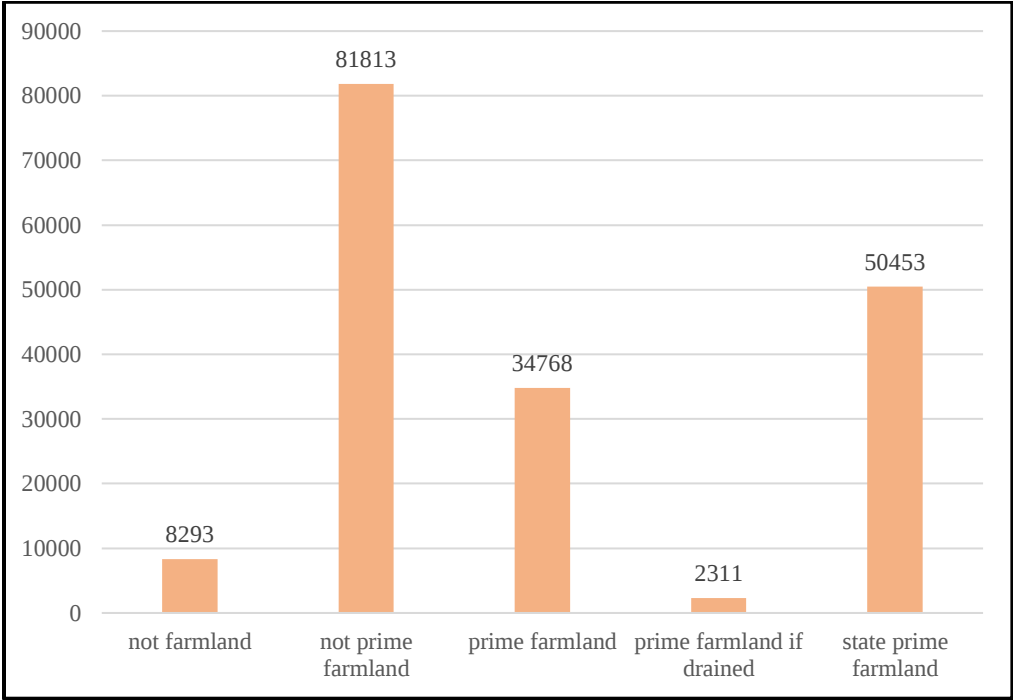


Figure 39: The acreage and types of farm soil in Stafford County (data compiled by the author from the USDA soil survey 2022).

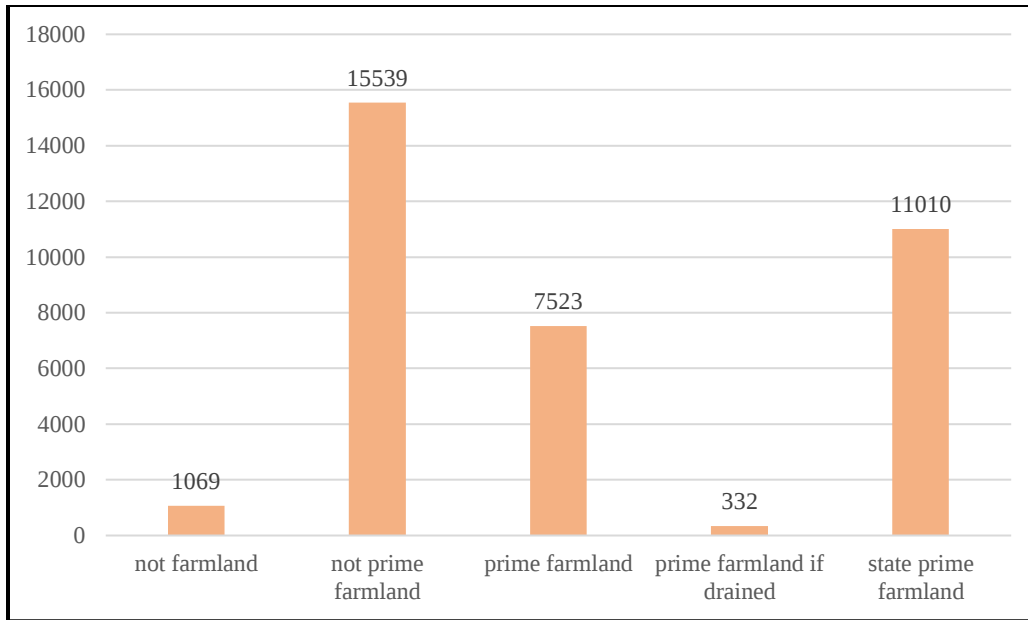


Figure 40: The type and acreage of farmland soil within MCBQ (data compiled by the author from the USDA soil survey 2022).

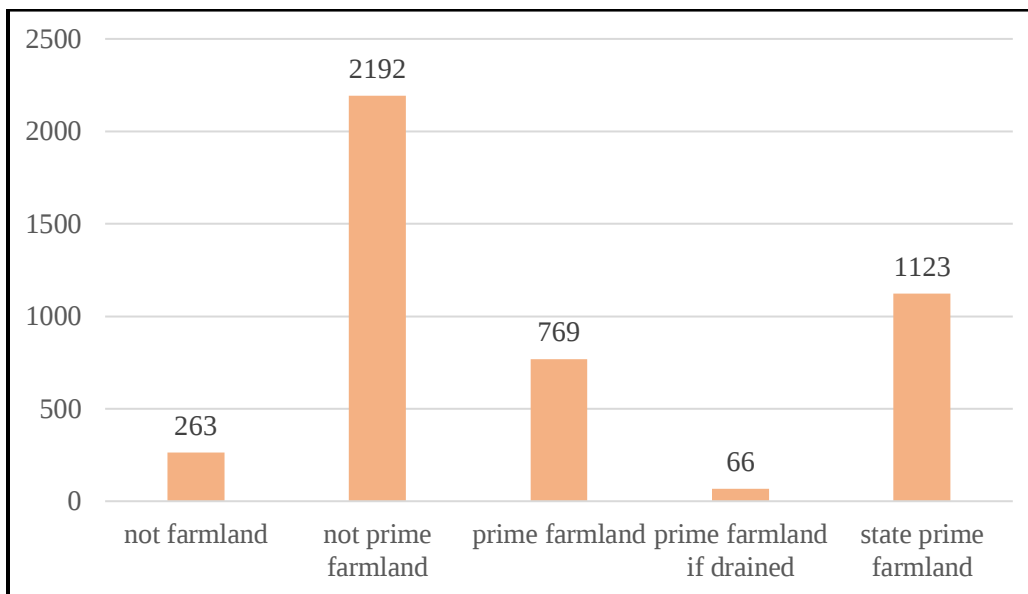


Figure 41: The type and acreage of farmland soil within the parcels of the study area (data compiled by the author from the USDA soil survey 2022).

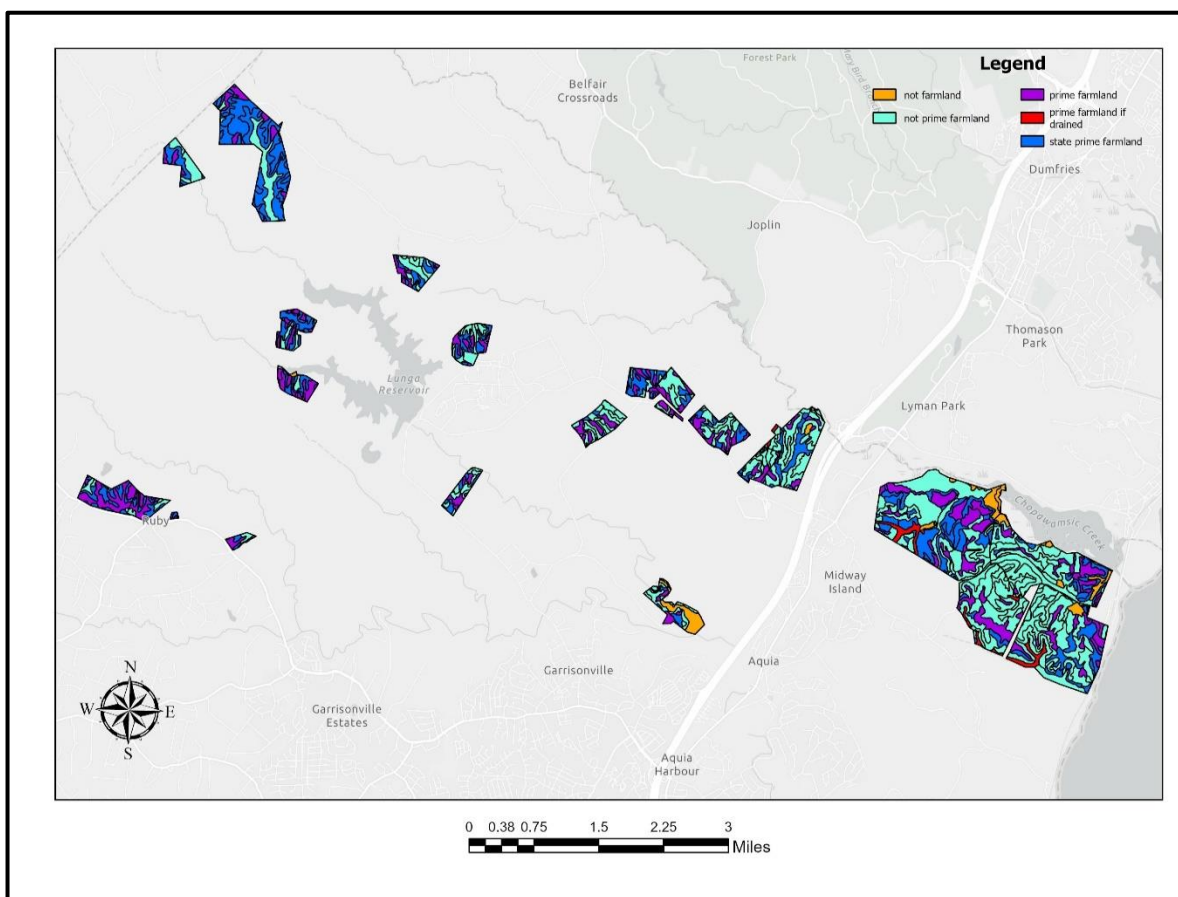


Figure 42: Farmland soil types within the parcel boundaries, Stafford County (USDA soil survey 2022; parcel boundaries created by the author, ArcPro map background.)

The Atchinson farm, where the Bowering steam engine was found, was a timber operation rather than a farm. Two parcels were part of the farm: 792 (63 acres) and 793 (252 acres). Parcel 792 had 12 acres of prime farmland, and 793 had 21 acres of prime farmland. The other soil types found in both lots were Watt (WgE) and Aura (AvE2, AvD2), which are suited for woodland (timber harvest) (Isgrig and Strobel 1974:7–56). Caroline (CaD2) is one of the better soils suited for timber (Isgrig and Strobel 1974:71). Alluvial wetlands (Ae), Wehadkee (Wh), and Cartecay (Ce) are all poorly drained and frequently flood (Isgrig and Strobel

1974:52, 61) (Figures 43 and 44). Wehadkee can be used for cultivation, but flood and artificial drainage are frequently necessary if the area is farmed (Isgrig and Strobel 1974:52). Congaree (Cn) can be fertilized for use for summer crops, but it frequently floods (Isgrig and Strobel 1974:27). Cut and fill (Cw) is not farmland soil but is suitable for woodland harvest (Isgrig and Strobel 1974:29).

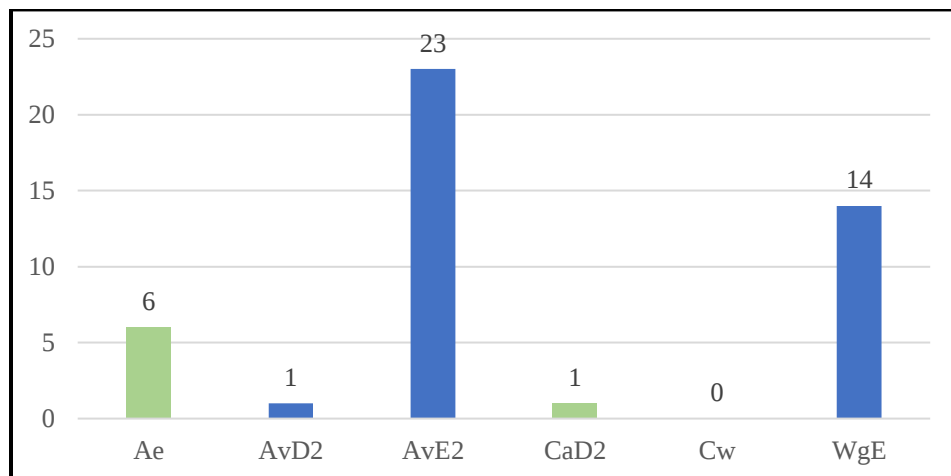


Figure 43: Timber soil types and acreage on parcel 792, Atchinson farm (data compiled by the author from the USDA soil survey 2022).

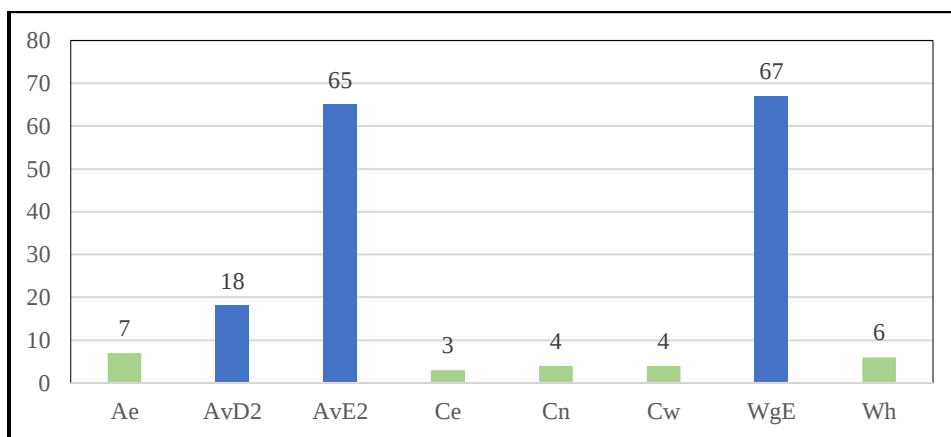


Figure 44: Timber soil type and acreage for Parcel 793 (data compiled by the author from the USDA soil survey 2022).

There are 24 parcels in this study located in Stafford County; 14 (58%) of the parcels had 50% or more prime farmland. Sixteen people were identified as farmers in the various censuses, of which 14 resided on a 50-acre or larger lot. Ten of the farmers were located on land with 50% or more prime farmland. The largest parcel was the Perry farm, an 820-acre farm with 52% prime farmland.

There are eight parcels with owners who did not identify as farmers. Five of the eight had 50% or more prime farmland, but they were small parcels of less than 60 acres. However, two were more than 100 acres. Parcel three was owned by Ann Moncure; she was a teacher. Carrie Smith owned the other parcel, 995; she was a billing clerk in Norfolk.

Four parcels were less than 50 acres, and none of the owners were farmers. Parcel 227 was owned by Sandy Gibson, an African-American blacksmith. Arthur Jackson was also African-American and worked as a Pullman Porter in Washington, D.C. James Miner was also African-American, but he identified as a laborer. Theodore Cooper (not African-American) was a machine operator whose lot was 55 acres with 80% prime farmland, but his property was not listed as a farm.

Caroline County

Caroline County is a larger area than Stafford County. Caroline County is approximately 344,251 acres, and Stafford County is about 177,653 acres. The counties' soil types vary, although the two counties border each other. Caroline County's ten most common soil types are Kempsville (11B, 10E, 11C), Slagle-Kempsville (21C), Bibb Chastain (4A), Fluvanna (22B), Tetotum (24B), Altavista (1A, 1B), and Tomotley Roanoke (26A) (USDA Soil Survey 2022) (Figure 45).

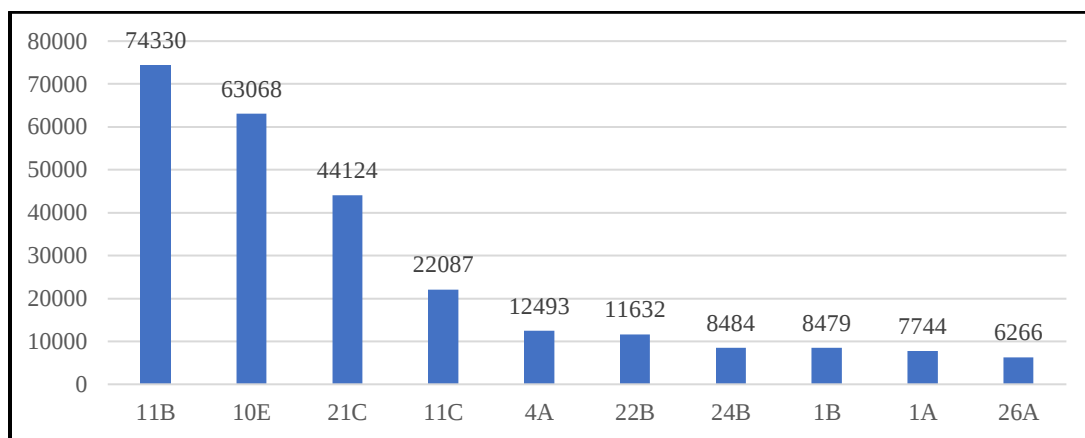


Figure 45: Ten most common soil types and acres in Caroline County (data compiled by the author from the USDA soil survey 2022).

The county has ninety different soil sub-types, 44 of which are considered prime farmland. Of the 344,251 acres within the county, 234,565 acres are considered prime farmland. The county's most common soil type, the Kempsville-Emporia-Remlik complex (11B), which comprises 74,330 acres (21%), is prime farmland (Figure 46).

Within the study area of FAPH, there are 41,715 acres of either prime, state prime, or prime farmland if drained. There is almost an even split between the number of prime farmland acres and soil that was not farmland or not prime farmland (Figure 47).

For the parcels included in this study, the amount of prime farmland and other soil types is almost even (Figure 48). However, the individual parcels are of different sizes and have different percentages of the various types of farmland soil. Figure 49 is a map of all of the parcels, including the farmland soil types shown in the map. The map shows the various sizes of the parcels and the distribution of the farmland soil types among the parcels.

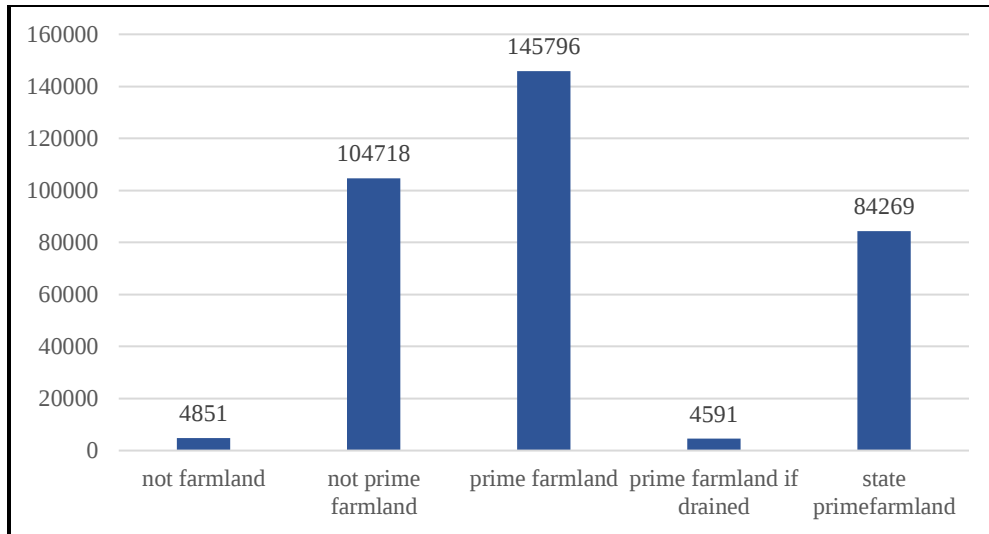


Figure 46: The number of farmland acres in Caroline County (data compiled by the author from the USDA soil survey 2022).

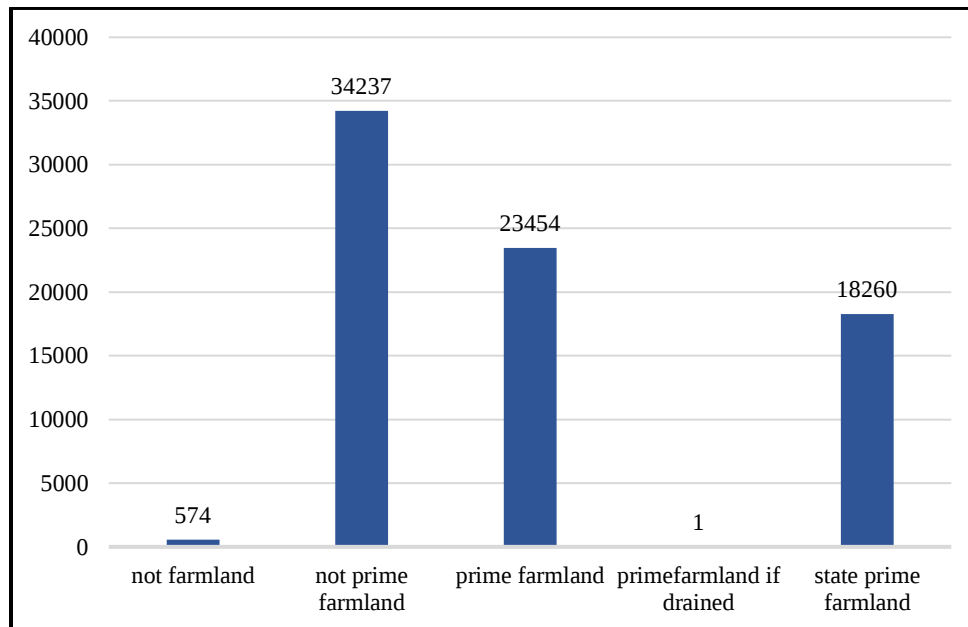


Figure 47: The number of acres of farm soil within the study area of Fort A.P. Hill (data compiled by the author from the USDA soil survey 2022).

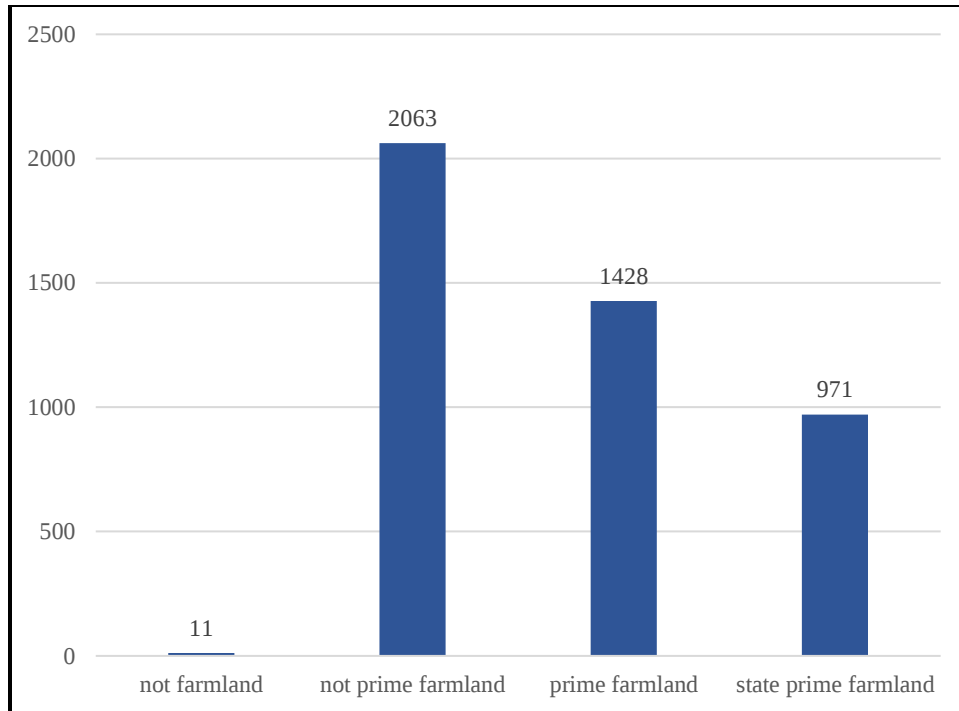


Figure 48: The number of farmland acres that were located within the parcels (data compiled by the author from the USDA soil survey 2022).

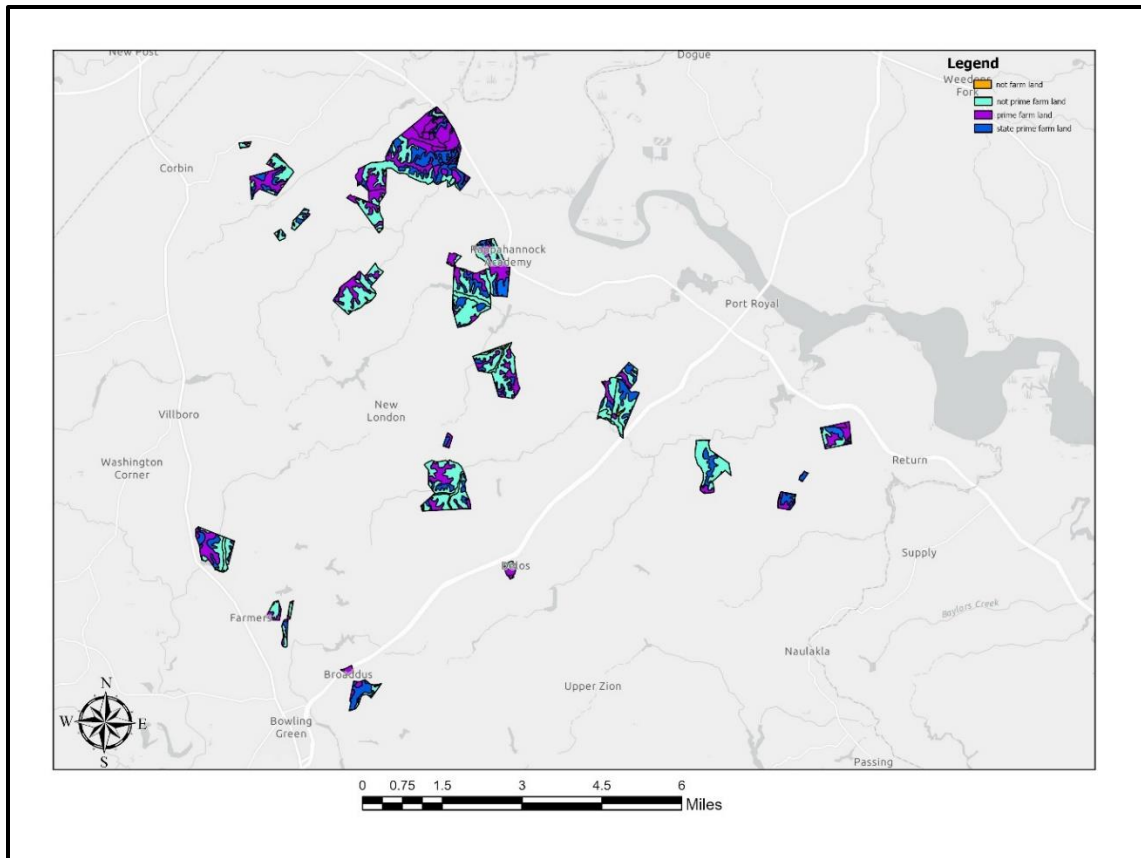


Figure 49: Caroline County parcel showing farmland soil types (USDA soil survey 2022, parcel boundaries created by the author, ArcPro map background, map created in ArcPro).

Thirty parcels from Caroline County were part of this study; 12 parcels (40%) had 50% or more prime farmland. Seventeen residents identified as farmers, but only seven resided on a lot with more than 50% prime farmland. Only one resident identified as a farm laborer and lived on a 238-acre lot; one resident owned a store, and his lot was 54 acres, all of which was prime farmland.

Five women whose lots were included in this study were widowers who owned the property; one was an African-American midwife, another was a homemaker, a third had a husband who was a blacksmith, and two had husbands who were farmers. African-Americans owned seven of the thirty parcels. Four identified as farmers. Charles Rich had the largest parcel

at 422 acres, but no tenants were identified. Samuel Hicks had a small farm at 34 acres, but he had a tenant, William Lomax, who was listed as part of the household. Joseph Spencer Ruffin was an African-American teacher. His lot was 91 acres but had only 19 acres of prime farmland. Melvina Morton was a midwife, and Ida Frye was a homemaker, but she and her husband had a store on the property.

Connections to the Broader Community

Wolf characterized the role of the city and how the relationship between urban and rural defined the position of the peasant within the realm of the state: “it is only when the cultivator is integrated into a society with a state that is when the cultivator becomes subject to the demands and sanctions of power-holder outside his social stratum-that we can appropriately speak of peasantry” (Wolf 1966:11). In other words, the relationship between the peasant and the city is one of unequal power, where the peasant must balance family needs with the external world (Wolf 1966:15).

Wolf goes on to say that in some places, peasants make up a large part of the population and financially underwrite most of the “social structure” through the payment of rent while cultivating the land with traditional tools (Wolf 1966:41).

The connections within peasant communities are not limited to economic relationships; Wolf noted that there is another kind of link between peasants in friendship. In this analysis, Wolf drew on John A. Barnes’ work in Norwegian fishing communities, where people were joined “to other persons in a network,” with the ties of kinship, friendship, and neighborhood representing enduring ties (Wolf 1966:41). The farmers in Stafford and Caroline counties made up a majority of the population. However, they were not necessarily financially underwriting

neighboring cities. They often traveled to local cities, but the material culture and oral history reveal a limited perspective on the connections between the rural and urban areas of both counties.

Wolf observed that peasants often had to balance the need to care for and support their families (Wolf 1966:15). In this case, his observations are economical. However, there are other ways to establish the nature of the relationship between a rural area and a neighboring city, such as oral histories of residents who recall how often and for what purpose they traveled to a local city. A second way to identify whether people were connected to local cities is with the containers they purchased, and then discarded, on their trips or at local dry goods stores. Many containers dated to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were embossed with a maker's mark or company name and location. The combination of both data sets suggests that residents in both counties had some ties to local cities, such as Fredericksburg or Bowling Green.

Oral history supports the notion that when farmers produced a surplus of food, they transported it and sold it directly or at a farmer's market. However, it would not be accurate to say that either county had an economically unequal relationship with the broader community. The exact nature of that relationship is somewhat elusive, but crop surplus and cash crops were exported to cities and, along with popular consumer products, were imported to rural areas. The bottles found at almost every site in this study indicate that people traveled to the cities to buy things they could not acquire locally. These products came from Winchester, Baltimore, Maryland, and Washington, D.C., among other places. However, the relationship between urban and rural residents cannot be measured only by the types of products they bought in cities. The oral history seems to indicate that while there were many instances of interaction between the

residents of rural and urban areas, the relationship was far more superficial than previously thought (Morton and Morton 2009; Stafford County Oral History 1986).

Stafford County Community Connections

The embossed bottles found at these farms can help ascertain the types of consumer goods imported into the county. The similar variety of bottles found at multiple sites in both counties indicate that these were in-demand products. These products ranged from medicine to cleaning products, baking, soft drinks, and liquor. One of the pharmacies in Fredericksburg where these products could be purchased was Goolrick's Pharmacy. It is located on Caroline Street in Fredericksburg, Virginia, and has occupied the same building since 1869. An advertisement from December 1917 published in *The Daily Star* listed products they sold then, such as bulk candy, coffee, shaving kits, and a variety of sodas (The Daily Star 1917). The over-the-counter-medicines included "Grove's Worm Syrup" for 19 cents, "Hay's Healing Honey" for 19 cents, and "Zemo for Eczema, Pimples, Dandruff, and all skin diseases," which also cost 19 cents (The Daily Star 1917). A 1909 advertisement for "Kodol," manufactured in Chicago, Illinois, and used for dyspepsia and indigestion, said it was sold for one dollar. The manufacturer offered a money-back guarantee if "Kodol" did not help with digestion issues (The Free-Lance Star 1909). This product was made with pepsin and pancreatin, often used to aid digestion, but it also had 12 percent alcohol added to the mixture.

Other over-the-counter medications found in these bottles were remedies for lice and ticks and for preventing mange (Fike 1987:185). One of the more popular baking products was OK baking powder, which was found throughout the county, as numerous sites had this bottle in

the trash pile. Dr. Pitches' Castrol oil was made in Boston, and Dr. King's New Discovery for Cough and Colds was advertised as a cure for tuberculosis but had a toxic mix of chloroform, morphine, and pine tar (Fike 1987:109). A search of advertisements for Dr. King's cough syrup in local newspapers, such as *The Free-Lance Star* and *The Daily Star*, shows numerous advertisements between 1826 and 1893, among other over-the-counter medicines (Dr. King's Cough and Cold 2022). The following section examines some of the bottles found, their use, where the products were produced, and when they were manufactured.

Stafford County Bottles

The Shackelford farm site (44ST0494) had bottles with products manufactured outside Stafford County and no bottles from local vendors that were found at the site. There were 146 glass bottle fragments and several whole bottles: 61 were machine-made, 33 were embossed, 42 were blown-in-mold, and 10 were free-blown. Among the bottles identified, two were machine-made OK baking powder bottles dated to 1900–1910 and two blown-in-mold glass bottles labeled OK baking powder dated to 1880 (Figure 53). In addition, there were six glass bottle fragments from “Dr. King's Cold and Cough Syrup” (Figure 50), five from “Pitcher's Castor Oil” (Figure 51) made in Boston, Massachusetts, and four from a brewery in Rochester, New York (Figure 52).



Figure 50:Dr. King's Cold and Cough Remedy from the Shackelford Farm (photo by the author).



Figure 51:Pitcher's Castoria. (photo by the author).



Figure 52: Beer bottle from Rochester, New York Brewery (photo by the author).



Figure 53: O.K. Baking Powder; the bottle on the left was machine-made, and the bottle on the right was blown-in-mold (photo by the author).



Figure 54: Beer bottle from the Robert Portner Brewing Company, Alexandria, Virginia, 1855–1889 (photo by the author).

Site 44ST1056 (part of the Atchinson property) had one amethyst bottle from the Robert Portner Brewing Company, Alexandria, Virginia; this bottle dates between 1885 and 1889 (Figure 54). Portner Brewing was one of Virginia's largest breweries and distributed beer throughout Virginia and Washington, D.C. (Archaeological Investigations 2002).



Figure 55: “AMS” stands for American Medicinal Spirits (photo by the author).

The bottle shown in Figure 55 was one of several of these types found at 44ST0322. The Wathen Brothers were among the first distilleries to distribute this liquor brand. They established their company during Prohibition, but they could distill, transport, and sell their

liquor because they produced it under the guise that it was intended for medical purposes, such as high blood pressure, asthma, heart disease, and cancer. The embossed message on the bottle, “Federal Law Forbids Sale or Re-Use Of This Bottle,” means that this bottle was produced between 1935 and 1942. Therefore, if a person wanted to purchase this product, they had to have a prescription for it and have been diagnosed with a specific medical condition (MSU Campus Archaeology 2022). Other bottles found at this site were OK Baking Powder (Figures 51 and 53) and Fletcher’s Castor Oil.

Caroline County Community Connections

The connections to the urban areas in Caroline County were stronger between neighbors in rural areas as opposed to people in urban areas. This does not mean that no one had connections to people outside the farm community; rather, the bond between farm neighbors was much stronger than with residents outside the rural areas. The oral history from Caroline County had far more people discussing how they ordered from a Sears catalog or would go to the local store to get things they needed, but rarely did anyone discuss or even mention a connection to anyone in Bowling Green, Port Royal, or Fredericksburg (Morton and Morton 2009: 141–165).

The bottles and ceramics recovered from Caroline County sites support the oral history in that most of the products they purchased were produced outside the county and shipped by railroad, then transported locally by truck or horse and buggy. There was one pharmacy near FAPH, the Bowling Green Pharmacy. A local newspaper, *Pikes County News*, published an article in 2021 during the eightieth-anniversary celebration. The article stated that the pharmacy

was originally called Summerkamp's Pharmacy until 1951, when the name changed to Bowling Green Pharmacy (Schwartz 2021). A search of newspapers with either name did not produce any advertisements on the type of products sold in the pharmacy. Caroline County oral histories did not mention going to pharmacies in Bowling Green but also stated that local stores in the rural area had most of the pharmaceutical and other types of products transported into the county.

Caroline County Bottles

Site 44CE0499 had several bottles that were identified as milk or soda bottles. There were two milk bottles: one from "Richmond Dairy" and a second container that had a partial label, "Pensupreme/ Milk...Lancaster, New York." There were four Coca-Cola bottles and two bottles from Charlottesville, Virginia. A crown cap and a church key bottle opener were also found at the site.

Other examples of products that were imported into the county include a glass cottage cheese container from Rochester, New York (Figure 56). Figure 57 Sloan's Liniment was used for muscle aches and arthritis. The active ingredients in this mixture were cayenne pepper and turpentine, among other types of oils. The label also notes that this substance is flammable and has veterinary and human applications. The Watkin's bottle was dated between 1885 and the 1950s (SHA Bottles) (Figure 58). This company produced extracts such as vanilla and lemon and other types of seasoning.



Figure 56: Cottage cheese container from New York, from site 44CE0499 (photo by the author).



Figure 57: Sloan's Liniment from site 44CE0862 (photo by the author).



Figure 58: Watkin's Bottle from site 44CE0361 (photo by the author).

Community Connections in Caroline County, Oral History

Few sites were available that had artifacts that provided insight into the broader connection between the rural areas of Caroline County and cities, but the oral history from Caroline County suggested that this county had limited ties to the outside community. Most people recall frequently traveling to a local dry goods store or church on a horse and buggy.

After 1908, a few people within the county purchased Model-Ts; they were not new but rather a few years old. Some people remember traveling by train to Washington, D.C., Baltimore, or Richmond. Willard Farmer recalled that “we used to go up to Fredericksburg once a year” to get shoes and pants for school (Morton and Morton 2009:206). Thelma Greenwood stated that her family made frequent trips to Washington, D.C. but did not go there on business. Her father was wounded in World War I; her aunt lived in Washington, D.C. They would travel by train to visit her father (Morton and Morton 2009:215). Cora Green said that there “Wasn’t

no cars...They had nothing but a horse and wagon. We used to ride on that” (Morton and Morton 2009:219).

For most people, the heart of the community resided in three places: “the home, the school, and the church” (Morton et al. 2009:142). People often congregated at the local dry goods store or the post office, but frequent trips to Port Royal or Bowling Green were not the norm. People spoke about helping each other out; Leonard Bruce expressed that “That’s all you had to do is say the word, yeah, [the community] they’d pitch in (Morton and Morton 2009: 153).

Caroline County Nineteenth-Century Site-Specific Context

Site 44CE0478 was part of a plantation that was known as Spring Garden. The property belonged to Dr. R.G. Holloway in 1860. The 1870 population census showed that several people resided within the household: his wife, one child, and his mother. There were two domestic servants, one nurse, and four other people whose relationship with the household head was not listed (U.S. Census 1870). The property was sold two more times between 1870 and 1942. The last owner of the property was Gouldin L. Broaddus. The 1910 census listed Gouldin as a farmer with a wife, son, and a “mulatto” laborer named Brenard Hawes (U.S. Census 1910).

Sites 44CE0482 and 44CE0483 were also part of the Dew property; however, this area was known as Springfield. Thomas R. Dew bequeathed to his two oldest children the “land known as Springfield” in his will, about 400 acres (CC WB 39: 357). Thomas Dew’s will also stipulated that his wife, Minnie Dew, would inherit the property as long as she did not remarry

(CC WB 39: 357). This section of Springfield was part of the Windsor plantation (Wade et al. 2008:35).

Site 44CE0479 was owned by a “mulatto” farmer, William Woolfolk (CC DB 63:465, Wade et al. 2008:67). This lot was much larger during the later nineteenth century because it was the site of the Rappahannock Academy. The school was built in 1813 and flourished until about 1834 when, according to one account, there had not been a teacher at the school for some time (Morrison 1917: 149).

Sites 44CE0499, 44CE0487, and 44CE0402 were located on land that the Gouldin family owned at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Several homes in the area were reported to belong to the Goulding family but were occupied by tenants. According to a Works Progress Administration (WPA) survey, the house that was located on this site was “thought to have been built about two hundred years ago” (Farmer 1938:np). However, the WPA survey does not clarify whether the additional dwellings on the Gouldin farm were or were not tenant homes or mention who may have lived in these homes.

Andrew J. Wright was the last owner of the lot where site 44CE0508 was located. He owned a general store and was the postmaster in Brandywine (U.S. Census 1920:1). This lot was only 54 acres, and as he owned a store and acted as the local postmaster, he was more likely a self-sufficient resident than a farmer.

According to the site survey report, site 44CE0507 was a 75-acre parcel owned by Kate Smith. She lived on the property between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Wade et al. 2008: 187). The 1880 census listed a brother, William A. Smith, as the son of the head of household and Martha Smith as the head of household. He identified as a farmer, but his sister and mother did not list an occupation in that census. Kate inherited the property in 1903

when her mother, Martha, died (CC DB 72 1905:562–563, CC WB 37 1903:222, U.S. Census 1880). Sites 44CE0821 and 44CE0822 were part of a larger farm when the Department of the Army purchased the land in 1942. However, the two parcels were not always connected as the same property; this happened after the Civil War. During the eighteenth century, site 44CE0821 was the location of Johnson’s Ordinary and Caroline County’s Courthouse, and then in the nineteenth century, it was part of the Elliott farm (Laird and Smith 2018:15–27). Site 44CE0822 was owned by Thomas Broaddus in 1845 and was part of a 1,500-acre plantation that included 44CE0476 (CCLB 1845:46). The parcel changed owners several times during the nineteenth century but was also parsed out and had become much smaller by 1920, when Waverly C. Elliott purchased it (CCDB 89:561). 44CE0371, 44CE0361, 44CE0848, 44CE0516, 44CE0368, and 44CE0363 had few property records, except for the deed in 1942 when the government purchased the property as part of the expansion of FAPH.

Caroline County Nineteenth-Century Architecture

Nineteenth-century architecture in Caroline County was comparable to the vernacular types in Stafford County. The hall and parlor homes were typically two-story wood-frame homes. The side-passage home was usually a two-story, double-pile, wood-frame home with a gable chimney and clapboard. By the nineteenth-century, the hall and parlor home was built with some modifications in that the home was larger and more linear. These became the I-house. The I-house design consists of a two-story, three-bay structure with gabled brick chimneys. In addition to the I-house, many other types of architecture were built within the county, such as Georgian, Federalist, and Queen Ann. The WPA recorded a few examples of

vernacular homes in the 1930s; among the ones located on FAPH were the Broaddus house (1937a), Spring Garden (1937b), Windsor (1973c), and the Gouldin home (1937d). The Gouldin home was located just outside of FAPH boundary but is a representative example of the types of architecture in the area. The WPA described Spring Garden as a two-story, wood-frame rectangular home with dormers, clapboard on the exterior, a hipped roof, and plain cornices as trim. The house's interior had eight rooms with twelve-foot ceilings and two fireplaces with plain mantles (Farmer 1937b:1). The Broaddus house was rectangular, with an exterior clapboard and a gable chimney (Farmer 1937a:1). The dwelling at Windsor was in poor condition in 1937. In the picture, the structure appeared to look like a barn rather than a dwelling, but the survey stated that it was a two-story wood-frame rectangular home (Farmer 1937c:1). Farmer described the Goulodin home as a rectangular, wood-frame structure with a gable roof and no chimneys, but there were two flues in the center of the house (Farmer 1973d:2).

Caroline County Artifact Assemblages

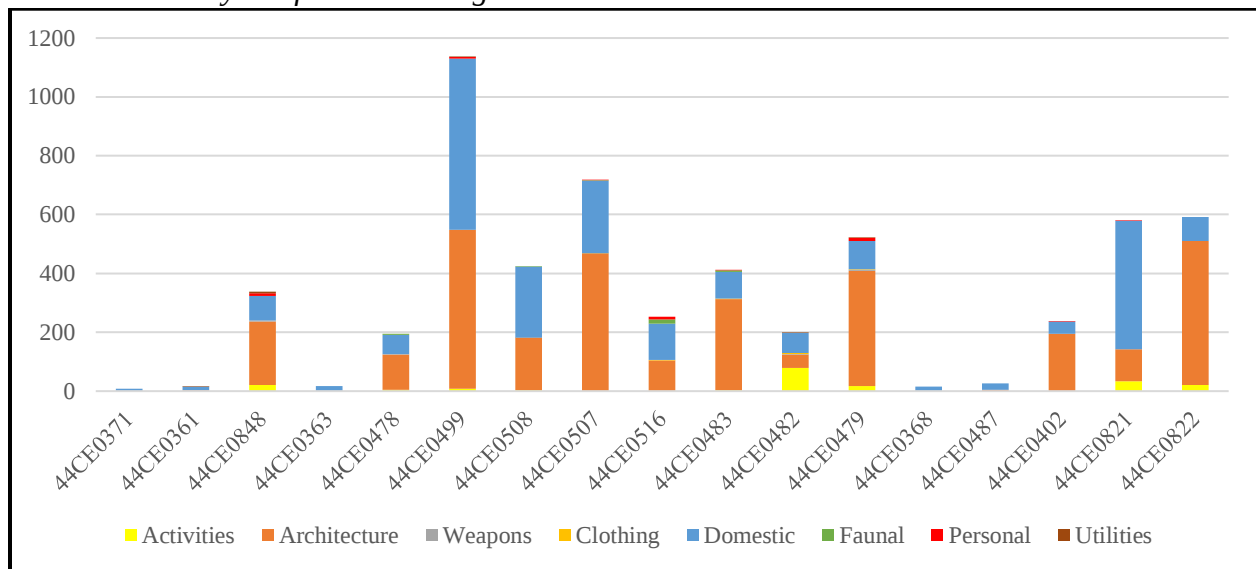


Figure 59: Artifact distribution for nineteenth-century site in Caroline County (chart created by the author).

The artifact distribution shows the amounts and categories of materials found at nineteenth-century sites (Figure 59). The domestic and architectural categories in the assemblage were the two largest categories. There were 5,694 artifacts collected from seventeen sites, of which 3,177 (55%) are architectural and 2,232 (39%) are domestic. The ceramic distribution is consistent with the consumer trends of the early nineteenth century, where creamware and pearlware were less popular ceramics, and whiteware and ironstone were more commonly tableware.

Of the seventeen sites, only six had coarse earthenware, and few pieces were found at each of the six sites. There was a total of 876 fragments of ceramics; most of the assemblage was refined ceramics (n=638). The stoneware fragments totaled 208 pieces, and the coarse earthenware totaled 30 fragments.

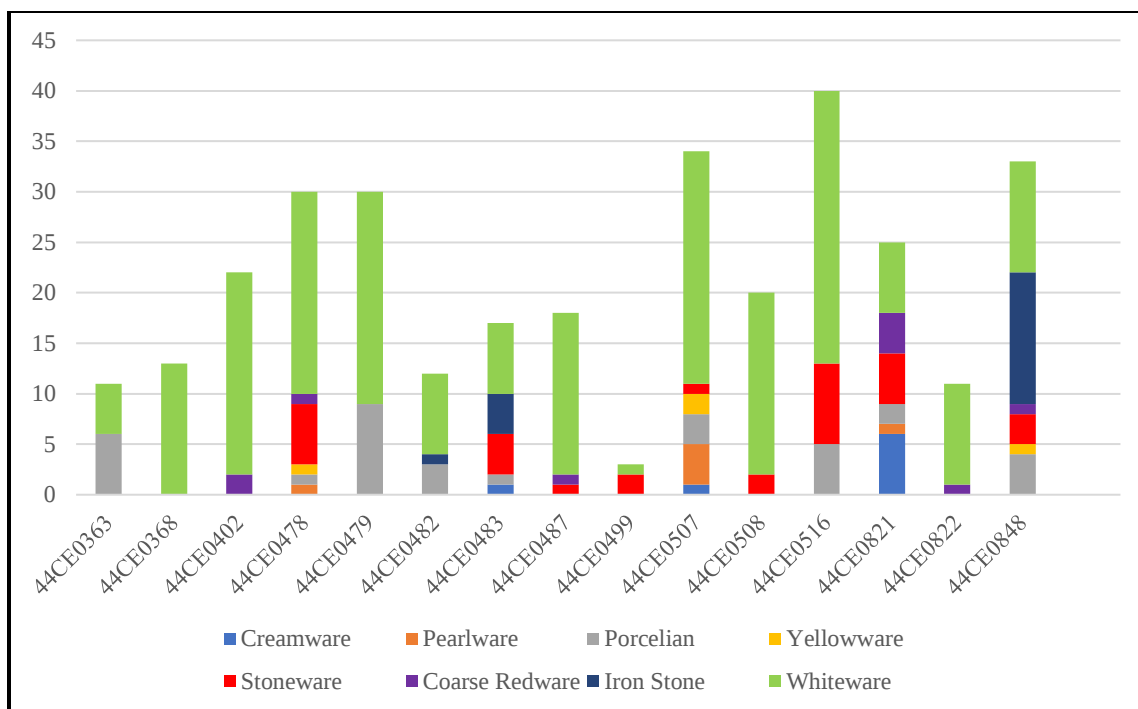


Figure 60: Ceramic distribution for Nineteenth-century Caroline County sites.
(chart created by the author).

Overall, the ceramic distribution is in line with the general trends of ceramic production during the nineteenth century (Figure 60). There are only three sites where creamware was found (44CE0507, 44CE0821, 44CE0483) and three other sites with pearlware (44CE0478, 44CE0507, 44CE0821); all of the sites had some whiteware, and most of the vessel forms were either plates, cups, or teapots. In addition, one chamber pot and one basin were identified among the fragments. The only other outlier was coarse redware, with ten fragments dating between 1500 and 1750 (Florida Museum, Redware 2022).

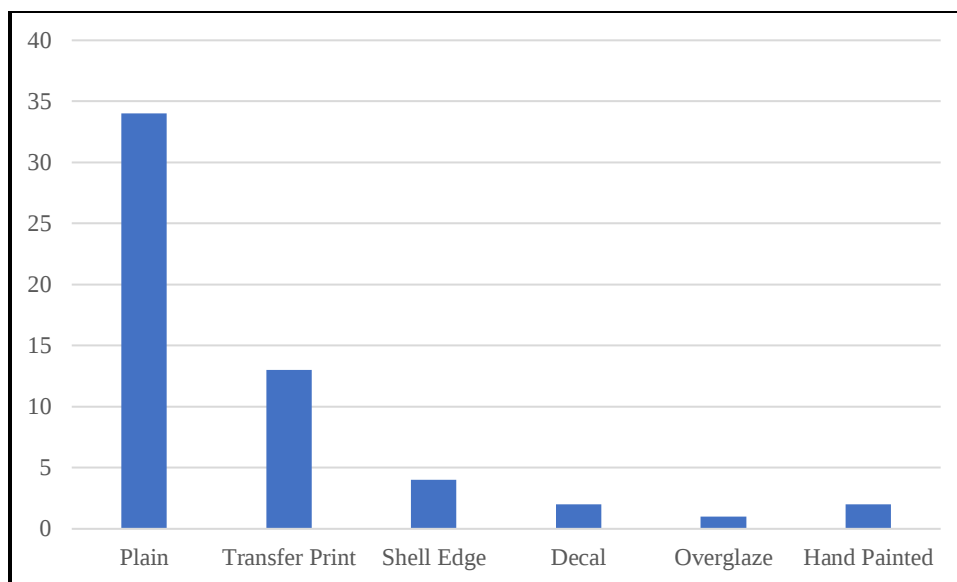


Figure 61: Whiteware ceramic types found on Nineteenth-century Caroline County sites. (chart created by the author).

Whiteware was first manufactured in England around 1800 and was a popular ceramic style until the late nineteenth century. Whiteware popularity peaked between 1830 and 1890 (Majewski and O’Brien 1987:119–125). Early whiteware types were produced around 1800, such as transfer print, hand painted, shell-edged (Majewski and Obrien 1987:150), and plain circa 1830 (Florida Museum Whiteware plain 2022). Plain whiteware was less expensive to produce in mass quantities, and people of all socioeconomic statuses purchased whiteware, which was part of the reason for the quantity of plain and transfer printed numbers. Hand-painted whiteware was not mass-produced; therefore, the numbers tended to be smaller than plain or transfer-printed wares (Majewski and O’Brien 1987:119–125). Figure 61 shows the distribution of plain whiteware compared to other whiteware types found at nineteenth-century sites.

Caroline County Farm Tools

Few farm tools were found among the Caroline County nineteenth-century sites. Of the seventeen sites, only four had farm tools: 44CR0848, 44CE0479, and 44CE0871 had parts of plow blades, and 44CE0499 had one part of a sickle mower. The census records were cross-referenced with the last known owners of each of these four properties. Two of the four had owners listed as farmers: 44CE0871 and 44CE0499. The owners of the other two sites, 44CE0848 and 44CE0479, were not listed as farmers. In fact, the last owner at 44CE0848 was Lucy Hearn, and her husband was listed as a blacksmith; she did not list an occupation (U.S. Census 1910:17B). The site report evaluated 44CE0499 and indicated that this was a tenant farm and the Gouldin family owned the property. The report did not mention any names as to who may have been the tenants except to say the WPA 1937 noted that the Gouldin family owned more than 100 acres but did not live in the house on this property; instead, they lived in a house that was located near Route 612 and Route 614 (Wade et al. 2008:42). However, the WPA sources the survey cited were surveys of other homes in the area, but none of those surveys indicated that this was a tenant house that was rented from the Gouldin family (Farmer 1937b, 1937e).

Stafford County Twentieth-Century Site-Specific Context

By the twentieth-century, the county court had reestablished records on the chain of deeds for most properties bought, sold, or inherited within the county. The number of people located in the census and successfully cross-referenced in the deed books significantly increased compared to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The important part of linking a parcel with the census is directly related to discerning whether or not people were actual farmers or, more specifically, what type of farmers they were: truck, self-sufficient, or commercial.

Site 44ST0632 was a local dry goods store known as Stafford Store. There are two sections to this site: 44ST0632, the store site, and the original house that was established in the eighteenth century, 44ST0215. Property owners for 44ST0215 were outlined in the section on eighteenth-century plantations; the focus here will be on property owners for 44ST0632. About 1860, a local store known as the Stafford Store was located on the 1862 Army engineer map. No deed records indicate who the store owner was, but ultimately, the Payne Family became the owners (Balicki et al. 2005:106). By the early twentieth century, Marion Tolson was the owner of the Stafford Store and built the family home on site 44ST0632, where he operated the store along with a blacksmith shop. The structure at 44ST0215 (not the original house) was used as the local funeral home and a storage house (Balicki et al.: 2005:105; Evening Star 1942). Marion operated the store and the post office until 1935. He continued to farm the land until 1942, when the government purchased the property as part of the expansion of MCBQ. The deed record for 44ST1119 was limited to a record from which the Department of the Navy purchased the land in 1942 and two previous owners. Connecting the deed records with Population Census data indicated that at least two property owners identified as farmers, and the third was a blacksmith. Site 44ST1117 was a 109-acre farm. The last owner was J.C. Heflin

(NREA CRM Files). He was listed in the 1940 census as a farm owner who lived with his wife, daughter, and son-in-law (U.S. Census 1940:9A). Site 44ST1118 also had limited deed records to the last person who owned the property, Theodore Cooper (NREA CRM files). He was listed in the 1940 census as a machine operator, and his property was not a farm (U.S. Census 1940:4B).

Site 44ST1119 only had records available that showed whom the government purchased the property in 1942. The record indicated that Sandy Gibson was an African-American who identified as a blacksmith in the 1900 census. He owned a three-acre parcel with his wife Julia and seven children (U.S. Census 1900:8).

Site 44ST0890 had few historical records associated with the property. According to the deeds that were available, John and Mary Shackleford were the last owners of the property in 1943. Stafford County land records also indicate that this tract had several other tenants or renters (the records do not specify who) between 1898 and 1943 (SCLR 7:510). In 1898, the tract was 800 acres owned by the Wimsatt Lumber Company (SCLR 9:409). In 1901, 50 of the 800 acres were sold to John Bryant. He then sold the land in 1939 to G.C. Russell (SCLR 41:401). No records indicate when Russell sold the land to the Shackelfords. Site 44ST0362 was purchased as part of the Marine Corps Base expansion in 1942.

Site-Specific Context for Caroline County

The parcel associated with 44CE0429 has a much longer history than the house foundation and occupation dates based on the artifacts found near the site. Ada Evans was the last private property owner before the federal government purchased the land in 1942. This parcel started as a 3,500-acre parcel owned by the Buckner family. They were one of the

families to establish a plantation in what became Caroline County in 1666. Over time, the land was parsed out from the initial 3,500 acres to become the 180-acre farm that Ada Evans lived on (Deed Book 116:9; Deed Book 117:337). The Buckner family's land was on the south side of the Rappahannock River. At the time, it was known as "Goldenvale" (Meyers et al. 2004:43). At the end of the nineteenth-century, the chain of deeds was difficult to trace because of missing records. It was difficult to determine whether Ada Evans and her family lived in the house at the time it was sold to the government.

Site 44CE0896 was located on parcel 777. The deed records for this land were incomplete because many of the deed and court records were destroyed during the Civil War. Only a few fragmented records were available prior to 1840. In fact, there were only two deed books available prior to 1834. From what was available in the deed records for the eighteenth century, parcel 777 was a tavern located on a plantation known as "Trappe" (Mullin 2020:36). There were various spellings for the name "Trappe," but they all referred to the same property. No one knows why or where the name originated, but suffice it to say that the area was mentioned by name on several nineteenth-century maps and other historical sources (Mullin 2020:38–39). The deeds available for this property date to 1796, when John Carter owned parcel 777 and some of the adjacent properties as part of a 425-acre plantation. During this time, the deed mentioned that the property had an "ordinary" called Trappe (Mullin 2020: 38). Carter and his wife lived on the property until he died in 1834, and she died in 1845. At this point, the property was inherited and subsequently bought and sold to several different people. By 1901, Mercer P. Carter sold a 50-acre lot to George Lonesome and his wife (Mullin 2020:40). George was an African-American farmer who owned parcel 777 and several adjacent lots, parcels 502

and 831, north of 777. Prior to George Lonesome's death in 1915, he sold parcel 777 to his daughter and her husband, John Pruce, for \$10 (CCDB 81:175–176).

Sites 44CE0871, 44CE0862, 44CE0864, 44CE0405, 44CE0380, 44CE0863, 44CE0462, and 44CE0430 were domestic sites that were occupied during the twentieth century. As with other homes in the area, the federal government purchased them, but there were no records indicating who owned the property prior to the last owners of the property.

Stafford County Twentieth-Century Architecture

Twentieth-century vernacular architecture in Stafford County, especially farmhouses, falls into one of four categories: two-bay houses, I-houses, L-houses, and the T-house. The development of vernacular architecture within the county follows larger trends across Virginia. The balloon frame house, machine-cut nails, and standard sheet metal all facilitated the construction of larger homes with less labor and time, which was reflected in many twentieth-century vernacular farm homes across the state. A 1992 survey of Stafford County architecture examined three hundred structures. A list compiled of all the I, L, and T-shaped homes; seventy-five homes fit into one of the four categories. Twenty-five were labeled as vernacular; the other fifty were a mix of Georgian, Colonial, Gothic, or Greek revival, among other styles. Nine of the twenty-five had a stone foundation, a gable chimney, and a metal roof; all of these were built between 1875 and 1890s (no exact end date was given) (Traceries 1992:15–17). Thirteen other homes were built between 1900 and the 1950s (Traceries 1992:15–19); among the remaining structures, there were one T-shape, one I-shape, and thirteen L-shape homes. The data shows a distinct shift in the material used to construct the homes, from brick and stone foundations to concrete. Four homes constructed in the twentieth century had concrete

foundations or piers. Only two had brick foundations, and three had stone foundations. None of the homes built during the nineteenth century had concrete piers or a concrete foundation. Four of the sites included in this study had few property records and no photos of the home, but the archaeology shows that these homes also conform to the style and material typical of the twentieth-century construction of farmhouses.

Site 44ST0365 was a twentieth-century site where a small stone foundation was found close to a dirt road. The foundation measured approximately thirty feet by twenty feet, with a brick chimney fall. A few pieces of window glass and one cut nail were found at the site. Site 44ST0262 had three concrete walls and a water pump on the south side of the house. Five cut nails were found, with no other architectural material. Site 44ST0871 also had remains of a concrete foundation with a cellar. Site 44ST0365 had remnants of stone piers and a brick chimney. Site 44ST119 had remains of a concrete foundation that measured fifteen feet by fifteen feet, with the remains of concrete steps from a gravel driveway. Sites 44ST1117, 44ST0364, and 44ST1118 had no remains of a foundation.

Twentieth-Century Material Culture

Twentieth-century consumer culture saw the rise of more consumer items and variety, and the ways in which people were able to acquire things that were not locally available in the local dry goods store expanded when the Sears catalogs made their way into the rural areas of America. As a result, consumers could buy anything they needed and things they did not need but wanted. Items such as records, toys, tools, and household goods, among others, were all available in the catalog and were delivered to the farm. The broad implications of this type of consumer culture changed the relationship between the consumer and the company in that companies now had to continually market and sell their products, convincing people of what the producer decided they needed rather than a consumer who made deliberate and conscientious choices on what they would buy from these catalogs. A few sites in this study provide a small glimpse of these purchases, such as baking products and medications. The bottles were manufactured in various styles and colored glass, often embossed with a company logo.

Stafford County Twentieth-Century Material Culture

The material culture from twentieth-century sites tends to have a much smaller artifact assemblage when compared to either the eighteenth or nineteenth-century assemblages. The reason may be that when people moved in 1942, they took all the household goods they could move with them.

The artifact distribution shows that among all of the twentieth-century sites, most of the artifacts collected were domestic and architectural materials and in small quantities. There were 223 artifacts from nine sites: 111 domestic artifacts (47%), 102 in architecture (43%), 16 in the activity category, and four in the clothing category (Figure 62).

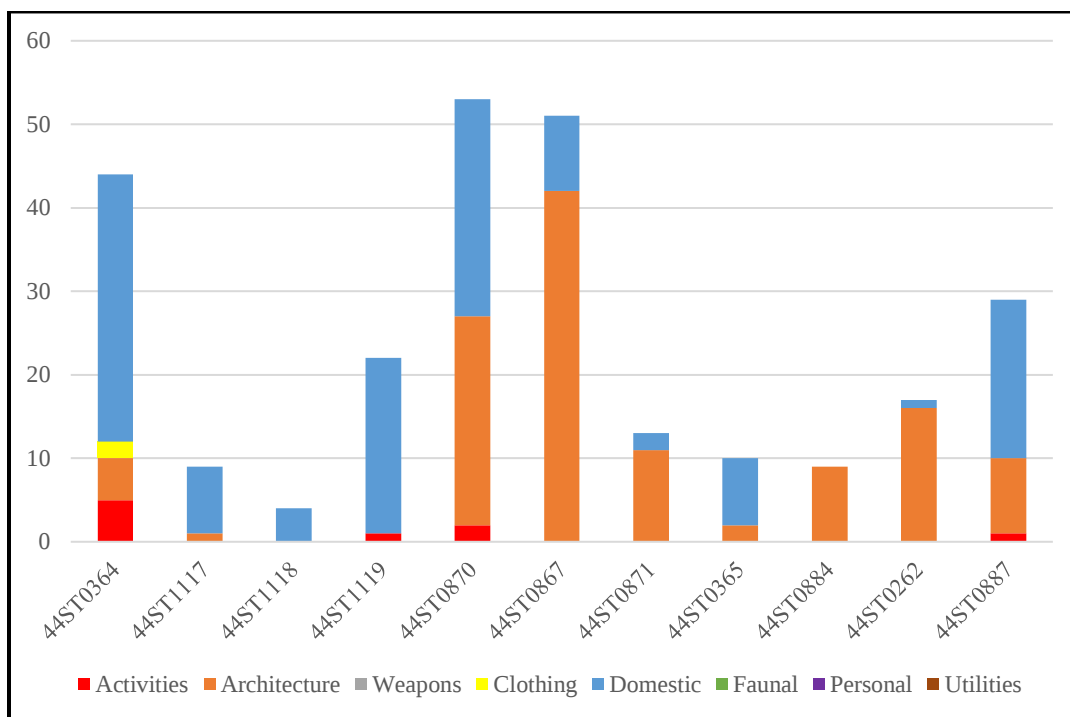


Figure 62:Artifact assemblage from twentieth-century Stafford County sites (chart created by the author).

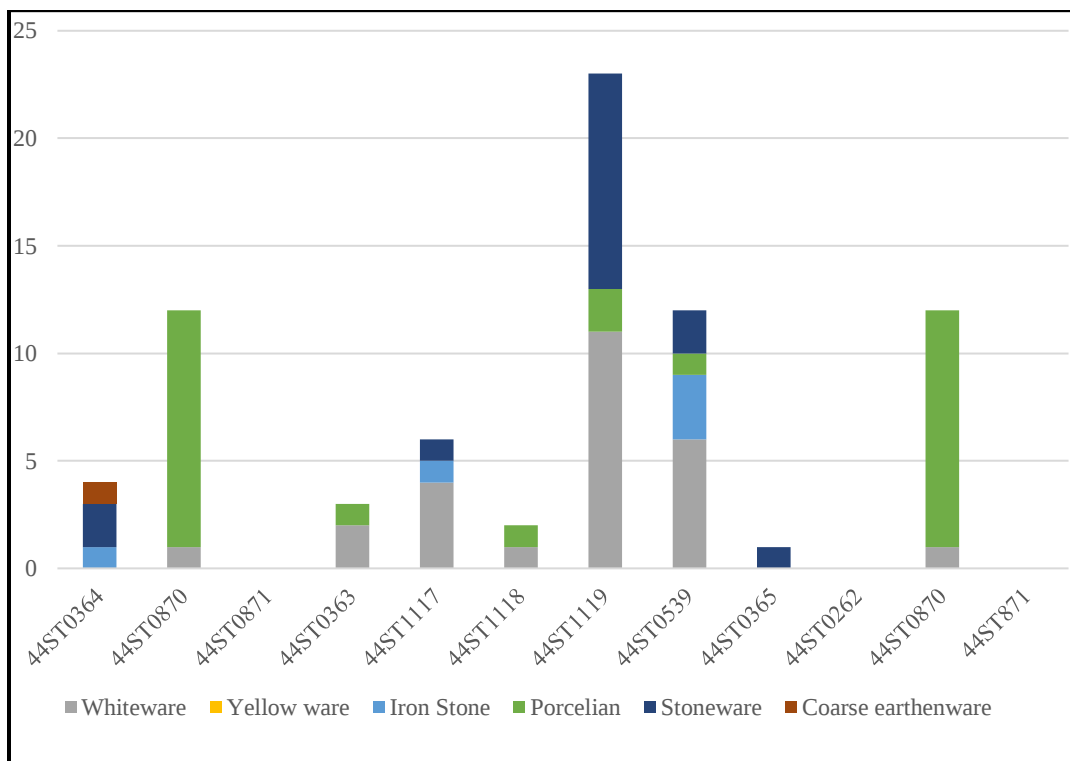


Figure 63: Ceramic distribution for twentieth-century Stafford County sites (chart created by the author).

A small number of ceramics were recovered from twentieth-century sites (Figure 63). Based on the production date range, these sites were occupied from 1800 to 1942. However, land records for some of these parcels were only available between 1888 and 1942. Sites 44ST1117 and 44ST1118 only go back to 1900. 44ST1119 can be traced back to 1888. The other four sites had ceramics dated between 1820 and 1942. Site 44ST0539 had land records to 1871, when F.G. Phillips owned the property (SCLR 2:299). Sites 44ST0365, 44ST0262, 44ST0870, and 44ST0871 only had land records for the property's last owner prior to the sale in 1942 to the government. Based on the ceramics, the occupation dates for twentieth-century sites dated between 1800 and 1942 (Table 6). The ceramics dates are somewhat misleading because not all of the sites were occupied between 1800 and 1942. Ceramics are often passed down, inherited, or repurchased from somewhere else. In this case, the ceramics are general indicators of the approximate occupation of the sites.

Site Number	Start Date	End Date
44ST1117	1800	1942
44ST1118	1820	1942
44ST1119	1820	1942
44ST0539	1820	1942
44ST0365	1835	1942
44ST0870	1880	1942
44ST0871	1800	1942

Table 6: Occupation dates for twentieth-century Stafford County sites (table created by the author).

Caroline County Twentieth-Century Architecture

Architectural styles in Caroline County follow trends similar to those noted in Stafford County. The two-bay houses, I-houses, L-houses, and the T-house were vernacular styles of farm homes but also single-family homes in Bowling Green and Port Royal. The only notable change was the building materials used in the twentieth century. More single-family homes were constructed with cinder blocks, cement pillars, and cement foundations than homes constructed in the nineteenth century.

Caroline County Material Culture

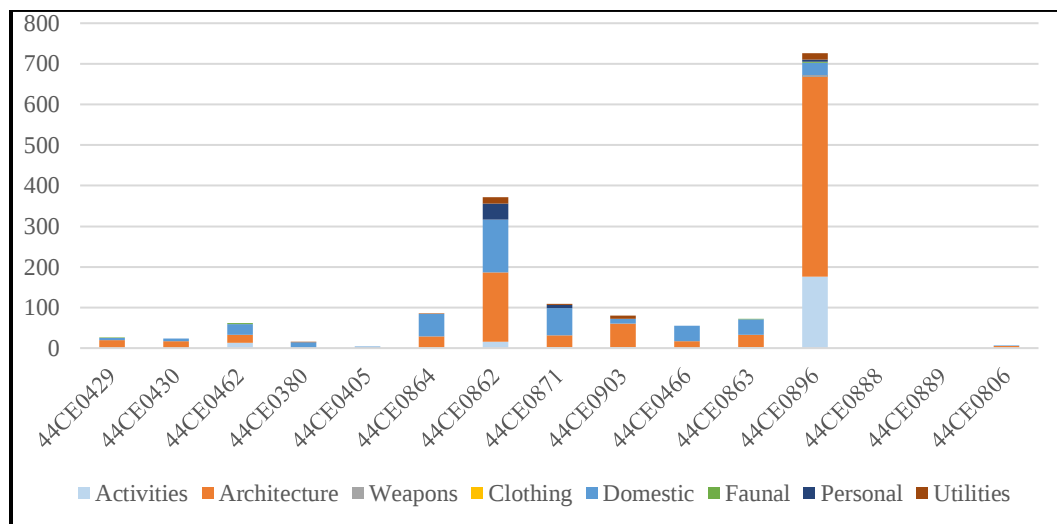


Figure 64:Artifact distribution for twentieth-century Caroline County sites.
(chart created by the author).

The artifact distribution for Caroline County sites shows that most had less than one hundred artifacts (Figure 64); however, site 44CE0896 had over seven hundred artifacts in the architecture category. Site 44CE0896 also had the second largest category, with material related to activities. This category included hardware (bolts, nuts, fasteners), tools, pipes, and wires.

Caroline County twentieth-century sites had a similar artifact distribution pattern as Stafford County sites; most artifacts were either domestic or architectural: architecture was 54% (n=888), and domestic was 26% (n=427). A total of 1,630 artifacts were recovered from these 15 sites (Figure 64).

Twentieth-Century Caroline County Farm Tools

While many of the residents in Caroline County relayed to census enumerators that they were farmers, additional evidence, such as farm tools or farm machinery, would further support the census data. Unfortunately, in Caroline County, only a few farms in this study had remnants of tools or objects that were identified as farm-related items. Only four parcels had farm tools based on the artifacts recovered from these sites. In 1942, 44CE0903 was a 90-acre parcel owned by Joseph Ruffin (CCDB 116:12). He was listed in the 1930 census as a school teacher (US Census 1930) and in the 1940 census as a “camtgagent” [sic] (US Census 1940). He owned the land and worked full-time. Three other people were listed as part of the household in 1940: his wife, Ora, his mother, Martha, and a maid, Rose (U.S Census 1940). Half of a steel plow was recovered near a brick scatter that may have been a foundation; however, most of that foundation was destroyed.

Site 44CE0864 was a twentieth-century lot owned by Ida Frye (CCDB 116:118). Ida did not identify as a farmer in either the 1930 or 1940 census; however, her husband did identify as a farmer in the 1930 census (U.S. Census 1930). The site had tractor parts and several other artifacts. Twelve empty graves were found in the same area where the artifacts were recovered. There was little historical information available concerning the cemetery. The name of the

cemetery is unknown; however, some records indicate that the remains were reinterred at Greenlawn Cemetery (Mullin 2018a:80). A mix of tractor parts, canning jars, springs, glass jars, and other trash was found within an area where the cemetery was located. These may have been part of the Frye parcel, but it is difficult to say where these objects were from because they were surface finds.

The spatial layout at 44CE0903 indicated a brick structure with a root cellar, as indicated by the depression near the brick pile. The 1937 aerial photos showed a brick dwelling in the vicinity of the brick pile with several trees surrounding the house (Mullin 2018:68). One part of a plow blade was found, but no other tools were located on the property.

Site 44CE0888 was also a twentieth-century farmstead. On this property, a well, a cistern, the remnant of an icehouse, automobile parts, and several tractor parts were found in close proximity to a concrete foundation. The tractor parts are interesting because the Hearn family owned the property. In the 1910 census, Mr. Hearn was identified as a blacksmith (U.S. Census 1910). Lucy Etta Hearn, the wife, was the person the government purchased the property from in 1942 (CCDB 116:133). She was listed only in the 1910 census, and no occupation was recorded for her (U.S. Census 1910).

The Archaeology of Tenancy

The archaeology of farm research has a wide variety of approaches, from the broad context of regional studies to small individual farms (Catts 2002, Klein and Baugher 2002, Wilson 1990) to individual farms (Beaudry 2002, Groover 2008). The archaeology of tenancy is a much smaller part of the literature and a topic, much like farms are often ignored or dismissed because of the sheer number of abandoned farms (Holland 1990, Orser 1988, Smith 1991a, 1993b). Most of the discussion about farms in this dissertation focuses on the family that owned the farm, not the tenant. However, the tenants are just as important as the family to the success of managing a farm. Tenants were essential to managing a productive farm and were the bulk of the labor on at least 30 percent of farms in both counties. The difficulty with the archaeology of tenant farms is the short temporal duration for which the lot was occupied by a given family. In this study, these are sites that appear as a second or third dwelling within the boundary of a farm, but the deed only recorded the owner, and sometimes the census noted that the household had a tenant. The data in this section will not assess whether these farmers conform to Wolf's characteristics because the purpose here is to present the data on tenant farms; the analysis and the conclusion will be in subsequent chapters. Instead, this section will examine whether or not any of the sites were tenant farms based on archaeological and historical sources related to the site.

Stafford County Tenants

The archaeological data related to Stafford farms marginally support the assumption that tenants were a regular part of Stafford County farms. The population census data indicated that, on average, 25% of Stafford County farms had at least one tenant (U.S Census 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930). Therefore, one would expect to find some evidence of at least a few farms that the historical record could confirm that a tenant lived on a farm or that the archaeological record supported the assumption that a tenant occupied a part of a farm. Two parcels had census data associated with them that indicated tenants lived with the family, but no additional structures were found on the property that may be a tenant dwelling. The first parcel, the Green farm (no site number), had two tenants, but neither the family nor the tenants lived on the parcel in Stafford County. Moreover, the survey found the steam thrasher but did not find any structures on the lot or other historical artifacts. The only available evidence was the census records that stated that two tenants lived with the Green family.

Arthur Jackson owned the second parcel where site 44ST0539 was located. According to the census, he was a Pullman porter and lived in Washington, D.C. His wife lived on the property with a servant named Henry Gladdis (U.S. Census 1930:5B). Two foundations were part of this site. Foundation one has two sections; one is a 7 X 7 meter (25 X 25 feet) rectangle constructed of stone and cinder blocks, and a second rectangular foundation that measures 3 X 7 meters (12 X 25 feet) also constructed of stone, with the exception of the west wall, which was made of poured concrete (Balicki et al. 2004:135–140). The artifact assemblage had a total of 95 artifacts, all domestic artifacts that indicated this was a dwelling, but there was no additional evidence to support the assumption that the tenant lived in a separate dwelling on the property.

The second foundation had no artifacts in the vicinity and was interpreted to be a garage, not a dwelling.

Caroline County Tenants

A search of site records and reports from Caroline County indicated that two possible tenant sites were located within the study area of FAPH. Site 44CE0499 was interpreted as a tenant site because the WPA report indicated that tenants occupied the dwellings around the Gouldin farm; 44CE0499 was presumably one of those dwellings. The author did not conduct any further research to determine who may have occupied the home other than the WPA report (Wade et al. 2008:42). Other sites in the area of the Gouldin farm were a cemetery with no marked headstones, the remains of an ice house, a well, and two additional dwellings, all within a half-mile radius of 44CE0499. The artifact assemblage indicated that 44CE0499 was occupied between the late-nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century; the additional domestic sites all date to this period (Wade et al. 2008: 42). The 1940 census map shows seven dwellings located around the Gouldin farm. There is no way to verify whether some or all of these were tenants, but it seems likely that a 259-acre farm had at least one tenant (Figure 65).

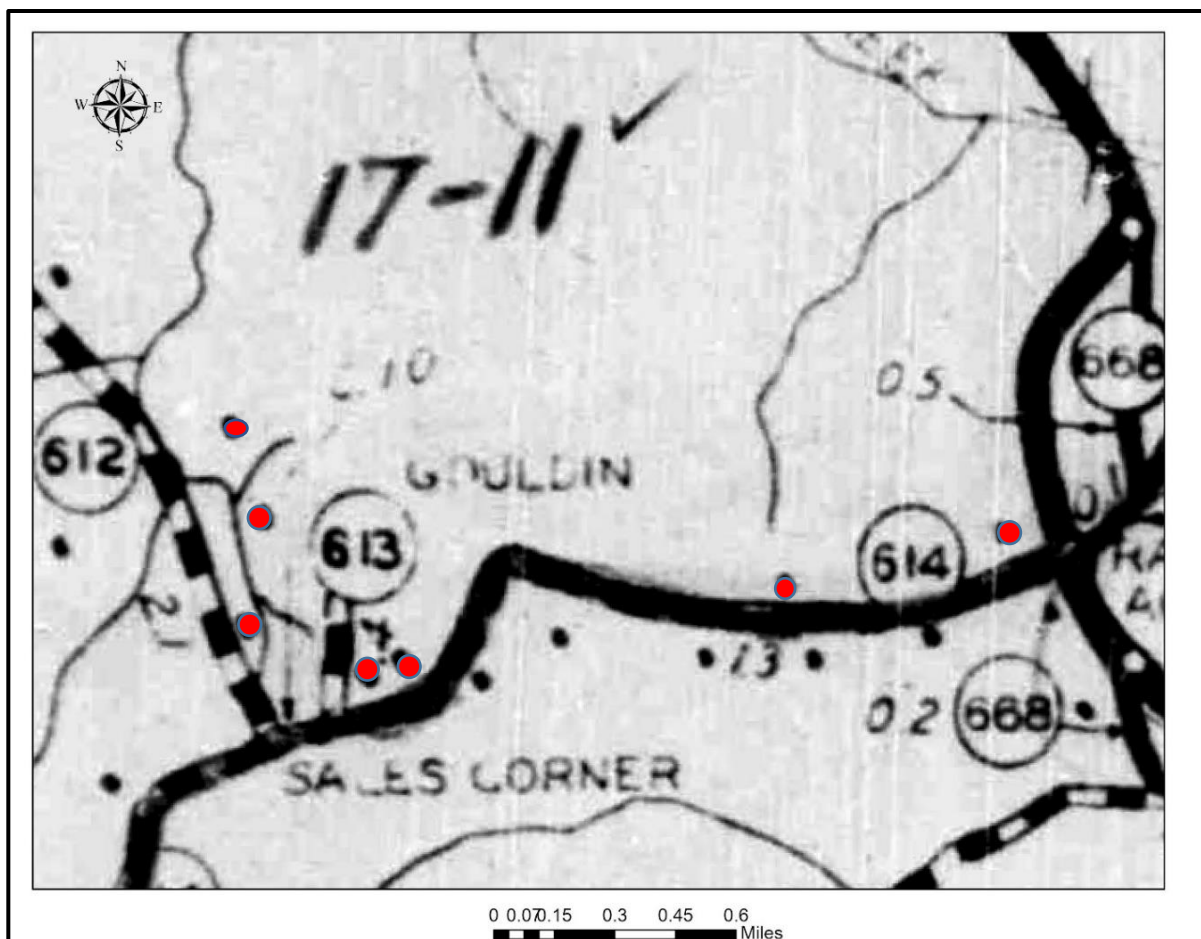


Figure 65: Gouldin farm 1940 Census map and additional dwellings (U.S. Census 1940, map labeled by the author in ArcPro).

Site 44CE0478 was part of a plantation known as “Spring Garden.” The WPA also surveyed this house but could not find the original owner. The WPA surveyor was able to identify a subsequent owner as Dr. R.G. Holloway (Wade et al. 2008:35). The WPA survey noted that this house was built sometime in 1830 and had a graveyard next to the house, but there were no marked headstones (Farmer 1937b:1). This same property was later sold to John W. Broaddus (CC TB 1904). The 1905 tax records indicated that John’s son, Gouldin Broaddus, inherited the 412-acre farm (CCDB 72:346). The 1910 census listed Gouldin Broaddus as a farmer who lived with his wife, two children, and one tenant, Bernard Hawes (U.S. Census

1910:3B). The 1940 census map showed eight dwellings within one mile of the main house, but the archaeology did not find additional dwellings associated with Spring Garden. The archaeological survey did not find additional dwellings on the property to support the number of dwellings shown on the census map but did locate two wells (Figure 66).

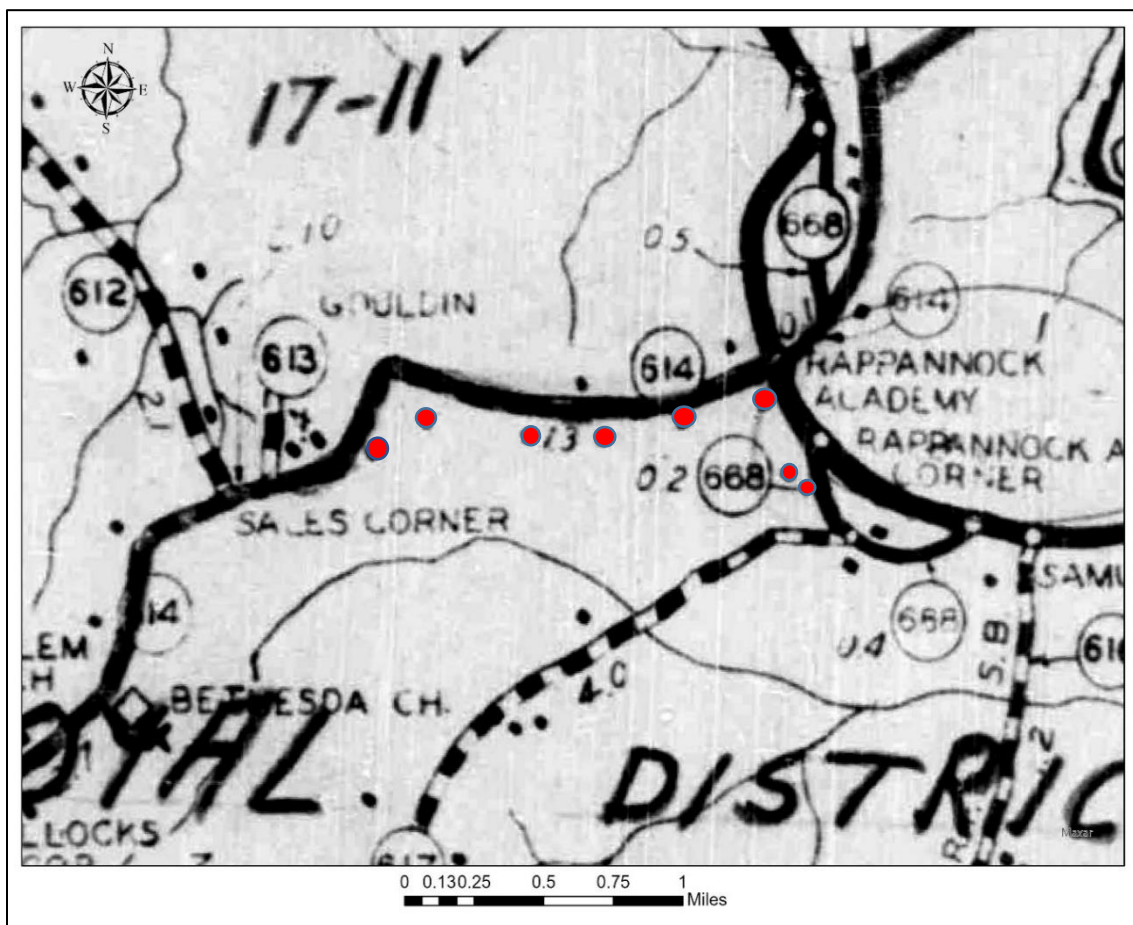


Figure 66: Spring Garden site 44CE00478 and additional dwellings (1940 census map) (map labeled by the author in ArcPro).

Locating owner-operated farms in both counties was straightforward; however, locating tenants was more difficult, despite the census and WPA reports indicating that there were tenants specifically on the Gouldin farm. Tenants may have resided with the family if there

were a few tenants, but for farms with many tenants, it is less likely that they resided with the family. A more detailed analysis of tenants will be addressed in Chapter Five.

Summary

This chapter presents the data collected as part of this study. There are four data sets: GIS, archaeological, historical (deed and tax records), and census data were organized by period within the peasant framework. Each data set contributes to the overall analysis of Stafford and Caroline counties' farm communities.

The GIS data has two parts: the polygon boundary for each parcel and the USDA soil data set. The boundary was created from geo-referenced deed records and parcel maps. In conjunction with the census data, parcel size was used as an indicator to differentiate between self-sufficient families and general farmers.

The archaeological data has two smaller data sets within the overall data set. One was the site location that was used to locate domestic dwellings. The other was the artifact assemblage associated with the site. The assemblages contained 12 different categories: activities, architecture, weapons, clothing, domestic, faunal, personal, utilities, equestrian, kitchen, farm tools, and hardware. The artifacts from the reports were placed into each of these categories to make all of the data comparable across the sites. The artifacts were also used to date the approximate occupation of the site. The historical records, such as deeds, and census records, were used to identify the parcel owner and their occupation. The newspaper advertisements reveal that other Georgian mansions in Virginia were similar to those in both counties. Contemporary maps show the locations of farms and their family names and how the landscape changed from the eighteenth century to the twentieth century.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

Connections to the Community and Settlement Patterns

According to Wolf, the relationship between rural and urban is one of unequal power, where rural areas tend to support the urban areas financially (Wolf 1966:11). The local farm is where most of the food supply for the urban area is produced; in this way, urban areas are dependent on farms for their food supply. However, the relationship between the two areas is a much more nuanced situation that goes beyond food.

By the twentieth-century, the number of farms across the country had decreased and were consolidated into larger industrial farms. The development of the three-wheeled tractor, the expanded use of fertilizer, and hybrid seeds increased the productivity of average-size farms; however, the industrialization of the farming industry had not fully developed in Virginia. According to Stafford County oral histories, many people recall that most farm families considered themselves self-sufficient and not reliant on urban areas for jobs or food. More often than not, one person in the area that had a tractor or thrasher used it on as many fields as possible (Stafford County Oral Histories 1986); the start of the industrialization of farming in Virginia began in the early twentieth century; farms were moving in the direction of industrialization but had not fully transformed.

If the majority of rural residents in both counties were self-sufficient farmers, then the question becomes how many market or general farms are in the county, and do they support the urban areas? The answer to the first part of the question goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, but questions concerning who in these counties were market farmers versus self-sufficient families can be addressed in this study. The deed records show the boundary for all of the parcels within both the study areas and the owner. The names were cross-checked with the population census to see how people identified with the enumerators. The settlement pattern that

surfaced in the data was one in which plantations were parsed out over time into smaller farms, where most people were self-sufficient farmers on 100 acres or less, and the land often stayed in the family through marriage or inheritance.

The settlement pattern and the farm size are important to this study because they distinguish self-sufficient farmers from market farmers. This point is small but significant because both are farmers, market farms support urban areas, and self-sufficient farms mainly support the family but may sell vegetables or other cash crops at a local farmer's market. This study will not be able to determine precisely how many market farms versus self-sufficient farms were in either county. However, the settlement pattern provides some insight into the size of the farm and, based on acres, whether a farm was self-sufficient or a market farm.

One of the issues with the settlement pattern analysis was that some farms had different ownership statuses associated with the property. Many farms had multiple owners, tenants, renters, or absentee landlords, and deed records could not be located for all the farms, but what is known is the last owner and the size of the parcel from the deed records.

A second issue was that archaeology alone does not distinguish between an owner-operated farm, one that was rented, a tenant, or an absentee landowner. If a parcel owner was identified, they were cross-checked with the census to verify whether they identified as farmers. Several farms had deed records but no census records. Some farms had only census records or deed records; some had both. The lack of records complicated finding a specific settlement pattern where a farm started as a plantation and then using subsequent records to determine how the plantation transformed over time. For example, all of the Stafford County plantations had at least one dwelling, except the Chopwamsic farm, which had one dwelling but was demolished and rebuilt in other locations. In Caroline, there were two plantations included in this study, and

neither had a settlement pattern indicative of tenant or sharecropper farms (Prunty 1955). More parcels followed Glassie's pattern of a range plan than Prunty's tenant or sharecropper settlement pattern (Glassie 1972, Prunty 1955). Of the sixty-two sites in this study, only five dwellings were located more than half a mile from a main or local road. County maps or aerial photos of both study areas or insurance maps to show the spatial layout of farms would be necessary to determine if farms followed Glassies' other two patterns. However, for farms where parcel boundaries were available, a search of site records to determine whether additional dwellings on the lot may have been for a renter or a tenant showed that a few farms had more than one dwelling on the property.

Sites in Stafford County probably had additional dwellings on the property, but the survey usually noted one foundation. The census records did list additional members of the household that were tenants at the Green farm and Arthur Jackson's home.

In Caroline County, a few farms had additional sites on the lot that were dwellings dated to the nineteenth or twentieth century. Some of these lots were farms, while others were not. The analysis below examines all three periods and delves into the additional archaeological and historical details of each farm. The analysis draws out some of the issues with the data and highlights aspects that indicated which parcels were market or general farms, which were self-sufficient, and which parcels were not farms but dwellings.

Eighteenth-century Data

The data from eighteenth-century sites indicated that these were domestic structures constructed of wood or brick. Three sites, 44ST0399 (West Farm), 44ST0196 (Clermont), and 44ST0304 (Chopwamsic farm), where multiple structures were surveyed archaeologically, but only partially lined up with insurance maps.

The Mason family owned the property (44ST0304), but in 1850 Major William Fitzhugh purchased the land. After he made the purchase, he had a survey of the property done for insurance. According to the survey, there was an orchard, the main house, two barns, two other smaller dwellings on the northwest side of the main house, and a garden. The map also shows the location of Chopwamsic Creek, roads, and the unimproved area of the parcel (Eby 1997:77). There are two other sites associated with this farm: 44ST0492 and 44ST0493. These two sites possibly represent slave quarters or a tenant dwelling, but it is difficult to determine who may have occupied the dwelling or if it was used for some other purpose. Previous research indicated that 44ST0304 was not the Chopwamsic farm's main house (Voight et al. 1998:196); rather, the main house was constructed sometime in the late seventeenth century. This house structure and two additional structures (presumably 44ST0492 and 44ST0493) are located west of 44ST0304 on the 1850 insurance map (Voight et al. 1998:196). However, 44ST0304 is 609 meters (2000 feet) east of where the 1850 map placed the main house. The issue with the 1850 map is that it does not coincide with sites located within the farm's boundary. The 1850 map places the main house a short distance south of 44ST0492 and 44ST0493. There were no subsurface deposits or surface scatter located in this area. Moreover, a very narrow hilltop in that area would likely not be enough space to construct a sizeable Georgian brick house. Site 44ST0304 is more in line with where the main house may have been located, based on the size of the available space and

the artifacts recovered from the site. Other smaller dwellings were built on the property, as the parcel was bought and sold between 1850 and 1942 (Voight et al. 1998: 41–44). The two associated sites, 44ST0492 and 44ST0493, were correctly identified on the 1850 map, but it was difficult to identify who may have occupied these dwellings. Site 44ST0492 has two small depressions and one large depression. These were likely part of a larger foundation, but there were a few additional architectural artifacts in the area to confirm that there was a structure (Balicki et al. 2004:178). The larger depression measured forty square feet, and the smaller measured fifteen by twenty square feet. Sixteen shovel tests just south of these depressions revealed an intact sheet midden. Of the artifacts found, 126 were dateable material that supports a late eighteenth century to mid-nineteenth century occupation. In addition to the ceramics recovered from the site, a few other artifacts were found in the immediate vicinity that indicated that there may have been a stable that was part of this structure: a harness, wagon parts, horseshoe nail, and a short piece of chain, but there were no historical sources that indicated who lived in this house.

The artifacts recovered from 44ST0493 were in a disturbed context. While the site lacked integrity, it was in the right location, according to the 1850 plat map. The recovered artifacts do support late eighteenth- through nineteenth-century occupation. In addition to the ceramics, a few other artifacts were recovered: handmade bricks (n=1), a brass loop button (n=2), and a ball of clay pipe (n=1).

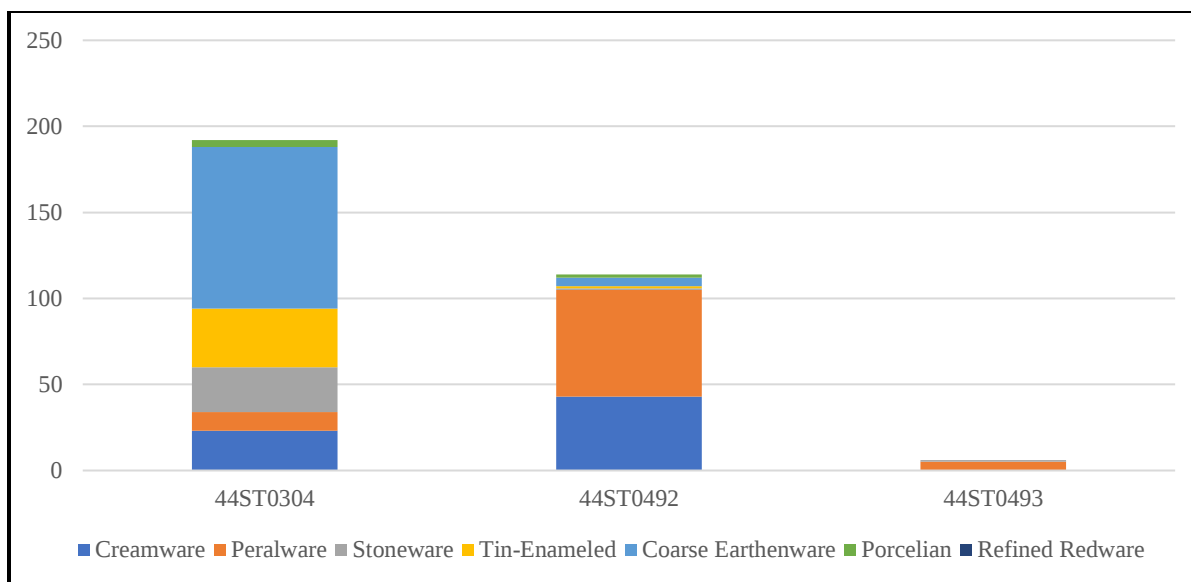


Figure 67: Eighteenth-century ceramic distribution from the Chopwamsic farm sites (chart created by the author).

The ceramic distribution for Chopwamsic farm sites shows that all three sites' assemblage dates to the eighteenth century (Figure 67). The coarse earthenware was either redware, opaque glaze (1750–1900), or Buckley (1720–1775) (Voight et al. 1998:195). Stoneware was identified as molded (1740–1765), salt-glazed (1700–1720), and spring decorated (1690–1775) (Voight et al. 1998:195). The creamware was molded (1765–1820), pearlware was painted (1780–1830), and the tin-enameled was undecorated (1600–1800) (Voight et al. 1998:195). Mean ceramic date calculations for all three Chopwamsic sites indicated that the area was occupied between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: 44ST0493 was dated to 1808, 44ST0492: 1735, and 44ST0304: 1787. Based on the available information, George Mason purchased 833 acres around Chopawamsic Creek in 1709 (SC Wills Libre Z, folio 461). There are some gaps in the chain of deeds, but the census and other historical sources provided insight into who occupied the property and other household members after 1850. The 1850 Census indicated that William Fitzhugh lived in Stafford County with his

wife, four children, and 43 enslaved people (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850a, 1850b). The next available deed record stated that George E. Moncure sold the land to E.A.W. Hore (Stafford County Minute Book folio 254). E.A.W. Hore was listed in the 1860 Census as a farmer, but no spouse or children were listed; instead, six other men were listed: Cassius Williams, a 20-year-old Deputy Sheriff; Nathaniel Finnall, a 45-year-old fisherman; Henry Mains, a 43-year-old gardener born in Ireland; James Adams, a 23-year-old laborer; Sandy Daggs, a 45-year-old black laborer; and Robinson Dags a 46-year old black laborer (U.S Census 1860:50). The farm was bought, sold, and rented several times until the land was sold to the Department of the Navy in 1919. In May 1917, the adjacent 6,500-acre property was purchased by the government to establish MCBQ; the first Marines arrived from Marine Barracks, Annapolis, and began to set up the area for training (Fleming et al. 1978:24).

Chopwamsic farm had a lengthy occupation where numerous families, enslaved people, or tenants may have occupied the property. A closer look at the ceramics in terms of use showed far more refined ceramic tableware than utilitarian wares (Figure 68). Based on the artifact types alone, it is difficult to say which of the dwellings on the 1850 map the family, tenants, or enslaved people resided in on the property.

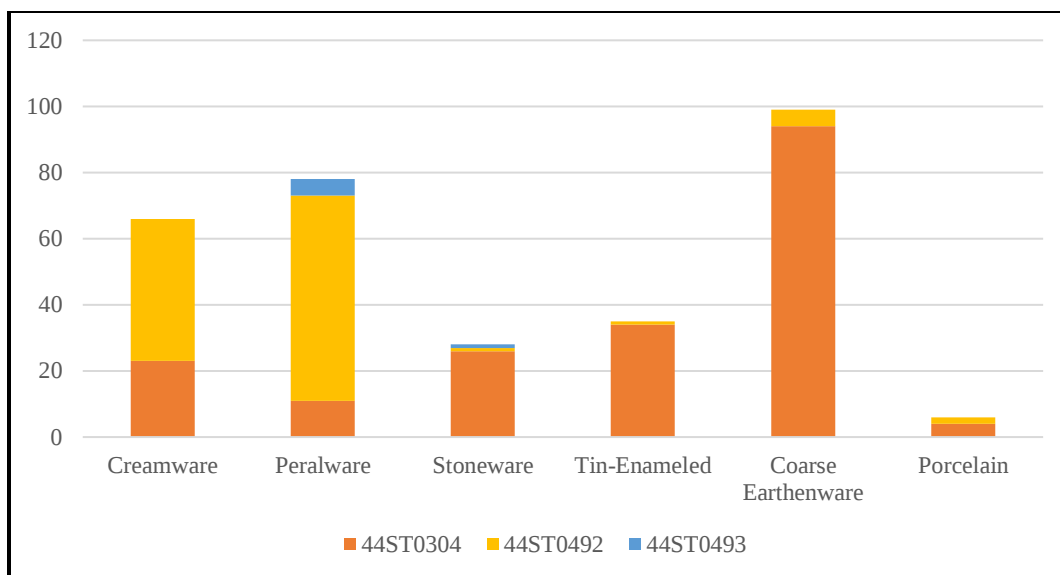


Figure 68: Ceramic types from the Chopwamsic farm (chart created by author).

Caroline County Eighteenth-Century Sites

Based on the three surveys that were conducted at 44CE0110, this was the location of the Windsor plantation house that Woodford built around 1730. The details in the report reveal that this plantation was occupied from the eighteenth century until the twentieth century. There was at least one dwelling constructed on this property and several outbuildings. The main house at 44CE0110 was built around 1730 and had multiple outbuildings on the property, such as the ice house and the tobacco barn mentioned by Byrd on his visit (Byrd 1841).

A second dwelling was supposedly constructed sometime in 1830 when Phillip Dew purchased the property; however, there were no sub-surface features found during any of the surveys, and few architectural artifacts were found at the site (n=13) (Moore et al., 2007; Wade et al., 2008). Sites 44CE0110 and 44CE0488 are in close proximity; it is doubtful that a structure existed at 44CE0488 for two reasons. First, the artifact assemblage at 44CE0110 is much larger and more diverse than 44CE0488. Second, there are no sub-surface features and

few architectural artifacts that would support the notion that a structure existed in the area at any time (nine nails and one brick fragment). Multiple surveys were conducted at 44CE0488 (2007 and 2008); however, the two included in this study indicated that the site was a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century dwelling and that there were intact subsurface depositions but did not investigate further due to the limited scope of work (More et al. 2007; Wade et al. 2008).

Site 44CE0294 did not have any sub-surface features that were located during the survey, but there was some architectural material in the artifact assemblage. Most of the artifacts were found in the AP horizon (0–30 cm), except for four bottle glass fragments that were found below 30 centimeters. The dates associated with some of the ceramics suggested that this was an early eighteenth-century site occupied into the mid-nineteenth century. The bricks and nails were both handmade. The structure on this site was likely a wood-frame dwelling with a chimney. Site 44CE0476 had a similar artifact assemblage to 44CE0294 but was much smaller and less diverse; no sub-surface features were found at this site.

Artifact Type		Coarse Redware	3
Architectural		Astbury ware	1
Bricks	7	Buckley-Type	6
Mortar	3	Glass Bottles	40
Plaster	1	Personal	
Nails	39	Kaolin Pipe	6
Window Glass	7	Utilities	
Domestic		Lamp Chimney Glass	1
Stoneware	6	Faunal	
Tin-Glazed	2	Mammal tooth (cow)	10
Pearlware	1	Mammal bone (unidentified)	2
Whiteware	5	Oyster shell	2
		Total	142

Table 7: Artifact assemblage for 44CE0294 (table created by the author).

Domestic	Total
Ceramics	16
Glass	12
Architectural	
Nails	9
Window Glass	5
Personal	
Pipe	1
Pewter Button	1
Faunal	
Oyster Shell	2
Total	46

Table 8: Artifact assemblage for site 44CE0476 (table created by the author).

The majority of the artifacts found at 44CE0476 were in the AP horizon (0–44 cm). The survey recorded a number of yucca and several cedar trees, indicating that this was a domestic site. Site 44CE0476 was part of the Broaddus plantation during the nineteenth century. The WPA surveyed the Broaddus house in 1937; however, this was not the structure that was recorded at the time (Farmer 1937a: np) because the property owner recorded by WPA was George Jones, and the last owner of 4CE0476 was Alice Broaddus (parcel 673) (Morton and Morton 2009: 358).

Nineteenth-Century Farm Sites

Seventeen sites included in this study date to the nineteenth century, of which seven were identified as possible farms. These were sites where the census and deed records showed that the property owner identified as a farmer, but only four parcels were larger than 150 acres. In fact, parcel 808 was 2 acres, and parcel 678 was 15 acres, both owned by the Elliott family

(CCDB 117:232; CCDB 98: 208). The parcel east of 808 and 678 was 561; the 1937 aerial photo showed this as an agricultural field. The Caroline County Deed Book, 1920, had a map of the Elliott property (CCDB 88:525). This map showed that J. Lin Elliott's estate was 103 acres and recorded all of the structures on the property. The map showed one main dwelling, several outbuildings, one ice house, a pond, and the fence line around the property. The spatial layout of the property shows the main house about 0.10 of a mile from state route 301 and several outbuildings in the area; none of the buildings were labeled. The last parcel identified as a farm was parcel 226 (44CE0482). Gouldin Broaddus owned this lot, which was known as Spring Garden, in 1942. WPA surveyed "Spring Garden" (Farmer 1937b), and Selma Farmer's survey indicated that Dr. R.G. Holloway owned the parcel in the late nineteenth century; however, by 1904, Broaddus was the owner. There are two additional sites on this parcel; site 44CE0481 and 44CE0483; both are domestic sites that date to the twentieth century; however, parcel 226 was only forty-eight acres. The artifacts indicate that both sites were occupied during the early twentieth century, when Broaddus would have been farming the area (Table 9). These sites were not included in the overall data set but are likely tenant homes for the Broaddus farm.

Artifact Type	44CE0481	44CE0483
Domestic		
Whiteware	6	1
Bottle Glass	9	4
Lamp Chimney	0	1
Architecture		
Brick	4	3
Machine Cut Nails	3	2
Wire Nails	1	0
Window Glass	17	1
Personal		
Bisque doll	1	0
Total	41	12

Table 9: Artifact assemblage comparison for sites 44CE0481 and 44CE0483. (table created by the author).

Twentieth-Century Farms

Fourteen sites were included in this study, dated to the twentieth century, of which nine were identified as owner-operated farms. There were two sites, 44CE0806 and 44CE0863, where the census also had a tenant listed as part of the household, but only one owner (44CE0863) was identified as a farmer; the other was a lawyer.

Site 44CE0806 was a 328-acre farm owned by the Campbell family. Only eight artifacts were recovered; however, several cultural features were recorded during the survey. There was a line of cedar trees, a partial brick foundation, part of a brick chimney, and two conical depressions where a function could not be determined. In addition, several artifacts were recorded at the site but not collected: pharmaceutical bottles, parts of two mixing bowls, unidentified metal, whiteware shreds, buckets, iron pipes, bottles, and tableware glass. An additional site on the Campbell farm was interpreted as a twentieth-century dwelling. Few

artifacts were found at this site, all indicative of a twentieth-century dwelling. Three rows of stacked hematite stones were the foundation of the house, an iron bed frame, wagon parts, and a row of cedar trees were found at the site (Mullin 2016: 81–87).

Elliott Campbell was listed in the 1930 and the 1940 censuses but was not the head of household. In 1930, nine people were listed: Thomas (head of household), Bessie was the wife, and four children; among them was Elliott, age twenty-three, and was listed as a lawyer, three clerks, and one African-American servant (U.S.Census 1930: 19-A). In 1940, Bessie was the head of the household, with four children, including Elliott, and three lodgers listed as clerks (U.S.Census 1940:4b).

Site 44CE0863 also had a tenant listed as part of the household in the 1920 census. Samuel Hicks was listed as an African-American farmer, owner, and head of the household. William Lomax was listed as part of the Hicks household but had no occupation or relationship to Hicks (U.S.Census 1920:2A). Site 44CE0863 was located on parcel 622, which was a small 34-acre farm. A small artifact assemblage was collected for this site (n=72), and a few cultural features were recorded: a line of hematite stones and cedar trees (Mullin 2018:74–80). Only one dwelling was located on this property.

In the remaining 12 sites, there were eight farmers; six were owner-operated, and two were renters. Two farms were larger than two hundred acres: 44CE0871 and 44CE0429; both were owner operated.

African-American Tenant Sites

One aspect that is often overlooked in relation to farm labor is the tenant. Modern farms are more commercial and have more machinery to perform the tasks that were once done with

manual labor. In the transition between manual labor and mechanized farms, the tenant is often disregarded, but this is one of the most important aspects of farm labor. Most general farms would fail without tenants because one farmer cannot perform all the tasks needed for a productive farm.

This dissertation sought to identify European-American and African-American farmers and tenants working in both counties. Identifying the European-American farmer was straightforward because most of them owned the land and were easily identifiable in the census. Eleven African-American farmers were identified in the data. However, most African-American tenant farmers in either county could not be identified because they were not landowners and could not be linked to deed records. Only one tenant was identified because he was listed in the census as a member of the Hicks household: Willaim Lomax.

Examples of the difficulty of finding tenants where only the landowners were identified were: D.B. and Ruth Powers' lots, Spring Garden, and Gouldin farms. The Powers owned about 3,000 acres, just within the bounds of FAPH. D.B. Powers died sometime in early 1936. There is an announcement in the *Richmond News Leader* dated February 27, 1936, concerning Ruth Power's inheritance. The announcement stated that she inherited a \$100,000 estate from her husband (*Richmond News Leader* 1936). The inheritance listed stocks, bonds, and personal property, but also 5,000 acres of land. The announcement does not say where the land was located in Caroline County, just that the inheritance included land. According to the land records listed in *Wealthy in Heart*, Ruth Powers owned approximately 3,115 acres of land located on FAPH in 1940 (Morton and Morton 2009: 373–374). It is difficult to determine how many of the 61 parcels were farms or dwellings because they all had one owner. There is likely

a mix of general farms, self-sufficient families, and dwellings (Morton and Morton 2009: 373–374).

Spring Garden was, at one time, part of the Windsor plantation. However, no deed records state who built the original home (Farmer 1937b:1). Deed records indicated a local doctor, R.G. Holloway, built a house on the property around 1830 (Wade et al. 2008: 35). There were additional dwellings located in the vicinity of the site, but no deed or tax records were located that indicated who resided in the home.

According to the WPS survey, the Gouldin farm reportedly had several homes that were located on the parcel that were assumed to be tenant homes, but no additional records to show who resided in these homes (Farmer 1937d).

Ruth Powers' property, Spring Garden, and the Gouldin farm exemplify the difficulty of locating tenant farmers. They are somewhat elusive unless the links between the site, the deed, and the census can be connected to discern whether the resident was or was not a farmer or farm laborer. Ruth may have rented land to African-Americans and other Caroline County residents, but to whom she rented and where the farm was located is difficult to sort out with limited data linking these parcels.

African-Americans and Census Data

The topic of how race has been recorded in the census has a long and interesting history. Part of the reason for this is that the terms that the enumerators used to record the data reflected the racial categories of the period in which they collected the data. Another issue with census data was the process of data collection. Data collection has evolved since the 1790 census, but before technology made data collection faster, census enumerators had to travel into the

communities and go door to door to fill out the forms by hand. The collection was a long and tedious process for compiling all the data; this often led to accuracy issues, such as community underrepresentation, inconsistent data collection, and lack of quality control, among other data-related issues.

Aside from how the data was collected, the terms used to identify race and occupation limited the categories people could identify. The 1790 census had no standard terms to denote race or free persons. By the 1850s, there were more specific terms for White, Black, and Mulatto (U.S. Census 1850). Other minorities were added to the 1870 census, such as Chinese and Indians (U.S. Census 1870). The 1930 census had specific instructions on the use of the word “negro” (U.S. Census 1930:26). By 1960, the census forms were paper, which allowed the household to self-identify. More recently, households can submit the form on the U.S. Census website.

The underrepresented persons in the census are minority citizens. Since enumerators had to conduct door-to-door interviews, more remote communities were undercounted populations. For Stafford and Caroline counties, the extent to which these families were underrepresented is not certain, based on the data. These were rural communities but not so remote that they were difficult for enumerators to travel door to door. The issue for minority families in these two counties was not that they were omitted from the census because owners and renters were noted in all censuses but rather that the transient nature of tenancy and sharecropping meant that a family might occupy a home for a short period. For example, the Gouldin farm was supposed to have an additional dwelling where tenants resided, but if one or none of the homes were occupied when enumerators showed up to record each household, those families were not

counted in that census. The lack of landownership in these counties among minorities contributed to their underrepresentation in the census and not the location of the counties.

Statistical Analysis of Soil Data

This analysis examines whether Stafford and Caroline counties farmers were more likely to farm on sub-marginal farmland land. An observational comparison of the soil acres from both counties shows a sizeable difference between the area between the counties and the study areas (MCBQ, FAPH), but the parcels were close in acre total (Table 10). Comparing the total acres of prime and state prime farmland shows a difference between the counties and the study areas but not with the parcels (Figure 69).

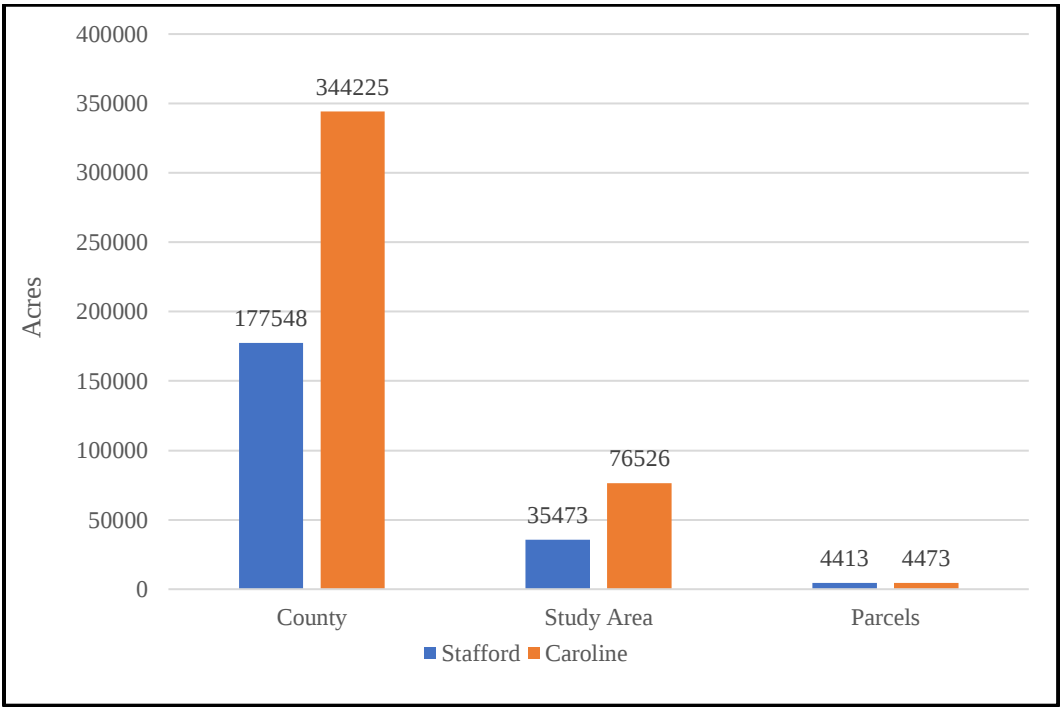


Figure 69: Soil acres total for both counties (chart created by the author from USDA soil survey 2022).

Prime Farmland Acre Total	County	Study Areas	Parcels
Stafford	87422	18865	1958
Percent Acres	49%	53%	44%
Caroline	234656	41715	2399
Percent Acres	68%	54%	53%

Table 10: The total for the county, study areas, and parcels (table created by the author from the soil survey data USDA 2022).

While the raw numbers extracted from the soil data show a difference in the acres of farmland type within the counties and the study areas, direct observation of the parcel data is misleading because all of them are different sizes and have different percentages of prime and state prime farmland. Moreover, the data observation did not confirm anything significant about those numbers. However, a statistical method to show the difference between the various types of farmland in both counties was needed to confirm the soil data. Therefore, the hypothesis for this analysis assumes the following:

H_0 = there are no statistical differences between the median of the different types of farmland soil for Stafford or Caroline counties farm parcels.

H_1 = there are statistical differences between the median of the different types of farmland soil for Stafford and Caroline counties farm parcels.

The Mann–Whitney U test is a useful statistical tool to test whether there is a difference in the median of dependent variables for two independent groups. In this case, the independent variable is the counties, and the dependent variable is the number of prime and state prime

farmland acres within the parcels. These parcels are of different sizes; they cannot be compared directly (McCarroll 2017:164). However, the number of parcels is close between the two counties: twenty-four for Stafford County and thirty-four for Caroline County.

This test is the non-parametric version of the independent t-test. The data was not normally distributed; the non-parametric test was appropriate for this analysis. The parcels were ranked in order of size; the test was used to determine whether the median number of prime farm soil acres differed between the two counties. The test result was that the p-value was less than 0.05; the H_0 was rejected. For both counties, the p-value was 2.2e-16 at a 95% confidence interval.

The raw data and the Mann–Whitney U test demonstrate that farmers in both counties did not farm on marginal land; the farms were more likely located on either prime or state prime farmland.

Cash Crops Produced in Stafford and Caroline Counties

Wolf's research on Latin American peasants and cash crops made an important distinction between "cash crops" and "subsistence crops" in that cash crops "promise higher money," but subsistence crops provide a "stable minimum livelihood" (Wolf 1955:464). For the peasant, there is a balance between producing too much cash crop and not enough staple crop; the "tendency is to rely" on the staple crop and produce cash crops at a slower rate (Wolf 1955:464).

Farmers in Stafford and Caroline counties probably experienced a similar situation with deciding how much of a crop to grow. For years when it was comparable, the agricultural census data showed that the family consumed most of what they produced.

The historical background chapter (Chapter 2) reviewed the available data on cotton and tobacco production for both counties. However, these were not the only cash crops produced on farms in either county. The oral history noted that “wheat and corn were staple crops,” and cows were raised for dairy products; on occasion, they were slaughtered for meat. (Morton and Morton 2009:5). The histories noted that most farms were “subsistence,” in which almost everything they raised was consumed by the family (Morton and Morton 2009:5).

The census data supports the idea that the family consumed most of the food products that were produced on their farm. Based on a numerical comparison of the amount produced and the amount sold, butter, cream, and milk were not sold; rather, the producer consumed them. However, the 1925 and 1930 agricultural data only provided numbers on acres sold and did include the acres the farms produced for consumption. The 1900 data shows that most of the milk and butter were consumed; the cheese was sold, but not the cream (Table 11). The 1920 data shows that most of the milk and butter were consumed; the cream was sold, but no cheese was recorded for this census (Table 12). The data recorded changed with the 1925 and 1929 censuses in that the census recorded the acres used to produce vegetables for sale (Tables 13 and 14).

County	Milk		Cream	Butter		Cheese	
	Gallons Produced	Gallons Sold	Gallons Sold	Pounds Made	Pounds Sold	Pounds Made	Pounds Sold
Stafford	737,068	14,272	0	186,398	38,083	0	0
Caroline	966,772	904	0	164,216	34,250	101	90

Table 11: Dairy products produced and sold in both counties. (U.S. Agricultural Census 1900:626. (data compiled by the author).

County	Milk		Cream	Butter		Cheese	
	Gallons Produced	Gallons Sold	Gallons Sold	Pounds Made	Pounds Sold	Pounds Made	Pounds Sold
Stafford	582,868	26,499	10,117	145,783	59,300	0	0
Caroline	991,821	11,490	6,604	289,026	78,489	0	0

Table 12: Dairy products that were produced and sold in both counties. (U.S. Agricultural Census 1910:799). (data compiled by the author).

County	Cabbages	Cantaloupes, Muskmelons	Lettuce	Onions	Sweet Corn	Tomatoes	Watermelons
Stafford	117	68	2	13	98	291	84
Caroline	4	1	0	0	2	21	3

Table 13: Vegetables grown for sale from both counties based on acres (U.S. Agricultural Census 1925: 166, 176). (data compiled by the author).

County	Cabbages	Cantaloupes, Muskmelons	Lettuce	Onions	Sweet Corn	Tomatoes	Watermelons
Stafford	17	68	2	0	37	27	0
Caroline	3	1	0	0	495	78	15

Table 14: Vegetables grown for sale from both counties based on acres (U.S. Agricultural Census 1930: 235, 241). (data compiled by the author).

Based on the numbers from the agricultural census, more farms consumed the products they produced rather than selling the products outside the family. It is also important to note, with the dairy products census data, that the production of butter and cream consumes most of the milk; therefore, not much product would leftover to sell, even for a small self-sufficient farm.

Summary

This chapter examines the discrepancies between historical records and archaeological data, African-American tenant sites, census issues, soil data analysis, and cash crops.

In Stafford County, the Chopwamsic farm had remains of brick foundations with artifacts that indicated they were domestic dwellings that dated to the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. However, the 1850 insurance map had three dwellings and several more outbuildings, but there was no corresponding foundation for the additional outbuildings. The deed records showed that the property was bought and sold several times. The census data indicated that tenants and enslaved people resided on the property.

In Caroline County, the Windsor farm was also a plantation established in the eighteenth century and transitioned into a farm. The archaeological data showed that 44CE0110 was the original dwelling built by Woodford, but 44CE0488 was not a dwelling but more likely a place to discard trash. Philip Dew may have constructed a dwelling on the property, but at this time, no foundations or other archaeological deposits support this assumption.

African-American tenants were difficult to find without the benefit of a known archaeological site and the deed records linked together. The three examples detailed in this section exemplify how landownership can hide the tenant: Power's property, Spring Garden, and the Gouldin farm. In cases where African-Americans owned the land, they were listed in the census. The linkage between the site and the deed record revealed that several families owned land, and few were general farmers. The census and WPA survey records stated that tenant farmers resided in both counties. One would expect many tenant sites based on the size of the data set, but without the linkage between the two, they are difficult to identify in the data. Cash crops and soil quality were also outlined in this chapter. Most residents of both counties

cultivated cash crops. The agricultural data indicated that most products were not sold, meaning that the producer consumed them.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The research in this dissertation has shown that in Stafford and Caroline Counties, there was a transition between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries in that this was an area where tobacco plantations transitioned into small family farms. By the mid-twentieth century, many people identified in the census as farmers, but the evidence suggests that, despite how they identified, they were more often self-sufficient families instead of farmers. The difference between farmer and self-sufficient is not small; a self-sufficient family had a garden and sold small amounts of cash crops, but this was not comparable to what market or general farms sold to local urban areas.

This dissertation used a characteristic framework outlined by Wolf to organize the data and define agricultural workers. In order to determine whether residents were farmers or not, linking the site data sets (archaeological, soil data, and census data) with the characteristics, self-sufficient residents versus general farmers were flushed out in the data.

These counties were close-knit, rural farm communities. They had strong relationships with their neighbors but would occasionally travel to Fredericksburg or Bowling Green. The farms were often acquired through marriage or inheritance; sometimes, people outside Virginia would buy the land.

This research also sought to answer several broader questions, such as what types of material culture were found on these farms, how the landscape changed over time, how land use changed, and why an agrarian culture persisted over eighty years in both counties since the Civil War. Over 21,000 artifacts were collected from 63 sites; if one were to analyze these sites individually, some of the farms provided little information, while other sites had an abundance

of data.

The analysis of the material culture provided information as to approximately when and how long a site was occupied; often, the historical records associated with the site support the archaeology, but not in all cases. In this study, a variety of material culture objects, including ceramics, architectural materials, personal items, and other objects, helped tease out the details of the occupation of each site. In some cases, historical sources, such as land records, listed the family names of those who occupied these lots. The names were key to finding census records to clarify further whether the family was farmers or not based on how they were identified in the census.

Wolf's research showed that there were five primary characteristics of peasants: primarily agricultural workers, part of a broader community, usually produced a cash crop, used traditional technology, and lived on marginal land. The following section will assess each characteristic and demonstrate whether Virginia farmers adhered to Wolf's characteristics.

Agricultural Workers

The connection between identity and farming had strong ties with residents in both counties. Early in the county's history, Stafford was not known as an agricultural area; it was more of an industrial county because there were timber operations, fisheries, and mining operations. However, the Civil War transformed the county from industrial to agricultural because much of the county was destroyed during the Union occupation (History of Stafford County 2022). At the end of the Civil War, county residents returned home but did not rebuild the industries; they began farming to survive, and from then on, people continued to farm.

George L. Gordon, Jr's book *Highlights of Stafford County History* noted that there was an "old saying" among people in the county after the Civil War, "...how to make money on the farm was to sell the corn, and what you couldn't sell you fed to the hogs, and what you couldn't feed to the hogs, you ate yourself." (Gordon 1973:16). Gordon noted that, according to many residents who returned in 1865, corn and fishing were the county's only food sources: "If it hadn't been for corn and fish I don't think that people in Stafford would have survived" (Gordon 1973:17).

There are two data sets that addressed this characteristic, occupational census data, and the oral histories. The census data recorded occupation or the number of farm families; it depended on the decade. The occupation part of the data supports the assumption that most people in both counties were farm owners or farm laborers. With only two censuses that recorded comparable data on agricultural workers, most people in both counties worked in agriculture.

In 1820, about 45% of the Stafford County population and 25% of the Caroline County population, reported to enumerators that they worked in agriculture (U.S. Census 1820). The 1840 census reported that 28% of Stafford County residents worked in agriculture; in Caroline County, 32% of residents were agricultural workers (U.S. Census 1840). The 1890 census reported the number of farm families. Stafford County had 1,428 families, of which 1,102 were farm families. Caroline County had 2,912 families, and 2,127 were farm families (U.S. Census 1890). The data for 1910, 1920, and 1930 were not comparable because these censuses reported urban and rural populations. In 1940, the census recorded occupation data, but the terms changed, and agricultural workers were counted as farm laborers (U.S. Census 1940). In Stafford County, 31% of the workforce were listed as laborers, and 39% in Caroline County

(U.S. Census 1940). The census data supports the assumption that most county residents were agricultural workers. The oral histories also had many examples of residents in both counties who recalled the counties as rural, where most people in the area were farmers, and how people survived off farming (Morton and Morton 2009). The oral histories contained many accounts where people described the county as rural farmland with dirt roads and how residents shared farm equipment at harvest time to help each other out. Other stories described how people were socially connected to their farm neighbors. Archie Newton and Ida Brooks were farmers. Ida's family owned a dairy farm that supplied the Fredericksburg Creamery, and she recalled how her family used to ship milk on a horse and buggy to the Fredericksburg Creamery (Stafford County Oral History 1986c:8). Archie Newton stated that his family used mules until they purchased a tractor around 1948 (Stafford County Oral History 1986b:3). Almont Dickerson was not a farmer. However, he grew up on a farm (Spotsylvania Oral History Project 2000). He recalled that when he was a teenager, compared to when he was a kid, fewer chores were done by hand, and farm machinery was more common on farms (Spotsylvania Preservation Project 2000a:16). W. Hansford Able was also a farmer in Stafford County. He mentioned that his family produced all their own food and that by the time he was 25, he had purchased a neighboring farm to expand his current operation (Stafford County Oral History 1986a:21).

In Caroline County, the accounts were similar in that people remembered growing tobacco and having to pull the hornworms off the leaves, milking cows by hand, plowing fields with a horse and a steel plow (Morton and Morton 2009:5–22). Vergie Miller stated that when he was young, his father grew corn, and his mother had a garden; she canned all the vegetables. They grew cucumbers and tobacco to sell as cash crops (Morton and Morton 2009: 19). Lois Garnette said that in the area in which he lived, most people grew corn, wheat, and beans, but

no tobacco. The only people who grew tobacco lived near Bowling Green (Morton and Morton 2009:21). Dorthy Thomas spoke about how her family had African-American tenants to help with the farm but did not provide any other details about the tenants (Morton and Morton 2009:21). Interestingly, the Broaddus farm had a tractor and tenants. Mary Scott Broaddus remembered that she grew up on a large farm, and the tenants lived there. She also said her father graduated from Virginia Tech; he knew about the newest farm techniques to increase crop yields, and he owned enough machinery to manage a large farm (Morton and Morton 2009:22). The majority of people who lived in the rural areas of both counties were agricultural workers that either owned land, which made them self-sufficient or were tenants on large farms. Fewer residents were employed in other professions, such as blacksmiths, midwives, and teachers.

Community Connections

Wolf states that the connection between the peasants and the cities lies in the economic relationship (Wolf 1966:15) in that the peasants support the cities with food supply. However, he also points out that the relationship between people within a small community is often based on kinship and friendship, or relationships that last “a lifetime” contrasted with the economic ties that are more temporary (Wolf 1966:41). The exact nature of the relationship between the rural and urban areas of Stafford and Caroline counties is elusive. However, the bottles they discarded provide a small glimpse of where these products came from, and the oral histories

indicate that people had more connections to other farmers than those outside the farm community.

Approximately seventy bottles were collected from 62 sites; only a few bottles were embossed with manufacturers from Stafford County or a local vendor. The three local manufacturers embossed logos that were identified were Fredericksburg Creamery, Portner Brewery, E.S Leadbeater and Sons, Alexandria, and one pharmacy from Washington, D.C., which could not be positively identified.

The lack of social connections to urban areas was noticeable in the oral histories. There were questions in the interviews concerning connections to specific places in any of the local cities, such as Fredericksburg or Bowling Green, or fond memories of people or events that took place in the city that residents could have mentioned but did not. The interviewees were asked about their trips to urban areas and how often they made these trips, but no one seemed to recall strong ties to local cities. They did recall making frequent trips to small neighboring towns, such as Milford and Lent.

Based on the data, there were more bottles from outside the counties than from the counties, but this only superficially speaks to the nature of the relationship between rural areas and local cities. Wolf's assumption that rural areas support urban areas is not supported based on the bottle data alone. Moreover, oral histories do not support the idea that rural areas support urban ones or even have a strong connection to urban areas.

Cash Crops

In Wolf's research, he noted the differences between cash crops and subsistence crops. Based on his observations, Latin American peasants produced enough subsistence crops to sustain their families and, in small amounts, produced cash crops for sale but were mindful not to overproduce as to lose the crop and the cash (Wolf 1955: 464). The farmers in both counties probably dealt with a similar situation in deciding what to produce for sale and what to consume. However, census data showed that most people in both counties grew cash crops. The oral histories indicate that many Stafford and Caroline counties residents would take cash crops to sell for small amounts of cash.

The Agricultural census showed that both counties produced similar products: milk, butter, cream, and cheese. While the data indicate large quantities of these products were produced, in the context of the number of farms in the counties, the amounts produced and sold decreased substantially (Table 15).

County	Milk		Butter		Cheese	
	Gallons Produced	Gallons Sold	Pounds Produced	Pounds Sold	Pounds Made	Pound Sold
Stafford	1,319,936	40,771	332,181	97,383	0	0
Caroline	1,958,593	12,394	453,424	112,739	101	0

Table 15: Agricultural products produced in both counties, 1900 and 1910 (U.S. Agricultural n Census) (table compiled by the author).

Traditional Technology

Wolf does not explain in detail what he meant by traditional technology but indicates that most farm work was done by manual labor (Wolf 1955:457). For this study, traditional technology is defined as technology that has been used over a long period of time and could be replaced by new technology; however, people continue to use it because it meets their needs. In both counties, farms utilized horse-drawn plows and (maybe) tenants to perform the bulk of the work on the farm. While there were only a few farms where steel plow parts were found, many families likely owned a plow they had taken with them when the land was purchased in 1942. Some families owned “traditional technology” (steam engines and thrashers) to perform some of the more difficult work.

There were three examples of traditional technology in Stafford County: the Bowering steam engine, a hit-and-miss engine, and a steam thrasher. The Bowering steam engine and the steam thrasher were examples of traditional technology, but only if they were viewed from the perspective of how farm technology developed in the early twentieth century. These two engines could have been replaced but were not based on the needs of the user. The three-wheeled tractor, rural electrification, and expanded fertilizer all transformed farms from manual labor operations to more automated operations. The hit-and-miss engine could run power tools that were used to mine sandstone. The interesting aspect of this piece of equipment was that this engine was mainly used on farms and had a wide variety of applications, such as powering a water pump, a saw blade, or a cement mixer.

Stafford County had more examples of residents using traditional technology than Caroline County. However, the oral histories from Caroline County indicated that people used traditional technology and modern farm equipment.

Marginal Soil

The USDA soils survey showed an almost even split between the acres that were not prime farmland and prime farmland in Stafford County. However, in Caroline County, the number of prime farmland acres was higher compared to those that were not prime farmland (Table 16).

County Total	Not Prime Farmland	Prime Farmland	State Prime Farmland	Prime and State Prime farmland
Stafford	50%	20%	28%	48%
Caroline	30%	43%	24%	67%

Table 16: Total acres of farmland type percentage in both counties (USDA soil survey 2022) (table compiled by the author).

Parcel Total	Not Prime Farmland	Prime Farmland	State Prime Farmland	Prime and State Prime Farmland
Stafford	49%	18%	25%	43%
Caroline	46%	31%	21%	52%

Table 17: Total percent of farmland type for parcels (USDA soil survey 2022) (table compiled by the author).

The total percent of farmland for all parcels in each county is almost evenly split between acres that were not prime farmland and prime farmland (Table 17). A closer look at individual farms shows that the lots that were market farms were over 100 acres, and all had more than 50% prime farmland. In Stafford County, 24 parcels were in the study; 15 had 50% or more of prime farmland. In Caroline County, 30 parcels show an almost even split between the acres that were not prime farmland and acres that were prime farmland. However, 11 of the 30 parcels had 50% or more prime farmland. Eight of the eleven were owned by farmers. The three largest parcels were the Gouldin's farm, which had two lots: a 259-acre lot and a 261-acre

lot with an average of sixty percent prime farmland. The Hefflin’s farm was a 217-acre farm with 60% prime farmland and a 221-acre lot with 60% prime farmland. Thomas Kay’s farm was 465 acres, with 51% percent prime farmland.

Wolf’s assumption that Latin American peasants were farming on marginal land may be valid for Latin America but not Virginia farmers. This study included 44 parcels; 38(48%) had 50% or more prime farmland. Based on the data, most farms had at least some, and other lots had more than half of the soil as prime or state prime.

Additional questions

This study sought to answer additional questions with the data collected during this research, such as “What was the material culture of farms in Stafford and Caroline counties?” The material culture collected came in several forms: domestic, personal artifacts, farm tools, and architectural materials, such as nails, window glass, mortar, and foundations.

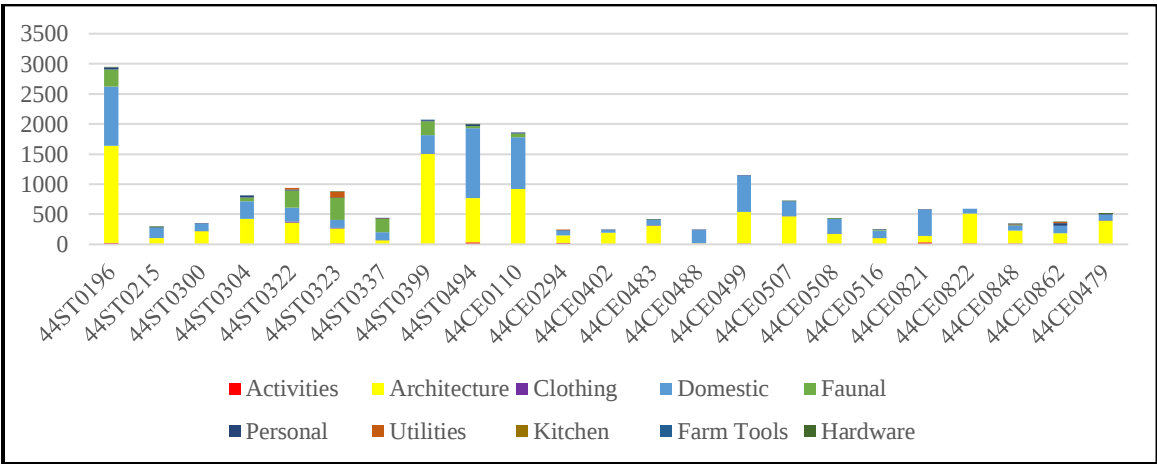


Figure 70: Artifact distribution for sites that had more the 250 artifacts. (chart created by the author).

The direct answer to this question is to examine the artifact distribution charts. The two charts show the distribution for all 63 sites (Figures 70 and 71). The assemblages were separated to make them clear: sites with less than two hundred fifty artifacts and sites with more than two hundred fifty artifacts. Both figures illustrate that the two largest categories were domestic and architecture. In addition, there was some faunal material, and four sites had activity-related material, such as bolts, fasteners, and wire, among other similar objects.

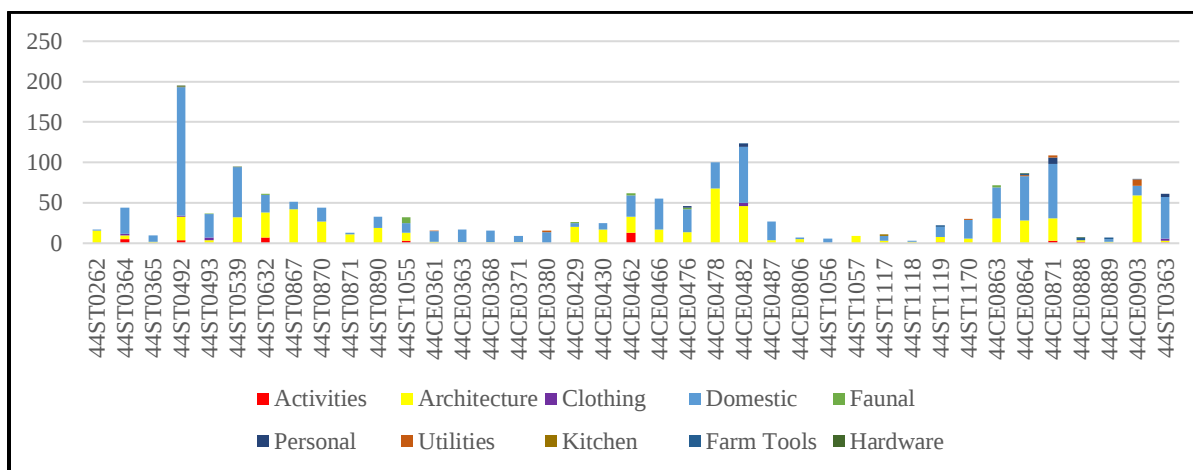


Figure 71: Artifact distribution from sites in both counties where less than 250 artifacts. (chart created by the author).

Another question this research sought to answer was, “how did land use change in these counties?” The answer is that land use changed in Stafford County because, during the eighteenth century, there were more industries than farms. However, Caroline County has been predominantly agricultural since its establishment in 1728. After the Civil War, both counties were agricultural areas.

A second question linked to land use in these counties was, “Why did an agrarian culture persist in both counties after the Civil War until the mid-twentieth century?” Once people began to return to the area, not much remained of the industrial aspect of Stafford County. People needed to provide for their families; farming was their only method. As George Gordon stated, corn and fishing were the two food sources people could utilize while planting other crops. By

the mid-twentieth century, residents in both counties were stable and self-sufficient, with little help from outside the community.

Architecture

Stafford and Caroline counties have two kinds of dwellings dated to the eighteenth century: Georgian mansions and small, wood-frame farmhouses. A few researchers have identified a connection between the house and eighteenth-century Chesapeake Bay's larger social and economic context (Carr 2000; Carson et al. 1981, Wenger 2013). The Georgian mansions reflect the growth and development of Chesapeake Bay when compared to the post-in-ground, wood-frame homes of the seventeenth century. In the context of eighteenth-century Virginia gentry culture, there were no actions that were not "socially important" (Carr 2000:36). As Carson pointed out, the post-in-ground dwelling was replaced with more intricate and permanent homes, some of which are still standing today (Carson et al. 1981:174). These homes are reflections of the changing attitudes within the colonies concerning architectural styles, but also social and economic conditions of America detaching from England as a colony to an independent country. The Federalist style, for example, was an outgrowth of the Georgian but had incorporated new European styles and became the dominant American style between 1780 and 1820 (McAlester 1984:763;810).

Architectural advancements also reflected the new building techniques and styles, such as the false plate, which improved the English version of the common rafter roof. The false plate became "a hallmark of Chesapeake framing" and was used until the twentieth century

(Graham 2013:212). The Georgian mansion was a smaller part of all the dwellings constructed in the eighteenth century. Camille Wells analyzed a sample of homes that were advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* during the eighteenth century; only 9.3% of the advertisements were from brick homes, 28% were for masonry and wood-frames, and 62% were for entirely wood frame structures (Wells 1993:11).

The three brick dwellings located in Stafford County were Georgian mansions. The Mason family owned the Chopwamsic farm; they owned several enslaved people and sold tobacco, undoubtedly part of the Virginia gentry. Two other dwellings were owned by the Moncure family, Clermont, and Somerset, also prominent members of Stafford's political elite well into the twentieth century. The Cook plantation (West Farm), one of the earlier Georgian mansions in the county, was owned by the Cook family, who were politically and socially well-connected to the Virginia gentry. While no deed records show who occupied two of the four eighteenth-century homes in Caroline County, they were likely built by a small farmer and were more common in the area than the brick mansions. The other dwelling was the original home of the Windsor plantation.

Summary

This dissertation sought to analyze a large data set related to farmsteads that dated between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries in two Virginia counties. The framework for this research draws on Wolf's research on Latin American peasants (1955,1966). Wolf's research outlined five characteristics of peasants; residents in either county adhere to three out of the five characteristics. The three they held to the most were: people were agricultural workers, they used traditional technology, and they grew cash crops. The two characteristics they did not

conform to were: farming on marginal soil and connections to urban areas.

Caroline County was predominantly agrarian since it was established in 1728, but Stafford only became a predominantly farm community after the Civil War. The selection of these counties was due partly to the fact that there are few formal historical sources on the history of either county and even fewer archaeological sources outside of the grey literature, even though there are many plantations, farms, tenant farms, churches, schools, and local stores throughout the counties.

One issue that this research sought to clarify was how many people in these counties were actual farmers and how many were self-sufficient. Based on that question, this research found that many residents were not full-time farmers but self-sufficient families and, in some cases, not farmers but skilled laborers. Twenty-nine people identified in a census as farmers, but not all were market farmers; most were self-sufficient. There was also one blacksmith, one teacher, one mid-wife, one pull-man porter, one billing clerk, one plumber, two store owners, and two lawyers. There were also a few people who had multiple jobs, such as postal clerks, undertakers, and farmers.

The oral histories were included in this study because they provide insight into the interworking of the farms and the community. The interviewees revealed aspects of their family farms that cannot be found in the data. Their connection to their neighbors and where they sold their cash crops was not part of any data set and could only come from the residents themselves. The bottles show that people went to local stores to buy products such as Dr. King's Cold and Cough, OK baking powder, soda, beer, and many other items sold in these stores. The advertisements indicate how much they paid for these products and that many were produced outside the county.

Three examples of traditional technology were found on Stafford County farms, with only a few steel plow parts and other tractor parts in Caroline County. Traditional technology was carried over past the time when it could be replaced because it worked, and the Atchinson family was profiting from the continued use of the steam engine. The steam thrasher was used for a similar reason: it worked and was reliable. The hit-and-miss engine was not in use as long as the other two examples and could have been used for a number of other tasks.

New information from this study was the soil types on each parcel. The soil data showed that 48% of the farms had prime or state prime farm soil on their lots. Soil quality was not the issue with these farms; many chose to be self-sufficient, work another job, or produce a cash crop. The assumption that the soil was depleted and not conducive to agriculture was false; most farms had good soil with which to grow crops. The data shows that 26 of the 54 parcels from both counties included in this study had 50% or more prime farmland (1,51, 145, 158, 167, 184, 227, 230, 235, 317, 332, 340, 751, 776, 786, in Stafford; 27, 38, 50, 63, 226, 287, 621, 673, 808, 1082, 1095 in Caroline County). Some parcels are small, but these are not general farms but the more typical self-sufficient family lot.

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