Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Reports

Cultural Overview of City Point, Petersburg National Battlefield, Hopewell, Virginia

Audrey J. Horning

Submitted to:
Petersburg National Battlefield
P. O. Box 549
Petersburg, VA 23804

Submitted by:
The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
Department of Archaeological Research
P.O. Box 1776
Williamsburg, VA 23187-1776
(757) 220-7330

Supplemental Agreement #23
under Cooperative Agreement #CA4000-2-1017

Principal Investigator
Marley R. Brown III

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Management Summary

In August 2001, the National Park Service and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation initiated a cultural overview of the City Point Unit of the Petersburg National Battlefield in Hopewell, Virginia under Supplementary Agreement #CA4000-2-1017. The scope of work included the compilation and presentation of "a cultural overview of the City Point area that includes the placement of prehistoric and historic resources in the context of James River and Chesapeake archaeology." The following report presents this cultural overview of City Point, beginning with evidence for Paleo-Indian activity in the James River region and concluding with a consideration of the twentieth-century history and landscape of the City Point Unit of the Petersburg National Battlefield. Particular attention is paid to the role of the site as a protohistoric Appomattuck village; to the possibility that City Point is the location of the 1613-1622 English village of Charles City; and to the centrality of the African American experience at City Point from at least as early as 1635 through to the present.

Specific recommendations incorporated in the cultural overview include the necessity for a comprehensive archaeological survey of the City Point property to ascertain the location and preservation of significant buried resources, which can be drawn upon for future research and interpretation into the whole of human history at the site. Another critical recommendation of the report is the need to address the maritime resources associated with City Point, and the ongoing threats to their integrity, which include extensive looting of shipwrecks and material culture in the James and Appomattox Rivers in territory administered by the National Park Service, as well as the ongoing impact of erosion of the bluffs at City Point.

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Chapter One.
City Point in Regional Perspective

Introduction

Significant and irreplaceable cultural resources located at City Point represent a microcosm of the entirety of the human experience in the James River region, and collectively present an unparalleled opportunity for interpretation and education. Architectural remains and landscape features on the property speak to Virginia life from the eighteenth century to the present, while archaeological material from the approximately fifteen-acre property which encompasses the City Point Unit of Petersburg Battlefield indicates significant and continuous human activity from at least the middle Archaic period, 8,500 years ago, to the present. In addition to the eighteenth-century plantation house and the ample physical evidence for significant and symbolic Civil War activity, the site also contains extensive prehistoric cultural material and also served as the location for one of the earliest seventeenth-century English settlements outside of Jamestown.

Location and Environmental Overview

City Point is situated in the Fall Line transition of the Coastal Plain region of Virginia, where the tidal, estuarine coastal plain yields to the rockier lands of the Piedmont. In

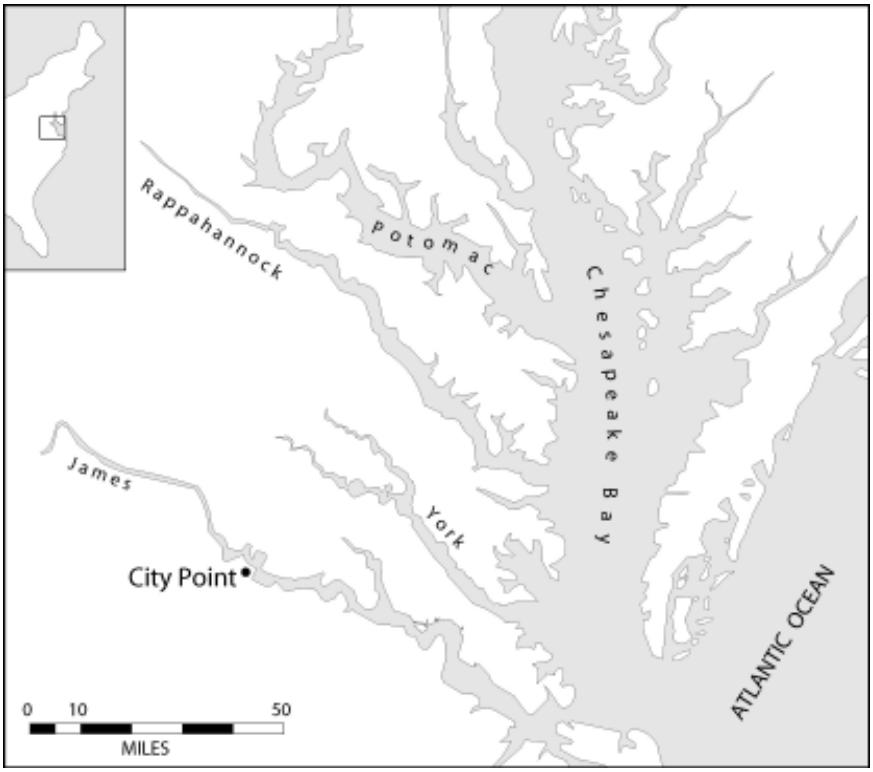

Figure 1. Location of City Point in the Chesapeake region (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

general, the location is fertile and was rich in floral and faunal resources during the prehistoric and early historic periods (Egloff 1987). Soils in the immediate vicinity of Appomattox Manor include Newflat silt loam, Pamunkey loam, and Wickham fine sandy loam (Jones et al. 1985). These soils are characterized by their location on gentle slopes, their fertility, and the fact that they are deep and well drained. The elevation of the lands immediately surrounding Appomattox Manor is approximately 45 feet above mean sea level, with the landscape characterized by the dramatic bluffs which overlook the James and Appomattox Rivers. The James River bounds the property to the north and east, while the Appomattox River runs to the west of City Point. The rivers themselves are tidal and brackish up to the Fall Line, contributing to the diverse range of resources present in the zone. Appomattox Manor itself sits on a level terrace atop the bluff above the confluence of the two rivers, while historic use of the waterfront, including significant Civil War activity, occurred principally on the low terrace running along the base of the bluffs on the James River. Both locales have been and continue to be impacted by erosional activity associated with the ebb and flow of the river system.

Archaeological Overview

The strategic and fertile location of City Point, on a high bluff overlooking the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers, long attracted human settlement and related activity, from evidence of Archaic Indian occupation 8,500 years ago to the cultural landscape of the current National Park property (Orr, Blades, and Campana 1985; Blades 1988). City Point itself was officially established as a settlement in 1826, al-

Figure 2. James River shoreline at City Point (Audrey J. Horning).

though strong documentary and archaeological evidence supports the existence of a small village—the original Charles City—and an important port at City Point during the second decade of English settlement in Virginia. This settlement, encouraged by Governor Dale in 1612, supplanted a dispersed Protohistoric Indian village likely affiliated with the Appamattuck sub-chiefdom of the Powhatan paramount chiefdom.

Although the settlement of Charles City at City Point was abandoned following the 1622 Powhatan Uprising, archaeological evidence hints at continued occupation, perhaps by a tenant of the first patentee, Captain Francis Eppes. Eppes himself is a significant individual in the history of Virginia, not just because he was active in the political and social world of the colony, but because he swiftly involved himself in the trade in African American lives which would become institutionalized as race-based slavery by the end of the seventeenth century. The entire historic period at City Point, from Eppes patent of 1635 through to the present, is significant in its association with the African American experience in North America. The individuals who maintained and possibly lived on Eppes' land at City Point during the second quarter of the seventeenth century may well have been the Africans for whom Eppes claimed headrights in 1635 (Nugent 1992).

In the third or fourth quarter of the seventeenth century, a substantial brick and frame one-and-half story "Virginia House" was constructed at City Point, probably for William and Sarah Eppes, close to the location of the extant Appomattox Manor dwelling (Blades 1988). The seventeenth-century structure was demolished and replaced by the 44 by 21 foot frame-and-brick Appomattox Manor in (or around) 1763. The manor house stood at the center of a plantation complex encompassing numerous outbuildings and port facilities, where it functioned within the wider James River economic and social milieu of the Revolutionary and antebellum periods. The port at City Point appears to have become increasingly busy throughout the eighteenth century, encouraging additional settlement and the construction of at least one tavern. Presaging its extensive military use during the Civil War, City Point hosted an American militia unit during the American Revolution and was involved in one brief skirmish in January 1781 (Lewes et al. 2003; Lutz 1957).

Increasing interest in the development of the port at City Point was marked by the official incorporation of the town of City Point in 1826 and the building of Virginia's second railroad line in the 1830s (Lutz 1957). Blessed by the advantages of a deep port and the new rail connections, City Point was well-positioned to capitalize upon commercial expansion in the antebellum period. City Point is best known for its role as a significant depot during the Civil War, and as General Ulysses S. Grant's headquarters during the final Petersburg Campaign. In 1864, the village and port was massively expanded as a supply depot and hospital location for Union troops, protected by a series of earthworks and fortifications. Comprehensive pictorial, cartographic, and textual sources document the nature and extent of the Civil War activity at City Point, activity which also left a clear and extensive physical traces.

The end of hostilities and the withdrawal of military personnel left the port and village scarred and nearly empty. The population of City Point rapidly contracted to pre-War levels and remained steady at only about 300 persons into the second de-

Figure 3. Appomattox Manor (Audrey J. Horning).

cade of the twentieth century. Meanwhile, the landscape served as a symbolic place of pilgrimage for adherents of both the Lost Cause and Federal triumphalism, marked by the early transfer of Grant's Cabin to Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, where it remained until 1981 (Ingle 1988; Orr 1982,1994). City Point itself struggled alongside other postbellum Virginia settlements until the arrival of the E.I. DuPont de Nemours Company in 1912. Purchasing 1,800 acres of the Eppes family Hopewell Farm lands, the company set up a dynamite manufacturing plant. In a few short years, the population expanded from 300 to over 40,000, with the City of Hopewell formally established in 1916 (Crump 1981; Lewes et al. 2003; Lutz 1957).

The twentieth-century history of City Point, part of the city of Hopewell (the name harkens back to the tradition that Captain Francis Eppes arrived in Virginia aboard a ship named *Hopewell*), is intimately bound with the lives of African American families—some descendants of individuals formerly enslaved on the Eppes plantation—who built a vibrant community in Hopewell as they labored in the chemical plants. Situated somewhat apart from this new town, its ethos, and its residents was the remains of the Appomattox plantation, still in the hands of the Eppes family. In 1979, the family transferred ownership of the lands to the National Park Service, which retains, maintains, and interprets the land as the City Point Unit of the Petersburg Battlefield for the benefit of the American public.

Interpretive Themes Reflected by City Point Resources

Archaeological resources at City Point provide information on, and the potential for interpretation of, the following significant themes in the Virginia past: environmental changes and human adaptations since the last glaciation; the development and spread

Figure 4. Grant's Cabin (Audrey J. Horning).

of the broad spectrum hunting and gathering economy and life style of the Archaic period; the spread of sedentism and the development of unequal, ranked societies during the Woodland period; the often fraught and globally significant initial interactions between Natives and Europeans, including French, Spanish, Portuguese, and English peoples in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; the establishment of a nationally significant early colonial settlement, probably fortified; the development of the plantation-based tobacco economy of the seventeenth century with its unique settlement patterns, vernacular architecture, and rise of a colonial elite; the concomitant process of cultural creolisation occurring as Native Virginians, Caribbean Indians, Africans, African-Caribbean, and European peoples engaged in uneasy yet often intimate daily interactions; the history of early African American life in the New World, from the arrival of the first Africans in 1619 to the institutionalization of race-based slavery in the late seventeenth century.

Further interpretive themes linked with significant material remains at City Point include the establishment of the great James River trading plantations by the colonial elite of the eighteenth century; the philosophical and physical prelude to and the impact of the War of Independence; the establishment of an urban port-based community in the second quarter of the nineteenth century; the unease of continued dependence upon race-based slavery and the growing economic divide between north and south in the antebellum period; the splintering of the young nation during the Civil War, the war's catastrophic effects upon landscape and its contrasting effects upon communities—from the triumph of emancipation to the horrific loss of life on both sides of the conflict; the economic and social struggles of postbellum Virginia; the creation of and struggle for control over a symbolic landscape of remembrance at City Point; the

Figure 5. James River at City Point (Audrey J. Horning).

growth of an urban manufacturing center of the twentieth century; the social impact of two world wars and a decline in American manufacturing; and finally, the perennial struggle over what histories to tell and how best to tell those histories which lies at the core of all discussions, plans, and projections of place-based National Park Service interpretation.

Conclusion: City Point in its Maritime Context

Central to each one of these concerns and broad historical themes at City Point is its maritime landscape. City Point is a maritime site. One way or another, all past human activities that have left a material trace at the site are inextricably bound with the presence of the James and Appomattox Rivers. Throughout human history at the locale, the rivers provided sustenance, transportation, communication, a convenient place to dispose of rubbish, and without a doubt, a geographical anchor and therefore cultural reference point for all who tarried on the shores and on the Point. The rivers have also swallowed sizable portions of the land at City Point, perhaps including evidence for the presence of Virginia's earliest occupants, some 10,000 years ago; and they continue to consume the bluffs supporting the fragile remains of Appomattox Manor situated atop buried traces of human actions accumulated for thousands of years. The recommendations which serve as the conclusion for this report focus in part on City Point's maritime landscape as a means of tying together the overwhelmingly rich interpretative resources of the site, while suggesting a course of action designed to both capitalize upon and protect the resources which are threatened by the same tie that binds them together: the James and Appomattox Rivers.

Chapter Two.
City Point in Prehistoric Context

Introduction

The advantageous natural positioning of City Point, as a flat-topped bluff lying above the confluence of two rivers, the James and the Appomattox, ensured a continual appeal for human activity. While as yet there is no known evidence for Paleo-Indian activity, the likelihood exists that City Point may well have appealed to Virginia's earliest residents. Certainly Native Americans actively utilized the area of City Point and Hopewell from approximately 8,500 years ago through to the arrival of English settlers in the early seventeenth century. Significant concentrations of Archaic and Woodland period material have been unearthed on the grounds of Appomattox Manor as well as in surrounding portions of City Point. It is highly likely that additional, undisturbed deposits of prehistoric materials are present within the property held by the National Park Service, and as such must be considered as a significant contributing element of its cultural resources. Furthermore, as discussed in this chapter and the following chapter, there is a strong possibility that previously unearthed material remains relating to a Late Woodland/Protohistoric occupation around Appomattox Manor may be indicative of the presence of a dispersed Appomattuck or Weanock Indian village present on the eve of the establishment of Bermuda/Charles City at City Point in 1613.

Paleo-Indian Period (12,000-10,000 BP)

Cultural activity in the Piedmont-Coastal Plain regions of Virginia extends back at least 10,000 years, with excavations at the Cactus Hill site in southeastern Virginia possibly pushing the date back to about 15,000 years (Beardsley 1998). The so-called Paleo-Indian period, characterized by the presence of small groups of hunter-gatherers, is generally ascribed to the 10,000-8,000 BC, or 12,000-10,000 BP (before present) time frame, during the end of the Pleistocene era. Palynological studies suggest that the cold climate of the time resulted in a vegetational landscape where conifers dominated over hardwoods. The appearance of the Virginia landscape was vastly different than at the present time, with the impact of the continental ice sheet, which still covered portions of eastern North America as far south as New York until about 12,000 years ago, reflected in drastically lowered sea levels and the boreal plant environment previously noted.

Considering the changes in sea level, the location of City Point relative to the James and Appomattox Rivers would have been very different from its current situation. In addition to the height of the bluff relative to the location and depth of the rivers, significant inundation and land loss would have occurred between the Pleistocene and the present. While it is not unlikely that significant material resources dating to the Paleo-Indian period may be present in the general City Point locale, it is clear that the

traces of any activity closer to the rivers of the time would have long since been eroded away or submerged beneath the increasing rivers.

Although Paleo-Indians elsewhere in North America relied upon the hunting of big game such as mastodon and bison, these animals appear to have been sparse if not entirely extinct in what is now Virginia by the time the first humans came to the region. Instead, moose, elk, caribou, and deer served as the focus for hunting activities, supplemented by exploitation of floral resources and small mammals and fish (Gardner 1986, 1989; Johnson 1996; Turner 1989). Throughout North America, Paleo-Indian occupancy is evidenced by the presence of two relatively uniform fluted point styles, the Clovis and the Folsom, both named after type-sites in New Mexico. These fluted lanceolate points served as spear points, the primary hunting weapon in the Paleo-Indian tool kit. Paleo-Indian toolmakers expressed a clear preference for high quality lithic materials, such as cryptocrystalline jaspers and cherts (Gardner 1986, 1989; Turner 1989). Toward the end of the so-called Paleo-Indian period, unfluted spearpoints (for example Dalton, Plano, and Hardaway) replaced the fluted varieties (Hranicky and Painter 1988, 1989; Mueller 1999).

Fewer than fifty Paleo-Indian sites have been located and recorded in Virginia, leading archaeologists to theorize that Virginia's human population of the late Pleistocene was quite small, perhaps only a thousand individuals (Turner 1989). One of two premier Paleo-Indian sites in Virginia, the Thunderbird site, is situated in Warren County in northwestern Virginia. The Thunderbird site, located and excavated under the direction of William Gardner, produced evidence of Paleo-Indian activity dating back to 9,200 BC. Centered on a jasper quarry and lithic reduction areas, the site also contained the ephemeral traces of a post-built structure. Gardner has identified a series of sites associated with jasper quarrying in the Thunderbird vicinity, which he has labeled the Flint Run Complex. According to Gardner (1989), the Flint Run Complex consists of four site types: the quarry itself; the reduction station where quarried materials are knapped into more portable tool "blanks"; the base camp incorporating living areas; and the base camp procurement area, where food and other resources are obtained to sustain activities in the base camp.

Figure 6. Fluted point from Virginia (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

The other premier Paleo-Indian site in Virginia is the Williamson site, located in Dinwiddie County. Like the Thunderbird site, the Williamson site is associated with quarrying activities. Fine-grained cherts were procured from this location, and turned into a variety of forms on site, presumably destined for trade as well as the use of those working the quarry (McCary 1975). Unfortunately, the site location is well known to looters, and much damage has been done to the deposits that remained after excavations carried out by Ben McCary in the 1970s. Finds from the Williamson excavations are housed in the Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary.

Paleo-Indian Activity in the City Point Vicinity

Evidence for Paleo-Indian activity in Prince George County consists only of thirteen known fluted projectile points found in the county (McCary 1983), suggesting that the locale, which lacks significant lithic resources, may have been used on a sporadic basis. The environment in the vicinity of City Point, as noted, was vastly different than what can be observed in the present day. The presence of glaciers as far south as New York, as previously noted, meant that temperatures were low and water levels in rivers such as the Appomattox and James were far lower than today, making these waterways more dynamic in their flow (Blanton, Kandle and Downing 2000). At present, there is no evidence for Paleo-Indian activity at City Point in particular, although the potential existence of such evidence should not be ruled out.

Archaic Period (10,000-3,200 BP)

The climate-warming, which had originally seen the retreat of the large Pleistocene fauna, continued, effecting an important lifestyle change and ushering in the next major cultural period in the region's prehistory: the Archaic (8,000-1200 BC). As the climate grew more temperate, the vegetation became more varied with the appearance of a mixed deciduous forest supporting a more diverse range of fauna and sub-flora. Sea level rose as northern glaciers melted. Human subsistence expanded from a primary reliance upon game to incorporate a wide variety of nuts, seeds, fish and shellfish, evidenced by a more diverse tool kit than that characteristic of the Paleo-Indian period (Custer 1990; Egloff and McAvoy 1989). It is during the Archaic period that we see clear evidence for extensive human activity in the City Point vicinity, both within the lands of Appomattox Manor, on the property associated with the Kippax Plantation site (Linebaugh 1995: 1), and on privately-owned lots discussed below.

Early Archaic Period

Continuity more than change seems to mark the Early Archaic period. Population densities were still low, technologies remained essentially the same as in the Paleo-Indian period, and the same sites continued to be utilized. Characteristic artifacts associated with the early Archaic period include corner-notched points (e.g., Palmer and Kirk) and points exhibiting a bifurcated base (e.g., LeCroy and St. Albans) (Carbone 1976; Inashima 1986; Mueller 1999). The introduction of notching is presumed to correlate with the introduction of the spear thrower, or atlatl (Gardner 1986), which doubled the distance a spear could be thrown while also increasing force. Chipped

stone celts and manos and metates were also introduced during the Early Archaic period. Evidence has also been found to indicate that the cremation of human remains became common sometime during the Early Archaic.

Early Archaic Activity at City Point

Evidence for Early Archaic activity in the general City Point region is sparse. Campana (1989) notes the recovery of a single Kirk Corner Notched point from City Point, while in 2002, archaeologists from the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR) at the College of William and Mary recovered an Early Archaic Kirk stemmed biface from a shovel test excavated as part of a Phase I survey of a municipal park on East Broadway known as Fort Park (Lewes et al. 2003). This two isolated finds could simply signify the use of the area for occasional hunting forays, as appears to be the case in the Paleo-Indian period, or it could signal the greater exploitation of inland areas occurring in the Early Archaic period.

Middle Archaic

Current interpretation of the transition between the Paleo-Indian and the Archaic period recognizes that more similarities than differences exist between the Paleo-Indian and Early Archaic (Gardner 1988, 1989). A much greater change can be seen in the archaeological record for the period known as the Middle Archaic, which extends roughly from 8,500 to 5,000 BP. During this period, the climate warmed and local human populations clearly increased, with a great variety of locales supporting habitation. This phase is materially characterized by the introduction of stemmed points such as Kanawha, Stanley, and Morrow Mountain I, followed by Guilford and Morrow Mountain II.

A significant change in the material record between the Middle Archaic and the preceding period involves the type of lithic materials exploited by Virginia inhabitants. While previously high-grade materials such as Flint Run jasper were selected, during the Middle Archaic individuals began using more locally available materials such as quartz and quartzite, which are clearly inferior in workability to the jaspers and cherts previously chosen. Such a transformation may relate to the increase in population corresponding to a restriction of settlement and catchment areas. Archaeological data indicates a much greater reliance upon fish and shellfish during this phase, as net sinkers are introduced into the local material culture. An increase in the exploitation of hickory nuts has also been noted for the Middle Archaic period (Blanton, Kandle, and Downing 2000, Egloff and McAvoy 1989; Inashima 1986; Mueller 1999).

Middle Archaic Activity at City Point

Excavations in the vicinity of the parking area at City Point carried out in 1980 uncovered clear evidence for Archaic activity within the bounds of the City Point Unit (Schwartz 1980). In addition to large quantities of quartz and quartzite debitage, diagnostic points including Morrow Mountain, Clarksville, Brewerton, and Orient types were recovered. The archaeologists from P/RA Research Inc. also reported the recovery of fragments of jasper and flint, much higher-grade lithic material than the

locally available quartz and quartzite. However, all their finds were from the plowzone layer, leading archaeologist Douglas Campana to suggest that the flint and jasper may have originated as ships ballast dumped any time between 1611 and the end of the eighteenth century (Campana 1989: 65).

Late Archaic

Throughout Virginia, the Late Archaic period (5000-3200 BP) has been associated with the presence of broad-bladed stone tools, the beginning of plant domestication, the occurrence of extensive shell middens and large rock hearths, the employment of storage pits, an increase in the type and variety of ground stone tools and a concomitant emphasis upon elaborate atlatl weights, the use of steatite to create vessels, and a subsequent increase in the complexity of social structure (Egloff and McAvoy 1989). In general, the period sees a stabilizing of the Holocene environment, an intensification and regularization of the exploitation of seasonal resources, and an expansion in population in the James River region (Campana 1989).

Late Archaic Activity at City Point

The late Archaic period appears to have been a time of intensified human activity in the Hopewell area. A series of lithic workshops were located along the Fall Line, including a substantial site (44PG381) located near the crossing of the Appomattox River by Virginia Route 10. Excavations at the site in advance of bridge-widening activities uncovered evidence for the production of Savannah River-type hafted bifaces from local quartzite cobbles (Stuck et al. 1997). Savannah River-type bifaces are broad and heavy, and represent the most common lithic artifact uncovered on Late Archaic sites throughout Virginia. Closer to the grounds of Appomattox Manor in City Point, a range of Late Archaic materials were recovered during Phase I and Phase II testing of a lot on Prince Avenue by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research in 2002, including a Bare Island-type biface and two Savannah River stemmed points (Lees et al. 2003). Because of the relative frequency with which Late Archaic period sites occur within Virginia, population sizes are presumed to have burgeoned.

Woodland Period (3200-400 BP)

Early Woodland Period

The next major prehistoric cultural period, the Woodland (c. 3200-400 BP), is generally divided into three phases—Early, Middle, and Late—extending (dependent upon region) until the seventeenth century and/or significant European contact and settlement. Growing sedentism related to increased reliance upon horticulture serves as the hallmark of Woodland occupation. Pottery is introduced during the Early Woodland phase and becomes widespread during the Middle Woodland period. Hunting technology changes with the introduction of the bow and arrow, marked by the appearance of small, triangular points designed to tip an arrow. The presence of Woodland period pottery accompanied by Piscataway projectile point in the assemblage from

the parking lot test excavations suggest a continuity of activity from the Archaic period through the Woodland period at City Point.

As with all transitions, the divide between the Late Archaic and the Early Woodland period (3200-2500 BP) is anything but sharp. Daniel Mouer (1992) has suggested that the Early Woodland period marks an increase in a semi-sedentary settlement pattern, with base camps beginning to function more as villages. Tribal territories apparently become more defined, while intertribal trade increases. The principal archaeological signature for the early Woodland period is the appearance of pottery. This change in cooking and carrying technology does not appear to have either precipitated or been precipitated by a major shift in subsistence.

Middle Woodland Period

By the Middle Woodland period (c. 2500-1100 BP), however, plant husbandry has become an integral component in subsistence strategies, and a variety of localized ceramic types can be discerned. A combination of increased social complexity, increased surplus production of foodstuffs, and increased storage capacity all appear to contribute to the establishment of a mainly sedentary lifestyle in the James River/Appomattox region. (Reinhart and Hodges 1992; Inashima 1986, 1987; Mueller 1999). Evidence from the Prince Henry Avenue lot recently tested by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research indicates a continued occupancy of the area from the Late Archaic through to the Middle Woodland, perhaps emphasizing continuity in use of the broader City Point landscape. By contrast, their testing in Fort Park revealed an isolated Early Archaic occupation, with a later scatter of Middle Woodland materials including Mockley shell tempered pottery, and a Potts style biface.

Evidence indicating Middle Woodland activity on the National Park Service property at City Point was unearthed during testing in advance of the installation of a gas pipeline to the Appomattox Manor house in 1993 (Fesler and Luccketti 1993). Lithics and pottery sherds dating from the Middle Woodland to the Late Woodland period were found in intact layers underlying the ground upon which the eighteenth-century dwelling was constructed, underscoring the presence of significant prehistoric occupation at City Point. The people who left behind traces of their presence in the City Point area during the Middle Woodland period may have been members of a "…group or set of related groups permanently occupying the upper/tidewater James and Appomattox Rivers" (Campana 1989: 77).

Late Woodland Period

The Late Woodland period in the Coastal Plain region is marked by the appearance of widespread sedentism and sociocultural complexity. As summarized by Dennis Blanton (2000: 25), Late Woodland life in eastern Virginia "represents a moderately intensive horticultural system layered upon a highly refined collector economy, arranged among minimally sedentary settlements, and organized into tribes or incipient chiefdoms." Horticulture and broad spectrum foraging appear to have been equivalent in providing subsistence, with horticulture linked to permanent village sites, and seasonal foraging activities marked by numerous small sites. Tribal organization and identity is clearly a

significant element of the political economy of the period. By the seventeenth century, 32 individual tribes or polities in the coastal plain and southern portion of the Delmarva Peninsula were organized as part of a complex chiefdom.

Late Woodland Activity at City Point

Archaeological evidence for Late Woodland activity in the City Point is varied. The 1980 work in the parking lot unearthed Late Woodland pottery, while test excavations prior to the installation of a gas pipe at the south wall of Appomattox Manor carried out under the direction of Garrett Fesler unearthed intact deposits containing a range of Woodland material, including characteristic Late Woodland ceramics (Fesler and Luccketti 1993), near a possibly associated hearth. From this small excavation, it is clear that intact and possibly extensive Woodland-period archaeological deposits exist on the bluff at City Point. The presences of three diagnostic Late Woodland/ Protohistoric ceramic types—Townsend, Gaston, and Potomac Creek—in assemblages from the City Point Unit strongly suggest that an Appomattox occupation was located on the bluff on lands currently administered by the National Park Service at City Point. While no evidence for Woodland structures has yet been found in excavations at City Point, the often-ephemeral nature of the archaeological evidence (small shallow postmolds) makes it easy to overlook, particularly given the small-scale nature of past excavations.

Evidence from beyond the boundaries of the National Park Service holding at City Point also suggests considerable Late Woodland/Protohistoric activity. In 2002, archaeologists from the College of William and Mary recovered a range of Late Woodland ceramics and lithics from testing of three lots on Pierce Street (Lewes et al. 2003), including a triangular hafted quartz biface and sand and grit tempered, simple stamped pottery of the Gaston tradition. Testing on Prince Henry Avenue also unearthed sherds of simple-stamped, grit tempered Gaston-type ware, which is datable

Figure 7. Late Woodland pottery (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

to the Late Woodland and Protohistoric periods (c. AD 1200-1600). Elsewhere in the City Point vicinity, two post-in-ground structures were uncovered at site 44PG381, atop the earlier Late Archaic quarry and workshop. North of the Appomattox River, site 44CF19 also yielded Late Woodland materials. The ethnohistoric record for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries complements the archaeological material by indicating significant, permanent settlements in the area broadly defined as the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers.

Conclusion

While the focus of archaeological research and public interpretation at the City Point Unit of the Petersburg Battlefield has long been on historic activity, particularly associated with the Civil War, the property itself contains significant prehistoric resources which "exhibits a pattern of intensive occupation through time" (Campana 1989: 85) and must be considered a major contributing element to the park's cultural history. Clear evidence supports continual activity from the middle Archaic period 8,500 years ago, while scattered artifacts suggest activity stretching back to the early Archaic period, 10,000 years ago. The considerable changes in the local environment and topography since the Paleo-Indian period makes it difficult to determine whether or not the area was inhabited at the time; however, the potential for Paleo-Indian remains at City Point cannot be ruled out. Perhaps the most intriguing elements in the prehistoric record at City Point, in terms of its later historic occupation, are those that relate to the Late Woodland period and the increasing complexity of social formations in the James Rive region on the eve of European contact, as discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Three.
City Point and European Expansion

Introduction

Understanding the role of City Point in the context of early European contact and settlement is central to assessing the significance of its archaeological remains. From a review of archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence, it is very clear that significant interaction between historically recognized Powhatan Indian groups and Europeans (Spanish, French, English, and Portuguese) occurred with increasing frequency throughout the sixteenth century. The advantageous location of City Point by the James River and Appomattox River, the importance of riverine travel, and the ethnohistoric documentation associating the locale with both the Appomattuck and Weanock Indians, both core sub-chiefdoms within the Powhatan paramount chiefdom encountered by the English in 1607, ensures that the property played a role in those early encounters, a role which is likely to have left a trace in the archaeological record.

European Exploration and Chesapeake Interactions

Direct contact between Virginia Indians and Europeans can be traced to the mid-sixteenth century, when a Spanish Jesuit mission was established on the York River during the period 1570-1572. However, Spanish, English, French, and Portuguese vessels began extensively plying the waters of the Atlantic and the eastern coast of North America from the late fifteenth century, precipitating the first contacts between Europeans and natives in the Chesapeake and wider region (Quinn 1974; Gleach 1997). For example, the voyages of Sebastian Cabot, son of explorer John Cabot, reportedly traversed the Atlantic coast from Newfoundland to Florida in 1508-1509, while English privateers extensively worked the waters all along the east coast throughout the sixteenth century. As discussed by David Beers Quinn, one French ship sailed into the Chesapeake Bay in 1546, and reported being met by over 30 canoes (Quinn 1974: 190). The Chesapeake natives traded a quantity of more than 1000 hides in exchange for goods such as metal tools and cloth. It is highly likely that knowledge of the far-flung French fur trade had reached the Chesapeake, resulting in the production of furs for trade and a concomitant desire for European goods which would have been absorbed into the material repertoire of the natives and perhaps formed part of a preciosity exchange system.

The effects of Spanish colonization were probably felt in the wider Chesapeake area not long after Juan Ponce de Leon's 1513 landing on the coast of Florida. De Leon's venture was followed by a series of violent incursions and settlement efforts, including Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón's 1526 settlement attempt at Sapelo Sound in present-day Georgia, where he and 350 of 600 settlers died within a two month period. That Spanish explorers were familiar with the Chesapeake Bay vicinity is

underscored by the appearance of the Bay on Spanish maps dating from the 1520s (Gallivan 2003a: 161; Lewis and Loomie 1953: 7).

The impacts of Hernando de Soto's 1539-1543 well-manned and brutal westward expedition, linked to major alterations in the social structure of a Number of southeastern Indian tribes, extended as far north as the Chesapeake, particularly in terms of the expedition's biological impact on native populations (one scholar, Saunders [2002], has referred to de Soto as a "biological wrecking ball"). In addition to the efforts of the Spanish, the French also were exploring and attempting to settle along the east coast, establishing a brief foothold on Parris Island, South Carolina under the leadership of Jean Ribault in 1562. The Spanish, led by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, who established the successful settlement of Santa Elena on Parris Island in 1566, supplanted the French on Parris Island. Santa Elena, excavated by Stanley South, has yielded material evidence for extensive contact between native Carolinians and French settlers (South 1991).

One of the more enigmatic and fascinating stories of Spanish-Virginia Indian contact is the extraordinary experience of "Don Luis de Valasco," a young native boy captured by a Spanish ship in the Chesapeake Bay in 1561. According to Spanish sources, the boy was taken first to Mexico, then educated at the court of Philip II in Spain, and then to Havana (Lewis and Loomie 1953). In 1570, he joined the effort to establish a Jesuit mission on the York River. Don Luis and the nine other men in the settlement venture were reportedly astonished at the conditions they found upon returning to Virginia: "We find the land of Don Luis in quite a another condition than expected, not because he was at fault in his description of it, but because Our Lord has chastised it with six years famine and death" (Quirós and Segura 1953: 89). The condition of the natives has been attributed to the widespread impact of European disease (Gleach 1997: 91) and also to the existence of protracted drought (Blanton 2000; Stahle et al. 1998). Shortly after his arrival in Virginia, Don Luis returned to his kinspeople, and later led an attack upon the mission. Although the Spanish sent a force against the Indians, killing at least 20 Algonquians, the mission was abandoned. Only Don Luis and a boy named Alonso survived from the original group, with Alonso living with the Indians for another year and a half.

The identity of Don Luis has long intrigued scholars, particularly the suggestion that he may have been Opechancanough, brother to the paramount chief Powhatan, Wahunsonacock. Regardless of his identity in the Powhatan hierarchy, it is clear that Don Luis played a significant role as, in the words of Martin Gallivan (2003a: 162), "a mediator between the world of Native societies in the Chesapeake and the coming invasion of Europeans by providing accounts of European colonial activities, including the military, religious, and economic forces of empire and their devastating effects on Native societies under Spanish rule." Such knowledge and its attendant insecurities undoubtedly penetrated inland to the groups living at the confluence of the Appomattox and James Rivers near City Point.

The location of the 1570-1572 Jesuit mission on the York River has yet to be uncovered, although it is likely to be located in the area now encompassed by Camp Peary outside of Williamsburg. While the mission was short-lived, it is likely to have had far-reaching impact in terms of direct contact between natives and the missionar-

ies, and the rapid spread of stories and likely material culture throughout the entire Chesapeake region including the City Point locale (Lewis and Loomie 1953; Gradie 1988, 1993). The recovery of so-called *Neuva Cadiz* drawn-glass beads from seventeenth-century contexts in Virginia, including Jamestown, may reflect material originating from the mission or other Spanish ventures into the Chesapeake. *Neuva Cadiz* beads are traditionally associated with Spanish exploration and settlement in the sixteenth century (Luccketti and Straube 1998, citing Lapham 1998).

Early English Settlement: The Roanoke Venture

Further ethnohistorical information regarding contacts between Europeans and natives in the Coastal Plain region can be gleaned from accounts of the unsuccessful efforts to colonize Roanoke in the 1580s. On the first expedition in 1584, organized by Sir Walter Raleigh, English explorers led by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe enlisted as translators two Algonquin-speaking Indians: Manteo, a Croatoan Indian, and Wanchese, a Manteo tribal member. During the month the explorers spent in North Carolina, the English explorers appear to have enjoyed cordial relations with the local Indians, principally a tribe led by Chief Wingina. The next expedition was first led by Sir Richard Grenville, but soon was taken over by Ralph Lane, a soldier seasoned by his involvement in the Munster Plantation in Ireland. Lane's 1585 venture initially continued the friendly relations with Wingina's tribe. Lane and his force of 100 men pushed northward and established relations with the Chesapeacks, part of the Powhatan chiefdom (see below). The peace was not to last, however. Lane, perhaps accustomed to the treachery of the Gaelic lords in Ireland, launched an attack on Wingina in July 1586, beheading the leader and precipitating the abandonment of the colony (Quinn 1974; Stick 1983).

The next and final effort was spearheaded by John White in 1587. The difficulties experienced by Lane at Roanoke led to Raleigh to the decide that this next expedition should land instead in the territory of the Chesapeacs immediately south of the Chesapeake Bay to set up the colony. However, following a rebellion (as reported by White) led by a Portuguese ship's pilot, Simão Fernandes, the ships landed back at Roanoke where their difficulties with Wingina's people continued. Ordering the colonists to shift "fifty miles into the main," White returned to England to fetch more supplies. Open conflict with the Spanish and the Portuguese prevented White from returning until 1590. The disappearance of the colonists during Governor White's absence continues to intrigue scholars and the public alike. Whether or not the colonists went to live with the Indians, as is commonly assumed, knowledge of the failed settlement must have spread throughout the Chesapeake world (Hulton 1984; Stick 1983; Quinn 1974).

Although Walter Raleigh did not personally join any of the voyages to the Outer Banks, he paid close attention to the organization of the ventures. Most importantly from the standpoint of the ethnohistoric record, Raleigh charged the scientist and mathematician Thomas Hariot and the artist John White with the task of recording and reporting upon all aspects of the local environment, including exploitable commodities and the nature of the local inhabitants. The writings of Thomas Hariot and the watercolors of John White constitute a critically important record of native society in the

Figure 8. John White's watercolor of Virginia Native (Hulton 1984).

Coastal Plain area, albeit a record filtered through an English lens (Hulton 1984). Additional documentation includes the writings of Ralph Lane, which emphasize his preoccupation with defense and what he perceived as Wingina's treachery. The arrival of Manteo and Wanchese in England with the first explorers provided Hariot with the opportunity to learn and translate the Algonquian language. Hariot (1972 [1590]) included 33 Algonquian words in his *A Brief and True Report*, later to be augmented by the writings of John Smith.

Hariot's writing provide extensive descriptions of the religion, agriculture, clothing, and houses of the Algonquians. Hariot interpreted the native religion as somewhat analogous to Christianity, with the Indians worshiping "one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternite." Hariot saw this commonalty as advantageous for the conversion of the natives to Christianity. The villages described by Hariot and painted by White were often surrounded by defensive palisades and included dwellings built of "small poles made fast at the tops in round forme after the maner as is used in many arbories in our gardens in England" (Stick 1983: 105). The increasing frequency of palisadaed villages during the Protohistoric period, as noted by Gallivan (2003a: 173) may relate to the uncertainties associated with increasing contacts with Europeans. Villages also incorporated designated ritual buildings and spaces as well as a range of fields. The inhabitants subsisted on an abundant and varied range of cultivars including corn, sunflower, and pumpkin, wild plants, fish and shellfish caught with a variety of weirs, nets, hooks and spears, and mammals including deer and bear. Social stratification and political hierarchies also appear to have characterized the polities in the Roanoke vicinity, as evidenced by Hariot's description of titles and

Whites depiction of individuals sporting a range of ornamentation from shells to pearl to copper.

While the precise applicability of sixteenth-century English descriptions of North Carolina natives to our understanding of the lifeways of the protohistoric population of City Point is debatable, the White watercolors in particular stand as our only visual record of Chesapeake native society on the eve of English colonization. Combined with early seventeenth century descriptions of the Powhatan Indians, discussed below, the record from Roanoke paints an image of vibrant and dynamic local societies long acquainted with European influences—for better and for worse.

Native Virginia Society on the Eve of Jamestown

Ethnohistorical information regarding Native settlement in the early seventeenth century can be gleaned from the writings of John Smith and other early English explorers. By the time of the arrival of the English at Jamestown in 1607, Native society in the Coastal Plain was organized as a paramount chiefdom, with Chief Powhatan, or Wahunsonacock, ruling over 32 individual polities in a territory encompassing over 6500 square miles from northern North Carolina, to the Eastern shore, as far north as the Potomac River and as far west as the Fall Line marking the transition between the Coastal Plain and the Piedmont region (Turner and Opperman 1993: 70). Population estimates range from 13,000 to 22,000 at the time of English arrival (Hodges 1993: 28). These figures may be much lower than those preceding European activities in the New World owing to the presumably devastating (if notoriously difficult to quantify)

Figure 9. John White's depiction of the village of Pomieoc (Hulton 1984).

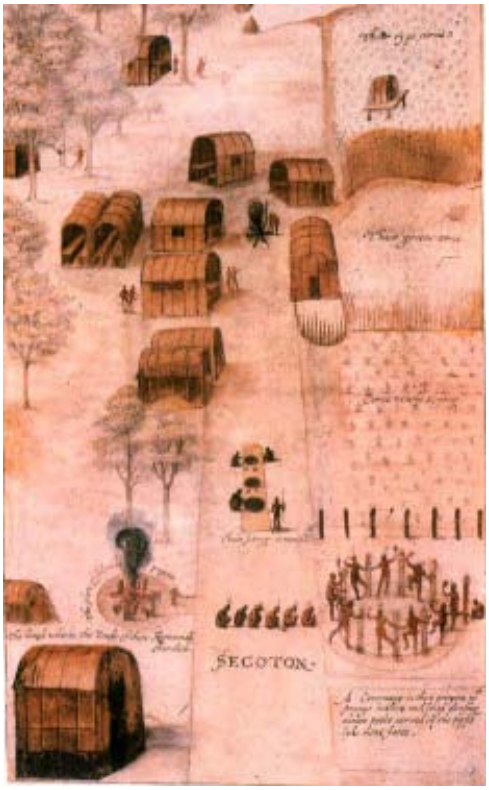

Figure 10. John White's depiction of the village of Secotan (Hulton 1984).

impact of the spread of European disease through the Native worlds of the Americas.

The historiography of the Powhatan Indians is as rich, varied, and often contradictory as are the early reports of Virginia Native society. From Lewis Binford's processual archaeological examination of the chiefdom in 1964 (Binford was the first to jettison the term confederacy in favor of anthropological notions of complex stratified societies) to Helen Rountree's extensive document-based studies of the 1990s, to Karen Kupperman's (2000) comparative ethnohistory, to the more recent archaeological compendium by Martin Gallivan (2003a) and the structuralist study of Margaret Holmes Williamson (2003), to the growing voices of Virginia's contemporary Indians (Waugaman and Moretti-Langholtz 2000), debate about the exact nature of Powhatan society promises to be healthy and unresolved for a long time to come.

One of the main paradoxes imbedded in understandings of Powhatan society is the disjuncture between documentary and archaeological evidence. Despite the richness of the ethnohistoric data in describing the social complexity of the Powhatan world, little has been revealed archaeologically to support the long-term presence of a paramount chiefdom in the Coastal Plain region (Gallivan 2003a; Hantman 1990; Scarry and Maxham 2002; Turner 1982 and 1992). Most historians and archaeologists have argued for the relative newness of the paramount chiefdom as a polity encouraged and established by Wahunsonacock himself, while oral tradition within the Powhatan descendant community points to the emergence of a complex chiefdom generations before Powhatan. What does seem clear is that Wahunsonacock inherited leadership over six sub-chiefdoms in the vicinity of the James River fall line and the

upper reaches of the York River, including the polity resident in the City Point vicinity, the Appamattucks. From that base, he extended control over another 26 polities, control which may or may not have had deep roots.

The dearth of physical evidence for long-term settlement hierarchy and status differentiation (often intuited from burial evidence) may owe more to the paucity of sites that have been investigated than to any false characterizations in the documentary record. In the last 15 years, considerable archaeological knowledge regarding the nature of Powhatan settlements has been unearthed in the coastal plain region which is beginning to address the seeming contradiction. In a recent reconsideration of the archaeological evidence for social hierarchy and inequality in the James River region, Gallivan argues that "the apparent disjuncture between ethnohistorically and ethnographially derived conceptions of Virginia's Indians largely disappears in the context of evidence recording a wholesale reorganization of Native social practices between AD 1200 and 1500" (Gallivan 2003a: 2). What is clear from the ongoing debate is the fact that the protohistoric occupants of the City Point vicinity clearly lived within an unequal stratified society with meaningful social, political, economic, and ideological ties to groups as far away as the Potomac River, the Eastern Shore, and northern North Carolina.

Evidence for Protohistoric Indian Activity at City Point

Smith's map of 1612 pinpoints three villages on the north side of the Appomattox river, which are labeled Appomattuck after the resident tribe. According to Smith, 60 men lived at Appomattuck, while Strachey reports 100. Rountree suggests that the name means either trap fishing or waiting place (Rountree 1989: 11). Although City Point historian Butowsky suggested that the Appamattucks "lived a simple life" (Butowsky 1978: 3), in reality, the nature of the Appamattuck political and social structure and its role within the larger Powhatan polity suggests a great deal of complexity. Discerning this complexity requires an understanding of the bias inherent in English descriptions of Native society and an ability to combine the ethnohistoric data with the evidence from archaeological investigations.

The Appamattuck chiefdom was one of the six inherited by Wahunsonacock, or chief Powhatan (Rountree 1989: 118), which formed the basis for his political power. The Appomattuck chiefdom itself was ruled by Coquonasum whose sister Opossunoquonuske ruled over one settlement within the chiefdom, as recorded by William Strachey (1612). Robert Tindall's map of 1608 places the "queen of mattica" in a location north of the Appomattox River and adjacent to the James River. The comportment and the leadership role of Opossunoquonuske clearly impressed the English, for nearly every reference we have of the Appomattox features this female leader. While one historian (Kupperman 2000: 94) suggests that the English referenced Opossunoquonuske as a Boudicca figure (referring to the female British warrior who led a rebellion against Roman rule), the English explorers had until recently been ruled by another female queen, Elizabeth I, and so the notion of a female political leader was certainly not unfamiliar to the English in Virginia.

The English explored the land in the vicinity of City Point shortly after their landing in Virginia in April of 1607. On May 8, after traveling up the James River, they "landed in the Country of Apamatica." As recorded by George Percy:

> …at our landing there came many stout and able savages to resist us with their bows and arrows in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backs beset with sharp stones and pieces of iron, able to cleave a man in sunder. Amongst the rest, one of the chiefest, standing before them cross-legged, with his arrow ready in his bow in one hand and taking a pipe of tobacco in the other, with a bold uttering of his speech demanded of us our being there, willing us to be gone. We made signs of piece, which they perceived in the end, and let us land in quietness (in Haile 1998: 93).

Three weeks later, they returned to the vicinity after choosing Jamestown Island as the locale for their initial settlement. Gabriel Archer penned a description of this meeting with Opossunoquonuske:

> …assending a pretty Hill, we sawe the Queene of this Country comminge in selfe same fashion of state as Pawatah or Arahetec; yea rather with more maiesty: she had an vsher before her who brought her to the matt prepared vnder a faiire mulberry tree, where she satt her Downe by her selfe with a stayed countenance… she is a fatt lustie manly woman: she had much Copper about her neck, a Crownet of Copper upon her hed: she had long black haire, which hanged loose downe her back to her myddle, which only part was Covered with a Deares skyn, and ells all naked (Haile 1998).

According to Smith, she was also a wife of Powhatan, further cementing political ties.

In 1611, as the English continued their incursions inland, the Appomattox began to lose patience. George Percy (1612) reported upon the fate of a group of men sent by Sir Thomas Gates "to search for minerals and to make further proof of the iron mines":

> And going by Apoamatake, they were called ashore by the savages; and began to fill their barricoes with water, and were easily thereunto induced, and after enticed by the savages up to their houses, pretending to feast them. But our men, forgetting their subtleties, like greedy fools accepted thereof, more esteeming of a little food than their own lives and safety. For when the Indians had them in their houses, and found a fitting time when they least dreaded any danger, did fall upon them, slew divers, and wounded all the rest, who within two days after also died (Percy 1922 [1612]).

Strachey's 1612 account implicates Opossunoquonuske in this event: "…a treacherous massacre which she practiced upon 14 of our men, whom she caused her people to invite up into her town to feast and make merry, entreating our men beforehand to leave their arms in their boat because they said how their women would be afraid else their pieces."

The Appomattox were to regret this event, which provided the English with a ready excuse to attack their settlements and claim the land. Hamor reports an attack on an Appomattox village, "killing some few of those Indians, pretending our hurt" (in Gleach 1997: 132), while Strachey (1612) notes that although Opossunoquonuske could "command some 20 able fighting men, howbeit her town we burnt and killed some of her people."

While the early English documentary sources clearly indicate that Opossunoquonuske's village was on the north side of the Appomattox River, the presence of considerable Late Woodland material at City Point itself suggests that a village may have been present on the bluff prior to English exploration. Archaeological evidence for Late Woodland/ Protohistoric activity in the City Point is varied, as previously discussed. The 1980 work in the parking lot unearthed Late Woodland/ Protohistoric pottery, while test excavations prior to the installation of a gas pipe at the south wall of Appomattox Manor carried out under the direction of Garrett Fesler unearthed intact deposits included characteristic Late Woodland/Protohistoric ceramics including pottery including Townsend, Gaston, and Potomac Creek wares (Fesler 1993: 18). While no evidence for Woodland structures has yet been found in excavations at City Point, the often ephemeral nature of the archaeological evidence (small shallow postmolds indicating where bent saplings were set into the ground to provide the support for a framework of timber likely covered with mats, bark, and/or hides) makes it easy to overlook particularly given the small-scale nature of past excavations.

Evidence from beyond the boundaries of the National Park Service holding at City Point also suggests considerable Late Woodland/Protohistoric activity. In 2002, archaeologists from the College of William and Mary recovered a range of Late Woodland ceramics and lithics from testing of three lots on Pierce Street (Lewes et al. 2003), including a triangular hafted quartz biface and sand and grit tempered, simple stamped pottery of the Gaston tradition. Testing on Prince Henry Avenue also unearthed sherds of simple-stamped, grit tempered Gaston ware, which is datable to the Late Woodland and Protohistoric periods (c. AD 1200-1600). Elsewhere in the City Point vicinity, two post-in-ground structures associated with Late Woodland simple stamped pottery were uncovered at site 44PG381, atop the earlier Late Archaic quarry and workshop. Stuck (2004) argues that "these remains represent a portion of a small village or community of scattered households… it is reasonable to believe that they were member of the Appamattuck tribe or chiefdom eventually encountered in the area by the first English colonists." North of the Appomattox River, site 44CF19 also yielded Late Woodland materials. The ethnohistoric record for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries complements the archaeological material by indicating significant, permanent settlement in the area broadly defined as the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers.

While Smith's map detailing the location and extent of Indian settlements in the Chesapeake region is absolutely invaluable, his use of standardized symbols for settlements may be misleading in considering the nature and appearance of Powhatan villages. Archaeological research throughout the Coastal Plain, as discussed by Turner and Opperman (1993: 72), has revealed the dispersed character of many Powhatan settlements: "a 'village' may in fact have been distributed in clusters over several hundred acres, an efficient way to utilize the horticultural landscape and minimize the periodic relocation of large portions of a local population." Therefore, it is not at all unlikely that the scattered evidence for Late Woodland/Protohistoric activity in the general City Point area may all be related to a single dispersed settlement likely associated with the Appomattucks or possibly the Weyanokes. Turner and Opperman note that such dispersed settlements would be archaeologically visible only by low

Figure 11. John Smith's map showing Native settlements (Smith 1612).

densities of artifacts found over a large area. The present state of knowledge for City Point supports this model and makes it imperative that considerations of the potential of the property to yield important information on Protohistoric occupation not be dismissed in light the of the scattered nature of deposits.

The impact of European settlement on the Natives of the City Point region, as throughout the Powhatan heartland, was devastating. The Appomattuck and Weyanoke Indians were early targets of colonial aggression because of the desire of the colonists to hold all the fertile lands lining the shores of the James River. In 1627, Captain Francis Eppes, who would patent land at City Point in 1635, was appointed the Commander of the forces gathered by himself and Captain Thomas Pawlett specifically to attack the Appomattuck and Weyanoke Indians. The combination of warfare, disease, and legal strictures ensured that not only did populations decline, but that the balance of political power would never return to Virginia Indians after the catastrophic losses during the 1644-1645 Anglo Powhatan War. By 1705, the Appomattox would be described by Robert Beverley (1947 [1705]) as "formerly a great nation though now an inconsiderable people." The eighteenth century saw the disappearance of the Appomattox as a recognizable political entity. It is possible that Appomattuck descendants were absorbed into other Virginia Indian tribes as well as into the broader colonial population.

Archaeological Evidence for Protohistoric Indian Activity in the James River Region

A considerable number of sites containing Protohistoric deposits have been investigated in the wider James River region that provide a general context for understanding the nature of deposits which may be present at City Point. The majority of these sites also became loci for English settlement in the early years of the Virginia colony, exemplifying the English practice of usurping and utilizing lands cleared and cultivated by Powhatan Indians.

Jordan's Journey (44PG302) and Jordan's Point (44PG1/300)

Further south of City Point on the James River lies the site of Protohistoric Indian village at Jordan's Point. Excavated by Virginia Commonwealth University, the site encompasses an early seventeenth-century English settlement, Jordan's Journey, atop the traces of what was probably a Protohistoric Weyanoke/Weanock village, albeit one not named specifically on early English maps. Extensive excavations on the point, which juts out into the bay created by the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers at City Point, unearthed a range of elliptical post-in-ground houses, burials, and a series of pit features across a broad territory which has been divided into several different archaeological sites (Mouer et al. 1992). The dispersal of the features underscores the dispersed character of protohistoric Powhatan settlements. The excavated features did not contain any European trade goods, which suggest that the village was abandoned prior to the arrival of the English, if not the Spanish. The presence of cleared, fertile agricultural land on the point no doubt served as an enticement for English settlement on the point sometime after 1619.

Flowerdew Hundred (44PG41/65)

Evidence from Flowerdew Hundred, later the site of Governor Yeardley's settlement, indicates continual Native American occupation from the Paleo-Indian period to the years just immediately preceding English settlement on the south side of the James. Excavations in 1982 recovered brick fragments from a series of hearths associated with Protohistoric Weanock Indian activity, suggesting that the lands was still actively used in the years between 1607 and 1618, when Yeardley began his settlement (Deetz 1993: 32). Immediately underlying the rectangular enclosure built by Yeardley and William Peirsey's settlers were a series of small stakeholes interpreted as evidence for an Indian palisade in the same riverside locale (Deetz 1993: 31). The difficulty of discerning Native from English features because of their close temporal and spatial associations was noted by the excavator, Norman Barka: "since the settlement was built over an Indian village, it is impossible at times to distinguish between English and Indian postmolds" (Barka 1993: 326). The site may well have appealed to the English because of its recent occupation, as noted by James Deetz, "by the time the first English settlers arrived, the local Indian population almost certainly had withdrawn from that part of the James River valley, leaving behind cleared fields that would have been taken over by the Europeans" (Deetz 1993: 32).

The closeness of the two settlements is reflected in the artifactual record, as de-

scribed by Barka: "…27, 368 artifacts were found within the Enclosed Settlement site… approximately 64% are European derived and date to the period of the Enclosed Settlement, and 35% are pre-site or Indian in origin" (Barka 1993: 330). Despite the confidence of the excavator in separating the use of these objects as exclusively Native or European, it is far more likely that a percentage of the European objects may well have entered the material realm of the Weanock occupants, just as the English were quite likely to have incorporated elements of the Powhatan material culture into their own repertoire. At the very least, Native ceramics should be present as a direct reflection of the trade in the contents of those pots: food, so desperately sought by many early colonists.

Hatch Site (44PG51) and the Maycock Site (44PG40)

Excavations at the extensive Prince George County site known as the Hatch site recovered a mixture of clearly Native features including structures and human and animal burials, as well as three earthfast dwellings interpreted as colonial structures. A variety of pit features have been attributed to the Native occupation, believed to be affiliated with the Weyanoke/Weanock Indians as they contain a mixture of Indian and European objects (Hodges 1993). The excavation of Native burials at the Maycock site, also in Prince George County included one individual who was interred with a shell bead necklace employing iron wire (Hodges 1993; Turner 1990), again illustrating material linkages between natives and newcomers.

Chickahominy River Survey

In the late 1960s, archaeologists from the College of William and Mary under the direction of Norman Barka conducted an extensive archaeological survey of sites along the lower Chickahominy River. A variety of prehistoric and protohistoric Native sites were located and several were partially excavated. Although the results of this survey have yet to be published, the materials are finally undergoing analysis under the direction of Norman Barka and Martin Gallivan. Protohistoric human remains and related archaeological materials are believed to be associated with the Chickahominy polity, and promise to yield significant new insight into the nature of political relations during the Protohistoric period in Virginia, as the Chickahominies were the only peoples in the Coastal Plain of Virginia who were not subsumed into the Powhatan paramount chiefdom.

Paspahegh/Cinquoteck (44JC308)

Near Jamestown, an extensive Late Woodland village believed to be related to the protohistoric Paspahegh settlement of Cinquoteck was archaeologically investigated in advance of the construction of the Governor's Land housing development. A total of forty-five structures and 21 burials were excavated. Three of these burials (one primary and two secondary) contained copper objects including tubular beads and pendants. Compositional analysis of the 31 copper objects from these burials revealed that 23 were made from European copper, which may have been traded through Native groups in the Southeast or possibly even obtained directly from European

explorers presuming they predate the Jamestown settlement (Hodges and Hodges 1994; Fleming 1996; Straube and Luccketti 1996). The Paspahegh burials underscore the social complexity of Powhatan life, revealing distinctive mortuary patterning interpreted as reflected at least three individual social rankings (Hodges and Hodges 1994; Luccketti et al. 1994). Gallivan (2003a) suggests that the increasing complexity on Powhatan mortuary practices evidence at Paspahegh is directly related to European contact, although far more evidence from pre-Contact mortuary deposits is needed to test this theory.

Significant new thinking resulting from the ongoing excavations at the site of the James Fort on Jamestown island, sponsored by the Association for the Preservation for Virginia Antiquities, highlights the importance of the copper trade between the English and the Powhatans (Mallios and Emmett 2004; Mallios 1998; Hudgins 2004). Long recognized as a critical element in expressions of rank in Powhatan society, copper was a commodity and preciosity underscoring Powhatan power in the Chesapeake and beyond. The flooding of the market with English copper may have ensured the survival of the English in the early years of the colony, as argued by Hantman (1990). However, the influx destabilized the native trade, which itself was founded upon a delicate balance of reciprocal relations between the Powhatan tribes and the Siouan-speaking Monacan and Manohoac tribes to the west and northwest. The Monacan and Manahoac controlled access to copper sources in the Blue Ridge and may have also served as the conduit for copper originating as far away as the Great Lakes (Blanton and Hudgins 2004; Hantman 1990; Potter 1989).

The Paspahegh settlement extant at the time of the English landing at Jamestown was to last only three more years. As the closest Powhatan village to the struggling English settlement, its corn stores were the first to be depleted by English demands.

Figure 12. John White's depiction of a Native man adorned with a copper gorget (Hulton 1984).

While their first meeting with the English on May 4, 1607, led by Wowinchopunk (whose appearance impressed the English as he approached "painted all black with horns on his head") was reportedly cordial, relations rapidly deteriorated with raids commencing only a few weeks later. The Paspaheghs agreed peace with the English in mid-1609, but the peace was short-lived. The increasing movement of the English beyond the confines of Jamestown Island was rightfully perceived as a threat by the Paspahegh and other Powhatan groups, who re-launched attacks on the English. The attacks were led by Wowinchopunk, who served in the dual capacity of warrior and werowance (warriors were often separate from the political leaders in Powhatan society). John Smith described Wowinchopunck as "one of the mightiest and strongest salvadges that Powhatan had under him" (Smith 1953 [1612]: 67). The end came for the Paspahegh in August of 1610, when George Percy and a force of 70 burned the village, killed a number of its inhabitants, and captured and killed the queen and her children (Rountree 1989: 76, 1990:55-56).

Williamson (2004: 51) has recently suggested that because the English had effectively settled within the territory of the Paspahegh, that Chief Powhatan considered the settlers to be of the Paspahegh. As such, the Paspahegh were denied the considerable assistance of the forces of the paramount chiefdom. The problem of the English was initially perceived as a regional concern for the Pasbehegh to sort out internally, reflecting the uneasy balance of power maintained by Powhatan over the subordinate tribes/ sub-chiefdoms.

The archaeological evidence from Paspahegh/Cinquoteck underscores Turner and Opperman's model of dispersed settlement, as the extent and the significance of the occupation was not pinpointed during a series of Phase I and Phase II surveys, only coming to light when extensive mechanical stripping of plow zone soils revealed a variety of domestic buildings, pit features, and multiple burials (Turner and Opperman 1993: 75). Again, this dispersed settlement pattern has implications for an accurate reading of Protohistoric features and artifacts found scattered through the City Point vicinity. The placement of Paspahegh at the confluence of the James and Chickahominy Rivers also is suggestive for City Point, considering the similarities in the choice of location.

Kiskiack

Another Powhatan village that was perilously close to the Jamestown settlement was Kiskiack. Situated on the York River less than ten miles from the English settlement, the Kiskiack managed to keep hold of most of their territory until 1624. Recent archaeological survey of the 10,000 acres held by the United States Navy as part of the Yorktown Naval Weapons station outside Yorktown recently turned up evidence for 20 sites dating to the Protohistoric period. Like other Powhatan villages, the Kiskiack "village" (noted on early maps including that of John Smith) was actually a series of dispersed but related settlements. Test excavations at twelve of these twenty sites unearthed a variety of goods presumed to have come from Jamestown, including copper, lead shot, and English flint (Blanton and Hudgins 2004). On the basis of findings of sheet copper in middens associated with Kiskiack occupancy, Blanton and

Hudgins (1991) argue that the English had so completely flooded the Native copper market that it had become thoroughly devalued in the Powhatan within the first decade of English arrival.

Werowocomoco

Perhaps the most significant protohistoric site to be investigated is Werowocomoco on the York River in Gloucester County. Believed to be the seat of Wahunsonacock, or Chief Powhatan, until his move to Orapaks (probably near today's Bottom's Bridge in New Kent County) in 1609, the site is situated adjacent to Purtan Bay on the York River as indicated on Tindall's 1608 map and is best known as the locale for the infamous meeting between John Smith and Powhatan when Smith believed himself to have been rescued by the paramount chief's daughter Pocahontas. Most interpretations of this event view it as a means of Powhatan first impressing Smith with the chief's power, and then employing a ceremony to recast the English captain as a werowance subject to Wahunsonacock within the Powhatan sociopolitical hierarchy.

First investigated in 1977 by Daniel Mouer, the site was not confidently identified as Werowocomo until 2002 following an intensive survey of the 50-acre property (Turner 2003). Currently, research excavations at the site are ongoing, carried out by a team including archaeologists, Virginia Indians, and the landowners. Materials collected from the surface of the property and excavated from subsurface contexts include a wide range of Late Woodland and Contact-period lithics and simple stamped and impressed shell-tempered pottery; European copper beads and copper scrap, and European glass beads. The material evidence clearly highlights a dense, intensive occupation of the site, with occupation stretching back into the pre-Contact period.

A series of landscape features at Werowocomoco suggest an intentional manipulation of the landscape to serve political and ideological purposes (Gallivan 2003b, pers. comm.). Such a manipulation involving careful use of natural topography as well as a system of ditches and berms supports the view of Powhatan as a savvy individual well able to manipulate his surroundings to reify his social and political status over the paramount chiefdom and over the English. The possibility that a series of D-shaped figures drawn at the location of Werowocomoco on the 1608 map sent by Pedro Zuniga to the Spanish King Philip III portrays an extensive system of enclosures has recently been suggested (Gallivan 2003b: 7).

According to the documentary record, Chief Powhatan left his residence at Werowocomoco for Orapaks, situated near present-day Richmond, in 1609. Archaeological evidence at the site suggests that again, the English were quick to seize upon the potential of a cleared landscape, with a colonial occupation of the site continuing into the eighteenth century. Continuing research at Werowocomoco has the potential to significantly alter and expand our archaeological understanding of Powhatan complexity, while providing a long overdue, material understanding of "Native perspectives on colonial encounters in the Chesapeake by expanding this frame of reference beyond an event-based perspective centered on the colonizers" (Gallivan 2003b:1)

Conclusion: City Point as an Appamattuck village

The century between first European contact with Native Virginians and the establishment of the Virginia settlement at Jamestown in 1607 is a fascinating and turbulent period of cultural conflict and cooperation rife with intended and unintended consequences that continue to reverberate into the present. Understanding the structures of Native society before, during, and after the initial influences of Europeans is a topic of intense debate and discussion which reflects the broader concerns of anthropological endeavor: why are people and cultures different, and how do those cultures change? Resources present at City Point strongly suggest the presence of a dispersed Protohistoric village on the land that juts out into the James and Appomattox Rivers. As discussed earlier in this chapter and also in the next chapter, the location played a significant role in early contacts between the English and the Appomattuck people, contacts which ultimately shaped and the experiences of both cultures over the next half century and arguably to the present. The advantageous location of City Point by the James River and Appomattox River, the importance of riverine travel, and the ethnohistoric documentation associating the locale with both the Appomattuck and Weanock sub-chiefdoms within the Powhatan paramount chiefdom encountered by the English in 1607, ensures that the property played a role in those early encounters, a role which has left significant traces in the archaeological record.

Chapter Four.
City Point in the Context of Early English Settlement

Introduction

The most significant if as yet unrecognized element of the cultural resources at City Point relates to its role as the location of one of Virginia's earliest settlements, Charles City. Created by Sir Thomas Dale in 1613 as Bermuda City, the settlement of Charles City (renamed in 1617) appears to have been extensively damaged in the 1622 Powhatan Uprising, and subsequently abandoned. Despite its short existence, Charles City is an exceptionally significant site in its role as an early colonial settlement. The potential for archaeological remains related to Charles City surviving on the grounds of Appomattox Manor are quite high. The location matches recently discovered map data, and concurs with a reanalysis of documentary evidence related to the site. The fact that the land currently administered by the National Park Service remained in the hands of the Eppes family and principally served as an agricultural landscape (with the obvious exception of the Civil War years) bodes well for the preservation of subsurface deposits.

Because Charles City was situated at an interface location between English settlements and Powhatan Indians, combined with its riverine location and importance in the Protohistoric period, its archaeology has the potential to address some of the most critical issues imbedded in the study of cultural relations in early Virginia. Following is a review of the background to English colonization, the documentary, cartographic, and archaeological evidence for the placement of Charles City at City Point, and a discussion of evidence from other early colonial sites, including Jamestown, Jordan's Journey, Martin's Hundred, and Flowerdew Hundred to provide the context for understanding the significance and potential appearance of the Virginia Company-period archaeology at City Point.

Background for English Settlement in the Chesapeake

Efforts to gain a foothold in the Americas were begun by the English during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as discussed in the previous chapter. Envious of the vast riches and profitable lands that Spanish conquistadors had wrested from the native peoples of Mesoamerica and South America, and also recognizing the need for strategic defense against further Spanish expansion, the queen turned her gaze upon the New World, encouraging Sir Walter Raleigh in his ultimately unsuccessful efforts to establish an English colony on Roanoke Island in 1585 and again in 1587. War with Spain halted any further efforts, and it would not be until 1604, when the sixteen-year-long Anglo-Spanish war ended, that England would again ponder the promise of the New World. Regardless of the spectacular failure of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the threat of Spain remained very real, particularly with Catholic Ireland immediately on the doorstep of England.

With the well-learned lessons of Raleigh's under-funded colonization attempts, the newest effort to colonize Virginia (named for Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen) was to rely upon the collective wealth of a group of investors known as a joint stock company, rather than upon one man's fortune. Numerous adventurers pledged to throw themselves into the exploration and colonization of North America, driven by a desire for profit. The recently-formed Virginia Company of London petitioned King James I in 1605, and in the following year received a charter for the planting of a settlement in Virginia. A second division of this joint stock company, based in Plymouth, was poised to colonize the northerly reaches of Virginia above the 41st parallel. Backed by London capital, members of the Company, predominantly merchants and gentlemen, set about planning their ventures.

The London Company identified three primary goals underlying the planned colonization efforts: "first, to preach and baptize into Christian Religion… to recover out of the Armes of the Divell" the native inhabitants; "Secondly, to provide and build up for the publike Honour and Safety of our Gracious King and his Estates… by transplanting the ranckness and multitude of increase in our people, " and third, to ensure "the appearance and assurance of Private commodity to the particular undertakers by recovering and possessing to themselves a fruitfull land, whence they may furnish and provide this Kingdome, with all such necessities and defects… under which we labour, and are now enforced to buy, and receive at the curtesie of other Princes, under the burthen of great Customs" (Brown 1890: 339-340). New World settlements were designed to foster the conversion of natives to Christianity and expected to serve as an outlet for the perceived over population of England, but most importantly were expected to yield great profits for the London Company and for the Crown following the Spanish model.

The Virginia Company's colonial venture began in December 1606, when three ships, the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery*, carrying a total of 104 men and boys, were dispatched across the Atlantic under the command of Captain Christopher Newport. Landing in April at Cape Henry where the James River empties into the Chesapeake Bay, a two-week expedition resulted in the choice of what became known as Jamestown Island as the location for their principal settlement. Although the settlers have been accused of "ignorance or carelessness" in disregarding "the warning against 'a low or moist place because it will prove unhealthfull'" (Reps 1972: 27), the choice of the Island, however brackish the water, fulfilled a number of necessary conditions. The uninhabited island was defensible, and contained a deep harbor close to shore. The site itself, located thirty miles inland, also fulfilled the necessary conditions of the English model of settlement, which valued central location over accessibility for overseas trade. Despite the drawbacks inherent in this chosen location, the Virginia Company of London settlement fared better than the settlement planted by the Virginia Company of Plymouth, at Sagadahoc on the Kennebec River in Maine. The Maine colony survived for less than a year after the settlers had landed there in August 1607.

The struggles of the colonists in the first few years at Jamestown are well known. Disease, unrest, spoiled provisions, fire, and simple unfamiliarity with the local environment devastated the small colony, which initially endured almost daily assaults from

local Native Americans. Widespread famine in the winter of 1609-1610 killed hundreds of settlers. Those few who survived, subsisting upon "those Hogges, Dogges, and horses that were then in the colony, together with rats, mice, snakes or what vermin or carrion soever we could light on," thankfully boarded a vessel captained by Sir Thomas Gates which had brought new settlers to the colony. Witnessing the appalling condition of the settlement, Gates turned his ship around and headed back for England, only to meet three more ships arriving under the leadership of Governor Lord De La Warr. All four ships returned to Jamestown Island, salvaging the colony for England.

Not until the following year, when De La Warr's second in command Sir Thomas Dale arrived, did the fortunes of the tiny colonial settlement begin to turn for the better. One of Dale's first actions was to institute martial law over the fractious group of settlers, which included gentlemen as well as craftsmen and laborers. By 1614, the colony was producing its own food supply and engaging in trade with the Dutch. The growing strength of the colony, combined with the marriage of John Rolfe and Pocahontas, daughter of the paramount Powhatan chief Wahunsonacock, eased tensions between the English and the Powhatan Indians. Perhaps more importantly from the perspective of the London-based Virginia Company members, a profitable commodity emerged from the marshy Tidewater landscape: tobacco.

First developed around 1614 by John Rolfe through the cultivation of the West Indian *Nicotiana tabacum* strain rather than the native Virginian *Nicotiana rustica*, four barrels of tobacco were shipped Rolfe on his journey to England in that same year, an event labelled "by far the most momentous fact in the history of Virginia in the seventeenth century" (Bruce 1907: 566). George Yeardley, who became Deputy Governor in 1616, actively encouraged marketing of Virginia's most potent "earthly treasure," tobacco. So much tobacco was planted as a result of Yeardley's encouragement that the following year colonist Samuel Argall reported finding "the marketplace, and streets, and all other spare places planted with tobacco" (Barbour 1986: 535). Prior to Yeardley's endorsement of tobacco cultivation, Ralph Hamor exhorted new colonists to plant the "valuable commoditie of Tobacco… which every man may plant; and with the least part of his labour, tend and care will returne him both cloathes and other necessaries" (Hamor 1957: 24). The Virginia Company had finally found its long sought economic saviour in the drug, yet—significantly—they did not halt continued efforts to develop other marketable commodities, and even encouraged settlers to diversify their crops. Company instructions from 1621 specifically state that colony officials were not to allow artisans "to forsake ther former occupacons for planting Tobacco or such useless comodyties " (Kingsbury 1906-1935: I: 424).

The years 1618 and 1619 were momentous for the small Virginia colony. Under a new charter ratified by the Virginia Company, the colonial settlement was accorded a representative government, while martial law was abandoned in favor of an English-style judicial system. Land ownership policies were re-adjusted to allow for individual ownership of land, with any profits gained going to the landowner, rather than to the Company or the colony as a whole. Known as the headright system, the new policy granted fifty acres of land in the new colony to any immigrant who paid his or her passage and lived in the colony for at least three years. Those entrepreneurs who paid

the passage of another would also received fifty acres for each indentured servant that they funded, which provided such entrepreneurs with both land and the labor needed to work the land. This system would later be exploited by Captain Francis Epes, who patented land at City Point with the headrights gained from paying the passage of thirty-four individuals.

Reforms under the new charter also allowed for the granting of "particular plantations" to groups of investors, paving the way for the establishment of corporate settlements such as Martin's Hundred, just south of Jamestown on the James River. On July 30, 1619, the first representative assembly convened in the church at Jamestown. One month later, the face of the Virginia colony changed forever when a Dutch ship arrived in the colony bearing approximately twenty African prisoners, immediately sold into servitude at Jamestown. The paradoxical foundations of freedom and slavery were laid almost simultaneously at Jamestown in the summer of 1619.

Activity at City Point: Location of Charles City?

Scholarly and popular emphasis upon Jamestown as the most significant site of early English Virginia has often overshadowed the role played by other locales in the early period of English settlement. City Point itself appears to have been the locus for a very important and barely understood early outlying settlement. The advantageous nature of the physical location, with its defensible promontory and fertile soils, clearly proved attractive to generations of Native Americans. The adjacent deep anchorage in the James River added an additional attraction for historic-period settlement. Indeed, local tradition asserts that the reports of Sir Christopher Newport's foray up the James River following the landing at Cape Henry in May 1607 indicate that Newport felt City Point to be the most auspicious location for the new settlement (Butowsky 1978: 2). However, a closer reading of the documentary record indicates no such interest in City Point (see Blades 1988).

Whatever interest Newport may or may not have had in the City Point locale, its salubrious qualities were certainly known, with evidence pointing toward the construction of a village in the second decade of the seventeenth century. While the confidence of local historians Calos, Easterling, and Rayburn (1993:1) in asserting "City Point was founded in 1613 and is the oldest continuously occupied English settlement in the United States," is probably misplaced, the balance of evidence does suggest that City Point was chosen as the location of Bermuda/Charles City.

The year 1611 witnessed Sir Thomas Dale's establishment of Henrico, north of City Point, and in the following year, another settlement at Bermuda Hundred on the north side of the Appomattox River. Dale also proposed the establishment of Bermuda, or Charles City, described by Ralph Hamor as "a business of [the] greatest hope ever begun in our territories there" (Hamor 1957 [1615]). In addition to this "greatest hope" for the advancement of English settlement in Virginia, Dale had another, political, reason for establishing a settlement in the territory of the Appomattuck Indians: retribution for the attacks endured by the English at the hands of the Appomattucks. The new settlement was to be as much a symbol of English power and authority over the Powhatans as it was designed to glorify the colonial enterprise.

Bermuda City was begun under the direction of Sir Thomas Dale, who "duly considering how commodious a habitation and seat it may be for us, took resolution to possess and plant it" (Hamor in Haile 1998: 826). John Rolfe (1971 [1616]) echoes the strategic location of Bermuda/Charles City, describing it as "a place so called there by reason of the strength of the situation, were it indifferently fortified." Although historian Harry Butowsky (1978) does not discuss the possibility, strong documentary evidence locates the site of Bermuda or Charles City at City Point.

One compelling piece of evidence situating Charles or Bermuda City at City Point is contained within a recently-discovered Dutch chart of the James River, believed to depict the region as it was reported in 1617. This chart, attributed to Johannes Vingboons, locates "Bermotho Citie" on a piece of land jutting out into the James River on the south side of the Appomattox River. The settlement is clearly distinguished from the settlement of Bermuda Hundred on the north side of the Appomattox. Bermuda City is indicated by three buildings, presumed not to be a literal representation, but rather indicative of a settlement (Jarvis and van Driel 1997; Lees et al. 2003).

The scattered but significant evidence for Late Woodland Native activity at City Point, as previously discussed, also supports the establishment of an English settlement in the same locale. A locale recently abandoned by Indians would have saved extensive effort on the part of English settlers. Rather than having to hew a settlement out of virgin forest, as so often perceived in popular imagination, taking over an established settlement meant not only the presence of a cleared landscape, but potentially also some extant buildings, fields, and landing sites along the James or Appomattox rivers which could have been used during the process of setting up the new settlement. The English settlement at Jordan's Journey, discussed below, was superimposed directly atop a Weanock village as revealed by the presence of oval post-in-ground

Figure 13. Map by Johannes Vingboons showing "Bermotho Citie" at City Point (Jarvis and VanDriel 1997).

structures overlain by rectangular earthfast buildings dating to the 1620s (Mouer et al. 1992; Turner and Opperman 1993). The presence of prime agricultural land attracted both the Native and English settlers at Jordan's Point, and is likely to have also attracted settlement to the bluffs above the James and Appomattox Rivers at City Point. The quickness of English settlers in adopting Indian crops such as maize as well as methods of hand cultivation accompanied their willingness to take over the same lands that had supported Native horticulture.

The documentary record underscores the difficulties experienced by the settlers at Bermuda (Charles) City. Ralph Hamor complained that those who labored at Charles City and Bermuda Hundred received "very little allowance of clothing and victual" to support them in building the new settlements. Hamor himself left Virginia for England in 1614, not to return again until 1617. The situation at Charles City clearly did not improve during his absence. In March 1617, Hamor wrote that "we of Charles Hundred demanded our long-desired freedom from that common and general servitude," a request which was ultimately granted by Governor Yeardley. A year later, Hamor described Charles City as consisting only of "six houses, much decayed" (Haile 1998: 907). By the time of the 1619/1620 census, the settlement first known as Bermuda City had been renamed Charles City. Twenty-seven men, seven women, and three children inhabited the settlement. The census suggests that despite their freedom from servitude to the Company, the small group was living on the edge, with no horses and only one bull and three cows amongst them all (McCartney 1999: 181, 182).

The precarious situation of the struggling settlement of Charles City contributed to its demise, with all documentary evidence suggests that the small village was destroyed during the 1622 Powhatan Uprising. According to George Yeardley, commandant at Bermuda Hundred and Bermuda/Charles City: "The settlers of the old Bermuda City and Hundred, the first free farmers, were nearly all killed" (Brown 1898: 467). The 1622 Uprising was an event which, surprisingly, seems to have caught settlers throughout the James River region unaware: "They, whilest we entertained them friendly in our houses, took their opportunities and suddenly fell upon us, killing and murdering very many of our people, burning and devastating their houses and plantations." Secretary Edward Waterhouse reported "that fatal Friday morning there fell under the bloody and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhuman people… 347 men, women, and children, most by their own weapons" (Waterhouse in Wright and Fowler 1968: 125). Nearby, the settlement at Flowerdew Hundred was also attacked, but the inhabitants managed to protect their settlement from complete destruction. Six settlers lost their lives there. Elsewhere, 78 of 122 inhabitants of Martin's Hundred were killed in the uprising. In fact, fully 22% of all English casualties in the Uprising were sustained at Martin's Hundred (Noël Hume 1982).

Captain Nathaniel Butler, Governor of Bermuda, visited Virginia in the aftermath of the 1622 Uprising and penned a damning description of the state of the colony with specific mention of the condition of Charles City:

> I found the Antient Planters of henrico and Charles Citty wholly quitted and lefte to the spoile of the Indians, who not onely burned the houses saide to be once the best of all others, but fell upon the Poulry, Hogges, Coews, Goates and

> Horses whereof they killed great numbers to the greatest griefe as well as ruine of the Olde inhabitants, whoe stick not to affirme that these were not onely the best and healthiest parts of all others, but might allsoe by their naturall strength of scituation have been the most easefully preserved of all the rest (Kingsbury 1906-1935:II: 374).

The 1622 Uprising decimated more than a third of the colony's population. The daily interactions between natives and newcomers clearly had provided false comfort to the settlers and necessary cover to the insurgents. Numerous documents note the close if uneasy relations between the Powhatans and the settlers, such as Governor Argall's comments following a visit to Jamestown in 1617 (Brown 1895: 254): "the salvages were as frequent in their houses as themselves whereby they were become expert in our armes, and had a great many in their custody and possession; the Colonie dispersed all about, planting tobacco." Locations like Charles City, on the periphery of the chief settlement at Jamestown and in close proximity to Native strongholds, were ready targets for the Powhatans in their quest to reassert political and physical control over the lands rapidly being taken over by the ever-arriving English.

In the aftermath of the 1622 Uprising, the Crown revoked the Virginia Company charter, establishing Virginia as a Royal Colony. As part of this reorganization, the colonial government considered the future of Charles City and declared that "it is absolutely necessary for the good of the colony to replant Henrico, The Colledge-lands, the iron Works, Charles Cittie, and Martin's Hundred" (Brown 1890: 500). However, no documentary evidence is known to exist indicating that the struggling settlement was ever repaired and resettled. The archaeological record at City Point is the only source likely to shed light upon the fate of Charles City in the period immediately following the Uprising.

The events of 1622 also spurred an official inquiry by the English Crown, with a series of recommendations rafted by Sir Arthur Chichester, formerly Lord Deputy of Ireland and a individual involved in the drafting of Virginia's royal charter. Responses to the inquiry and the recommendations provide the best physical description of Charles City apart from the Vingboons map. Charles City is described as one of two places "antientlie best fortified" (the other being Henrico) but as "now utterlie demolished by the Indians." Both Henrico and Charles City are described as standing upon high ground, with

> the cliffs being steep but of a clay mould, the air good and wholesome. And good quantities of cleared grounds; but all the land generallie is overgrown with great timber trees, so that there is little land fit for present culture but what by industry is cleared of ye wood either by the English or the Indians.

The authors then noted that:

> it would exceedingly both strengthen and beautifie the plantation if some convenient number of houses were built together of Brick and enclosed with a Brick wall that might deserve the name of a Towne: one of these at Henrico (which is the fittest place of all) and another at the place now called Charles Cittie (Brown 1890: 545).

No such action appears to have been taken, and the fact that no mention of a settlement at Charles City or indeed anywhere closer to City Point than Jordan's Point is made in the 1624/5 muster would suggest that the site was indeed wholly abandoned. According to the 1624/5 Muster, the overall population for Charles City (the county) was 235 individuals residing within 66 households. The principal settlements within Charles City included Neck of Land (close to Jamestown), West and Sherley Hundred, on the north side of the James opposite City Point, Jordan's Journey (just east of City Point), Chaplains Choice, and Peirsey's Hundred- the settlement which succeeded Yeardley's settlement at Flowerdew Hundred on the James River (Barka 1993).

Archaeological Evidence for the Virginia Company Period

Excavations at other early seventeenth-century English settlements on the James River hint at the possible nature of any surviving archaeological deposits at City Point related to Charles City. Non-fortified Virginia Company period settlements on the James River which have been excavated include Archer's Hope; The Maine; and an early site (44CC8) on Eppes Island possibly occupied as early as 1613 as part of the West and Sherley Hundred community (Turner and Opperman 1993; Buchanan and Owen 1981).

However, it is highly likely that the Charles City settlement was at least partially fortified. Following the establishment of Bermuda City, Sir Thomas Dale noted his intention to "knock up pales whither he should pleasure," indicating the construction of palisades to enclose the new settlements and protect settlers and their livestock. Just across the Appomattox River from City Point lies the site of Dale's 1614 Bermuda Hundred settlement. Evidence for a ditch and berm, which served as part of the defensive palisade erected by Dale across the peninsula between the James and Appomattox Rivers still survives on the site today (Gleach 1986; Turner and Opperman 1993).

Some of the new palisades outlined by Dale were to be several miles in extent, including one that was eventually built across the peninsula between the James and York Rivers. Following the 1622 Uprising, attention focused strongly upon the failure of the colonists to adequately secure their settlements through realizing Dale's plans for fortification. Governor Francis Wyatt reiterated the importance of fortifications in a 1623 letter:

> We know of no other course, than to secure the forrest by running a pallizade from Marttin's hundered to Kiskyack, which is not above six miles over, and placeing houses at a convenient distance, with sufficient guard of men to secure the neckee whereby wee may gaine free from possibility of annoyance by the Salvages, a rich ceramite of ground contayneing little less than 300,000 acres of land, which will feed numbers of people, with plentifull range fro cattle (C.O. 1/3 ff 21-23, cited in McCartney 2000:2).

The palisade across the James-York peninsula was finally constructed by 1634, according to a report of Governor John Harvey to the Privy Council: "…secured a great part of the ye Country from ye incursion of the natives with a strong pallisado

which I caused to be built between two creeks, whereby they have a safe range for their cattle near as big as Kent" (C.O. 1/8 f74, cited in McCartney 2000: 2). Archaeologists at the Bruton Heights School in Williamsburg unearthed a fifty-eight-foot-long segment of this palisade line in 1994 (Metz et al. 1998; Muraca et al. 1992). Astonishingly, traces of the palisade survived above ground in the form of a slight berm. Below-ground evidence revealed that the ditch and berm feature with its timber pales was nine feet in width, and was place on the landscape in a straight line, rather than following natural topographic features (which would have enhanced its defensive capability).

At present, the documentary and archaeological sources are silent on whether the early settlement of Charles City was protected by a palisade. The destruction of the outpost in 1622 certainly suggests that the defenses were not particularly effective; however, it has been suggested that even the James-York palisade was little more than a symbolic barrier providing more psychological assurance than true defense. The abundance of timber in the vicinity of City Point, and the practices observed at other sites such as Flowerdew Hundred, Jordan's Point, Curles Neck Plantation, Jamestown, Martin's Hundred, and Harbor View in Suffolk, suggest that in addition to the potential construction of a palisade across the landward side of the point, settlers may have built an enclosing timber palisade constructed with a rectangular or triangular shape with bastions at each corner. The practice of incorporating a fortified enclosure, be it around an entire settlement or surrounding only one or two dwellings, is echoed in the English Plantation settlements in the north of Ireland where the enclosures were (and are) known as bawns. The construction of bawns was both corporate and individual, as noted by Charles Hodges, "private fortifications were arguably the most frequent, and most useful, defensive works built in 17th century Virginia" (Hodges 1993: 212).

Recent excavations at Jamestown has revealed a series of early timber fortifications enclosing the Virginia Company settlement in the years between 1607 and the laying out of streets for the town of Jamestown by surveyor William Claiborne following his 1621 arrival in the colony. The fortifications employed at Jamestown relied upon a series of ditches, berms, and palings close set within a trench. The James Fort was built in a triangular shape as recorded by John Smith, with bastions at each corner (Luccketti and Straube 1998, 1999).

Excavations at Jordan's Point, only a few miles south of City Point, unearthed an extensive fortified compound believed to protect the home and dependencies of Samuel Jordan, who established Jordan's Journey some time after 1619 (Mouer et al. 1998). Jordan himself may have been resident at Charles City before beginning to build the new settlement downriver. Jordan represented Charles City in the first legislative assembly held at Jamestown in the summer 1619 (McCartney 1988). In 1620, Samuel Jordan was granted a twelve-acre plot at Charles Hundred (presumably Charles City) which already contained a house (Virginia Land Office Patent Book 8:125; McCartney 1988). As of 1625, Jordan no longer possessed any land at Charles Hundred, likely corresponding both to the destruction of the settlement in 1622, and Jordan's move to Jordans Journey (also called Beggars Bush) before the Uprising. As described by Smith, "Master Samuel Jordan gathered together but a few of the straglers about him at Beggars-Bush, where he fortified and lived in despight of the enemy" (Smith 1910: 584; McCartney 1988).

Further downriver, Sir George Yeardley's base at Flowerdew Hundred incorporated a ditch-set rectangular palisade measuring 238 by 80 feet, surrounding two dwellings and a structure interpreted as a combination warehouse, workhouse, and quarter as well as an internal enclosure interpreted as a cattle pound (Hodges 1993: 189-190). The employment of fortifications at Flowerdew Hundred continued into the tenure of Abraham Peirsey, who purchased the plantation in 1624, renaming it Peirsey's Hundred. The Muster of 1624/5 indicates that inhabitants on the Hundred were extensively armed, while Peirsey was also able to report in 1626 that he had "many houses allreadye paled and palizadoed in." A substantial stone foundation structure within a fortified enclosure, unearthed through archaeology, has been attributed to Abraham Peirsey (Deetz 1993: 21-23, 46-48).

Where the Flowerdew settlement was associated with a private entrepreneur, the Martin's Hundred settlement just south of Jamestown on the James River was corporate in organization (Noël Hume 1982; Noël Hume and Noël Hume 2001). The "particular plantation" of Martin's Hundred is believed to have been chartered in 1618 by the Virginia Company of London on behalf of the Society for Martin's Hundred, a group of private investors hoping to capitalize upon New World settlement. The Society was granted 20,000 acres, and they duly sent 220 individuals to Virginia in 1619 to make good on the investment (Noël Hume 1982; Noël Hume and Noël Hume 2001). The settlers constructed a fortified settlement after the fashion of the bawns common in the Ulster Plantation. First discovered by archaeologists from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in a survey in 1971, this bawn was characterized by a rectangular timber palisade, with structures both inside and without. Like the bawns of Ulster and the Yeardley-Peirsey compound at Flowerdew Hundred, the bawn at Wolstenholme Towne was designed as a periodic refuge for inhabitants of the village growing up outside its walls. Despite the substantial nature of the fortified enclosure at Martin's Hundred, the settlement lost the most individuals in the 1622 Powhatan Uprising: 78 from a population of 140 (Noël Hume 1982; Noël Hume and Noël Hume 2001).

Nicholas Luccketti excavated a slightly later example of a timber fortification in the early 1990s. Situated close to the confluence of the James and Nansemond Rivers, the site incorporates a four-sided asymmetrical timber palisade 230 feet in length with corner bastions that was most likely constructed during the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644-1645). Early Virginia fortifications also made use of both timber and earthen fortifications, as indicated by instructions for the re-ification of Henrico and Charles City following the 1622 Uprising: "In most places and particulalrie about Henrico and Charles citie the Sods are very good to fortifie with all—especiallie if they be cut in the sedgie ground which is so full of roots that it binds the earth close and keeps it from falling to pieces" (Brown 1890: 545).

Conclusion: City Point as a Significant Early Colonial Settlement

Although the contradictory and scant documentary evidence for the nature of Charles City makes the task of describing the physical nature of the early settlement very difficult, comparative archaeological data suggests that the settlement probably con-

Figure 14. Artist's reconstruction of the Wolstenholme Towne bawn (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

Figure 15. Mercers' Company bawn at Movanagher, 1622 (Department of the Environment, Northern Ireland).

Figure 16. Aerial view of the excavated timber palisade at Harbor View (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

sisted of a number (perhaps only six, as documented) of small, earthfast, timber structures with associated outbuildings and fenced gardens and livestock enclosures, protected by some type of earth and timber palisade which could have blocked the landward side, or possibly enclosed all or a portion of the colonial outpost. The artifact record accompanying the architectural remains of the settlement likely reflects the extent of interactions between the colonists and the nearby Appomattuck and Weanock Indians, interaction that ultimately led to the demise of the settlement. The strong evidence placing Charles City at City Point means that the lands currently held by the National Park Service may hold the key to understanding the experiences of those who struggled to build the small outpost, who successfully argued for their freedom from servitude to the Company, and who ultimately lost their lives in its defense. The significance of the site to understandings of early Virginia history, and most notably the complex relations between the colonists and the native inhabitants, cannot be overstated. Interpretation and subsequent management of cultural resources at City Point should investigate, protect, and promote this aspect of the site's considerable history.

Chapter Five.
City Point and Colonial Virginia in the Second and Third Quarters of the Seventeenth Century

Introduction

Archaeological resources at City Point relating to the acquisition and occupation of the property by members of the Eppes family have been long recognized if their significance has been downplayed. The traces of the myriad human activities that took place on the property through that turbulent first century in the life of Virginia reflect broader issues and concerns. The cultural resources associated with the Eppes plantation have contributions to make to our understanding of broad themes such as the rise of the tobacco economy and a local political elite, the role of Virginia within an incipient Atlantic world system, the creation of new social identities including what L. Daniel Mouer has referred to as 'Chesapeake Creoles' by mid-century, and the institutionalization of race-based slavery by the end of the century.

Arrival of the Eppes Family

Whatever the ultimate fate of Charles City as located at City Point, the lands themselves were granted in 1635 to Captain Francis Eppes, the first member of the Eppes family to own property at City Point, precipitating a remarkable chain of ownership stretching from 1635 until the acquisition by the National Park Service in 1979. The exact date of Francis Eppes' arrival in Virginia is uncertain, but Dorman (1992) suggests that Francis and his brother Peter were encouraged to seek their fortunes in Virginia by their elder brother, William, who was already resident in the colony. William Eppes arrived in Virginia in 1618 on the *William and Thomas*, and served as commander for the Smith's Hundred Company. William Eppes is perhaps best known for losing his temper and killing a Captain Edward Roecroft Stallinge in a "private quarrel" (Brown 1927: 250), resulting in his conviction for manslaughter. Men of Eppes' evidently fiery temperament were, however, of value to the Virginia Company in the early years of Virginia. In 1623, Eppes became the commander for the Eastern Shore and renewed his reputation as a "mad, ranting fellow" when he physically attacked one Ensign Savage (Dorman 1992: 42; Kingsbury 1933: 121, 142).

Tradition suggests that Francis and Peter Eppes arrived on the ship *Hopewell* in May 1622, but as no passenger lists survive, there is no primary documentary evidence to support this claim (Clark 1942: 211). Contradicting this tradition is the statement by Dorman (1992: 44) that Peter Eppes was already in the colony at the time of the 1622 Uprising, and was living with his brother William on the Eastern Shore in 1623. Exactly when Francis Eppes arrived remains uncertain, but when Captain Francis Eppes received his patent in 1635, he had evidently already been residing in the colony

for a decade. In 1625, Eppes served as a representative for Charles City County in the House of Burgesses that met at Jamestown, while his title as Captain indicated an involvement with the militia. A year later, Francis Eppes was appointed "commissioner for the Upper Parts of the Colony," and two years later, he is recorded as the commander for the forces charged with attacking the Appomattuck and Weyanoke Indians (Blades 1988; Butowsky 1978; Clark 1942; Dorman 1992).

By 1635, Eppes had managed to acquire 34 headrights by financing the passage of himself, three sons, and thirty others to Virginia. An individual headright was worth 50 acres; therefore Eppes patent in 1635 incorporated 1700 acres. Butowsky (1978: 11) suggests that Eppes left for England with his family sometime between 1628 and 1635 in order to claim their headrights on return to Virginia, however, as long as he could prove that he had paid for their passage originally there would be little need for the entire family to make the arduous journey and in the interim leaving lands in Virginia untended. Regardless of the rationale for a trip to England, it would appear that Eppes and his wife Mary had returned home, as their son Thomas was born on September 8, 1630 in London (Bannerman 1916: 40, cited in Dorman 1992: 101).

Patent Book One enumerates Captain Eppes' 1635 patent for 1700 incorporating the present location of Appomattox Manor and the City Point Unit:

> Captain Frances Eppes, 1700 acs. In Co. of Chas., 26 Aug. 1635, p. 280. E. upon Bayly his Cr., S. into the maine land, W. upon Cason his Cr. Up Appamattuck Riv. & N. upon the maine river.
>
> 50 acs. For his per. Adv. & 1650 acs. For trans. Of 3 sons: Jon. Epes, Fr. Epes, Tho. Epes & 30 servts: Jon. Long, Jon. Baker, Tho. Warden, Jon. Joyce, Tho. Foanes, Tho. Cropp, Rich. Stayle, Rich Huett, Geo. Addams, Sarah Hickmore, Thomas Pattison, Anth. Box, Jonath. Ellison, Barth. Swinborne, Silvester Atkins, Robt. Fossett, Ja. Rowland, Ann Turner, Geo. Archer, High James, Jon. Nowells, Bashaw, Juliana, Andrea, Maydelina, Cessent, Negroes, Rich. Litchfeild, Edward Ames, Susan Mills, James Long. NOTE; Surrendered and renewed by Sir Georg Harvey. Rich Kemp, Secr.

Among those Eppes claimed headrights for were five individuals listed only by first name and identified as "Negroes." Exactly what the legal status of Bashaw, Juliana, Andrea, Maydelina, and Cessent was in the 1630s is difficult to interpret, but it is most likely that they were considered servants rather than slaves, and thus eligible for headrights. Dorman (1992: 102) notes that the names of two other individuals claimed by Eppes, John Baker and Thomas Warden, appear on the 1624/5 muster as residing in the household of Captain William Eppes on the Eastern Shore.

Captain Francis Eppes appears to have been an ambitious member of the nascent Virginia colonial gentry, and as such was clearly possessed of a more even temperament than his elder brother William. From his early involvement in the House of Burgesses, as a Captain in the militia, his appointment court commissioner in 1627, his role as an early and presumably willing participant in the transportation of individuals from Africa for servitude in the colonies, to his most significant political achievement, a seat on the Governor's Council in 1652, he appears to have consistently positioned himself for political and social advancement. Francis Eppes' involvement in the affairs

of the country and his clear desire for social and political advancement were passed on to others in his family. As noted by historian Philip Alexander Bruce, in discussing the seventeenth-century Henrico County gentry, "such official positions as escaped the grasp of the Ferrars, Cockes, and Randolphs were seized by members of the Eppes family" (Bruce 1927: 138). In addition to his political offices, taken over by his son John in 1660, Captain Eppes augmented his substantial estate with an additional 280 acres in 1653:

> Col. Francis Eppes, Esqr., one of the Councill of State, 280 acs. Chas. City Co. on S. side of James Riv. & S. side of Appomattock Riv., 23 Jan. 1653, p. 219. Bounded Sly. on Capt. Batts, Nly. on the heads of Walter Brooke, Natha. Tatum & John Bakers land & Ely. On his own 1700 acs. Trans. of 6 pers: Thomas Mather, Thomas Riplye, Fra. Price, William Johnson, Thomas Price, Avis Jealy.

By the time of his death sometime before September 1674, he owned 1980 acres on the south side of the James River, and an additional 572 acres on Eppes Island. In 1674, his eldest son and heir, John, re-patented the land on the south side of the James River and also the additional 572 acres (Dorman 192: 105; Patent Book 6: 62). Before he patented the 1700 acres in 1635, Eppes may have already been resident somewhere on those lands. The most likely scenario sees him situated on Eppes or Shirley Hundred Island where the family was clearly well established by the middle of the seventeenth century. All available evidence suggests that he remained in residence on Eppes Island (Blades 1988: 6), although Donald Linebaugh has stated that "Colonel Francis Eppes (1628-1678) ran a store at Bermuda Hundred and imported trade goods from London merchants. He sold them to colonists and independent 'selfe-ended' traders who in turn sold the goods to native Americans" (Linebaugh 1994a: 5).

Although Captain Eppes was not involved in the original Bermuda City/Charles City settlement at City Point, it is not impossible that some occupation continued on the property between the destruction of the settlement in 1622 and Eppes' acquisition

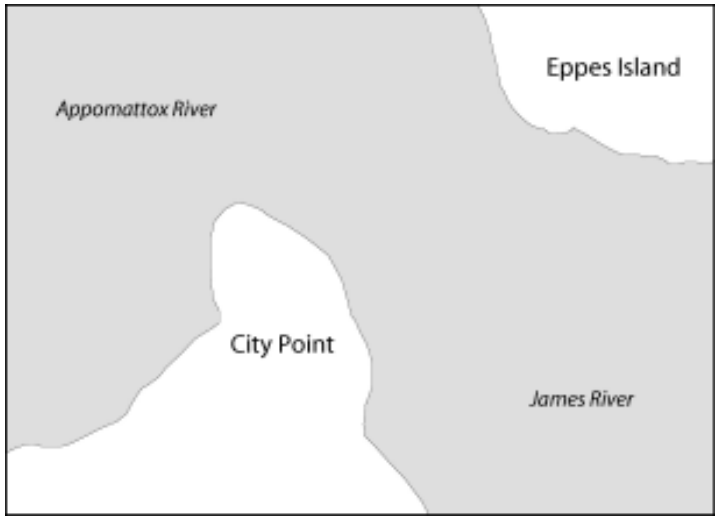

Figure 17. Eppes Island in relation to City Point (Heather Harvey).

of the patent in 1635. Certainly the thirty non-Eppes family individuals for whom Eppes claimed headrights must have resided as servants or tenants on the patent itself. By 1635, the memory of the initial Charles City settlement may well have dimmed. The question of whether or not the lands were kept clear or allowed to grow over may be answerable in the future with the application of an environmental sampling regime in consort with renewed archaeological investigation. Before considering the evidence for occupation at City Point during the lifetime of Francis Eppes, it is worth considering the more general context of migration of individuals like Eppes as well as those lesser-known individuals for whom he paid passage. What was the nature of their worlds, why did they choose to migrate to the Chesapeake, and what happened to them when they arrived?

General Context of Migration to the Chesapeake

W.F. Craven, in his monumental 1949 work *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* emphasized the connection between agricultural conditions and rates of emigration, a correlation further supported for Chesapeake emigration rates by Russell R. Menard (1988). Menard, who estimates that between 100,000 and 150,000 British emigrated to the Chesapeake colonies of Maryland and Virginia during the seventeenth century (1988: 103), refined Craven's original assertion by noting that a combination of economic factors on both sides of the Atlantic produced fluctuations in migration rates. According to Menard's estimates, between seventy and eighty-five percent of those who emigrated to the Chesapeake during the seventeenth century came as servants. Economic shifts, therefore, had a significant impact upon the demand for servants and thereby rates of migration can be readily linked to economic factors.

The state of the tobacco economy played a chief role in encouraging and discouraging immigration, not because individuals necessarily chose not to migrate because they knew that tobacco was depressed, but because the merchants and planters who funded the passage of indentured servants and purchased their terms ceased recruiting in response to the economic downturn. Menard (1988) hastens to point out, however, that the individual choices of emigrating servants had a significant effect upon migration rates. When real wages were comparatively high in Britain, few servants chose to migrate. When migration was high, servants had the power to choose their destination, which in turn affected the length of their term of indenture. It is important to note that emigration to the Americas was just another step in the vast population movements occurring in Europe. Those who emigrated as servants were a "representative cross section of the ordinary working men and women of England" (Horn 1979: 94), who were equally likely to search for employment in Liverpool or Bristol, or on an Irish plantation, as they were to seek success in the Chesapeake.

While the British context of migration to the Chesapeake is fairly well understood, comparisons of life in the Chesapeake with that in the mother country tend to emphasize the differences resultant of the tobacco-based plantation economy. Historian James Horn (1988) rightfully states that "Chesapeake society was part of English society," in his comparison of seventeenth-century Maryland with the Vale of Berkeley in

Gloucestershire, concluding with the statement "it is vital not to lose sight of the continuities between life in the two societies and the part played by English traditions and values in helping to shape colonial society." However, Horn (1988, 1991, 1994) primarily concentrates upon emphasizing the principal differences between landholding patterns and social structure in the two regions, concentrating upon the poverty and disease endemic to the Chesapeake, and the notion that "from the early 1620s… tobacco governed the course of Chesapeake society and economy" (Horn 1991: 91). Horn's contention that the tobacco-driven, dispersed and townless Chesapeake society had no need for specialized tradespeople is contradicted when examining continual efforts at developing manufactures at Jamestown, as demonstrated by research associated with the Jamestown Archaeological Assessment (Horning 1995, 2000; Brown and Horning 2004).

Horn notes the lack of a "local tradition" in the Chesapeake owing to the well-documented high mortality of the region, coupled with the continual migration into and around the colonies. Constant migration from Britain clearly mediated against the development of a local Chesapeake culture, but did not result in a cultural vacuum. The continual population flow from England to Virginia, unlike in New England where the population was able to rely more upon natural increase (Bailyn 1986: 100), strengthened colonists' awareness of events and practices in their homeland. Solutions to New World problems, although Horn does not make this statement, would be continually crafted through the lens of British culture, not a nascent frontier culture, owing to the constantly replaced population. The portrait of death and destitution that has been painted for the Chesapeake is grim indeed. If conditions in Maryland were as poor as has been documented by Lois Green Carr, Lorena Walsh, Russell Menard, and Horn, among others, then surely the constantly replaced population would have been far more British than creole, keeping the Chesapeake population up to date with the latest concerns and developments of and in the home country. Additionally, a large percentage of free settlers returned to England following stints in the New World colonies (Horn 1991: 116), underscoring the retention of British identity by Chesapeake settlers.

Yet not every Chesapeake resident was British, and in fact, the documentary and material records of the time emphasize the cosmopolitan nature of the major settlements such as Jamestown. While Jamestown may not have been a particularly large or even successful urban settlement, individuals of African, English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Dutch, French, Spanish, Polish, Italian, German, Caribbean Indian and a host of Native American identities traversed its muddy streets. The significant, mutual discourse between British settlers and their African and Afro-Caribbean servants is evident materially and has led more than one scholar to consider the creation of a new, if slippery, identity—that of the Chesapeake Creole.

While few if any seventeenth-century Virginians ever identified themselves as "Creole," the ongoing meeting of distinctly different cultures in the region precipitated a fluid and dynamic process of integration reflected in the material record if denied officially and traditionally. While Crown policy forbade discourse (and intercourse) between Indians and English, the events of 1622 instead underscore "the easy familiarity" (Mouer 1993) and daily interaction between the peoples, with the unbalanced

sex ratio of the early seventeenth century hinting at intimate familiarity of English men with Native and African women. Individual personal liaisons aside, the creation of distinctive Chesapeake foodways (Franklin 1999; Mouer 1993) derived from a mixture of Indian, European, and African foods and techniques, served up in European-style ceramic bowls which made locally employing Indian and African hand built coil technology, suggest a normalized Chesapeake cultural tradition with complex roots. Similarly, the smoking of tobacco is derived from Native plants and ritual practices, transformed by the hybridization of plant strains by the colonists, secularized into a leisure activity by the English, and served by pipe industries in Europe and the New World—where pipes were produced with Native and African technology, sporting designs common in both Native Virginian and West African symbolic repertoire (Emerson 1988, 1994; Henry 1979).

The presence of African indentured servants on the Eppes patent of 1635, and the location of the Eppes lands in close proximity to territory still held by Virginia Indians throughout much of the seventeenth century, means that substantial interactions between Indians, Africans and English individuals took place within the Eppes household and throughout the Eppes lands, including City Point. African and English indentured servants in particular were at the forefront of changing identities in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, as they shared the burden of household and agricultural labor, and (until the end of the seventeenth century) took their rest in the same close and crowded quarters.

The renewal of conflict with the Powhatan tribes in 1644 ultimately resulted in increased security for residents of the City Point and Shirley Hundred vicinity. Following the capture and execution of Opechancanough, Wahunsonacock's brother who had taken over the role of the Powhatan paramount chief, the defeated Indians were

Figure 18. Chesapeake "creole" tobacco pipe (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

forced to sign a treaty relinquishing their claims to lands east of the Fall Line. Regardless of the outcome of the events of the 1640s, daily life went on for all concerned. Trade between Natives and English merchants continued to expand, and a number of enterprising merchants set up shop along traditional Indian routes including one that traveled southwest from the falls of the Appomattox River (Linebaugh 1995). A close neighbor in the City Point area was Robert Bolling of Kippax Plantation, who based his own economic fortune upon his involvement in the fur trade, capitalizing upon his proximity to well-established Native trade routes (Linebaugh 1995: 5). Regardless of political changes and the resolution of conflict, it is clear that the seventeenth century English and African occupants of lands in the vicinity of City Point and the fall line transition zone in general were continually engaged in relations with Native inhabitants throughout the century.

Archaeological Evidence at City Point 1622-1675

Archaeological evidence unearthed during the 1980s examination of the property in the immediate vicinity of Appomattox Manor suggests the possibility of activity in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, and illustrates the potential for future discoveries related to the first half of the seventeenth century more generally (Blades 1988). In addition to the discovery of a two-room dwelling built in the late seventeenth century that stood until 1763 (discussed in the next chapter), a variety of artifacts were unearthed in test units excavated in the north yard of Appomattox Manor. Materials recovered from the test excavations include ceramics datable to the period 1625-1650, and a selection of terracotta tobacco pipe fragments and imported white ball clay tobacco pipe bowls interpreted as dating to the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Blades (1988: 48) suggested that some of the terracotta pipe bowls unearthed from the test excavations could be Native American and prehistoric or Protohistoric in date; although as noted above, arguments can also be made for terracotta pipes being produced by Africans as well as by European colonists (Emerson 1988, 1994). A total of 51 terracotta pipestems and 19 bowl fragments were found in the excavations around Appomattox Manor.

The twenty-one seventeenth-century ceramic sherds recovered from the 1983 test units in and around the cellar of the later seventeenth-century dwelling include wares originating in the Netherlands, England, France, Spain, and the Rhineland, reflecting the far flung extent of Atlantic trading throughout the seventeenth century (Blades 1988). The presence of two sherds, recovered from a test unit in the west yard, of a green-glazed, buff-bodied ware attributed to Surrey, in England, is significant as these green glazed "Border" wares, as they are often known, were principally produced in the sixteenth century and with the green glaze, only continued production into the very early years of the seventeenth century. This green-glazed ware evolved out of the medieval "Tudor Green" pottery produced in Hampshire and West Surrey (Pearce 1992).

The Surrey industry continued to be of importance well into the seventeenth century, but the glazes tended to be more yellow or a mottled brown as the century progressed (Pearce 1992: 97). Straube and Luccketti (1996) posited that the dearth

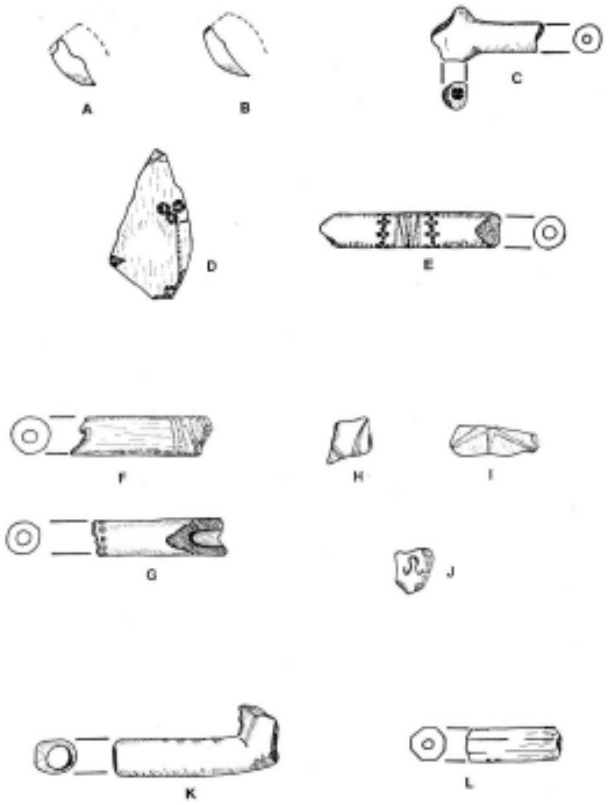

Figure 19. Chesapeake pipe fragments from City Point (Blades 1988).

of Surrey whitewares (another name for the ceramics) in mid-seventeenth century contexts in the Chesapeake might reflect the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1622. They argue that the Virginia Company dominated supply for the colony, and the wares of London merchants, including Surrey wares, took precedence over other locales. With the dissolution of the Company, merchants from other locales were more able to enter into the transatlantic trade. While this argument is not proven, it may support the attribution of the City Point Border Ware sherds to the Virginia Company period.

An additional 64 ceramic sherds were recovered from the excavations in 1983 (Blades 1988). While many of these ceramics, for example the plain Iberian earthenwares and the North Devon earthenwares, were exported to Virginia in the first half of the seventeenth century, they continued to be used well into the eighteenth century and therefore could as easily relate to a later occupation of the property. Significantly, a number of the early seventeenth-century objects were located in undisturbed stratified deposits, indicating that the area in the north yard was never plowed, presumably because of its proximity to the late seventeenth-century dwelling and the extant home built under the direction of Richard Eppes in the mid-eighteenth century (Blades 1988). This is clearly an area of significant and sensitive archaeological value, and all efforts to prevent any disturbance of this zone should be taken.

While the numbers of definitively early seventeenth-century artifacts recovered in the 1983 excavations at Appomattox Manor is small, their mere presence is suggestive of an occupation in the period predating the construction of the more substantial

late seventeenth-century brick and frame dwelling. Determining whether this occupation dates to the period prior to or associated with the patent obtained by Captain Francis Eppes appears to be a question that is only answerable through further archaeological research.

No documentary evidence exists suggesting that Francis Eppes settled on his City Point lands in preference to his holdings at Eppes Island. Assuming that Eppes himself was not resident at City Point, it is plausible to speculate that one or more of his servants or tenants may have maintained the land first cleared by Appamattuck Indians and the lands employed by the settlers of the ill-fated settlement of Charles City. Certainly the spatial demands of tobacco, and the importance of tobacco cultivation in underpinning individual economic and social status in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake suggests that the lands owned by the Eppes family on the south side of the James River would not have been left untended or uncultivated. Such work was dependent upon the labor of servants. The closer that they were housed to the field, the more work they could accomplish.

Comparative Archaeology of Virginia Settlement in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

The body of archaeological knowledge relating to Virginia life in the first half of the seventeenth century is not inconsiderable. From that corpus of data it is possible to speculate upon the nature of any contemporary activity at City Point. The following represents a selection of excavated domestic sites from the first half of the seventeenth century with relevance for understanding activity at City Point.

Site CG8, Martin's Hundred

Early Virginia plantation settlements ranged from very small farmsteads to extensive plantation compounds. On the small end of the scale is a site excavated by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in 1992 dating to the 1630s (Edwards 2004). One of a series of outlying homes built following the 1622 destruction of Wolstenholme Towne, the defended principal settlement on Martin's Hundred, the site known as CG8 (44JC647) encompassed the postholes of a sixteen by twenty-four foot earthfast, clay-walled dwelling with a lean-to addition measuring 10 by 6.9 feet, flanked by three refuse pits and a small yard enclosed by a paling fence (Edwards 2004). Located in an area of previously intensive cultivation, site CG8 was plow damaged (Edwards 1994; 2004). No structural traces for ancillary outbuildings survived, although it is quite likely that rudimentary animal shelters and grain stores may once have existed on the site. Artifacts were scarce—mainly residing in the plowzone—and there was no window glass associated with the structure. Sixty-one percent of the ceramics excavated were coarse earthenwares, while the remaining tin enamelled and stoneware ceramics represented utilitarian storage forms rather than more elite serving or dining vessels. One of the more frequent artifacts unearthed at CG8 was the tobacco pipestem. A total of sixty-six imported pipe bowls and pipestems and twenty-nine locally made pipestems were recovered, readily explained by the overwhelming reli-

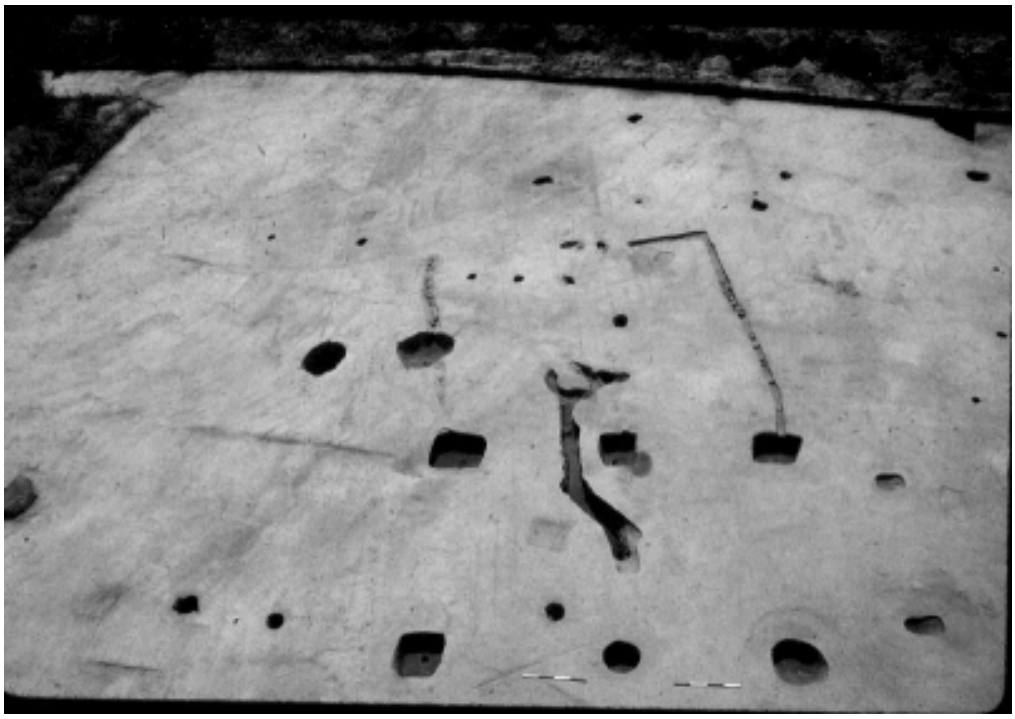

Figure 20. The 1630s house at Martin's Hundred (44JC647) (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

ance upon tobacco mono-crop culture (Edwards 2004). Clearly, those at Martin's Hundred found their lives—not only their lungs—pervaded by the "noxious weed."

No documentary reference even hints at the identity of the former occupants of the site. Comparative analysis of the artifacts found at CG8 with those from other post-Wolstenholme Towne domestic sites at Martin's Hundred clearly highlights what can only be interpreted as the lower social status of the CG8 inhabitants. Not only was the artifact record from CG8 paltry by comparison with evidence from four other Martin's Hundred sites occupied in the second quarter of the seventeenth century and located within a half a mile of one another, the types of materials and their functions varied as well. Ceramic wares found at CG8 were principally employed in storage and food preparation, and do not reflect the variety found on other sites. Andrew Edwards suggests that "not only did the occupants of Sites A and B [two Martin's Hundred sites situated near to CG8] possess, and thereby dispose of, a larger number of ceramics vessels (and artifacts in general) but vessels of a significantly higher quality" than those found at CG8 (Edwards 2004: 62).

Other sites at Martin's Hundred which immediately post-date the 1622 Uprising include Sites A and B, shedding light on the lives of members of the emerging Virginia gentry—likely not dissimilar to the experience of Captain Francis Eppes. The complex of features known as Site A, excavated by Eric Klingelhofer under the direction of Ivor Noël Hume in the late 1970s, included a main earthfast dwelling measuring 40 by 18 feet with an extensive lean-to addition. Surrounding the dwelling were seven smaller earthfast structures, a cellar-set earthfast building, a series of fencelines, pits, and ditches, and twenty-three human burials. Artifacts associated with this occupa-

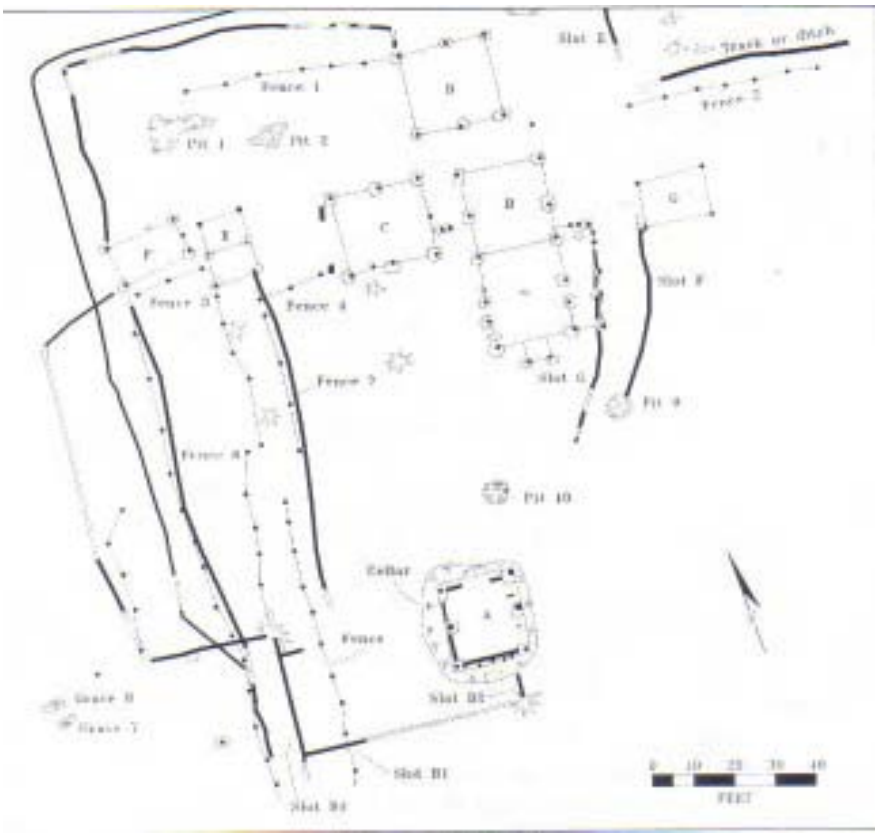

Figure 21. Martin's Hundred Sites A and B (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

tion, dated to the period 1625 to 1640 (contemporary with CG8), clearly reflect a high social status. Threads of gold and silver, once woven into clothing, were found in the cellar fill of the cellar set structure, while the ceramic assemblage, as previously discussed, included a wealth of dining vessels. The presence of armor, however, reflects continuing instability within the colony and the lasting memory of 1622. Site B was not as extensive an occupation as Site A, incorporating only a 37 by 19 foot two-bay, earthfast dwelling, a possible shed, two pits, a ditch, and an infant burial. Materials from this household, occupied like Site B and CG8 between 1625 and 1640, included copper and gold threads, silver encrusted and gold inlaid tableware, and a gilded spur. Armor and armament were similarly prominent among the finds (Edwards 2004; Edwards and Brown 1993; Noël Hume 1982; Noël Hume and Noël Hume 2001).

Mulberry Island Tenant and Servant Residences

The homesteads of similarly impoverished settlers in the Chesapeake have been examined elsewhere along the James River. Recently discovered sites on Mulberry Island, on land presently owned by the United States Army, represent the seventeenth-century homes of such settlers (Gilmore 1999; Ablinger and Keffert 2000). Site 44NN18, investigated by archaeologists from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in 1999 and 2000, has been interpreted as "the homelot of an indentured servant,

tenant farmer, or slave household of low economic status." The site contained only posthole evidence for a single structure accompanied by a scant number of early seventeenth-century ceramics. Although the excavators of 44NN18 suggested that it might be the home of enslaved individuals, this is unlikely given the fact that the site predates the introduction of slavery for life. An indentured servant or tenant household likely inhabited this small site. The scant remains of 44NN18 would likely be reflected in a site of similar status at City Point.

According to the 1624/5 Muster, Mulberry Island was home to thirty individuals in thirteen different households. At least thirteen of these individuals were servants of wealthy planter Captain William Pierce, who patented land on the island in 1619, and owned three quarters of the island by 1643. Pierce, who resided in Jamestown, earned infamy for his role in instructing Powhatan Indians in the use of firearms before the 1622 Uprising, and also provoked comment for taking an African woman named Angelo into his household, as either a servant or a slave (McCartney 2000: 282) . While Pierce clearly remained in control of his intercultural dealings, his underlings on Mulberry Island experienced the reverse. One year after arriving in the colony, six English indentured servants on Mulberry Island succumbed to the firearm skills their master had taught to local Native Americans.

In addition to 44NN18, four additional small-scale seventeenth-century sites at Mulberry Island include 44NN153, 44NN34, 44NN223, and 44NN201, interpreted as the homes of the indentured servants or tenants of Captain William Peirce (Gilmore 1999; Ablinger and Keffert 2000). Later sites on Mulberry Island, as discussed by Gilmore (1999), include those associated with individuals of middling to elite social status. The change from the nature of occupancy earlier in the century clearly relates to a demographic shift that found the landowners moving onto their holdings, perhaps once the lands had been sufficiently cleared and the dangers of conflict with nearby Indians resolved. A similar pattern seems to have been replicated at City Point, with the evidence for a late seventeenth-century occupation likely associated with William and Sarah Eppes as discussed later in this chapter.

Kingsmill Tenement, James City County

Excavations in the 1970s prior to the Anheuser Busch housing development, Kingsmill, unearthed a series of seventeenth- through nineteenth-century structures and features, some of which are discussed later in this report. One structure, named the Kingsmill Tenement, appears to have been the home of a tenant or indentured servant during the period 1625 to 1650 (Kelso 1994; May 1998). A series of five earthfast structures, storage pits, and boundary ditches were unearthed, alongside a range of materials predating 1650. No in-depth analysis was carried out on the nature of the ceramic assemblage such as that employed for the Martin's Hundred sites. Given the overlap in dates, a comparison of the Kingsmill tenement materials with those from Martin's Hundred could be informative about social and economic differentiation between planters, tenants, and servants in the seventeenth century James River region, a comparison which would be of contextual use in interpreting any further pre-1650 occupation evidence from City Point.

College Landing, Williamsburg

Another domestic site dating from the first half of the seventeenth century was a small complex excavated in advance of the construction of a housing development at College Landing, now within the City of Williamsburg (G. Brown 1986; Edwards 1987). Archaeologists uncovered the chimney base from a domestic complex incorporating a small dwelling, an earthfast shed, a fence line, a roadway, trash pits, a borrow pit, and eight human burials. No structural postholes were found in association with the clay hearth base, suggesting that it was likely a frame dwelling resting upon ground laid sills. Such a construction technique was common in England and represents the recommended form of house construction in the Ulster Plantation (Blades 1986; Horning 2001). The plowing of soils readily eradicates any traces of these ground-laid sills. Evidence for the presence of such buildings often relies entirely upon the presence of scattered artifacts or in the best cases, remains from a chimney or hearth, as at College Landing.

In contrast with the dwelling, the outbuildings associated with the complex were of earthfast construction. The practice of building ancillary structures to house grain and other supplies begin in the earliest years of the settlement, as discussed by Linebaugh (1994), and may represent a borrowing of ideas from the Native population. Other examples of early seventeenth-century sites incorporating similar outbuildings include the Maine site on the Governor's Land, dated to 1618 (Outlaw 1990); the so-called Pasbehay tenement also on the Governor's Land in James City County, occupied between 1630 and 1645 (Outlaw 1990); the mid-seventeenth-century occupation of

Figure 22. Features at the College Landing site (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

the Pettus Plantation in James City County (Kelso 1984); and Site A at Martin's Hundred (Noël Hume 1982).

The clay borrow pit associated with the College Landing site produced over three thousand domestic artifacts yielding insight into the material lives of early Virginia settlers. Most numerous, apart from animal bone, were locally made terracotta pipestems similar to the fragments unearthed by Blades at City Point in 1983. Additional noteworthy articles included a gentleman's spur, a copper book hinge, upholstery tacks, and a wide range of European ceramics. Although the domestic complex was small in extent, the materials recovered suggest the residence of a reasonably well-to-do farmer. Unfortunately, no documentary evidence indicating the names of the inhabitants has yet been found. Andrew Edwards has suggested that the location and chronology of the complex may indicate that the residents played a role in the upkeep of the newly constructed palisade across the James-York Peninsula (Edwards 1987).

Reverend Richard Buck Site

More recent excavations in the area known as Neck of Land, near Jamestown Island, unearthed another domestic occupation of the first half of the seventeenth century. Documentary research indicates that the site (44JC658) was that owned and occupied by the Reverend Richard Buck (Mallios 1999) from 1619 until his death in 1624, when it was transferred to Richard Kingsmill, guardian for the Buck children. Inherited by Reverend Buck's son Gercian in 1636, the property swiftly passed to Gercian's younger brother Peleg when Gercian died in 1638, and then to Peleg's sister Elizabeth in 1642 when he himself died. Archaeological features uncovered at the site, probably occupied by a series of tenants and possibly briefly by Reverend Buck's offspring, include earthfast outbuildings, a barrel-lined well, pits, nine human burials, and landscape features including fence lines ad boundary ditches. Unfortunately, no evidence for a principal dwelling was unearthed in the project area, which was located in a residential subdivision.

Kecoughtan (Hampton)

The urban nature of contemporary Hampton has undoubtedly destroyed or at least damaged much of the evidence of the Powhatan village and subsequent English settlement established in its place. In 1610, Governor Thomas Gates succeeded in removing the inhabitants of the village, spread across several thousand acres on the eastern side of the mouth of the Hampton River. By 1616, the new town boasted around 20 English residents, and in 1620, the name of Kecoughtan was changed to Elizabeth City. Despite the urban sprawl of the present, a number of excavations within the City of Hampton have produced significant evidence relating to its seventeenth-century occupation. On the grounds of Hampton University in the late 1980s, archaeologists from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation uncovered evidence of five structures dating to the first half of the seventeenth century, with five associated refuse pits, a well, a boundary ditch, and a series of slot fences at site 44HT55 (Edwards et al. 1989). The significance of the architectural features of this site in relation to evidence from City Point is discussed in the next chapter.

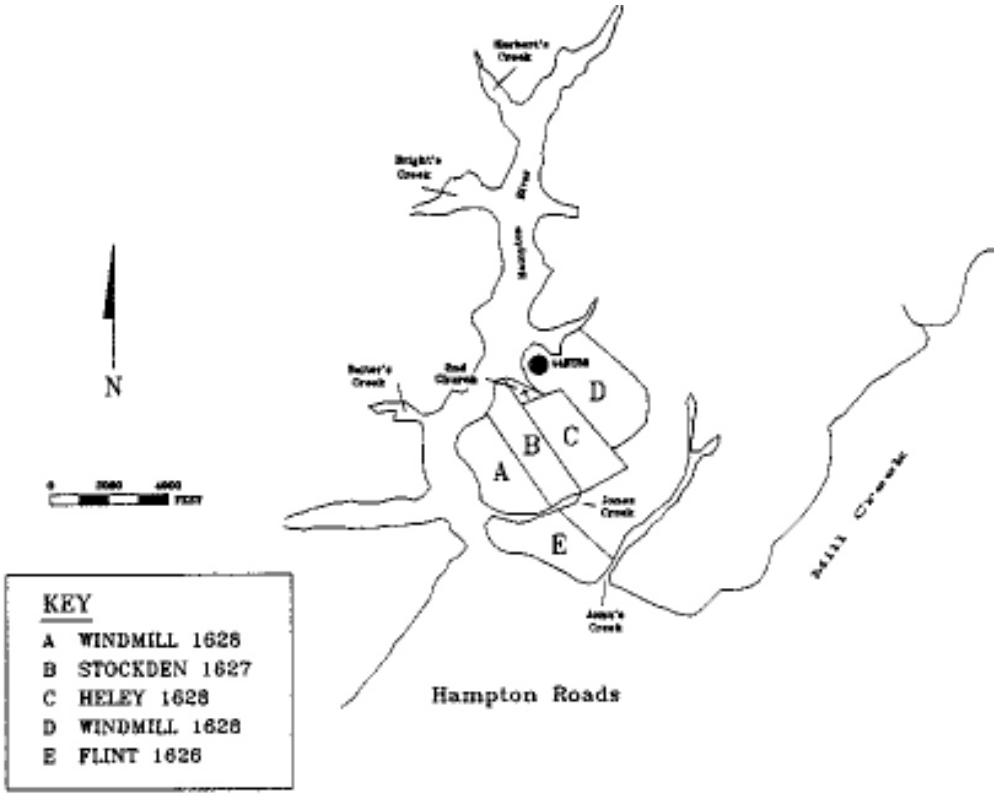

Figure 23. Excavations in Hampton (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

More recent excavations within the City of Hampton focused upon site 44HT44, interpreted as a waterfront-trading plantation peripheral to Elizabeth City (Higgins 2004, Higgins et al. 1993, 1999). The site consisted of a series of earthfast structures, associated refuse pits, a stone-lined well, and fence lines. The occupation may be associated with the residency of colonial surveyor, and one-time treasurer and secretary of the colony, William Claiborne between 1624 and 1661, and with Thomas Jarvis later in the century. Artifacts from the site that suggest the seventeenth-century occupants enjoyed a degree of material comfort not commonly found on rural Chesapeake sites include a range of Venetian glass, Portuguese tin-enameled earthenware, an iron wall sconce, a thimble engraved with an image of Charles II, and a letter seal (Higgins 2004).

Earthfast Construction in the Seventeenth-century Chesapeake

Assuming that the early seventeenth-century materials recovered from City Point mark the presence of a dwelling, such a structure almost undoubtedly would have been an earthfast timber dwelling as was overwhelmingly common throughout the colony and was typical even for residences within the capital town of Jamestown. Certainly earthfast timber buildings were the principal form employed in the Virginia Company period Charles City settlement, as witness the following quote noting that the inhabitants continue to build "such houses as before and in them lived with continual repairs, and buildinge new where the old failed" (Morgan 1975: 112; Deetz 1993: 53).

The publication of the seminal article "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies" in 1981 legitimized what Chesapeake archaeologists had become increasingly aware of since the late 1960s—that the majority of seventeenth-century structures in the southern colonies of Maryland and Virginia were of post-in-ground construction (Carson et al. 1981). Prior to the archaeological discoveries treated in the article, the brick buildings of Jamestown served as the primary example of seventeenth-century construction technique, bolstered by the existence of a number of standing structures interpreted as dating to the seventeenth century. However, dendrochronological evidence later placed these buildings firmly in the eighteenth century. Even the Adam Thoroughgood house in Princess Anne County, long touted as "the oldest surviving house in Virginia and perhaps on the Atlantic seaboard" (Pierson 1976: 24) and more sensationally as "the oldest house not only in Virginia but perhaps in the English-speaking colonies" (Morrison 1952: 143) owing to its traditionally ascribed construction date of construction between 1636 and 1640, has been determined via dendrochronological analysis to date only to the final years of the seventeenth century.

The "ordinary Virginia house" (Carson et al. 1981: 159) was framed upon structural posts which were set directly in the ground, and has been interpreted as capable of lasting little more than twenty years without significant repair or replacement. The

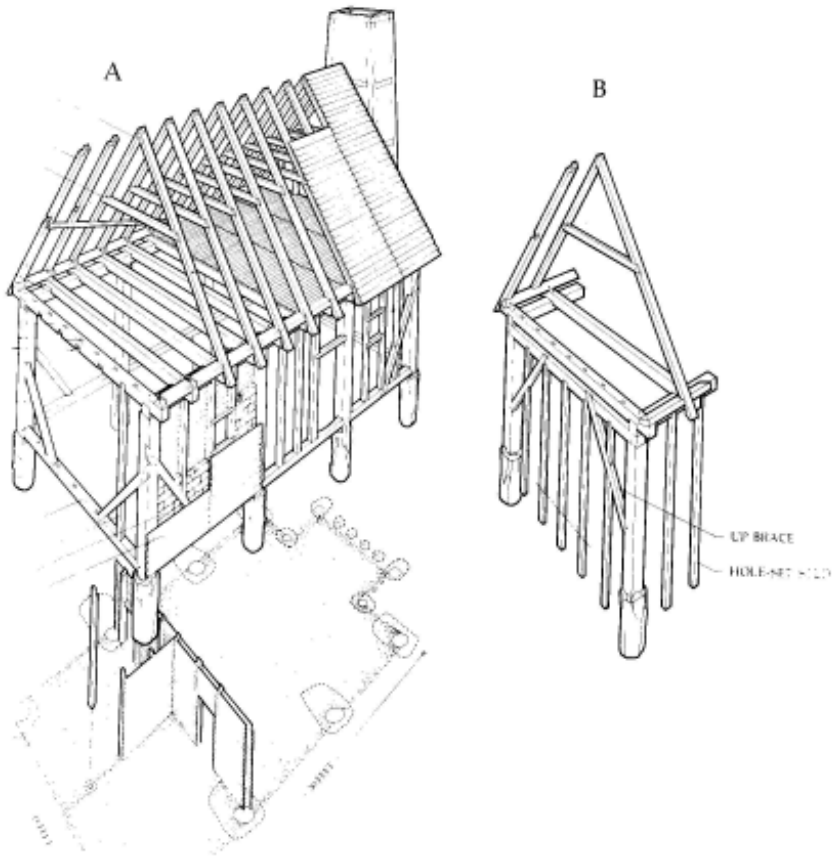

Figure 24. Framing of a "Virginia house" (Carson et al. 1981).

only seventeenth-century earthfast structure surviving in the Chesapeake area today, Cedar Grove in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, survives because its original structure was later encased in brick. The assumed impermanence of earthfast structures has been related to the insecurity of life in the disease-ridden, cash-crop dependent Chesapeake region. Settlers chose to invest only in the present, concentrating upon their agricultural infrastructure rather than constructing substantial dwellings. Not until populations began to stabilize at the close of the seventeenth century did Virginians begin to construct more substantial and sizable dwellings (Neiman 1980).

Since publication in 1981, the impermanency argument has been subject to intense debate and refinement. Few still accept the straightforward linkage between a presumably impermanent form of architecture and a psychological concern with mortality. Rather, the form can be seen as economically expedient in the sense of a lowered investment in locally available materials, with any impermanency dependent only upon a failure to maintain and upgrade the superstructure. Robert St. George put forth one intriguing argument related to the use of earthfast construction. St. George argued for the use of the house on social grounds, as the need for continual maintenance bound laborers and house owners together in a pattern of reciprocal obligations (Deetz 1993).

Maintenance relationships aside, the availability of timber clearly influenced construction in wood in the Chesapeake, and Orloff Miller (1991), Brooke Blades (1986), and myself (Horning 2001) have argued the same for seventeenth-century English and Scottish settlements in Ireland. In reference to Sir Thomas Phillips's 1622 survey of buildings in the London Company villages of the Londonderry Plantation, Blades (1986) explained the varied distribution of English-built timber and stone dwellings on the basis of the availability of wood. In excavations at Salterstown, Miller (1991) encountered a variety of postholes and areas of burned clay which he interpreted as earthfast structures with open firehood hearths, open hearths being a vernacular tradition among settlers from northern England and Scotland. Those same settlers were from regions traditionally employing mass walling rather than timber. Their use of timber at Salterstown, according to Miller, was owing to its greater availability (Miller 1991: 344-345). Similarly, my own excavations at Movanagher, the Mercer's Company village on the banks of the river Bann, unearthed evidence for a unique vernacular Irish structure employing earthfast posts and stakes, although it may have relied upon a combination of clay and turf walling with the posts. Situated on the edge of the great forest of Glenconkeyne, the village made ample use of the locally available timber in other buildings, even though the small settlement was also actively involved in the production of brick for use in the nearby town of Coleraine.

Although the extensive excavations carried out at Jamestown in the 1930s and 1950s only uncovered evidence of five post-in-ground structures, these buildings can represent only the merest fraction of those that must once have existed in the settlement (Horning 1995). Certainly the buildings constructed within the original fort were of an earthfast nature, as recently revealed by the Jamestown Rediscovery project (Luccketti and Straube 1998, 1999), but even once the settlement expanded into New Towne, brick was not the preferred construction material. In 1625, the existence of thirty-three dwellings and three warehouses was recorded for Jamestown, yet it

was not until 1638 that the construction of a wholly brick dwelling was noted (and celebrated). A 1623 complaint by Captain Nathaniel Butler illustrates the discomfort with which some viewed the inauspicious timber architecture of the colonial capital: "(Jamestown's) howses are generally the worst that I saw ever, the meanest cottages in England being in every way equall." In response, Jamestown's builders asserted that their houses "were built for use and not for ornament," insisting as well that their houses were much superior to English laborers' houses. At the same time that Jamestown's first all-brick dwelling was constructed by Secretary Richard Kemp in 1638-39, Governor John Harvey noted that Jamestown residents had begun constructing "framed howses to beautifye the place, consonant to his majesties Instructions that we should not suffer men to build slight cottages as heretofore." Clearly, earlier structures at Jamestown were of earthfast construction, evident from the distinction made between framed houses and "slight cottages."

The nature of the previous extensive excavations at Jamestown, which involved the use of long, narrow, linear trenches, worked against the uncovering of earthfast structures. In fact, the few that were recognized in Jamestown's New Towne, as discussed above, were recognized principally because they each incorporated brick chimneys (Horning 1995). A critical issue to consider when addressing the lack of known archaeological evidence for post structures at Jamestown is the prevalent colonial use of wattle and daub for chimneys. Structures that used earthen chimneys leave far less obvious archaeological traces than their brick counterparts, and often

Figure 25. Foundation of Structure 44, Jamestown's first all-brick dwelling (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

their placement is determined only through an educated guess if there is no evidence of burning at the subsoil level. These structures, however, appear to have been more common in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake than those which employed brick in the construction of hearths. Considering that Eppes patented the lands encompassing City Point in 1635, and the first all-brick dwelling was not built at Jamestown for another four years, it stands to reason that any early occupation of City Point, be it by a tenant, overseer, or family member, would have employed earthfast timber construction. Such a dwelling most likely would have employed a wattle and daub chimney rather than a more costly masonry example.

While the presence of any pre-1650 dwelling at City Point has yet to be proved before its exact nature can be determined, far stronger evidence for the construction of a frame and brick dwelling in the latter part of the seventeenth century was unearthed in the 1980s. The construction of this dwelling mirrors similar developments in gentry housing through the Chesapeake and in the James River plantation world of the later seventeenth century, and is discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusion: City Point and the Creation of Chesapeake Society

Exactly what occurred at City Point in the time period between the abandonment of the Charles City village and the construction of a substantial brick-and-frame dwelling by William and Sarah Eppes in the last quarter of the seventeenth century is difficult to ascertain. Scattered archaeological evidence and the necessities of tobacco cultivation strongly suggest occupation and agricultural activity on the lands from the time of the Eppes patent to the more archaeologically visible occupation towards the end of the century. Occupation of the nature posited would have been reliant upon servants and/or tenants of the Eppes family. The experiences of these individuals, from multiple cultural backgrounds, are more likely to be teased out of the archaeological record than from any undiscovered textual sources. As such, the tantalizing traces of their time at City Point represents a resource worth further investigation.

Chapter Six.
From Outpost to Center Stage: City Point in the Late Seventeenth Century

Introduction

While the history of City Point for much of the seventeenth century is elusive, the situation changes towards the end of the century. The construction of a substantial brick and frame dwelling sometime in the last quarter of the century appears to mark a change from City Point serving as an outlying plantation managed from afar by the Eppes family, to the center of an expanding James River plantation. The late seventeenth century was a time of change not only for City Point, but also throughout the colony. Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 brought ruin to Virginia's Indians, with "the passing of the powerful Indian societies enabled genteel colonial 'first families' to develop and perpetuate their economic and social dominance in safety" (Fausz 1988: 90). A drop in the numbers of indentured white servants coming to the colony precipitated an increase in the forced importation of Africans destined for a lifetime of unfree servitude. By the close of the seventeenth century, the structures of eighteenth-century plantation life were firmly in place at City Point and throughout the James River region.

Bacon's Rebellion and City Point

Raids by the Susquehannock Indians on outlying farms and plantations in the 1670s fostered unease amongst many colonists living away from the shelter of Jamestown and its immediate environs. The Eppes family and their retainers, living close to the Fall Line, were directly affected by the events. The rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon began not far from City Point, when Bacon seized "some friendly Appomattox Indians allegedly for stealing corn, although the corn was neither his nor his neighbors" (Gleach 195-196). Although the Appomattuck Indians were not involved in the Susquehannock raids, and in fact had warned settlers of the presence of raiders, all that mattered to Bacon was that they were Indian. In the words of Bacon himself "Friends or Foes Soe they be Indians." While the Rebellion itself was short lived, with Bacon dying from the "bloody flux" only a month after he had besieged Jamestown in the fall of 1676, the repercussions on the frontier were slow to fade. In 1678, Governor Herbert Jeffreys reported a skirmish which took the life of Colonel Francis, son of Captain Francis Eppes (Coventry Papers, LXVIII, fol. 293-294, cited in Dorman 1992: 108):

> On the 22nd and 23rd of August some Indians came downe upon James River to the number of 10 or 200 in Henrico County… on the 24th some of the Militia officers of Henrico County gott upp a party of forty six horse and march'd immediately… The cheife officer Coll Epps and Major Harris were kill'd and two more wounded.

In addition to the continuing concerns over frontier defense, a prolonged drop in tobacco prices and a squabbling government marked the decade of the 1670s as an era of uncertainty for many Virginians. Significantly, this period of unease corresponds with an ambitious building project by the Eppes family at City Point. Why would they chose such a time to build an expensive brick and frame dwelling on lands they had previously been content to leave in the hands of tenants or servants? The answer may lie in Bacon's Rebellion. Historian Warren Billings has interpreted the Rebellion as a clear victory for Virginia's leading families. Bacon and his rebels had sought to challenge colonial authority long in the hands of families such as the Eppes. Bacon's defeat by Governor William Berkeley and his untimely death therefore provided assurance to the governing elite: "If Bacon's Rebellion accomplished nothing else, its failure to unseat the great planters demonstrated that they could hold onto their places despite the gravest of challenges. Defeated, Bacon's adherents had only one choice: to submit to the rule of their betters" (Billings 1975: 249). If the Eppes family felt any lingering concern over their position in Virginia society, as leaders on a local level but no longer on the colonial level, the construction of a brick and frame house to anchor their City Point lands may have been perceived as symbolizing permanency on the landscape underscoring their status as planters.

The Seventeenth-Century "Virginia House" at City Point

Excavation in 1983, directed by Brooke Blades, unearthed traces of a cellar, brick chimney, and foundations of a dwelling that was constructed in the late seventeenth

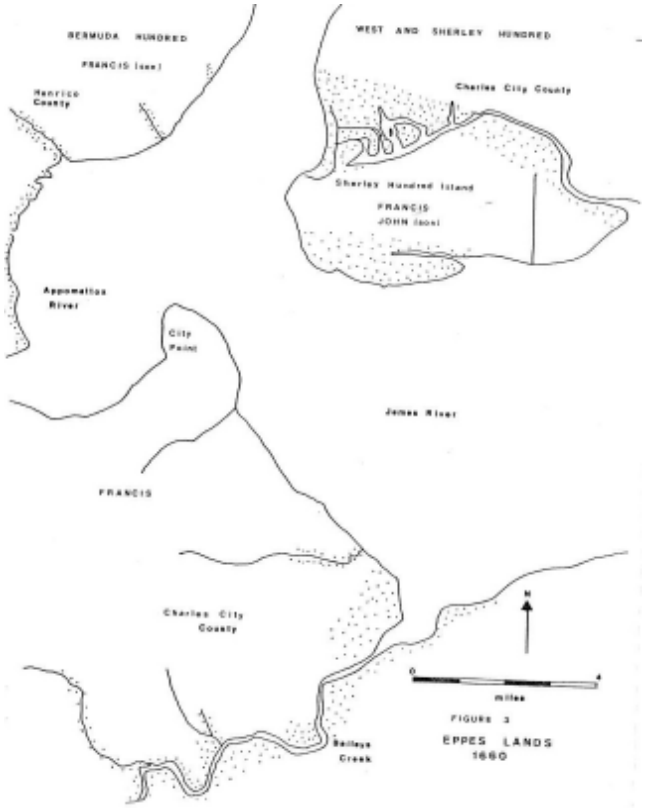

Figure 26. Eppes lands in 1660 (Blades 1988).

century and ultimately destroyed in 1763 when Richard Eppes reorganized the plantation landscape. Blades describes the dwelling as a typical example of a "Virginia house," with its two-room plan, frame construction, and dimensions of 31 by 19 feet with a brick cellar and end chimneys (Blades 1988). The frame house rested on a brick foundation with a full brick cellar, and was likely one and half stories in height. The house was well lit by sash windows glazed with rectangular pane glass set in lead cames, and heated by two brick end chimneys. The hearth on the southern end of the house was interpreted as deeper than that on the north side, which may reflect its use as a kitchen. This postulated function is supported by the recovery of a wrought iron trammel fragment from the fill of the hearth. Some evidence suggests that the original house was not supported on a full brick foundation, but possibly upon brick piers. The addition of a full brick foundation suggests that the original means of support was not sufficient, hardly surprising considering that the full cellar appears to have been an original feature of the dwelling. Such re-working of a frame building is echoed by evidence form other sites in the Tidewater region, as discussed below.

Excavation of a small portion of the fill within the cellar provided some dating evidence for the construction of the house along with a range of occupation and demolition debris. The base of the cellar was not floored with brick or tile; rather, it featured a packed clay floor. Resting on this floor was found fragments of artifacts that can be presumed to relate to the earliest use of the structure. These materials include a variety of architectural items (brick and nails, but an absence of plaster which may suggest the dwelling was not initially plastered), as well as fifteen fragments of a wine bottle dating to the period 1660-1680 (Blades 1988).

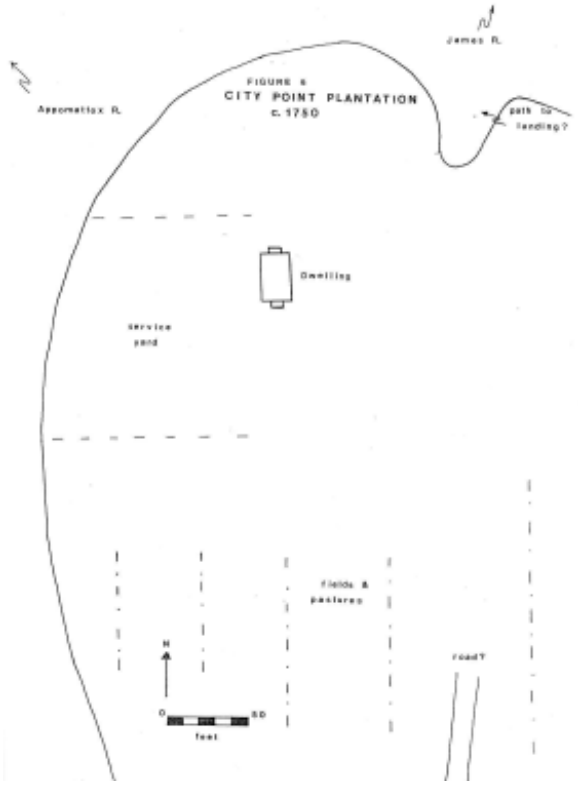

Figure 27. Location of early dwelling at City Point (Blades 1988).

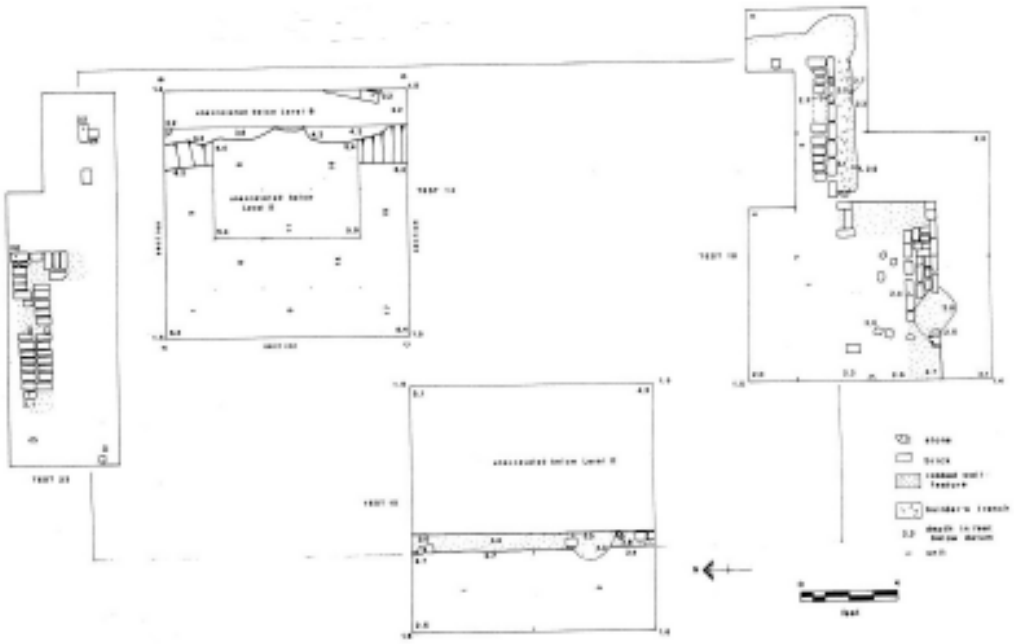

Figure 28. Brick and frame dwelling at City Point (Blades 1988).

The construction of this dwelling at City Point represents a considerable investment on the part of the builder. While modest in size, the use of brick, plaster, window glass, and particularly the full cellar and foundation represents a significant advance upon the more typical earthfast construction previously discussed. The cost of building a house on the scale of the new dwelling at City Point was not inconsiderable. According to a 1682 complaint by William Fitzhugh, the cost of labor in Virginia was so high that building a house in the colony cost three times the price of building a comparable dwelling in London (Davis 1963: 203).

An extant contract for the construction of a frame house in Henrico County provides an excellent source for understanding the effort and expense involved in the building of the City Point dwelling in the same time period:

> An agreement made between Mr. Thomas Chamberlaine and James Gates about February last. Imprimis the said Gates was to gett a frame of a forty foote dwelling house and frame the same. And to cover and weather board the said house and to add to the said house two outside chimneys and finish them and to ground fill the same house and to make two partitions one below and one above farre all the joize nd posts to be squared by a line and plained and all the rest of the ground worke to be squared by a line and the said Gates was allsoe to dub the board for the said house in consideration for the above worke the above Chamberlaine is to pay the above Gates twelve hundred poundsa of tobacco (Henrico County Deed Book, 1677-1692, 88; cited in Billings 1975: 306).

Not all observers appreciated the investment involved in constructing even small dwellings in colonial Virginia. The 1687 comments of the Frenchman Durand de Dauphine, while oft quoted, are worth repeating here:

> Some people in this country are comfortably housed; the farmers' houses are built entirely of wood, the roofs being made of small boards of chestnut, as are also the walls. Those who have some means, cover them inside with a coating of mortar in which they use oyster-shells for lime; it is as white as snow, so that although they look ugly from the outside, where only the wood can be seen, they are very pleasant inside, with convenient windows and openings. They have started making bricks in quantities, and I have seen several houses where the walls were made entirely of them. Whatever their rank, and I know not why, they build only two rooms with some closets on the ground floor, and two rooms in the attic above; but they build several like this, according to their means (Billings 1975: 306).

The most likely candidate for the builder of the brick and frame house at City Point is William Eppes, grandson of Captain Francis Eppes (Blades 1988). In 1722, William Eppes was deeded a 184-acre tract of land encompassing the City Point locale by his mother Mary, widow of Captain Francis Eppes' son John Eppes. Mary, an Eppes by birth and cousin to her husband John, had evidently inherited the City Point property acquired by Captain Eppes. The deed stipulated that Mary Eppes reserved the right to use the land during her lifetime, and specified that her other sons John and Thomas have the right to acquire woods from the City Point lands for their use on Eppes Island, suggesting that a considerable portion of the property was for-

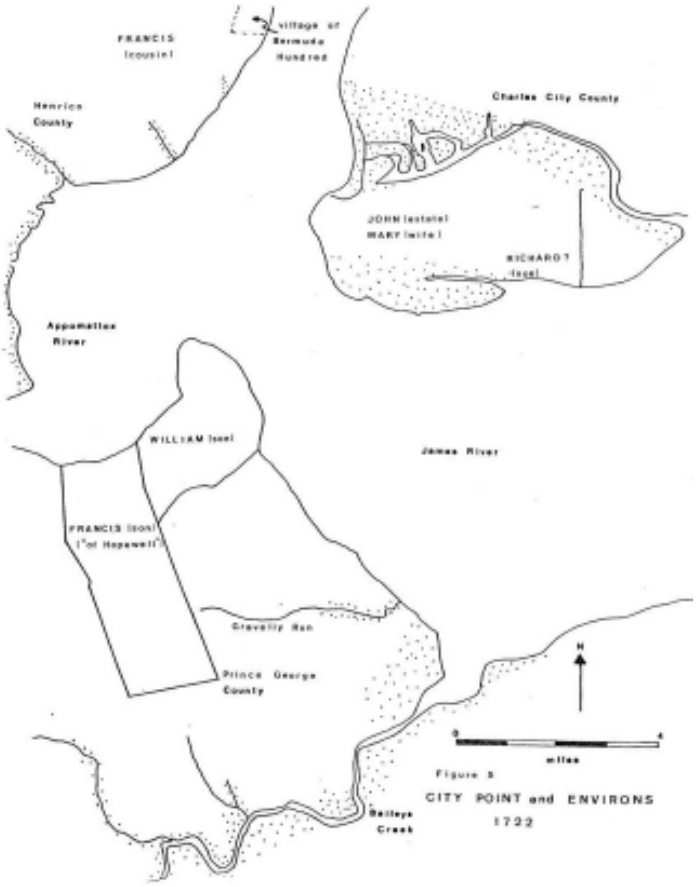

Figure 29. Landholdings around City Point in 1722 (Blades 1988).

ested (Dorman 1992: 130; Prince George County Wills and Deeds 1713-1728: 539-541).

It would appear that William Eppes and his wife Sarah were already residing south of the James, possibly at City Point, in 1715 as they are documented as residents of Westover Parish in western Prince George County in that year (Prince George County was created in 1705 from the portion of Charles City Shire lying south of the James). William and Sarah Eppes already owned land in near City Point at that time. When William Eppes died in 1727, he left "my land and plantation I live on" to his son Francis, with another tract "plantation at Gravelly Run," east of City Point, left to his son William. Although Dorman (1992) identifies William and Sarah as residents of Charles City County, Sarah Eppes will, proved in 1729, indicates that she lived at "Hopewell" in Prince George County.

The discovery of a glass wine bottle seal bearing the initials "FE" in the cellar fill of the brick and frame house at City Point may indicate that William and Sarah's son Francis (with his wife Susanna Moore Eppes, and their children William, Francis, Daniel, Richard, and Sarah) continued to reside at City Point. In 1728, Francis Epes was described as living at Hopewell when he witnessed a deed, and again as residing at Hopewell when his will was proven in July 1739. Susanna Moore Epps died sometime between 1744 and 1756.

The dispersal of the real estate owned by Francis and Susanna Moore Eppes is unclear. Evidence from Dr. Richard Eppes nineteenth-century diary suggests that the property passed from William to his daughter Mary, and was never held by Francis Eppes. From Mary it was transferred to her brother Richard, who then passed it on to his own son Richard. Butowski (1978) followed this family tradition in his demarcation of the chain of title for City Point. As noted by Blades (1988: 15), prior to the well-documented mid-eighteenth-century ownership by the Richard Eppes who built Appomattox Manor in 1763, "ownership information is recorded only in the 1635 patent, the 1722 deed and mid-nineteenth-century family tradition."

The house at City Point was clearly occupied well into the eighteenth century, presumably by William and Sarah Eppes and then possibly by Francis Eppes. One upper layer within the cellar fill contained artifacts dating broadly to the mid-eighteenth century, interpreted as corresponding to the abandonment and demolition of the dwelling to make way for the Appomattox Manor house. That the house was intentionally dismantled is abundantly clear from the fact that the brick foundations had been extensively robbed. The seventeenth-century bricks employed in the construction of the dwelling are likely to have been incorporated in later structures at City Point. Furthermore, the presence of window glass in the cellar, as discussed by Blades (1988), suggests that the wooden floor boards of the ground floor of the dwelling were removed and are likely to have also been reused in buildings elsewhere in the vicinity, if not in Richard Eppes new dwelling house itself. The significance of the finds from this house, and the circumstances of its use and demolition in the eighteenth century, are discussed in the next chapter.

Brick and Frame Building in Seventeenth-century Virginia

The construction of the "Virginia house" at City Point, with its use of a brick cellar, brick chimneys, and additional brick foundation, is paralleled by similar developments on area plantations. Throughout the Chesapeake region, brick was often incorporated into predominantly post structures. For example, archaeological investigations in an area once part of the seventeenth-century settlement of Hampton uncovered evidence of five post in ground structures, one of which—Structure A—experienced considerable modification when a brick-lined and tile floored cellar was added to the original two-bay earthfast house (Edwards et al. 1989). The original building is believed to have been constructed in the 1620s, with the alteration taking place approximately ten to fifteen years later. All five dwellings in the Hampton complex were abandoned in the 1660s, possibly owing to the devastating effects of a hurricane that struck the Hampton Roads area in the summer of 1667 that reportedly destroyed 10,000 homes (Edwards et al. 1989; Holt 1985).

The seventeenth-century Pettus Manor on the Kingsmill tract in James City County, Virginia increasingly incorporated brick in the form of a cellar, buttery, and three fireplaces as it expanded throughout the century (Kelso 1994). The Utopia house, also on the Kingsmill tract, incorporated a brick-lined English basement after its initial construction as an earthfast dwelling (Kelso 1994). The continuing preservation of Cedar Park, Maryland, one of only two Chesapeake earthfast dwellings to still stand, was assured by the encasing of the entire building in brick.

In examining the archaeological remains of an earthfast structure dating to the third quarter of the seventeenth century located at Flowerdew Hundred in Prince George's

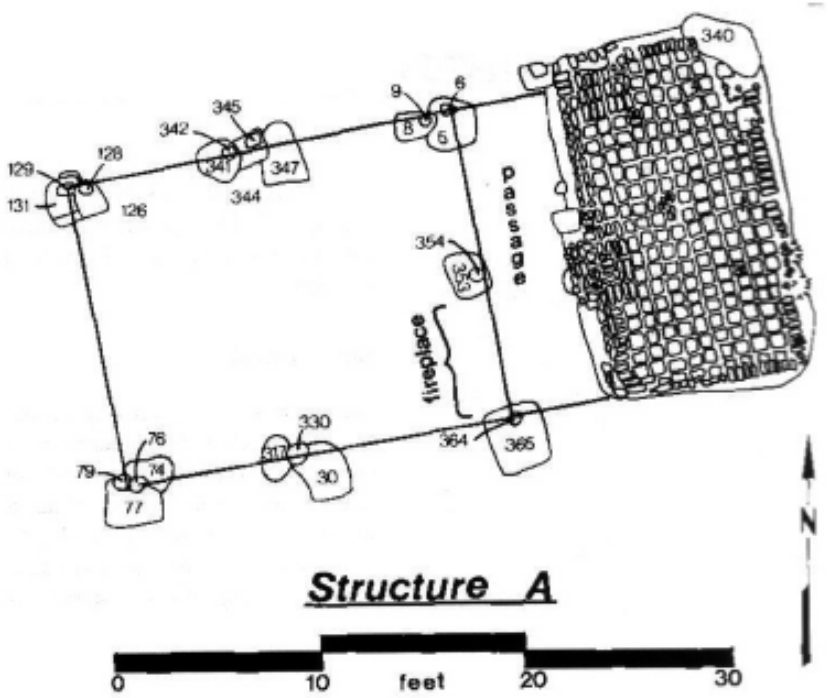

Figure 30. Structure A at Hampton (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

County Virginia, Ann Markell has cogently addressed the issue of building with an eye towards permanence. At site 44PG92, an earthfast structure with a brick chimney was excavated that appeared to show intent for later improvement. Markell has interpreted the existence of a considerable builder's trench surrounding the structure's cellar as evidence for a planned incorporation of masonry facing at a future date, reflective perhaps of the brick facing added to Cedar Park in Maryland to which the continued survival of that post building has been attributed. Markell also notes the predominance of descriptions of English framed houses and brick houses contained within the inventories of rebels executed in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion of 1676 (Markell 1994). A further examination of the Flowerdew structure along with two other examples (Painter 1959; Luccketti 1990) of cellar-set structures (buildings in which the supporting posts were set within a cellar hole) by Edward Carr (2000) has suggested that the incorporation of brick cellars was anticipated by the builders of these three dwellings because of the function of brick as a symbol of social standing. Carr argues that the incorporation of brick within a cellar actually is more economical than employing them as the supports for a frame building, hence the continued reliance upon an earthfast support system.

Archaeological investigations at Curles Neck plantation on the James River, (once the home of the notorious rebel Nathaniel Bacon) just south of Richmond by Virginia Commonwealth University, under the direction of Daniel Mouer, have uncovered several seventeenth-century buildings that utilize brick in their construction. Curles Neck was originally patented in 1613 as Digg's Hundred, where a Thomas Harris served as lieutenant for the plantation and who later patented Curles Plantation. Harris' brick-nogged home with its three brick cellars, destroyed by fire around 1650, represents a very early use of brick in an area still considered a frontier until late in the century. Also excavated at Curles Plantation was the all-brick structure that served as the home of Nathaniel Bacon from 1674 to his death in October 1676. Closer to City Point but dating to the eighteenth century is the main building at Kippax plantation, which has been interpreted as a post-in-ground structure incorporated a brick-walled cellar measuring seven feet square (Linebaugh 1994a).

Another James River dwelling incorporated both timber and brick construction is the Matthew Jones House, presently situated within the lands of the United States Army Transportation Center at Fort Eustis. Constructed sometime around 1725, this one-and-a-half story dwelling with two external end chimneys was initially built as a frame dwelling incorporating earthfast technology (Graham et al. 1991). In 1730, the structure was effectively rebuilt in brick, and then modified again in 1893. All that remains of the initial construction are four framing members and portions of the two chimneys (Graham et al. 1991). Enough evidence survives, however, to situate the structure firmly within the timber-building tradition of the Chesapeake.

Returning to the James River region, some evidence for brick construction prior to 1650 can be found. Outside of the push for brick construction at Jamestown, perhaps the most notable brick dwelling is that constructed by Secretary Richard Kemp at his Rich Neck plantation only a few miles from Jamestown and within the boundaries of the present-day City of Williamsburg. Measuring 35 by 20 feet and exhibiting the common lobby entry plan, the building was excavated by the Colonial Williamsburg

Foundation's Department of Archaeological Research in the 1990s (McFaden et al. 1999; Muraca et al. 2003) prior to development of the site (44WB52) as part of a housing subdivision. Activity at the plantation continued throughout the seventeenth century, with a series of alterations made to the principal dwelling and the brick and frame ancillary structure which accompanied it. This secondary structure has been interpreted as a kitchen and servant/slave quarter, making it one of the earliest pieces of evidence for a differentiation in the residences of master and servant. During the ownership and tenure of Thomas Ludwell (between 1665 and his death in 1678) the house was expanded to three times its original size (McFaden et al. 1999; Muraca et al. 2003).

Documents from Surry County in 1652 reveal the existence of a brick structure reportedly sixty feet in length owned by a Robert Warren. Also in Surry County, Captain Robert Spencer apparently owned a structure at least partially constructed of brick, as it is described in the court records as containing a room described as "the Brick Room" (Records of Surry County vol. 1671-1684: 254, 451; Bruce 1907: II: 140). Surry County is also well known as the location of one of the few surviving seventeenth century structures in the entire Chesapeake region: Bacon's Castle. Constructed in 1665, Bacon's Castle—used as a garrison in 1676 but owned by Sir Arthur Allen—stands a full two and a half stories and is constructed entirely in brick, employing both triple brick chimneys and Flemish gables, not unlike the Flemish gables that adorn the famous merchant's houses of the port town of King's Lynn in England. Although one architectural historian has dismissed the structure as "clumsily proportioned and crude in detail," the construction and survival of the building provides perhaps the clearest counter-example to the easily-made assumption of architectural impermanence in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.

Two other seemingly exceptional brick dwellings in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, known only through archaeological excavation, are the Custis house at Arlington Plantation on the Eastern Shore and the John Page House in Middle Plantation (Williamsburg). The Arlington house is remarkable for its dimensions, measuring 54 feet by 43½ feet, with foundations three bricks wide. The house had at least three chimneys, two adjoining cellars, and was described in 1709 as "three stories high besides garrets" (Luccketti 1999: 27). By contrast, the cruciform plan 1662 John Page house was more modest in size and appearance, with a principal two-room hall and parlor layout measuring thirty-six feet in length flanked by front (porch) and rear (stair) towers each measuring 13 feet 5½ inches by 11 inches (Pickett 1996). Both the Page house and the Arlington house employed struck Flemish bond brickwork in their cellars, the only two examples known from the Chesapeake.

Despite the increasing evidence indicating the use of brick construction in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, small, earthfast building remained common well into the eighteenth century, as illustrated by Thomas Jefferson's complaint in *Notes on the State of Virginia* that "The private buildings are very rarely constructed of stone or brick; much the greatest proportion being of scantling and boards, plaistered with lime. It is impossible to devise things more ugly, uncomfortable, and happily more perishable." Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century earthfast dwellings have been excavated throughout the Tidewater region. One example not far from City Point

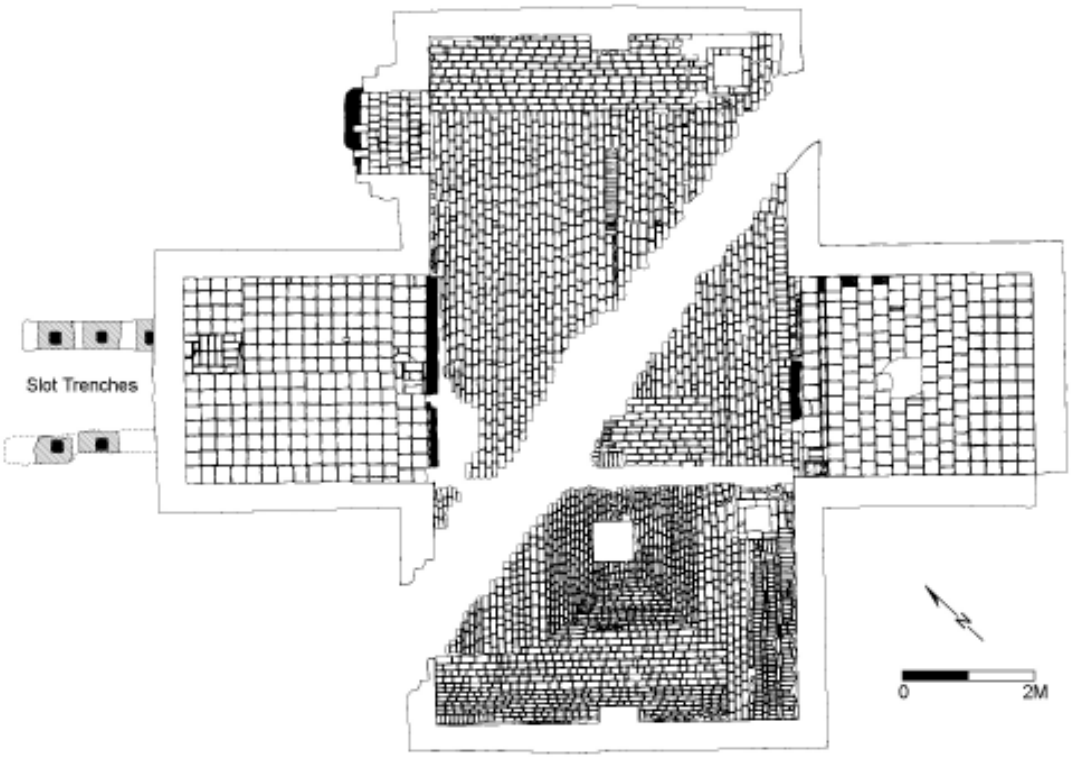

Figure 31. The John Page house (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

is site 44CC297, where an earthfast dwelling and series of pit features were excavated in 1991 in advance of the construction of a landfill in Charles City (Jones et al. 1991). Interpreted as the "first-stage homelot" of a tenant farmer, the site appears to have been occupied for only short time before its abandonment in the early eighteenth century. Earthfast technology was also extensively utilized in the construction of slave quarter buildings throughout the eighteenth century, discussed further in the next chapter.

City Point and the Formalization of Slavery in Virginia

Undoubtedly, carpenters in the employ of the Eppes family accomplished the actual building of the brick and frame house at City Point. Given the significant changes occurring in Virginia society towards the end of the century, it is likely that the carpenters were enslaved African Americans. As described by Terence Epperson, the 25-year period between 1680 and 1705 represents a "fundamentally crucial period in the formulation and implementation of whiteness" in the colony, when the ambiguities of indentured servitude for individuals of African descent transformed into race-based slavery for life.

A drop in the numbers of English individuals willing to sell themselves into bondage in exchange for passage to Virginia gave rise to the increased importation of Africans destined for a lifetime of enslavement. Prior to the closing decades of the century, the status of black Virginians was by no means restricted only to slavery. The distinction

between freedom, bondage, or servitude appears to have been more dependent upon whether or not the individual was Christian rather than upon wider perceptions of race and a black/white dichotomy (Epperson 2001; Franklin 2001; Morgan 1975). In 1667, however, an act "Declaring That Baptism Does Not Bring Freedom" was passed which explicitly stated that "all children borne in this country shal be held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother" (Hening 1809-1823: II: 260).

A remarkable poem written by an indentured English servant, James Revel, in the 1680s illustrates the ambiguities of servitude while noting the presence of life enslavement, by then partially codified in Virginia law. Revel, transported to Virginia as a felon, recalls that "My fellow slaves were just five transports more, With eighteen Negroes, which is twenty four.… We and the Negroes both alike did fare; of work and food we had an equal share." While Revel became accustomed to sharing his work and leisure with the other "slaves," white and black, their fates differed when the plantation was sold: "A lawyer rich who at James-Town did dwell, Came down to view it and lik'd it very well. He bought the Negroes who for life were slaves, But no transported Fellons would he have, So we were put like Sheep into a fold, There unto the best bidder to be sold" (Billings 1975: 139-141). Revel served fourteen years as a "slave" before returning to England.

The increasing codification of race-based slavery in Virginia in the latter half of the seventeenth century is also reflected in a change in the physical layout of the plantation landscape. While Revel's poem suggests that he shared living space with the enslaved workers, planters increasingly began to remove their servants from shared space with the family into separate dwellings, and to further segregate their work forces (Neiman 1978). Returning to Durand de Dauphine's observations of housing in Virginia, he noted that planters "…build also a separate kitchen, a separate house for the Christian slaves, one for the Negro slaves, and several to dry the tobacco, so that when you come to the home of a person of some means, you think you are entering a fairly large village" (Billings 1975: 306). In his comments we can see the lingering importance of a distinction between Christian or Negro (meaning non-Christian), the ambiguities of indentured versus life servitude in the use of the term "slave," but also the desire to maintain physical separation between individuals which soon gave rise to concepts of racial identity and inequality.

Additional archaeological exploration at City Point would be likely to unearth evidence for ancillary structures serving the main house, including servant and slave quarters. Given the context of servitude in the colony, and the early involvement of the Eppes family in the importation of Africans to Virginia coupled with the ample documentary evidence for their later status as slaveholders, it is likely that William and Sarah Eppes had African individuals in their household, possibly enslaved for life. The rapid increase in numbers of Africans imported from the slave trading posts of West Africa to the southern colonies at the close of the seventeenth century marked a crucial cultural shift in the New World. Households of white indentured servants and Virginia-born blacks found themselves sharing labor with individuals from drastically different backgrounds and experiences. New languages, traditions, and religions, and philosophies were introduced into an already fluid local culture, which even within the oppressive and dehumanizing structure of enslavement, contributed to the develop-

ment of not only a vibrant and dynamic African American culture, but also to the creation of a distinctly southern American culture.

Conclusion: City Point at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century

At the close of the seventeenth century, City Point was the locus for a small plantation advantageously situated adjacent to the shipping routes of the James and Appomattox Rivers. With the events of Bacon's Rebellion and consequent further oppression of Virginia natives, residents of the fall line vicinity were no longer living "on the edge." Increased confidence over security, and a desire to mark their permanency in Virginia and among the Virginia elite may have inspired the construction of a substantial brick and frame dwelling at City Point, most likely by William and Sarah Eppes. Despite fluctuations in the price of tobacco, its cultivation remained the principal economic mainstay for the colony, and there is little doubt that the Eppes family lands at City Point were extensively planted with the weed. Considering the demographic and legal changes in Virginia in the late seventeenth century, the cultivation of tobacco on the Eppes' lands may have been carried out in part by recently arrived African laborers, destined to endure the rest of their lives as unfree workers owned by the Eppes family.

Archaeological resources present at City Point indicate significant activity taking place on the property during the last half of the seventeenth century connected with the emergence of a small plantation. In addition to the late seventeenth-century dwelling recorded and sampled in the 1980s (Blades 1988), there is likely to be evidence in the yard area for dependencies that served the plantation. Such dependencies would have included housing for servants and slaves, as well as storage facilities and utilitarian buildings such as a kitchen, dairy, and smokehouse. Artifact distributions recorded in the test excavations of the 1980s noted a concentration of materials in the yard area to the west and south of the seventeenth-century dwelling, suggesting that outbuildings may be located in those areas. While de Dauphine was astonished by the variety of buildings present on a typical Virginia plantation, the use of outbuildings was common by mid-century and can be readily linked to environmental factors (Linebaugh 1994b). Detached kitchens were employed as early as the 1620s, while separate smoke and meat houses were introduced in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. A combination of environmental factors, the institutionalization of slavery, and an increasing desire for privacy and control that became particularly marked in the eighteenth century contributed to the regularization of the plantation landscape and the proliferation of structures designed for specific purposes. This process was likely expressed at City Point.

Chapter Seven.
City Point, Appomattox Manor, and the Maturing of Virginia

Introduction

While considerable uncertainty shrouds our knowledge of exactly who was living on the City Point property during the first half of the eighteenth century, the archaeological record makes it clear that the plantation and its burgeoning port were bustling with activity. As settlement expanded westward during the course of the eighteenth century, the City Point region was fully integrated into the core of Virginia Tidewater society exemplified by the elaborate plantation landscapes of the James River. At mid-century, the plantation landscape of City Point was substantially altered and updated by Richard Eppes, a great-great-grandson of Captain Francis Eppes who first patented the City Point lands in 1635. While Richard Eppes did not attempt to emulate the imposing Georgian mansions constructed by neighboring Tidewater elites such as the Carters of Shirley Plantation, or William Byrd of Westover, or the Burwells of Carter's Grove, as a wealthy member of a leading Virginia family he did endeavor to express his position through the regularization of the plantation landscape at City Point anchored to the construction of a dwelling that, while modest in scale, nonetheless clearly adhered to the principles of Georgian architecture.

Richard Eppes, while not a public office holder nor prominent politician, appears to have readily supported the cause of the rebels during the American Revolution. Like so many other wealthy white male Virginians, Eppes must have held contradictory views regarding human rights, content to support the principles of liberty and democracy for white society while at the same time eschewing their application to the enslaved African Americans who collectively contributed to his considerable wealth. In 1782, Richard Eppes owned 53 enslaved people, marking him as one of Virginia's largest slaveholders at that time. The landscape of slavery at City Point associated with Richard Eppes represents a significant element of its architecture, archaeology, history, and ongoing legacy.

Activity at City Point in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century

As discussed in the previous chapter, the occupants of City Point in the opening years of the eighteenth century are believed to be William Eppes and his wife Sarah who are documented as residents of Westover Parish in western Prince George County in 1715. When William Eppes died in 1727, he left "my land and plantation I live on" to his son Francis, with another tract "plantation at Gravelly Run," east of City Point, left to his son William. Although Dorman (1992) identifies William and Sarah as residents of Charles City County, Sarah Eppes will, which was proved in 1729, indicated that she lived at "Hopewell" in Prince George County. The name may refer to a plantation

situated below City Point (Jester and Hiden 1956). The discovery of a glass wine bottle seal bearing the initials "FE" in the cellar fill of the brick and frame house at City Point suggests that William and Sarah's son Francis (with his wife Susanna Moore Eppes, and their children William, Francis, Daniel, Richard, and Sarah) may have lived at City Point. However, in 1728, Francis Epes was described as living at Hopewell when he witnessed a deed, and again as residing at Hopewell when his will was proven in July 1739. Despite these descriptions, Jester and Hiden (1956) identify Francis Eppes as living at Bermuda Hundred Susanna Moore Epps died sometime between 1744 and 1756. The evidence of the wine bottle seal is not in itself sufficient to place Francis and Susanna at City Point, however. There were two other Francis Eppeses present in the colony in the second quarter of the eighteenth century (not to mention other Virginians with the initials FE), and furthermore, three wine bottle seals bearing the initial PT and the date 1742 were also excavated from the cellar (Blades 1988). No identity has yet been associated with those seals.

The dispersal of the real estate owned by Francis and Susanna Moore Eppes is difficult to trace, and some uncertainty surrounds the posited transfer of the City Point property to Francis Eppes from William and Sarah Eppes. Tradition recorded in Dr. Richard Eppes's nineteenth-century diary suggests that Francis never owned the City Point property. Rather, the lands passed from William Eppes to his daughter Mary. From Mary it was transferred to her brother Richard Eppes, who then passed it on to his own son Richard. Butowski (1978) followed this family tradition in his demarcation of the chain of title for City Point. By contrast, Jester and Hiden (1956) state that son William inherited City Point from his father William, and subsequently passed the lands on to his brother Richard Eppes. As noted by Blades (1988: 15), prior to the well-documented mid-eighteenth-century ownership by the Richard Eppes who built Appomattox Manor in 1763, "ownership information is recorded only in the 1635 patent, the 1722 deed and mid-nineteenth-century family tradition." Regardless of the rather fuzzy chain of title, it is clear that the lands were occupied and operated as a plantation, and it seems most likely that this was carried out by members of the Eppes family or perhaps by trusted tenants of the family.

The brick and frame house built in the late seventeenth century was clearly occupied well into the eighteenth century. Among the materials excavated from the later

Figure 32. FE and PT bottle seals from City Point (Blades 1988).

occupation layers within the cellar fill of the dwelling were sherds of white salt-glazed stoneware, introduced in the 1720s and common by the 1740s, sherds of an agate bodied earthenware, popular at mid-century, and wine bottles and tobacco pipestems generally attributable to the first half of the seventeenth century (Blades 1988). Nine wine bottles dating to around 1650 may have been sitting on the cellar floor when the house was abandoned and briefly used for refuse disposal. Materials found in the refuse deposit within the cellar have been interpreted as the "possessions of the Point's former residents" (Blades 1988: 112), thrown away while Richard Eppes, resident on Eppes Island, directed the construction of a new dwelling at City Point. While the trash may well have originated from the previous occupants of the now abandoned house, it is equally likely that some of the materials may have been derived from the households of servants or enslaved people working the lands, or from the households of those laboring dockside in the expanding port.

A total of 1,735 artifacts, not including brick and plaster fragments, were recovered from the refuse deposit in the cellar, comprising a sizable sample of domestic materials of the mid-eighteenth century (Blades 1988). Combined analysis of the ceramics from the last three layers in the cellar, associated with the abandonment and destruction of the dwelling, along with those from tests immediately adjacent to the structure underscore the active participation in and awareness of changing dining and entertaining fashions in eighteenth-century colonial society. The most frequent ceramic type recovered was tin-enameled earthenware, popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The second most common ceramic was white salt glazed stoneware, comprising 27.6 percent of the assemblage. White salt-glazed stoneware represents an English solution to the insatiable demand for affordable tableware mimicking the white body of expensive Chinese and Japanese porcelains. The tin-enameled earthenware and the white salt-glazed stoneware recovered from City Point represent tablewares, suggesting that the individuals who purchased and ultimately discarded the ceramics placed a priority upon new fashions in dining and entertaining.

Perhaps the most significant element of the two assemblages is the prevalence of matching sets of tea ware. Blades identified two tin-enameled sets and four white salt-glazed stoneware sets (Blades 1988). Tea was first introduced into European society in the seventeenth century, and by the eighteenth century, emerged as the centerpiece of a complicated social performance. The eighteenth-century ritual of tea drinking and its associated material culture has long been a topic of discussion amongst cultural historians, material culture scholars, and historical archaeologists, and is viewed as clear evidence for increasing consumerism and the importance of material expressions of status. As described by Rodris Roth, "tea was the preferred social beverage of the eighteenth century; serving it was a sign of politeness and hospitality, and drinking it was a custom with distinctive manners and specific equipment" (Roth 1988: 439).

Access to the knowledge of the proper way to perform the tea serving and drinking ritual was as restricted as was access to the tea itself as well as its physical delivery system. In the first half of the century, the high cost of tea "restricted its use to a proportionately small part of the population" (Roth 1988: 442). Tea drinking represented a significant financial investment on the part of the individuals who purchased the tea sets found at City Point, and argues for the presence of members of the Eppes

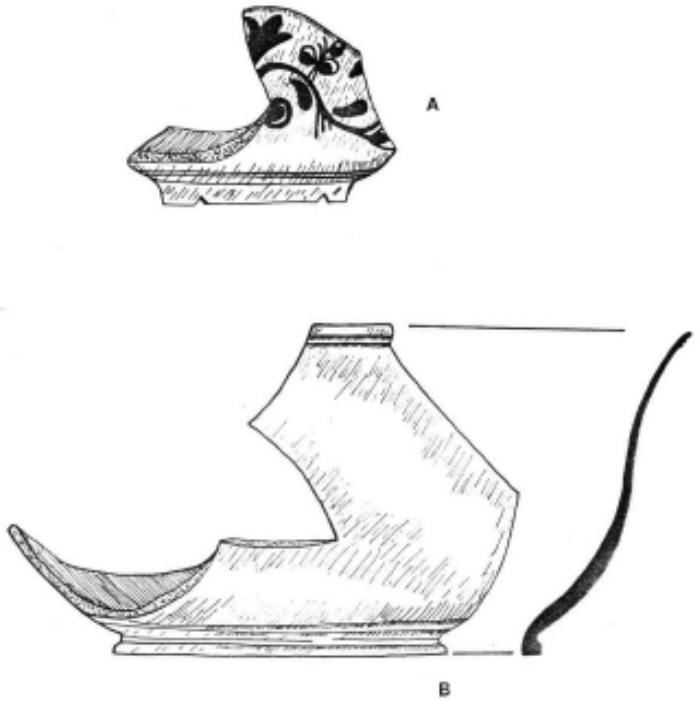

Figure 33. Tin-enameled tea bowl and white salt-glazed stoneware bowl (for holding tea dregs) found in the cellar fill at Appomattox Manor (Blades 1988).

family on the site. A proper tea ritual required a tea pot and cups and saucers, as well as a creamer, a slop bowl, a canister to hold the tea, a sugar container, tongs, teaspoons, and a tray upon which to balance the service. The importance of the tea ritual also spawned new forms of furniture, including three legged, tilting topped "tea tables." While access to tea, tea equipage, and the knowledge of how to participate in the ritual became more widely available in the second half of the eighteenth century, the refuse at City Point was deposited around mid-century. The presence of white salt-glazed stoneware tea sets argues for an early involvement in the ritual, as this ware type fell out of favor in the middle of the century.

The presence of sherds from several matching tea sets argues for the importance of the serving and consumption of tea in the eighteenth-century household at City Point. The scattered, non-urban nature of settlement in Tidewater Virginia meant that socializing took place principally in the home, with the development of hospitality traditions serving as an important means of symbolizing and reifying social standing within the colony. Clearly the occupants of the household at City Point which produced the refuse could not compete with the economic and social standing of the Byrd, Carter, and Burwell families, but they could demonstrate their social knowledge through participation in the tea ritual, albeit employing ceramics deemed less valuable and "authentic" than costly imported East Asian porcelain.

Richard Eppes and the Building of Appomattox Manor

The uncertainty surrounding the identity and activities of the occupants of City Point in the seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century contrasts sharply with the extensive documentation and physical legacy from the period beginning in the

1760s. Richard Eppes acquired the 184-acre City Point property in the early 1760s, along with lands on Eppes Island. Although the seat of Eppes family power had long been on Eppes Island, Richard Eppes opted to occupy City Point, with one of his first actions being the demolition and replacement of the principal dwelling on the plantation. Archaeological investigation indicates that he had laborers tear down the walls and push the debris, capped by a layer of clay, into the brick-lined cellar of the abandoned structure. One upper layer within the cellar fill contained artifacts dating broadly to the mid-eighteenth century, interpreted as corresponding to the abandonment and demolition of the dwelling to make way for the Appomattox Manor house. That the house was intentionally dismantled is abundantly clear from the fact that the brick foundations had been extensively robbed. These seventeenth-century bricks are likely to have been incorporated in later structures at City Point. Furthermore, the presence of window glass in the cellar, as discussed by Blades (1988), suggests that the wooden floor boards of the ground floor of the dwelling were removed and are likely to have also been reused in buildings elsewhere in the vicinity, if not in Richard Eppes's new dwelling house itself.

Eppes then set about directing the construction of a new brick and frame dwelling. Eppes' new house was not significantly larger than the old dwelling, but it differed in a number of important aspects. The house measured 21 by 44 feet, and like the earlier dwelling, was constructed of frame atop a full brick cellar, flanked by two brick end chimneys. The position of the house was shifted to regularize the appearance of the house and its dependencies when viewed from the river. Archaeological testing prior to the installation of a gas pipe in 1993 also revealed a concern with symmetry in the building of the house, as a natural slope was intentionally graded so that the brick foundation would appear uniform across the length of the structure (Fesler 1993).

Test excavations adjacent to two of the extant service buildings adjacent to Eppes house were carried out in the 1980s. The brick foundation for the frame structure known as the "old smokehouse" appears to have been laid around the same time as the Appomattox Manor house, judging from the presence of third quarter of the eighteenth century materials in the builder's trench. The extant kitchen building was ascribed to the early nineteenth century on the basis of the use of American bond for the brick foundation. Additional test excavations uncovered the remains of a brick-lined well, originally laid in Flemish bond, with the stains from a wooden well head oriented in relation to the house built by Richard Eppes. Excavation of the fill of the well indicated that it was abandoned and filled with debris around the time of the Civil War. Its location and the use of Flemish bond in the brickwork suggests that it is associated with the construction of the Appomattox Manor house under the direction of Richard Eppes around 1763.

Exactly how long the rearrangement of the plantation landscape took is unclear. The ascription of 1763 for the construction of Appomattox Manor reflects the physical evidence of a inscribed brick situated in the original western chimney of Appomattox bearing the initials RE and the date 1763. It should be noted that this physical proof is contradicted by a statement in one of Dr. Richard Eppes's diaries asserting that a date of 1751 is inscribed on a brick in the chimney of an upper chamber. As noted in the 1982 Historic Structure Report for Appomattox Manor, any attempt to test the verac-

Figure 34. Appomattox Manor (Audrey J. Horning).

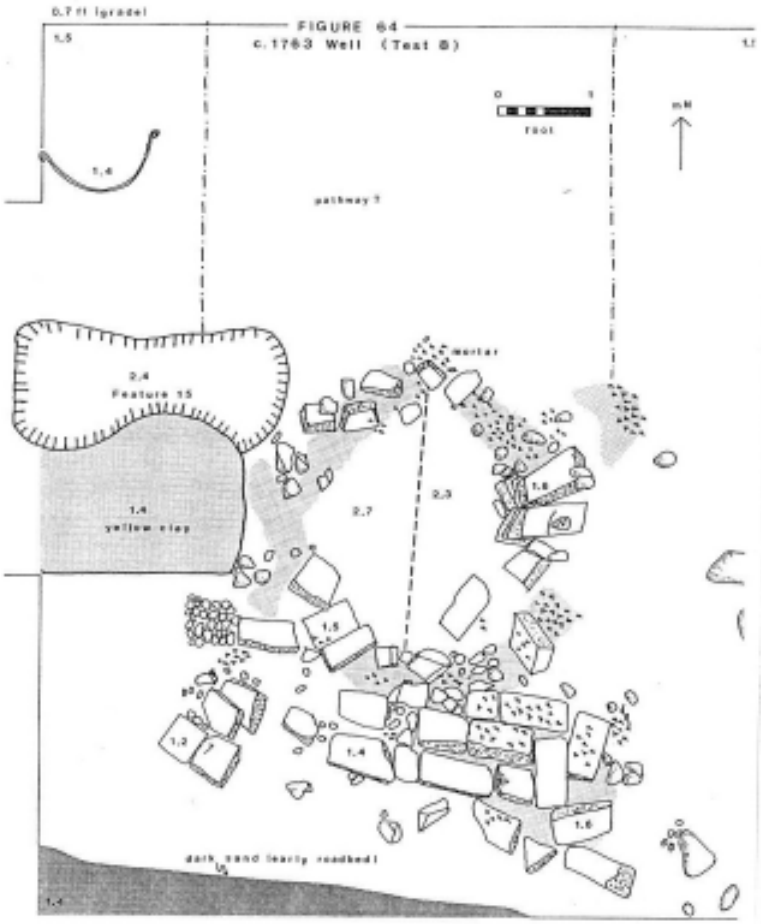

Figure 35. Well attributed to 1763 (Blades 1988).

ity of the claim for 1751 would involve "removing considerable amounts of existing fabric."

Dorman (1992) notes that although Richard Eppes is associated with the construction of Appomattox Manor in 1763 (or possibly 1751), he is still documented as a resident of Charles City County in 1767. Richard Eppes married Christian Robertson, daughter of Archibald Robertson and Elizabeth Fitzgerald, and they and a growing family (children would include Archibald, Thomas, Robertson, Elizabeth, Christian, Mary (Polly), and William) were certainly resident on the property by the 1770s. The names of the Eppes children certainly indicate that Christian exercised some degree of power in the naming process. It would appear that while traditional Eppes forenames like Richard and William were used, the names Christian, Archibald, Elizabeth, and Robertson clearly were honorific and associated with Christian Robertson Eppes' own lineage.

Richard Eppes, Appomattox Manor, and the "Georgian" Order in the Tidewater

The concern with symmetry reflected in the façade of the Appomattox Manor house and the regularization of the landscaping around the dwelling is one aspect of the well-known Georgian architectural style interpreted as reflecting a need for order, control, and privacy in the colonial world. Eppes' new house clearly adhered to these ideals not only in its outward appearance, but also in its interior plan. While still retaining a basic two-room plan, the new house incorporated a central passage that prevented the direct entry of any visitor into private family space. Outside of the house, Eppes appears to have also reordered the plantation landscape by confining service buildings to the west yard of the house and keeping the land to the east and north clear for the sake of vistas to and from the river. As stated by Blades (1988: 22), "Richard's new home and grounds announced to surrounding family and friends that City Point plantation was a creation of the social attitudes which governed contemporary James River society." While Richard Eppes' transformation of the City Point landscape was on a far smaller scale than the transformations effected by Virginia's wealthiest planters, his actions must be considered in a similar light. As noted by historian Rhys Isaac:

> from early in the eighteenth century the main residences that stood at the centers of the sprawling domains of Virginia gentlemen were being fashioned as declarations of the owners' status, not only by sheer scale but also by means of elaborately contrived formal relationships (Isaac 1982: 35-36).

Clearly Eppes had absorbed the symbolic language of architecture and landscape expressed so well by Virginia's ruling patriarchy of the eighteenth century.

Volumes have been written about the actions, intentions, and motivations of Tidewater planters in the way that they chose to physically express and impose their power on the landscape. Perhaps the most overanalyzed Tidewater planter is William Byrd II of Westover, who not only left behind expressions of self writ large on the landscape at Westover, but who also left behind copious personal writings. Byrd's diaries chronicle the minutiae of his daily life caged within the broader framework of the concerns and obsessions of a insecure power broker in a colonial system dependent upon the insti-

tutionalized inequities over which men like Byrd wielded their dominance. Byrd's physical legacy at Westover includes a series of rigidly formal, symmetrical structures, a formal garden, and the Georgian mansion itself, completed by Byrd's son following his plans. Even the privy at Westover, as discussed by Edward Chappell (1984) and Martin Hall (2000), serves as an expression of Byrd's position of power on his plantation and, by extension, within the colony. Byrd's privy not surprisingly was symmetrical on the exterior, with the luxury of a hearth on the interior. A number of individual seats are present within the privy, including small and low seats near the fireplace, and most notably, three seats facing the fireplace which themselves are set within an elaborate brick apse. The central of these three seats is the largest, and can only be construed as the throne most worthy of the Westover patriarch.

Elsewhere in the Chesapeake colonies, archaeologists have spent much time reading and expounding upon the landscapes of power associated with the ruling patriarchy. Mark Leone's now classic study of the William Paca garden in Annapolis interpreted the formalization of the urban garden landscape as a means of symbolically naturalizing the power held by Paca and his peers over the rest of Chesapeake society (Leone 1988b). Leone presents the garden as an intentional and carefully constructed means of masking the inequalities inherent in the patriarchal, slavery dependent society of the colonial Chesapeake: "…the division and subdivision of cultural space and time… as though the divisions were actually derived from nature or antiquity through the use of the idea of perspective."

Setting aside the important consideration that constructed landscapes of power are seldom likely to be viewed and understood exactly as intended by their creators, the continued emphasis by historical archaeologists upon highlighting those uncertainties lingering in the hearts of the Chesapeake colonial elite (uncertainties which led them to expend vast sums of money on elaborate buildings and ornate formal gardens as external symbols of their social, economic, and political power), tends to essentialize the character of white landowners in the same unfortunate way that the lives of enslaved individuals have often been essentialized and reduced to stock characters. When viewed against the mold of contemporaries like Byrd, or the Carters of Shirley Plantation, or Carter Burwell of Carter's Grove, Richard Eppes appears rather an odd man out, either somehow more psychologically stable than his fellow patriarchs, or dangerously out of tune with the chorus of colonial consent. While clearly a wealthy man from an indisputable First Family, Eppes evidently was not driven by any desire to overtly herald his status through the construction of a suitably ostentatious mansion. Instead, Eppes appears to have been content to construct and occupy a small, unprepossessing if undeniably symmetrical frame and brick dwelling fronting the James River.

When Richard Eppes, his family, and presumably a servant or two gazed out of the windows of the five modest rooms offered by the new home at City Point, they were confronted by the distant visage of the massive three-story, symmetrical brick edifice of the Carter mansion on Shirley Hundred. Was Eppes jealous at his apparent inability to compete with this ambitious building constructed by John Carter sometime between 1738 and 1742 (Reinhart 1984)? Or did he smile smugly knowing that his money was well invested in his agricultural pursuits and his vast landholdings? Certainly other members of his family were involved socially and politically with the James

Figure 36. The main house at Westover Plantation, designed by William Byrd II and completed by William Byrd III (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

River elite in the eighteenth century, with Francis Eppes (believed to be the son of William and Sarah) frequently mentioned as "Col. Frank Eppes" in William Byrd II's diaries (Jester and Hiden 1956).

There is little doubt that Eppes operated as a plantation oligarch. Tax records place him as one of the largest slaveholders in Virginia (Blades 1988; Fothergill and Naugle 1940: 40), and it can only be assumed that he ran his immediate household on the same principles of patriarchy required by the system of plantation slavery. Yet Eppes, unlike many of his contemporaries and social equals in James River society, appears to have exhibited little outward interest in the fractious world of colonial politics. According to Butowsky, Eppes "lived the quiet life of the gentleman farmer. He was interested in his estates and devoted himself to the task of operating the family plantation. He took little interest in public life and only served on the committee of public safety when danger threatened his home. Richard Eppes had no interest in politics and did not care to run for office" (Butowsky 1978: 29). Despite Butowsky's assured statements about Richard Eppes' outlook on life, it is unlikely that Eppes was truly apolitical. His success even as a "gentleman farmer" was dependent upon the political and social structure of Virginia which supported and furthered the cause of wealthy slave-owning families like that of the Eppes. The success of City Point as a burgeoning port was similarly dependent upon positive relations with his politically powerful neighbors on the James River.

Figure 37. View towards Shirley from Appomattox Manor (Audrey J. Horning).

Figure 38. The mansion on Shirley Plantation, built by c. 1742 (Reinhart 1996).

City Point in the American Revolution

Richard Eppes appears to have been at least a tacit supporter of the rebel cause during the American Revolution. While too old to serve in the colonial forces, Eppes collected funds from the Virginia government for the maintenance of a guard at City Point during the War (Clark 1942). The guard would not be tested until close to the end of the war, during the Virginia Campaign of 1781. In January, British ships under the command of General Benedict Arnold sailed up the James River in an effort to capture and control strategic locations within the colony. When several British ships were forced to retreat from the Appomattox River, the guard at City Point evidently fired upon them. The resulting volley of cannon fire from the British fleet is said to have damaged the Eppes family home, leaving a dent in the west chimney. Photographic evidence from the Civil War period shows damage to the northeastern chimney (Historic Structure Report 1982), but the damage is as likely to have occurred during that conflict than to have occurred in 1781 and been left un-repaired state, particularly considering the money that was spent on expanding and updating the house in the 1840s and 1850s. According to an unsourced statement provided by Butowski (1978: 26), presumably reiterating an uncritical family tradition (?), the house was set ablaze by the cannon shot, and "only the efforts of faithful slaves saved the home from destruction."

Several months later, in April 1781, British ships sailed back to City Point before discharging troops for a march upon Petersburg, presaging the events of the Civil War in the following century. Although the impact of the War on City Point itself seems to have been minimal in terms of direct physical damage, the presence of troops on the Prince George landscape exacted a deleterious affect on the local economy through the commandeering of resources and damage to agricultural fields.

Development of City Point as an Entrepôt

Exactly how involved Richard Eppes was with the development of the port at City Point that would flourish in the antebellum period is unclear. City Point and nearby Broadway Landing were both serving as hubs for the tobacco trade in the eighteenth century (Calos, Easterling, and Rayburn 1993). Recent archaeological testing at the waterfront uncovered a warehouse structure containing a wide variety of eighteenth-century materials, suggesting that Eppes must have been involved to a certain extent.

Some development of the village, which would ultimately become incorporated as City Point, can also be traced back to the period of Richard and Christian Eppes' residence at Appomattox Manor. The City Point House, located on the east side of the present Prince Henry Avenue, may date to the eighteenth century, and is believed to have served as a tavern. A second tavern, attributed to the ownership of the Eppes family, is traditionally believed to have stood opposite the City Point House (Lewes et al. 2003) at the corner of Maplewood and Prince Henry Avenues. Sizable domestic complexes also sprung up in the general City Point vicinity in the eighteenth century, including "Weston," built by Robert Gilliam and Christine (Christian) Epes Gilliam (she was a daughter of Richard and Christian Eppes), on the western portion of the Eppes

lands; "Mitchells," constructed by Colonel Alexander Bolling; and additional development at Kippax Plantation.

A frank letter from Christopher Roane to Archibald Blair dated 1787 regarding his appointment as Searcher paints a rather unflattering portrait of the City Point port facilities and particularly of its society:

> You say I have a choice of places—City Point or the Bermuda Hundred. I will take City Point, as the salary is greatest. I am much disappointed, for I fully expected my salary would have been at least forty pounds more than it was last year, as the trouble and fatigue is greatly increast, and the danger a man's in is not a trifling matter to be considered… The gentlemen may think that when there is any danger we may apply to a magistrate for redress, but in my opinion it will be too late to apply to a magistrate after we get our brains beate out or nock over board. I can venture to say that two-thirds of the people is as much alarm'd at a parcel of drunken sailors as they wou'd be at so many devils.
>
> …the board will be half our wages, exclusive of some room to do the business of the office. There is only four houses at both of these places, and two of them are held by people who will not take in borders [sic] and particularly such borders as we shou'd be, when sailors wou'd be constantly coming to do business with us, and the other two are rum shops, and frequently full of drunken sailors (Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts, Jan. 1, 1785 to July 2, 1789).

While it seems quite clear that Roane may have overstated his case in support of his plea for a raise, his vivid depiction of the character of a late eighteenth-century port is an excellent reminder of the complexities of personal relationships in an entrepôt. Certainly from Roane's perspective, the presence of sailors, certainly the lifeblood of any port settlement, was also its least attractive feature. Imagining the character of the contacts between Roane's rough and ready drunken sailors and Richard Eppes' gentry household suggests that he may have relied not only upon a physical buffer between the grounds of Appomattox Manor and the port facilities, but that he may well have employed interlocutors to carry out any necessary exchanges while shielding the family. The presence of two taverns (or "rum shops") at City Point suggests a lively if not necessarily genteel atmosphere. The presence of numerous strangers, intoxicated or not, certainly must have altered the character of life at Appomattox Manor from a reasonably self-contained rural agricultural household, to one intimately involved in discourse with the wider colonial world.

Landscapes of Inequality at Appomattox Manor

As previously noted, Richard Eppes was one of Virginia's largest slaveholders, owning and therefore controlling the lives of 53 individuals according to tax records from 1782 (Blades 1988; Fothergill and Naugle 1940: 40). An unknown number of these people must have lived at City Point, while others toiled on Eppes land on Eppes Island. That little obvious physical trace of their presence at City Point stands either as a testament to Eppes' successful manipulation of his landscape, or reflects a desire in

the postbellum and twentieth-century years to erase physical elements of what became an uncomfortable past for white and black Virginians.

Central to the regularization of landscape attempted by Virginia's planter elite is a desire to further codify and naturalize the divisions between black and white. The irony in this effort, as discussed by Dell Upton (1988) in a now-classic article, is that the processional and barrier-riddled landscape of the eighteenth-century Tidewater plantation really only served to impress poorer whites, as those enslaved individuals who were intended to be unseen in the landscape, in actuality maintained access to even the most intimate of spaces within the planter home. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the elaborate engineering and perspective solutions imagined and implemented by Thomas Jefferson at his Palladian home at Monticello. Guests to the mansion were spared the visual reminder of the contradiction between democracy and slavery by never having to view the presence of Jefferson's enslaved work force. No matter how rigorously their lives were ordered and their living quarters planned and maintained, enslaved people conceived of and operated within the plantation landscape in their own way and on their own terms.

Over the last twenty years, considerable advances in archaeological understandings of the lives of enslaved individuals have been made. Much of this work occurred (and continues to occur) in Virginia, with pioneering programs implemented at Colonial Williamsburg, Monticello, Mount Vernon, and Poplar Forest. At Carter's Grove Plantation, Colonial Williamsburg archaeologists excavated several slave quarter buildings, which were subsequently reconstructed and fitted out with the types of materials unearthed in the excavation as part of a living history program (Franklin 1995). Research in African-American archaeology, influenced by new trends in social history and in a focus upon cultural survivals began with the fairly simplistic search for "Africanisms" in the material record but has since developed into a sophisticated and dynamic focus addressing broader questions including the nature of cultural change, the multiple meanings of physical objects, and the differing ways in which landscapes were manipulated and perceived by enslaved individuals as well as by others.

A recognition that the process and experience of enslavement differed through the colonial world has led to vigorous regional scholarship. As noted by Edwards-Ingram (1999), "Understanding how slavery evolved in different areas can strengthen interpretations of archaeological finds. In Virginia, slavery adapted to a more diversified economy, and plantation infrastructure and population hanged to support and facilitate this development." Given that the economic landscape of City Point in the eighteenth century encompassed not only agricultural activity, but also maritime practices and some amount of associated hospitality for travelers, the occupations of the Eppes' enslaved workforce must have been varied. Evidence from other Virginia sites suggests that the experiences and living conditions of enslaved people differed according to the work that they performed, and that those differences can be 'read' in the archaeological record.

Recent work at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello has focused upon the development of slavery on the plantation from the time of Peter Jefferson through to that of Thomas Jefferson (Neiman, McFaden, and Wheeler 2000). The ability to systematically investigate the homes of enslaved families across the plantation landscape has

pinpointed the material correlates of differentiation within the African American community on the plantation, differentiation that appears to have been externally as well as internally imposed. The differentiation was chiefly linked to the occupations of the individuals, and the nature of their relationship with the Jeffersons. Another observation made from an examination of the material remains of slave housing over several generations is the transition from multi-family houses to those occupied by individual families. The chief material correlate of this transition is a cessation in the construction and use of sub-floor pits, interpreted as increasingly unnecessary as individual "hidey-holes" when only one family unit occupied a dwelling.

The association of sub-floor pits with slave housing arouse in the 1970s and 1980s, as the number of excavated slave quarters in Virginia rose dramatically. One of the first places where these pits were recognized was at Kingsmill, during the extensive excavations carried out under the direction of William Kelso (1984). In one structure, a two-room plan, earthfast dwelling incorporated three backfilled sub-floor pits which had been originally wood lined and divided on the interior. The pits have variously been interpreted as storage areas for root vegetables, tools, and domestic articles, hiding places for personal items, and also, provocatively, as ritual altars (Samford 1996). An astonishing complex of at least fifteen sub-floor pits dug into the ground below a two-room, thirty by twenty foot, central-chimney slave quarter building on the eighteenth-century Rich Neck plantation of the Ludwell family (Franklin and Agbe-Davies 2003; Franklin 1997) were recently identified and excavated in advance of development (the significance of their contents, including foodstuffs, beads, buttons, and drilled spoons, is discussed below). Whatever their original purpose or purposes, the frequency of the discovery of sub-floor pits in association with the homes of enslaved individuals, particularly during the eighteenth century, suggests that they were clearly of significance and may have contributed to reinforcing individual identity within a dehumanizing system.

Whether the as-yet-undiscovered slave quarters of eighteenth-century Appomattox Manor parallel or deviate from the patterns and practices evidenced at other eighteenth-century Virginia locations is dependent upon archaeological investigation. Some precedent for the eighteenth-century use of sub-floor pits at Appomattox Manor, however, exists in the remarkable brick cellar situated below the floor in the western room of the kitchen building, believed to date to the beginning of the nineteenth century. At nearby Kippax Plantation, situated in the Cedar Level area of Hopewell, archaeologists excavated two square sub-floor pits lined with reused, unmortared brick associated with an early eighteenth-century slave quarter (Linebaugh 1994a). The fill of the pits contained wine bottle glass, a pewter spoon, a padlock, a stirrup, beads, a watch key, a projectile point, and tin enameled and colonoware ceramic sherds.

Colonoware is a locally-produced, hand-built ceramic which, like the tobacco pipes discussed in an earlier chapter, has been variously attributed to African, Indian, and European potters, and is a common find on colonial Virginia sites. Unusually, the 1983 excavation in the cellar of the brick and frame dwelling demolished by Richard Eppes only unearthed a single sherd of this utilitarian ceramic (Blades 1988). However, Blades (1988) notes that throughout the cellar deposit, there were only minimal numbers of utilitarian wares. Such ceramics would have been more likely to be asso-

Figure 39. Complex of sub-floor pits at the Rich Neck slave quarter site (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

ciated and used within a separate kitchen or dairy, structures that also may have housed enslaved laborers.

Evolving from the early emphasis on locating evidence of "survivals" in the material record has been an increasing appreciation of the centrality of spirituality in African American life in the eighteenth century. In the beginning of the century in Virginia, a considerable percentage of enslaved individuals had been born in Africa. The varying memories and religious practices they brought to the New World were added to the mix of beliefs and traditions already held by Virginia-born slaves. Through the century, these beliefs were merged with Christian religious traditions. Archaeological evidence for ritual spiritual deposits strongly suggest that multiple belief systems were held, at the same time, by enslaved people. The most notable and oft cited examples of spiritual bundles include those unearthed at the Charles Carroll house in Annapolis, Maryland, and below the cabin once occupied by an enslaved "conjurer" or healer on the antebellum Levi Jordan plantation in Texas (Brown and Cooper 1990; Thompson 1993). Materials found in the Carroll House, deposited in the eighteenth century, included pierced coins, quartz crystals, polished stones, and a bowl incised with what has been interpreted as a Minkisi symbol (Thompson 1993; Leone and Frye 2001). Artifacts found in sub-floor pits have also been interpreted as ritual or spiritual in nature. At the Rich Neck quarter site, archaeologists recovered a number of pewter spoons that had holes drilled in them, possibly for personal ornament, as well as quantities of beads and buttons (Franklin 1997). Much discussion has occurred throughout

the world of historical archaeology over the significance of the dominance of the color blue in bead assemblages from African-American associated sites (Edwards-Ingram 1999). Blue beads dominated the assemblage from the Kippax sub-floor pits, while the chert projectile point and the watch key from the pit fills have been interpreted as charms (Linebaugh 1995).

Environmental analysis has also contributed greatly to our understanding of the experiences of enslaved Africans and African Americans in Virginia. Extensive examination of the botanical remains found in sub-floor pits at the Rich Neck slave quarter site, in Williamsburg, demonstrated that enslaved families relied upon a variety of cultivated and wild plants including the Native American "triad" of corn, beans, and squash, as well as wild and cultivated berries, cultivated melons and cherries, and wild nuts including black walnuts and acorns (Mrozowski and Driscoll 1997). Some of these wild plants may have also played a role in the pharmacopoeia of traditional medical practitioners. Faunal remains from Rich Neck included a variety of fish and shellfish, raccoon, rabbit, opossum, Canadian goose, wild turkey, and domestic chickens (Franklin 1997; Franklin and Agbe-Davies 2003). Examination of the faunal record from other African American households supports the widespread nature of the practice of creatively using domesticated and wild species to augment and vary the sometimes-inadequate diet provided by slaveowners. At Mount Vernon, the excavation of a refuse-filled cellar associated with a slave quarter occupied between 1759 and 1793 yielded 24,000 individual animal bone fragments representing 53 different taxa (Pogue 2003).

On the basis of archaeological evidence from the Rich Neck slave quarter site, archaeologist Maria Franklin (2001) has suggested that the foodways of enslaved families were far more than simply a means of attaining sufficient fuel to accomplish their often gruelling workloads: "18th century Afro-Virginians responded to the conditions and constrictions of their enslavement… through active collaboration in forging a system of foodways that demonstrated self-sufficiency, creativity, and careful strategizing in creating this cultural institution."

In addition to exercising creativity and arguably strengthening their own identities through distinctive foodways, enslaved African Americans also shaped their landscape. Close examination of the yard spaces adjacent to three slave cabins at Poplar Forest revealed archaeologically visible patterns of use and maintenance (Heath and Bennett 2001). Plotting the distributions of particular artifact types as well as testing the chemical make up of the soils through the yard space indicated that the areas adjacent to the houses may have served as a leisure space, judging from concentrations of smoking pipe fragments. Midden deposits, indicated by soil chemical content as well as by artifacts and ecofacts, were situated in discrete locations relative to the cabins. The placement of fencelines was readily discernible by the patters of deposition of buttons, suggesting that laundry was hung on the fencelines to dry. Those spaces simultaneously may have also served as gendered space, a location where enslaved women would gather to do laundry work while, at the same time socializing together (Heath and Bennett 2001).

The landscape of eighteenth-century slavery at City Point has yet to be seriously investigated. Ultimately, all of the space and extant eighteenth-century features served

simultaneously as planter space and as the space of enslaved peoples at Appomattox Manor. However, the ability to locate and investigate the domestic and work spaces of enslaved people, informed by the sophisticated analysis pioneered at other eighteenth century sites, should be an important future goal in an renewed archaeological investigation of City Point. Our understanding of the lives of enslaved persons on the Eppes lands in the nineteenth century, as discussed in the next chapter, is considerable owing to the extensive writings of Dr. Richard Eppes regarding his views of slavery and his management of the enslaved people he and the law viewed as his property (Brown 1999).

By contrast, our understanding of the eighteenth-century experiences of enslaved people at City Point is far less nuanced and its expansion will be in part dependent upon archaeological materials. Certainly it should be anticipated that the individuals held by the Eppes family at City Point were possessed of a variety of skills. Some undoubtedly performed agricultural labor at City Point and on Eppes lands on Eppes Island, while others no doubt labored in the home of the Eppes family. A significant contingent of individuals must have been actively engaged in the daily running of the port itself. Enslaved laborers most likely built the wharves and warehouses, while the duties of attending the ships docking at the harbor must have been performed by enslaved as well as free people. The "rum shops" that so offended Christopher Roane were likely reliant upon an enslaved workforce, while the heavy labor of the stevedore as well as the skills of ships carpenters must have been available at the port at least on a part time basis. The experiences of enslaved and free African Americans at City Point in the latter port of the eighteenth century must have varied according to their individual occupations. Teasing out their experiences should be central to any renewed archaeological or historical investigation of the historic past of City Point.

Enhanced interpretation of the African American experience at City Point also promised to speak to the interests and concerns of the contemporary Hopewell population. Engaging the local community from the start in new research and interpretative agendas at City Point is imperative for the success of any such venture. Investigations of African American life have in many ways become more proactive and advanced than other aspects of historical archaeology in terms of addressing and incorporating descendant communities not merely as passive recipients of archaeological knowledge, but as integral participants in the shaping and implementation of research. The continuous involvement of the Eppes family in the creation and institutionalization of slavery in the colony, and its subsequent dismantling through the events of the Civil War is central to the archaeology and history of City Point, and therefore of prime relevance to its present-day inhabitants.

Conclusion: City Point in the Eighteenth Century

Richard Eppes died aged 56 in 1792, having witnessed the maturing of the colony, the hope and horror of the Revolution, and the founding of a new nation. Throughout this period, Eppes quietly expanded his land holdings and his wealth. His will, dated November 27, 1788, named his wife Christian, and children Richard, Archibald, Thomas, Robertson Elizabeth, Christian, and Polly, with a later codicil naming son William

(Dorman 1992: 195; VMHB XXI: 218-219). His property passed to his sons, with the City Point plantation inherited by Richard, and lands on Eppes Island divided between Archibald and Thomas. Christian Eppes died in 1804, having written her own will in 1799, which named her children Richard, Archibald, Robertson, William, and Polly Eppes, Christian (Christine) Gilliam, and her brother Archibald Robertson.

During his tenure at City Point, Richard Eppes oversaw the transformation of the landscape from its late seventeenth-century appearance to a regularized Georgian landscape with Appomattox Manor at its central point. According to the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) record for Appomattox Manor is "primarily significant as the headquarters for General Ulysses S. Grant, from which he directed the progress of the Union Army from June 1864 to April 1865. While Grant's Headquarters, the house was visited by President Lincoln." The perceived significance of Richard Eppes' Appomattox Manor, its principal dwelling, and the surrounding landscape of City Point as reflecting only its Civil War experience must be reconsidered. The history and archaeology of eighteenth-century City Point presents at once a microcosm of the vast transformations taking place in Virginia society as well as an intimate portrait of the lives of individuals such as the possibly atypical James River planter Richard Eppes, his wife Christian and their family, as well as the transition of City Point from an agricultural plantation to a bustling, if perhaps rough, port situated not far from what would become the new center of power in Virginia: Richmond. Most notably, perhaps, the archaeological record of City Point, and Appomattox Manor in particular, holds important clues about the experiences of those as-yet-unnamed enslaved individuals who created and maintained the plantation over which the Eppeses held sway.

Chapter Eight.
Appomattox Manor and City Point in the Antebellum Period

Introduction

The period between the end of the eighteenth century and the onset of hostilities during the Civil War marks the expansion of the port at the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers, the official incorporation of City Point, and the expansion of Eppes family holdings across four properties. Under the direction of Dr. Richard Eppes, Appomattox Manor began the center of a landscape of control, where Eppes organized and directed the regimented lives of his enslaved workforce at the City Point, Bermuda Hundred, Hopewell, and Eppes Island plantations. Because Eppes left behind extensive papers, now housed at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, we have an intimate view of his operations. This view, however, is limited. Eppes placed himself at the center of his universe and that of his household and workforce. How they viewed themselves as well as how they may have viewed Eppes, can not be easily teased out of Eppes's writings. To approach the experiences of the enslaved African Americans at City Point and beyond, and also to address the perspective and activities of the white households on the plantations, again requires the contributions of archaeology.

On a broader scale, the regimentation imposed by Eppes over his plantations and the lives of everyone connected to them serves again as a microcosm for understanding the situation, perspective, and particularly the uncertainties faced by the James River planter elite in the antebellum period. The expansion of settlement westward, a decline in the tobacco economy, and fears of slave insurrection had drastically changed the ideological landscape of the Commonwealth. No longer was the institution of slavery an accepted, unchallenged, integral aspect of Virginia life. The balance of political power was shifting away from the tidewater elite, and with that shift, new ideas and directions for the future of the Commonwealth were emerging. Heated political debates characterized the decade of the 1850s. The decision to side with the secessionists in 1861 came at a high cost for Virginia: to begin with, the loss of its western lands with the formation of the Union state of West Virginia, followed by the disastrous impact of serving as the principal battlefield during the Civil War, discussed in the next chapter.

Richard Eppes and the Regimentation of Plantation Slavery at Appomattox Manor

The City Point and Appomattox lands, initially inherited by Richard Eppes from the elder Richard Eppes following his death in 1792, were in the hands of Richard and Christian Eppes's son Archibald during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Archibald Eppes appears to have continued the development of the plantation and the

port, and is most likely responsible for the construction of the kitchen and presumed quarters that is still extant today. Following Archibald Eppes's death in 1826, the lands at City Point were inherited by his sister Mary Eppes Cocke (also known as Polly). She and her husband Benjamin Cocke then lived at Appomattox Manor, ran the plantation, and involved themselves in the development of the port and the new incorporated settlement of City Point. According to Butowsky (1978), Benjamin Cocke was a poor manager of the property. The origin of these claims is presumably the later journals of Cocke's son, Richard, who castigated his father's lax treatment of the enslaved workforce, summarizing his father thus: "A master who punishes not crimes is not only annoyed continually himself, but a perfect curse to the whole neighborhood… and pretty generally looses *[sic]* his estate or dies insolvent *My father* [emphasis in original]" (cited in Brown 1999: 27). When Benjamin Cocke died in 1836, according to Butowsky (based on family tradition) Mary Eppes Cocke was compelled to sell a number of enslaved peoples and thereby "salvage the family fortune."

While Mrs. Cocke may have assured her own family's financial stability by this move, it is likely that the sale of an unknown number of individuals from a work force of at least 59 people disrupted more than one family on the plantation. Considering that an African American workforce had been present on the Eppes lands at City Point possibly from the time of Captain Eppes' patent in 1635, and that the numbers of enslaved people on the plantation had risen from 53 in 1782 to about 59 in 1834, it is most likely that stable, well-established African American families made up much of this work force. An 1858 list of the 113 enslaved persons owned by Dr. Richard Eppes suggests the continued presence of some slave families on the lands since before Mary Cocke inherited the property. The eldest people listed were Matthew Slaughter and Hannah Slaughter, aged 77 and 72, respectively. Thirteen other people bore the name Slaughter, suggesting family continuity on the Eppes land. Fourteen people shared the surname White, eleven the name Henderson, another eleven were named Corn, followed by nine Ruffins, nine members of the Lewis family, five Oldhams, four Birds, with the remaining individuals possessing seventeen other surnames. Information regarding parentage was included for some of the people on the Eppes list, so we know, for example, that Jenny Oldham, born in 1789, still lived in proximity to her three daughters and one son, and at least four grandchildren.

While we do not know how many people Mrs. Cocke sold, according to one source, her husband had ran up debts of $30,000 (Turk and Willis 1982: 13, citing an interview with Elise Eppes Cutchin), a massive sum of money at the time which would have required the sale of a large portion of the work force to even begin to reduce the debt significantly. To put the figure into context, the 531¼ acre City Point property and its appurtenances was valued at $21,592.50 in 1850, less than the debt attributed to Benjamin Cocke (Turk and Willis 1982).

It is also probable that the individuals sold by Mrs. Cocke did not remain in Virginia, as a contraction in the tobacco economy coupled with a massive expansion in the growth of cotton plantations in the Deep South precipitated a massive demographic shift in the slave population. The acquisition of lands in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi from the French and the Spanish, coupled with Andrew Jackson's policy of removing Native Americans from their lands, facilitated an expanse in avail-

able properties, many of which became extensive cotton plantations. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 meant that hardy cotton varieties such as green and short staple cotton could be productively and rapidly processed, with an increase from one pound per day by hand to fifty pounds using the cotton gin.

The new labor demands of the expanding cotton plantations occurred at the same time as the international slave trade was banned in 1808, meaning that new cotton plantations had to seek their labor force from existing populations of enslaved peoples. Furthermore, if the individuals sold by Mrs. Cocke were sent south, they would have been forced into very different work than that to which they were accustomed in Virginia. Despite mechanization in the processing, cotton still had to be picked by hand as the cotton plants bloomed at different times and rates. Therefore, the expansion of cotton growing throughout the lower South and old Southwest required substantial work forces to spend their days in the fields, bending over and pulling cotton from the prickly plants and packing it into large sacks. Not only was cotton-picking labor intensive, it was also difficult, back breaking labor often in extreme weather conditions that would have been unfamiliar to individuals born and raised in Virginia.

According to Butowsky (1978), Mrs. Cocke's son Richard (later Dr. Richard Eppes) was furious at the sale of his "mammy" (no name provided), and that he swore he would find her and buy her back. While the story smacks of childhood petulance, he evidently did eventually locate the woman in Alabama, but she died in Alabama without being brought back to Virginia. According to Gail Brown (1999), in later life Dr. Eppes maintained a policy of not selling slaves or breaking up families, possibly a reaction to the experience of the disruptions caused by his mother's actions. It is probable that this enslaved woman called "mammy" by Eppes left her entrusted childcare role in the Cocke household for the uncertainties and brutalities of life in the Alabama cotton fields.

Whatever the fates of those whose lives were sold off by Mary Cocke, she achieved her aim and in the 1840s, Cocke embarked upon an ambitious building program at Appomattox Manor, doubling the size of the house by the appending another central-passage, symmetrical Georgian structure onto the east gable of the 1763 dwelling. She also reoriented the approach to house and enhanced the formal gardens and other landscaping on the property. Her efforts have been interpreted as designed to encourage her son Richard, then a student at the University of Virginia, to return to City Point and to live in Appomattox Manor as indicated in an 1841 letter from Mary to her son "…owing to your saying that you did not entend to live hear, and I knew the one that I lived in was not fit for any one to occupy. I was afraid that I had not money enough to put up a two story one and furnish it as I wanted to for you and myself" (cited in Blades 1988).

Mary Eppes Cocke encouraged her son Richard Cocke to change his name to Eppes, an interesting and also canny move designed more to advance her son's position as the bearer of a First Family name with indisputable claims to the Eppes patrimony than it was necessarily intended as a slur or comment upon her late husband, as claimed by Butowsky (1978). By 1840, when Richard was sixteen, the legal name change had been effected. Richard Eppes inherited the extensive City Point, Bermuda Hundred, and Eppes Island lands upon the death of his mother in 1844. He did not

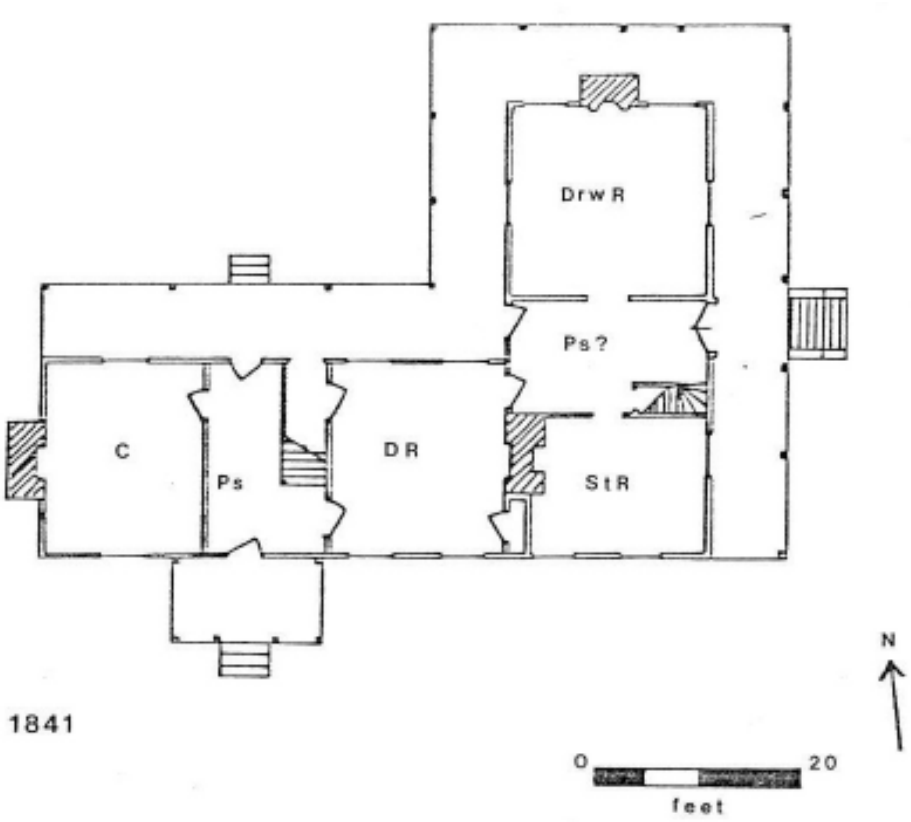

Figure 40. Alterations made by Mary Eppes Cocke (Blades 1988).

immediately return to Appomattox Manor when he completed his undergraduate degree at the College of William and Mary a month after his mother's death. Instead, he enrolled in medical school at the University of Pennsylvania and placed the running of the three properties into the hands of a manager. He appears to have been content to entrust the management of the properties to the hired manager for another seven years. Richard Eppes attained his medical degree in 1847, and returned briefly to Virginia before traveling extensively in Europe and the Near East in 1849, married Josephine Horner of Philadelphia in 1850, traveled with her around Europe for another year, and then finally returned to Virginia in the summer of 1851 (Brown 1999; Blades 1988). Clearly the lands had been productive during the seven-year period; otherwise Eppes would never have been able to pay for his lifestyle and extensive traveling unless it was entirely funded by his wealthy in-laws.

Richard and Josephine Eppes settled down to live at Appomattox Manor following their return from Europe in 1851. When Josephine died in childbirth the following year, Richard appears to have wasted little time before marrying her younger sister Elizabeth in 1854. The Horner family of Philadelphia was a wealthy and well-connected family who would ultimately bail out Eppes during and after the Civil War. According to Butowsky (1978: 34), Eppes "never enjoyed the practice of medicine and, as a result, he settled down to the life of a gentleman farmer and lived on his land." It seems more likely that Eppes always intended to take up his role as a James River patriarch, as indicated in an earlier letter to his mother where he outlined such plans: "I have now arrived at my nineteenth year and I have often heard you express the wish

that I would come home; what say you old lady to my taking charge of the estate next year and settling down with a pretty lassie for your daughter for life?" (Richard Eppes to Mary Cocke, June 26, 1843, cited in Blades 1988).

A cynic might read Richard Eppes's sojourn in Philadelphia as device for entering into Northern society, with his marriage to Josephine Horner and then to Elizabeth Horner (both daughters of his medical professor) providing the desired social and economic advance that would ultimately assist him in managing his extensive properties. Certainly his subsequent journals reveal a distinct disinterest in practicing medicine, instead relying upon the services of other doctors whenever the need arose (Brown 1999: 64). Even during the Civil War, Eppes initially refused to practice medicine when it was most needed, but yet throughout his life he demonstrated no reluctance to employ the honorific "Dr." in front of his name. Similarly, Eppes's penchant for traveling should not be construed as a desire to avoid his duties on the Eppes lands, but rather as another means of solidifying his status as a Southern gentleman. As discussed by Drew Faust (1982), southern slaveholders strove to identify themselves as aristocrats. Embarking upon a Grand Tour was one way of expressing their position and of making important contacts. Many sought and believed they found greater commonalties between themselves and the British aristocratic society than they found with their fellow citizens in the northern United States. Attached to this belief in a shared culture was the expectation that Britain would side with the South in any potential conflict. This hope was dashed when hostilities broke out.

Despite his time in Philadelphia, his new family connections, and his extensive travel around the Europe and Asia, Dr. Richard Eppes seems to have had no difficulty in taking up his new responsibilities as a James River patriarch, continuing and indeed expanding the Eppes family involvement in the increasingly contentious system of slavery. Like most southern slaveholders in the antebellum period, Eppes preferred to view his role as paternalistic rather than patriarchal, exercising a duty of care to those over whom he held dominion as expressed in musings he noted following a conversation with friends: "Effects of slavery upon the formation of the Southern character, much better calculated to develop the finer feelings & nobler thoughts than the institutions of the North… No opportunity offered North for displaying the feelings of pity, sympathy, authority & suavity there as here, reason why North produces better business men & South professional men" (Eppes December 9, 1855, cited in Brown 1999: 34). This ideology of Southern paternalism evolved in part because the end of the slave trade in 1808 meant that enslaved people could not be readily replaced through purchase, but had to be able to reproduce. Economically, slaveholders had to protect their future profits by investing in the care of their work force.

His extensive journals and papers outline his attitudes towards African Americans and his inability to see any contradiction between the system of slavery and his paternalistic claim in his yearly address to the enslaved people on each of his plantations that "we regard you all in the light of human beings possessing faculties similar to our own and capable of distinguishing between right and wrong" (Eppes Papers). Similar, but obviously not similar enough to deserve equal rights. Eppes's philosophy, in his own words, was centered on "viewing man in one relation as a dog or horse I have

found it best to break him when young" (Eppes January 2, 1853, cited in Brown 1999: 28).

Eppes' statements were followed by a "code of laws" guiding the conduct of his enslaved workers and a list of draconian punishments for the breaking of any regulation. Eppes evidently did not hesitate to recommend and even apply the whip for any infraction of his rules, and he generally made sure that the punishments were meted out in full view of other enslaved people in a bid to scare them into submission. For example, an individual who got drunk would be immediately whipped "ten stripes," while if two individuals were found quarrelling, they would be stripped naked and forced to whip one another until told to stop. Eppes used the carrot as well as the stick to maintain control over his workforce, offering cash and time off to anyone who worked the hardest or produced the most when performing particular tasks. Because Eppes did not allow the enslaved African Americans under his control the freedom to move on his lands, instead imposing a system of passes, he could use the desire of men and women to visit their family members on the four plantations as another means of ensuring proper behavior. Further controls on their movements can be read in Eppes's refusal to allow any of his enslaved people marry individuals from other plantations. For example, when John Corn approached him in 1859 "for permission to marry a woman named Celia belonging to Mr. Hill Carter, could not give my consent." He did offer to sell John Corn to Carter or a near neighbor of his, "it being a rule of the plantation which though bearing hard on individual cases I regard as absolutely essential to the general good." Caged in language of protecting the family, in reality it served also as a means for control.

By 1856, Eppes owned 2231 3/8 acres as part of four individual plantations: Appomattox, Eppes Island, Bermuda Hundred, and Hopewell (Brown 1999), reconfiguring much of the land originally patented by Captain Francis Eppes in 1635. Brown (1999) posits that Eppes intentionally strove to recreate the contiguous landholdings of his ancestor not merely to connect himself more deeply with his Eppes heritage, but to maintain centralized control over his enslaved workforce who were spread across the four plantations. Eppes kept a dock nearby for easy transport to his lands on Eppes Island and Bermuda Hundred, while he could readily travel to his other property by land from Appomattox Manor. Eppes maintained offices and a provision store at Appomattox Manor, and from his vantage point he could view the extent of his holdings and monitor traffic along the rivers. From the start of his personal involvement as plantation manager, Eppes actively maintained his viewshed or panopticon, as recorded in his journal: "The trees a long the river edge of both 1 & 2 to be cut down in order that the plantation can be seen from the river" (Eppes Journal entry for July 17, 1852, cited in Brown 1999: 12).

Eppes's desire for complete control over his lands and his workforce was never realized. His journals document a series of small acts of noncompliance underscoring the use of subversive techniques by the enslaved people to gain some sense of control over their lives. For example, Eppes was continually noting improper use and abuse of equipment on his plantations: "The destruction of tools by carelessness is one of the heaviest expenditure on the estate, and I am determined to check it if possible" (Eppes July 22, 1858). Despite Eppes' code of laws and his view of himself as a kind, hu-

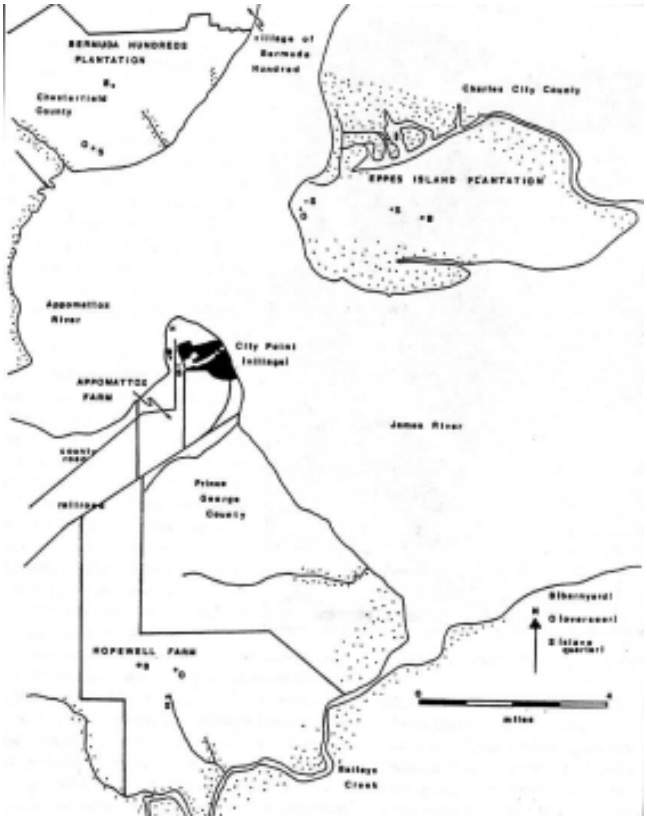

Figure 41. Eppes lands in the antebellum period (Blades 1988).

manitarian master, enslaved people often broke his rules, sneaking out to visit their families on other plantations, not following orders, feigning illness, and on a few occasions physically resisting overseers and drivers.

The diversity of Eppes's holdings meant that many of the enslaved individuals under his control possessed specialized skills and, as observed at Monticello (and noted in the previous chapter), the differentiation in skills probably was linked to hierarchy within the enslaved population. In addition to field hands, the enslaved workforce included carpenters, sawyers, butchers, gardeners, cooks, ploughmen, and a blacksmith by the name of Solomon. Children were tasked with rowing boats and herding animals, amongst other jobs, while the Eppes household and the households of the overseers on each plantation were reliant upon enslaved labor for cooking, cleaning, childcare, gardening, and the running of errands. According to Gail Brown's analysis of Dr. Eppes's journals, his favorite servant was a man named Madison (Brown 1988: 49). Although Brown does not provide him with a second name, Madison is presumably the Madison Ruffin listed on the 1859 slave inventory. Madison Ruffin was born in 1812 and therefore would have been twelve years old when Richard Cocke was born. It seems likely that Dr. Eppes grew up knowing Madison Ruffin, and it is possibly that Ruffin worked in or around Appomattox Manor when Richard was a child. Evidently Madison Ruffin worked as a gardener and handyman, was permitted to handle cash, and was often sent to Petersburg on errands. Whatever freedoms Mr. Ruffin may have enjoyed on his travels must have been more than counterbalanced by having to constantly attend Eppes and his family.

Dr. Richard Eppes not only endeavored to control the lives of his workforce though his manipulation of the landscape, he also endeavored to create an environment suitable for his family. During the 1850s, not long after moving to Appomattox Manor, he added several new features to the house only recently renovated by his mother. A storage room, privy, passage, and dressing room were first to be added, then in 1856, he had a bathroom installed at the western end of the addition he had added a few years previously (Turk and Willis 1982). Blades (1988) suggests that the Philadelphia background of his first and second wife and his in-laws inspired these changes. Butowsky (1978) repeated family tradition that the Philadelphia in-laws required these changes before allowing their daughter(s) to live in the house, while Turk and Willis (1982) attributed the desire for an indoor bathroom to Eppes's recent travels to Europe.

Interestingly, Eppes's granddaughter Elise Eppes Cutchin, recalled that her grandfather kept an outdoor privy for himself "well, he had his wife and he had five daughters, and he wanted to get away from the women. He left the indoor plumbing of the house to them" (Cutchin 1980). As for the building of the indoor toilet, she stated that "when my grandfather married his first wife, in 1850, they went abroad on their honeymoon and in France they had enclosed water-closets. So when they came back, they enclosed the porch to make an indoor privy. And it was emptied from the outside. And then my grandfather had a dressing room built too: adjoining his bedroom so he would have privacy and his wife would too" (Cutchin 1980).

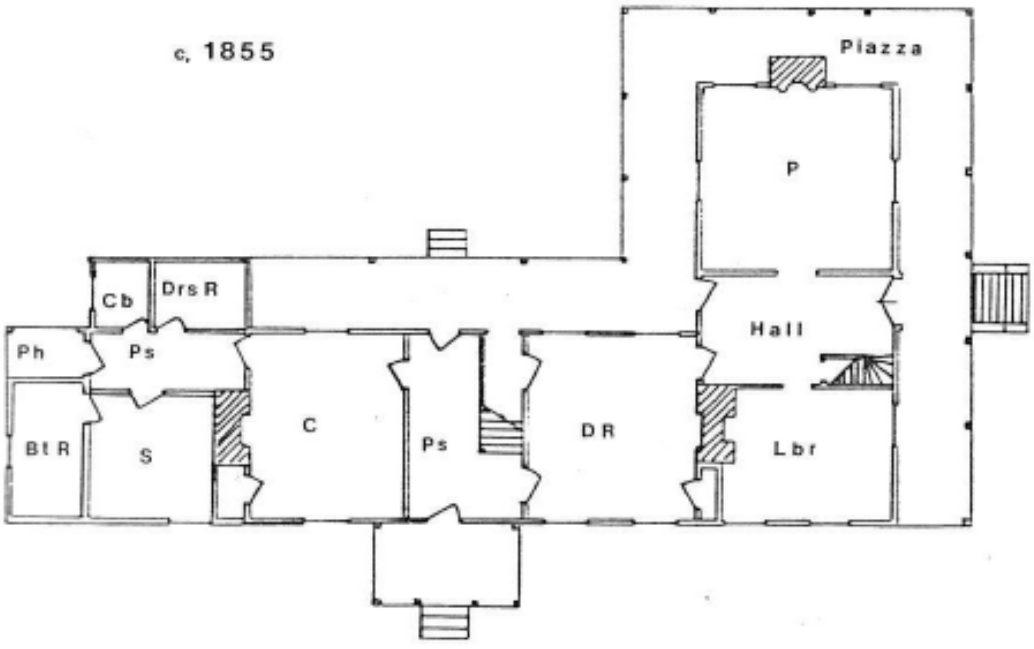

Figure 42. Changes made to the Appomattox manor house in the antebellum period (Blades 1988).

Archaeological Perspective on Antebellum City Point

Central to understanding antebellum life at City Point is the experience of the enslaved people over whom Eppes endeavored to retain strict control. While his journals are quite explicit in terms of the daily experience of management, and the recording of punishments meted out to his workforce, he is less explicit about the location and nature of housing for the enslaved African Americans. We can presume that those working on the lands of Appomattox Manor were housed in full view of Eppes, considering his obsession with observation and control. Statements in his journal suggest that Madison Ruffin possessed his own domicile, interpreted by Brown (1999) as one of three small residences situated in the yard immediately adjacent to Eppes own home. Whether or not Madison Ruffin's wife Harriet and their children Patty, Paulina, Agnes, John Williams, Samuel, Indianna and James also shared these quarters is unclear. Around 37 people each worked the plantations on Eppes Island and at Bermuda Hundred, who were housed in quarters on the plantations and also likely within the overseer's household or outbuildings (Brown 1999: 55).

When Eppes first took over the management of the plantations, he noted that at Bermuda Hundred, there were four houses for the enslaved workforce, two of which were built of frame and in good condition, the other two built of log and considered to be in poor condition. Eppes noted that the inhabitants were "too confined." One year later, Eppes recorded that there were three houses at Bermuda Hundred, "in good repair." He similarly visited Island Plantation in 1851 and recorded that the three houses there were in good condition although wind came up from the cracks in the

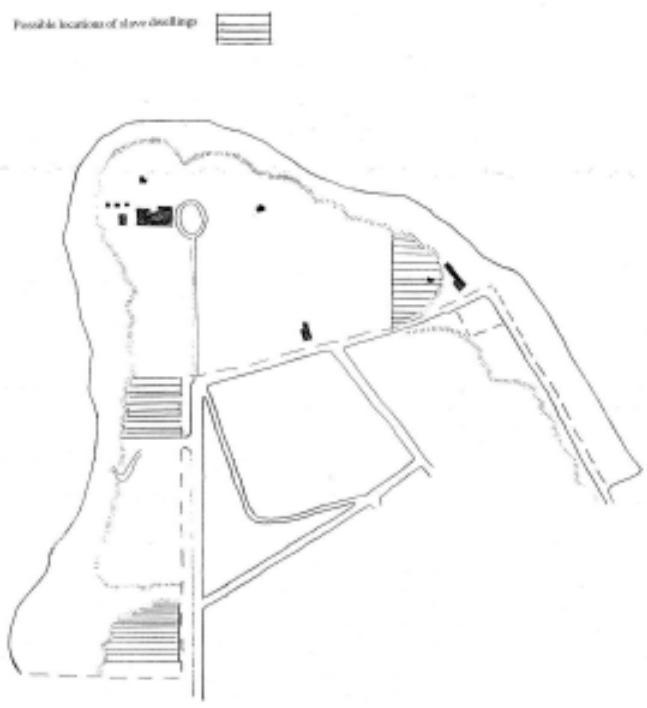

Figure 43. Conjectural map of the location of the domiciles of enslaved people at City Point (Brown 1999).

floor. One year later, the houses had evidently deteriorated, or Eppes's standards and understanding of architecture had changed. He noted that the houses at Island Plantation were missing bricks from the "hearths and backs," and that some of the weatherboarding and chimneys were "bad." It is unclear whether the chimneys were completely brick, or if the houses had brick hearths and wooden chimneys.

Eppes appears to have been fairly proactive in repairing the living quarters of his workforce, which may have been a double-edged sword. Given his attention for detail, control, and constant observation, it is less likely that enslaved African Americans were able to personalize their living spaces to the same extent that they could if not continually under observation. The type of housing provided by Eppes and its location, if read archaeologically, may reflect the division of labor and skills within the enslaved workforce which likely contributed to social differentiation amongst the enslaved community itself. Such differentiation was noted by Laurie Wilkie (2000) in an insightful examination of the household of three generations of African Americans who served the "big house" on a Louisiana plantation: "The social space within a plantation can reflect real or artificial economic and social divisions between the community members."

Although the journals of Dr. Eppes contain an astonishing amount of detail regarding daily life on the plantations and his management of the enslaved workforce, the data is filtered through Dr. Eppes's perspective alone. While his journals record the amount and types of food provisioned to his slaves, a more complete understanding of foodways is reliant upon archaeological investigation. While we know that in 1859, Eppes provided each enslaved woman with four pounds of meat, two pecks of meal, one quart of molasses, and six herrings per week, we do not know the type of meat

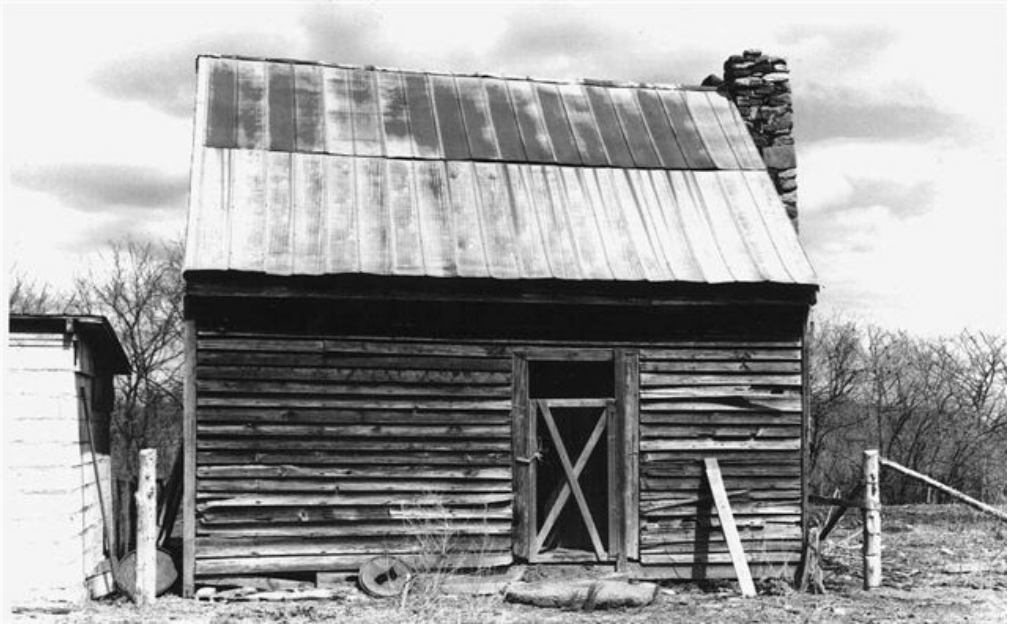

Figure 44. Image of a Virginia slave quarter, Green Hill Plantation, Campbell County, Virginia (HABS, VA,16-LONI.V,1K-1).

being provisioned nor do we know how enslaved families prepared and consumed their foods. Eppes did permit his workforce to grow their own vegetables on allocated plots of ground. This of course reduced the need for him to provide fresh vegetables. Only allowing enslaved people to work their ¼-acre gardens on their own time reserved more of their labor for Eppes. To what extent enslaved African Americans on the Eppes plantations augmented their diets with wild foods is also a question for archaeology. Eppes forbade his workers on the Island plantation from possessing fish floats or seines, possibly indicating that he reserved fish for his own use. Despite this restriction, enslaved people on the Island plantation may well have made use of fish from the James River.

As a general rule, Eppes did not allow his enslaved laborers to own guns, although he occasionally permitted weapons to be used against foxes and wild pigs. Judging from the findings on other antebellum plantations (Franklin 1997; Thomas 1998; Wilkie 2000, 2001; Young 2003), enslaved African American workers were likely quite creative in acquiring means for hunting wild animals. That individuals under his control also utilized wild plant resources is clear from an unfortunate event recorded in Eppes's journal on May 10, 1856. Five enslaved people on the Island Plantation had evidently ingested a poisonous tuber or bulb and required treatment. Another means of acquiring additional foodstuffs likely to be reflected in the archaeological record is illicit acquisition. Eppes frequently complained that the enslaved people on his lands stole livestock, fish, fruit, corn, and vegetables. Not only did they steal from Eppes, but some enslaved people also stole from one another (Brown 1988: 52), perhaps indicative of the inadequacy of the provisions as well as internal stress within the enslaved community.

Eppes provided clothing to his work force twice a year, which was made on the plantation. Individuals were responsible for mending their clothing, and it is highly likely that they also endeavored to personalize the clothing. One explanation for the frequent recovery of buttons from slave quarter sites sees the buttons as being used by individuals to ornament their clothing, applying buttons in a combination of color, sizes, and materials to the often drab clothing provided by plantation owners (Wilkie 2000).

Despite the fact that the enslaved workforce were spread across four plantations, the practice of maintaining families within the overall community supports the existence of ties between the properties, ties which are also underscored by the frequency of requests for passes to travel between the properties, as well as the reports in Eppes's journal of individuals "sneaking off" without a pass. Given the apparent general stability of the community of enslaved workers, the presence of family ties, and the evidence for controlled mobility, the archaeological record on all four properties should reflect these connections. For example, the recovery of the bones of wild animals or fish at City Point or Hopewell could reflect reciprocal relations with Island Plantation in particular, while the presence of a variety of consumer goods or coinage could reflect the easier access to such goods enjoyed by the enslaved population at City Point.

Similarly, within Appomattox Manor itself, relationships between house servants and field laborers could also be deduced from the archaeological record. It is likely that individuals living in the kitchen next to the main house, whose lives revolved around

serving the Eppes family, would have been consuming some of the same foods served to the white family, either as leftovers or as part of their provisioning. If they wanted to attain any additional wild foods for themselves, for example, they would need to negotiate with field hands or others with more direct access. Similarly, the latitude allowed an individual like Madison Ruffin to travel to Petersburg on plantation business must have meant that his services were also in great demand by the African American population since Eppes did provide his workforce with cash on occasion.

Eppes appears to have encouraged the participation of his workforce in religious services. Many of the enslaved African Americans attended the Methodist church in City Point, while others, including Madison Ruffin, attended the same Episcopal church as did Dr. Eppes and his family. Brown (1999) notes that the Eppes children were baptized at the same time as and in the company of enslaved African American children, hinting at both the inextricable bonds and the seemingly insurmountable divisions between the African American and white populations at City Point.

In addition to a reordering of the landscape for surveillance and control purposes, Eppes also indulged in gardening activities, the labor for which was entrusted to Madison Ruffin. Eppes evidently had acquired both cuttings and seeds while on his travels, according to Butowsky (1978) and these were incorporated into the existing garden to the south of the house as well as being placed around the grounds in general. These gardening activities have undoubtedly left an archaeological signature in the form of planting beds, paths, and environmental material such as seeds, pollen, and altered soil chemistry.

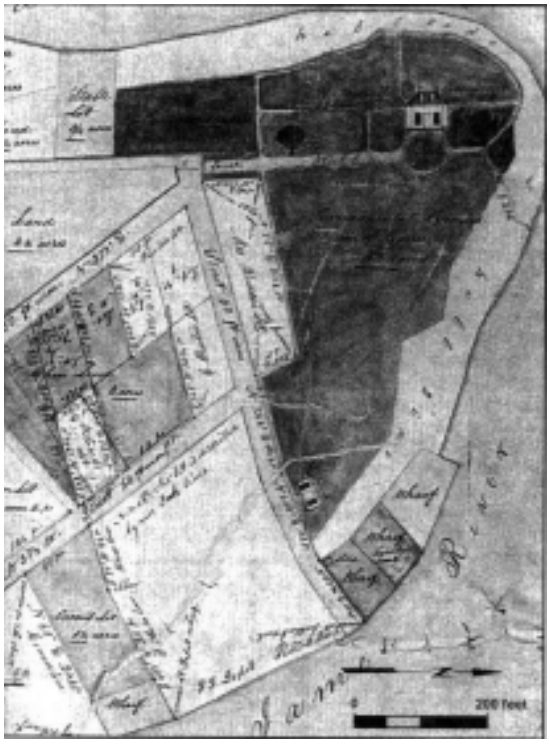

Figure 45. 1856 map of City Point and Appomattox Manor.

Understanding of the antebellum plantation at City Point invariably centers on the actions of Dr. Eppes himself, since he left behind the principal documentary source for life at Appomattox Manor. However, no matter how much he perceived himself as at the center of a universe over which he exercised complete dominion, the archaeological record at City Point was created by a host of individuals. In and around the manor house itself, Josephine and Elizabeth Horner Eppes made an impact, from encouraging alteration of the house to suit their needs and expectations, to directing activities within the house itself, to overseeing work on the gardens carried out by Madison Ruffin and others. Undoubtedly the Eppes women made their ideas and influence felt whenever Richard Eppes proposed any changes to the domestic space itself, and the Horner family as a whole must have influenced Eppes's views on the coming war as much as his approach to plantation management.

Similarly, Elizabeth Eppes would have been in control of the use of the house as social space, a critical function for any plantation dwelling. Certainly Elizabeth Eppes also would have directed childcare activities, carried out again by members of the enslaved African American workforce. The children themselves, so often perceived as mute in both the documentary and archaeological records, undoubtedly left their own impact. The children of the Eppes and the children of the African American laborers must have shared more than their date and place of baptism, serving as a means of negotiating relations between the communities up to the age when their respective ethnically based social identities forced an end to childhood bonds.

Expansion of the Port and the Incorporation of City Point

During the relatively brief period of ownership by Richard Eppes, son of Richard and Christian Eppes, substantial development of the port appears to have taken place. As noted by Blades (1988), following Richard Eppes' death, lands immediately south of the principal dwelling were divided into long narrow plots fronting on the James River. The development of a village had begun. When surveyed in 1806, the City Point lands encompassed 1197 acres (Dorman 1992: 195).

Following the move of the customs office and post office from Bermuda Hundred to City Point in the closing years of the eighteenth century, City Point entered the view of the Federal Government. The advantageous position of its port and its proximity to centers like Petersburg and Richmond recommended it for development. In 1825, the Lower Appomattox Company was created with the intention of dredging the Appomattox River at City Point to make the port even more conducive attractive for larger ships. In 1826, as a result of lobbying by investors, City Point was incorporated as a municipality. Individuals seeking to settle in the new town were to construct a twelve-foot square dwelling with a masonry chimney on their lots to be considered a town freeholder. In 1836, the House of Representatives evidently voted in favor of an $8,000 investment package designed to build a marine hospital at City Point (Lewes et al. 2003). The hospital was constructed, and its doctors would later often be called upon by Richard Eppes to look after his family and the community of enslaved workers (Brown 1999).

Whatever his flaws as a plantation manager, Benjamin Cocke evidently was intimately involved in the plans for the development of City Point. Cocke sat on the board

of trustees for the Lower Appomattox Company, which may explain the downturn in the Eppes fortune. The efforts of the Lower Appomattox Company seemed to have been ineffectual, owing to floods, technical problems, and the use of flatboats, which did not bring much revenue (Lewes et al. 2003; Lutz 1957: 132).

In the 1830s attention was turned from further development of the rivers to the establishment of a railroad, with the City Point Railroad Company chartered in 1836. By 1838, a short stretch of track joined City Point the entrepôt with Petersburg the urban center. This rail line is notable for being the Commonwealth's second railroad. The infrastructure for running the railroad was not inconsiderable. Two six-wheel locomotives were employed to move 28 four-wheel freight cars, one eight-wheel freight car, and two four-wheel passenger carriages (Butowsky 1978).

An invaluable 1837 map produced by John Couty to outline the City Point railroad plans contains detailed depictions of the settlement at City Point. A series of structures, docks, and wharves dot the waterfront along the James River, while in the vicinity of the village, lots, gardens, and a several structures are evident. In the vicinity of Appomattox Manor, the manor house, two outbuildings, and an extensive symmetrical formal garden are evident on the map. A tree-lined approach runs from off the map (presumably the landing on the Appomattox River), to the bluff beyond the manor house, effectively separating the plantation dwelling from the developments further south along the shoreline. An expanse of seemingly empty space is depicted along the James River between the manor house grounds and the start of development on the waterfront. This zone appears to have been maintained as a buffer during the tenure of Dr. Richard Eppes, but may well have been destined for development in the plans of Benjamin Cocke. The new railroad is shown terminating at a sizable wharf projecting out in the river.

In 1836, City Point evidently boasted a population of about 100 people, living in 25 houses, which were served by three taverns, three grocery stores, a school, and the marine hospital (Lewes et al. 2003; Martin 1836). As discussed by Lewes et al. (2003), City Point "remained a sleepy village for much of the nineteenth century." Even with the investment in rail and port facilities, City Point was never destined to become a great urban center, perhaps owing to its proximity to the burgeoning urban centers at Richmond and Petersburg, both of which were well situated to accommodate the growing populations to the west. Ten years after its incorporation, many of the lots remained undeveloped. A map drawn in 1844 identifies the Appomattox Manor house as "Mr. and Mrs. Cocke's dwelling" situated at the end of a lane connecting it with development at the port. The port itself consisted of six large docks, two of which bore the name "Cocke," nine small structures alongside the docks, possibly storage sheds or sail lofts, one large warehouse, and nine sizable structures on the hill above the riverside. In 1847, ownership and maintenance of the rail line became the property of the Corporation of Petersburg, and then of the Southside Railroad in 1854. According to a November 1865 letter from Dr. Richard Eppes to Major General John Gibbon, in which he is requesting the restoration of his properties and compensation for their use, Eppes notes that the Southside Railroad had been paying him a ground rent of $300.00 per annum as part of a twenty-year lease of a wharf on Eppes property.

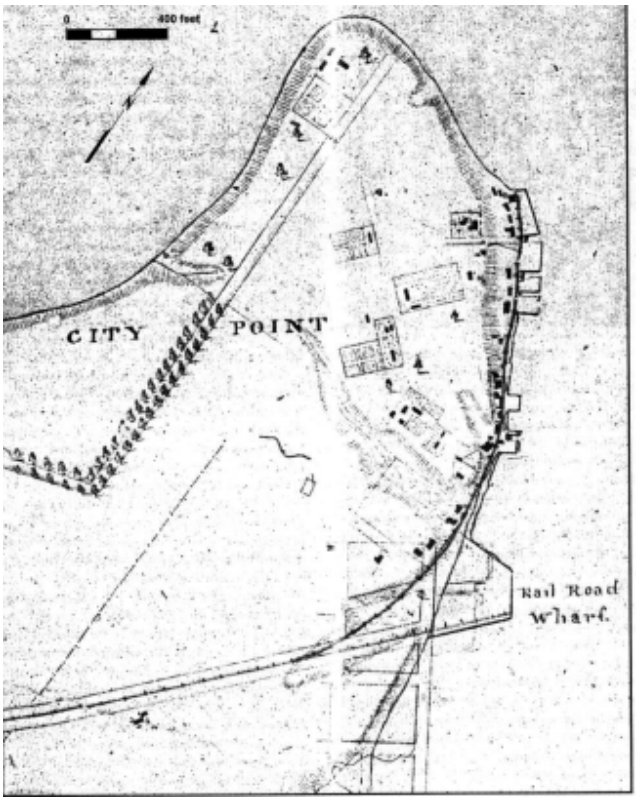

Figure 46. John Couty's map of City Point in 1837.

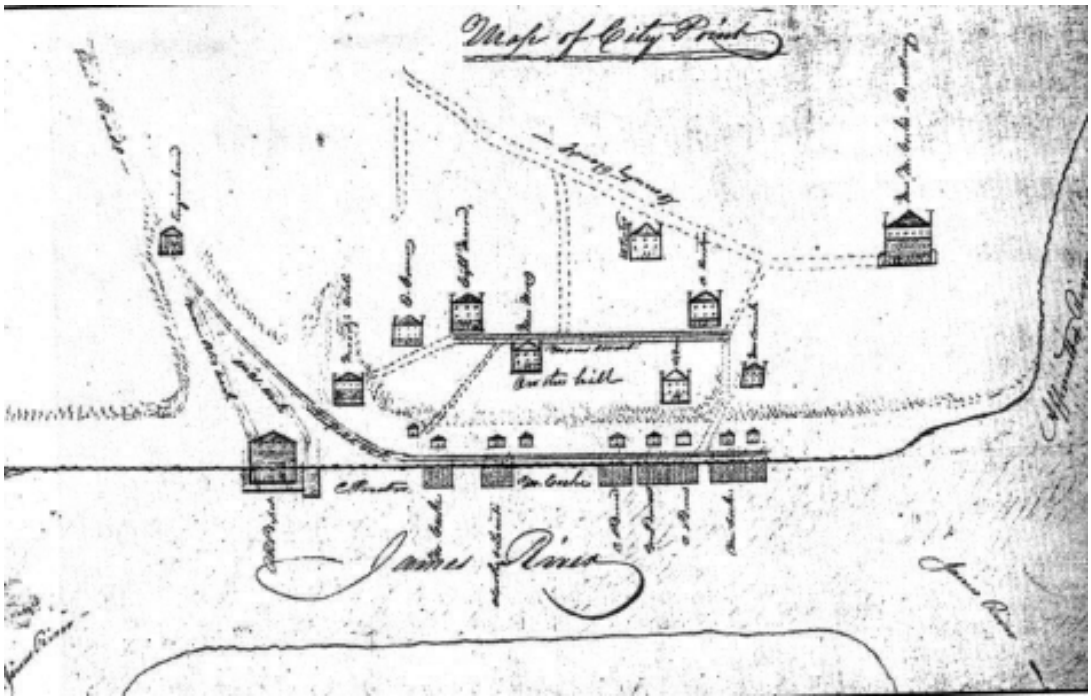

Figure 47. Map of City Point in 1844.

The social activity in the port itself seems to have remained a potential threat to the occupants of Appomattox Manor. While clearly more "genteel" than the situation indicated by Roane's eighteenth-century depiction, the presence of sailors, and in particularly free African American sailors, was an issue of great concern to Dr. Richard Eppes and some of his City Point neighbors, as illustrated in their 1860 petition to the Virginia Legislature:

> Whereas ships with crews consisting in part or wholly of free Negroes, frequently arrive and remain for weeks at City Point and in the waters of the James River therefore, Resolved; That as a community, particularly concerned we do most urgently call on the Legislature to protect us from the evils arising from free Negro sailors thus turned loose in our midst with every opportunity to corrupt and mislead our slaves, to persuade and aid them to escape from servitude, and even to incite them to acts of insubordination and rebellion.

Eppes could exert control over those he claimed to own, but he had little power over free sailors doing jobs shipboard and dockside. Clearly this must have been personally frustrating for Eppes, accustomed to a position of command, as well as a constant source for fear and uncertainty. The successful slave revolt on San Domingue (Haiti) in 1790 continued to strike fear into the heart of slaveholders throughout the South long after the immediate repercussion of the revolt had faded away. Closer to home, the rebellion led by Nat Turner in the summer of 1831 horrified Virginia slaveholders as it served as a stark reminder that revolts could readily occur on their own lands. During the rebellion, Turner and 40 other enslaved men killed 55 whites in Southampton County, beginning with the entire family of Turner's master. Debate ensued, following this event, as to whether Virginia should outlaw slavery. Instead, increasingly draconian laws were passed further restricting the lives of enslaved people and increasing restrictions on the mobility and rights of free African Americans. Turner's revolt was not the only incident in Virginia to strike fear in the hearts of Virginia's slaveholders. In 1852, Jordan Hatcher, an enslaved Richmond man, killed his overseer, sparking further debate over the future of the institution in Virginia.

As discussed by William Link (2003), free African Americans in Virginia were clearly identified as a threat to Virginia plantation society. House of Delegates member William H. Browne spelled out this fear in February 1856 by describing free African Americans as "secret yet efficient emissaries of Northern abolitionism" whose chief aim was to poison the minds of Virginia's enslaved African Americans by "inciting him, by unhallowed counsel, to insubordination and rebellion—seducing him, if possible, from allegiance to his master, and instilling, as far as practicable, into his mind false and fallacious notions of liberty and equality, wholly incompatible with the relations of master and slave." Eppes and other James River and Appomattox River plantation owners must have been well aware of the community of free African Americans that had been established not far from the town of Appomattox where the South would eventually surrender. In 1796, Richard Randolph, a slaveholder and cousin of Thomas Jefferson died. In his will, he freed the African Americans he had enslaved, and left them property that they would name "Israel Hill." As discussed in a recent book (Ely 2004), this community of free people developed farms and also engaged in river transportation, plying batteaux up and down the Appomattox River. The inhabitants of

Israel Hill, freed by a member of the Randolph family, must have been frequent visitors to City Point as it developed as a port, serving as a constant reminder to Dr. Eppes that not all prominent Virginians agreed with his stance on the necessity for slavery in Virginia.

Despite his fears, or perhaps inspiring his fears, Eppes occasionally permitted some of his enslaved workers to hire themselves out on the docks as they were already doing so without permission: "Disapprove of my hands working aboard ships but hate to refuse them" (Eppes July 12, 1858, cited in Brown 1999: 61). Days spent working alongside free African American laborers must have been both encouraging and distressing for unfree people. The bit of contact enjoyed with the free laborers must have also served as a welcome means for communication. Despite increasing restrictions following Nat Turner's rebellion, batteaux men enjoyed a level of mobility that assured them a prominent role in maintaining connections between families and members of the wider African American community of the Appomattox and James River region.

Appomattox Manor and the Eppes Family on the Eve of the Civil War

In 1860, three quarters of the white population of the South did not own slaves. Of those who did, 70 percent owned ten or fewer people. In fact, out of a population of eight million, only 3,000 individuals owned 100 or more enslaved African Americans. Dr. Richard Eppes was one of those individuals. Although Butowsky (1978) paints Dr. Eppes as politically moderate and anti-secessionist, describing him as "a reluctant rebel," in the 1860 election Eppes eschewed the moderate candidate, John Bell of the Constitutional Union Party, in favor of the southern Democrat candidate, John Breckenridge. Bell carried Virginia (and much of the Upper South), by appealing to those moderates who felt the Commonwealth was best placed to serve as a mediator between North and South in a preserved Union. By contrast, the mere presence of Breckenridge on the ballot as the candidate for the southern half of the newly-split Democrat party signaled support for secession. Given Eppes's family connections to Philadelphia, it may seem surprising that he eschewed this vision of Virginia's future, but it is clear that his position as one of the largest slaveholders in the South, not just in Virginia, directed his political choice. Like many, Eppes may have preferred maintenance of the status quo to any radical action, but to protect his considerable economic investment in slavery, Eppes sided with the secessionists.

Issues of slavery, states' rights, and secession were not straightforward in Virginia. While the Commonwealth had long been central to both the establishment and the continued existence of the institution of slavery, the expansion of the state westward, and the subsequent demographic split between non-slaveholders and slaveholders prompted extensive debate over the future of the institution in Virginia. For example, an 1850-51 debate about state constitutional reform hinged on the issue of the extent to which the Commonwealth and its constitution served to protect the institution of slavery, with the recognition that the tax system clearly favored slaveholders over non-slaveholders. Furthermore, the collapse of the tobacco economy in Virginia and a

subsequent economic decline encouraged diversification and altered the character of labor needs throughout the state. The centrality of slavery to political debate in Virginia is succinctly summarized by Link (2003): "Slaves' rejection of their bondage helped to create a particular sectional dynamic: it was their resistance that fueled slaveholder anxiety, and slaveholder anxieties fostered the political crisis. At several points, slave resistance and slaveholder anxiety converged, and throughout the 1850s slavery remained a focal point for political dialogue."

The fears and anxieties experienced by Dr. Richard Eppes regarding insurrections on his lands and the influence of free African Americans on his bondspeople has already been mentioned. It is clear that Eppes was aware of the political debates in Virginia, and that he was discontented by the increasing political power of the western part of the state and the future of slavery in Virginia:

> My own vote was that I did think that slave labor was endangered by the present political state of the country but that I thought it was doomed in the state of Virginia & would not last 25 years on account of the high price of Negroes, low profits to be derived from the cultivation of our soils, the prospect of the ad volorem tax on Negroes in 1865 when our constitution would be altered by the vote of the western part of our state, and the high taxes upon that as well as all other kinds of property to meet the payment of our enormous debt amounting now to 44 million (Eppes, September 4, 1860, cited in Brown 1999: 66).

Virginia moderates retained power in the Commonwealth even after John Brown's 1859 raid on Harpers Ferry. Not until the middle of April 1861 did Virginia's leadership join the secessionists (Link 2003). Eppes apparently watched the debate closely, and spent time in Richmond with the delegates to the convention. The delegates ultimately decided in favor of secession.

Eppes was not the only occupant of City Point to be watching the political tides. In 1861, Eppes recorded that a sizable gathering of enslaved African Americans had taken place on Eppes Island. It seems likely that the people attending the meeting were discussing their own strategies for the coming of the war to the Appomattox and James River region. The outcome of that meeting appears to be reflected in the wholesale abandonment of the Eppes plantations by the enslaved workforce in 1862 when Union troops arrived in the vicinity. Some irony may be found in Eppes's report that so many African Americans were crossing into Union lines in a search for freedom that the Army set up a depot on Island Plantation to accommodate them (Brown 1999: 66).

By 1860, City Point presented the appearance of a highly centralized plantation landscape adjacent to a small but significant port with its own resident population, businesses and transportation network. The Union Army would swiftly recognize the advantages of the location during the Civil War. The subsequent intensive use and alteration of the landscape was built upon these foundations, yet the extent to which the activities of the Civil War destroyed the material legacy of the antebellum period has yet to be discerned from the archaeological record. Surprisingly, little archaeological work in Virginia has focused specifically on the antebellum period, although materials dating from the time have been recovered from many excavations (focused on

earlier periods) throughout the Commonwealth. To understand the subsequent impact of the Civil War on City Point, it is critical to understand the nature of the antebellum landscape itself.

Chapter Nine.
City Point during the Civil War

Introduction

For obvious reasons, more has been written about City Point during the Civil War than for any period before or since. The extensive nature of Union army activities at City Point, while they represent a mere ten months in the human history of the place, is well documented with text, cartographic, pictorial, photographic, and ethnographic sources. The extent to which these activities impacted upon the previous archaeological record at the site while creating its own is a topic of obvious importance for future management and interpretation of the site. The legacy of the Civil War has also created the current landscape of the site, with its signage, maintained earthworks, dock, re-erected headquarters' cabin, and general maintained park landscape.

City Point, Dr. Richard Eppes, and the Outbreak of Hostilities

As discussed in the previous chapter, Virginia opted to join the secessionists in mid-April 1861 following the onset of battle at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861. While family tradition maintains that Dr. Eppes was not a hard-line secessionist, his journals and attitudes towards his enslaved workforce makes it clear that he was ultimately in agreement with the famous words uttered by Alexander Stevens, vice president of the Confederacy, in March 1861: "the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior nation, is his natural moral condition." This statement of Stevens centralized the issue of slavery as the cornerstone of the Confederacy, making explicit what had been implicit in the states' rights argument.

Eppes's journal entry for April 18, 1861, provides his reaction to the decision of Virginia's delegates to secede from the Union: "We are now out of the Union with a long civil war upon us, our worse foreboding about to be realized the papers are crowded with notes of preparation for war both North and South and we shall soon be in the midst of it and our section the cockpit for the strife… I indeed hardly know how to act, all my feelings say go my duty to my family say stay, how I shall act I do not know" (Eppes April 18, 1861, cited in Calos, Easterling and Rayburn 1993).

Having already signed a petition in favor of secession, Dr. Richard Eppes provided funds for military equipment to arm the Confederate forces, and joined his cavalry unit for a brief stint before removing himself from the realities of warfare by paying for a substitute to fight in his stead. When Confederate forces arrived at City Point, Eppes provided them with lodging and forced his enslaved laborers to accompany the troops to build fortifications at Fort Powhatan. A year later, Union troops fired on City Point, and then subsequently forces under the command of General George B. McClellan occupied City Point in the summer. It was during this period that Eppes's enslaved laborers fled to the Union lines in search of freedom. When McClellan withdrew his

troops in August, Confederate forces engaged them, and City Point was shelled for a brief period, reportedly damaging the roof of the east wing of Appomattox Manor (Butowsky 1978; Calos, Easterling and Rayburn 1993; Lutz 1957). Although Union troops only occupied the area for a short period, the damage that they inflicted upon the built environment and the agricultural lands and stocks was evidently severe. When Dr. Eppes returned to inventory the damage to his property, he discovered that only twelve African American workers remained.

Eppes resigned his commission in the Confederate cavalry in the summer of 1862. Although family tradition maintains that the 38-year-old Eppes left the Army because he was in ill health, it seems more plausible that he saw the wisdom of buying his way out of danger. Any ill health he might have suffered seems to have dissipated, as he lived until 1896. Eppes was hardly alone in paying for a substitute to fight for him in a war, which was ultimately fought by the poorest men in society. According to his discharge papers, the individual designated as Eppes's substitute was one Patrick Dempsey, born in Sligo, Ireland and naturalized as a United States citizen in Washington, DC. As an Irish immigrant, Mr. Dempsey was certainly not from social strata like Eppes, and it is highly unlikely that he was a slaveholder.

A flood of Irish immigrants had poured into the eastern ports of the United States as they fled a series of famines which struck Ireland in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. While many of these individuals remained in cities such as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, others perceived their best chance for advancement in leaving the crowded northern cities where they competed for jobs alongside other European immigrants as well as African Americans. While ostensibly free in the North, African Americans still faced extremes of prejudice and discrimination. The arrival of hordes of Irish in the antebellum years destabilized any balance that may have existed. While the antipathy between the new Irish American community and the more established African American community has been overemphasized and often sensationalized (as in Martin Scorcese's 2002 version of the Five Points community in New York in *Gangs of New York)*, there is no denying the historical reality that the two communities fought one another over the lowest position on the social and economic rung in antebellum northern society. As observed by one English traveler in the 1840s, "it is a curious fact that the democratic party, and particularly the poorer class of Irish immigrants in America, are greater enemies to the Negro population, and greater advocates for the continuance of Negro slavery, than any portion of the population in the free states" (Finch 1844).

The existence of slavery in the South should have put any European one step higher on the ladder, but as noted by Ignatiev (1995) "in the South they [the Irish] were occasionally employed where it did not make sense to risk the life of a slave." In Virginia and Maryland in the antebellum period, this work was often associated with canal and railroad construction. In the 1830s, for example, 1,800 Irish laborers were employed on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal (Ignatiev 1995; Sanderlin 1946).

Despite, or perhaps because, of their unenviable position in antebellum American society, thousands of Irish immigrants enlisted or were conscripted into forces on both sides of the Civil War. While some were signed up shipboard or immediately upon arrival, with little choice, others did make conscious, individual choices to participate

in the war. For some, joining the conflict arguably legitimized their position as citizens, providing them an opportunity, however small, to influence the future of their country. For the most impoverished, the prospect of regular rations and clothing was often enough to tip the balance in favor of either side.

What Patrick Dempsey experienced as an immigrant to the United States, and what motivated him to sign up to the Confederate Army as Dr. Richard Eppes's substitute, can only be guessed at. Perhaps his experiences as a laborer inspired him to side with the slaveholders, or alternatively, perhaps the states' rights ideology resonated with experiences in an Ireland ruled by the English. Perhaps he was a laborer on the City Point to Petersburg railroad, or just a name on a list made available to individuals like Dr. Eppes who possessed the financial means to safeguard their lives from active duty. Dempsey's story is integral to the history of City Point, as it brings into focus the inextricable links between one small place on the James River, and the broader context of the American experience in the antebellum period.

Despite Eppes's attempt to extract himself from active duty, he was apparently coerced into serving the Confederate Army as a civilian surgeon and assigned the duty of running the hospital in Petersburg. The fact that Eppes had never practiced medicine in the twenty years since he attained his medical degree, coupled with the general lack of supplies and sanitation that characterized Confederate medical facilities, made this an unenviable task for Eppes (as well as for those being treated). Eppes spent much of his time in Petersburg in the company of his family. In the autumn of 1864, Elizabeth Eppes and the children traveled to Philadelphia and stayed with their relatives for the remainder of the conflict.

Establishment of City Point as Union Headquarters

Between the summer of 1862 and the summer of 1864, City Point evidently was spared much involvement in the conflict besides serving as allocation for the exchange of prisoners between both sides (Calos, Easterling, and Raybun 1993). The most intensive Civil War activity at City Point occurred during the ten month long Siege of Petersburg, from June 1864 to April 1865. Union forces rightly viewed Petersburg as the key to unseating the Confederacy of its capital at Richmond. Petersburg was situated on a major route connecting Richmond with settlements to the south and west, and more importantly served as a depot for four rail lines providing supplies to Confederate forces. The siege on Petersburg lasted ten months and represents the longest such event on American soil (Orr 1994).

During the Siege on Petersburg, Union General Ulysses S. Grant established City Point as his headquarters. In May 1864, Grant led troops from the north toward Petersburg while Major General Benjamin Butler brought his troops up the James aboard a fleet of Union Naval vessels, capturing and holding key riverside bases including City Point and Bermuda Hundred. The land and port at City Point was occupied at this time by the forces of Brigadier General Edward W. Hinks's division of the Eighteenth Corps. As described by Hinks's quartermaster, the settlement at City Point had clearly suffered since the onset of hostilities. Livermore noted that the port consisted only of "the remnants of a wharf which had been consumed above the

piles by fire; at the foot of the bluff a few shabby houses ranged along two or three short lanes or streets; and the spacious grounds and dilapidated house of one Dr. Eppes" (Livermore, cited in Cales, Easterling, and Rayburn 1993).

According to Livermore, Appomattox Manor was so damaged at this stage that only one room was capable of keeping out the weather. The east wing evidently suffered extensive damage during the war from damage to the roof and subsequent water damage to the interior. Photographs from 1864 and 1865 also show cannon and musket damage to the walls on the north end of the wing, as well as to the roof and dormers (Turk and Willis 1982). By poignant contrast, Livermore reported that Hinks plucked over sixty different types of roses from the gardens one morning—roses once tended by Madison Ruffin for the enjoyment of the Eppes family (but from which he hopefully also derived satisfaction). When the Eppes family returned to Appomattox Manor after the war, Eppes recorded "the shrubbery, fruit trees and garden had been nearly destroyed… though most of the large shade and ornamental trees were still standing" (cited in Calos, Easterling, and Rayburn 1993).

Grant arrived at City Point on June 15, 1864, and his men set up a temporary camp of tents in the yard of Appomattox Manor where Grant would receive President Abraham Lincoln on June 21. The Appomattox Manor house was evidently used by the Chief Quartermaster, General Rufus Ingalls, and also housed the telegraph office of the U.S. Army Telegraph Corps (Butowsky 1978). The unexpected length of the siege kept Grant and his men in tents for five months before they erected and moved into more permanent log buildings. The archaeological signature of the tent camp, well documented photographically, would be a scatter of artifacts, stake holes from the tents, and evidence for cooking fires. A contemporary description of the tent headquarters provides insight into its appearance:

> A hospital tent was used as his office, while a smaller tent connecting at the rear was occupied as his sleeping-apartment. A hospital tent-fly was stretched in front of the office tent so as to make a shaded space in which persons could sit. A rustic bench an a number of folding camp chairs were placed there, and it was beneath this tent-fly that most of the important official interview were held… On both sides of the generals' quarters were pitched close together enough officers' tents to accommodate the staff. Each tent was occupied by two officers. The mess-tent was pitched at the rear, and at a short distance still farther back a temporary shelter was prepared for the horses (Porter 1961, cited in Butowsky 1978).

According to another observer, in the cooler months "most of the time was spent around a huge wood fire kept up in the center of the encampment, immediately in front of Grant's own hut" (Badeau 1881, cited in Butowsky 1978).

The intensive activity that followed the establishment of City Point as the Union Army headquarters was on a nearly inconceivable scale by contrast with previous human activity at the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers. With the labor of thousands of people, City Point was transformed from its dilapidated condition to a port supplying the 125,000 men and 65,000 animals under the command of General Grant and according to Zinnen (1991) capable of supporting up to 500,000 soldiers. Within a single month, City Point rapidly became the second largest city in Virginia,

Figure 48. Grant's tent headquarters at City Point (National Park Service).

encompassing over 280 structures served by eight wharves, each served by warehouses. According to one description, over two acres of the wharves were under cover. Close to 400 ships connected City Point with other Union ports and depots, with a workforce of at least 3,000 laborers on call to unload supply ships. The majority of these laborers were former enslaved African Americans. It is not inconceivable that a number of these workers were freed people who had formerly worked at City Point as part of the Eppes' family enslaved workforce (Zinnen 1991).

Twenty-two miles of track was laid for the railroad connecting the supply depot with the front lines. Nine hundred men were impressed into service first to reconstruct the approximately nine miles of rails leading to Petersburg, to build new rail connections within the City Point depot itself, and then to extend the connections all the way around Petersburg. Each of these rail lines required stations, platforms, and sidings along their lengths, as well as a sizable engine house at City Point itself, and wells and water tanks to supply the railroad men and the locomotives themselves (Butowsky 1978; Zinnen 1991). Telegraph lines sprouted along the railroad and to points in all directions, linking Grant with his armies throughout the Civil War theatre.

Support buildings in the settlement of City Point itself included the repair facilities manned by 1800 workers performing carpentry, smithing, leatherwork, and animal care. According to Zinnen (1991), the repair department at City Point "issued 31,386 horses, 18,891 mules, 1,536 wagons, and 370 ambulances." Butchers and bakers operated to provide fresh meats and breads to the troops, with 2500 head of cattle typically held at City Point and 123,000 loaves of bread baked each day. The commissary and bakery department together encompassed seven separate structures. The bakery was served by an office, yeast house, two bakeries, and a storehouse and was reportedly operational twenty-four hours a day to produce 123,000 loaves of bread for daily rations. The legendary arrival of warm bread to the front lines at Petersburg

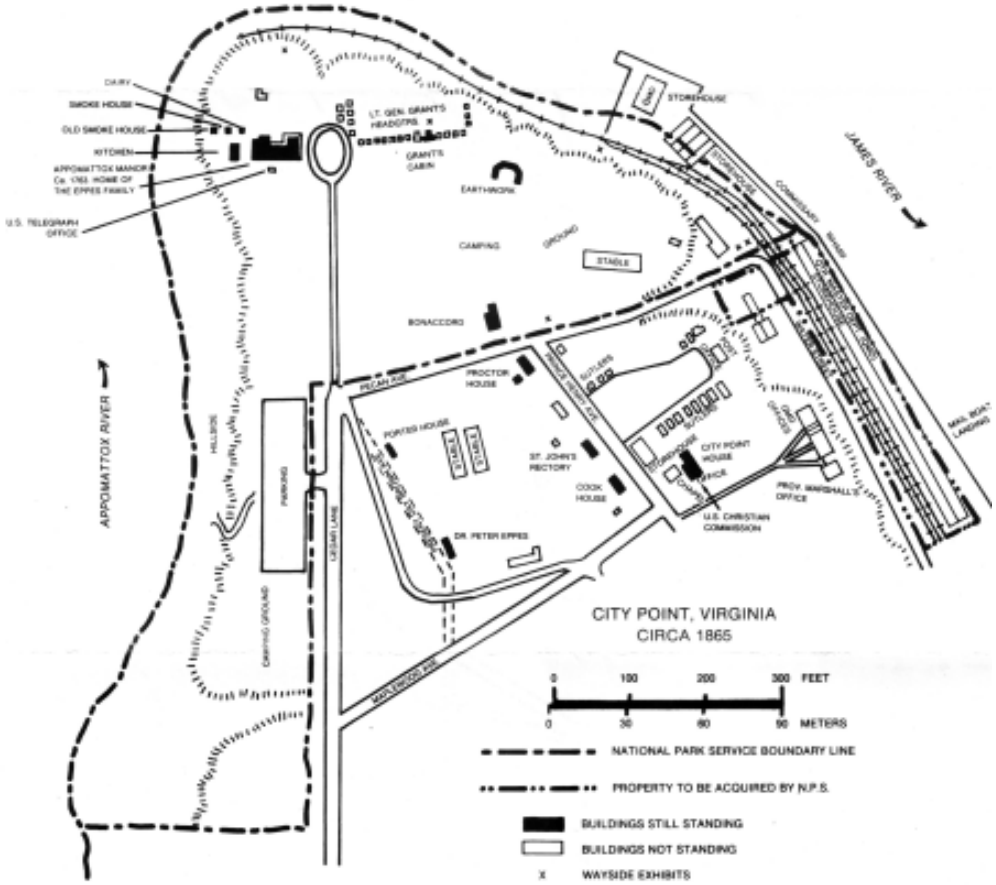

Figure 49. National Park Service base map showing the location of Civil War developments (National Park Service).

must have been effective psychological warfare against the Confederate forces, which by 1865 were barely surviving on starvation rations.

Fresh vegetables and fruits were also provided by members of the civilian United States Sanitary Commission, while civilian sutlers set up shop throughout City Point to sell their varied wares (including foodstuffs, spices, kitchen utensils, liquor, writing supplies, and clothing) to all and sundry. A number of these establishments were set up on the river's edge as well as scattered throughout what had been the City Point village.

Regis de Trobriand described the swiftness with which the facilities at City Point were erected:

> The river bank, rising up high, had been cleared and leveled, so as to make room for storehouses for supplies, and for a station for the railroad. All this had sprung out of the earth as if by magic, in less than a month. The railroad ran behind the docks; the locomotives were running back and forth, leaving long plumes of smoke, and on the ground trails of coals and sparks of fire. All was activity and movement. Legions of negroes were discharging the ships, wheeling dirt, sawing the timber, and driving piles. Groups of soldiers crowded around the sutlers' tents; horsemen in squadrons went down to the river to water their horses. And, on the upper plateau, huts of different forms and sizes overlooked

the whole scene below. A great village of wood and cloth was erected there, where a few weeks before were but two or three houses (cited in Butowsky 1978).

Scattered amongst the extensive wharves and the rail depot buildings during the period of construction were circular Sibley tents and standard wall tents housing construction laborers (Calos, Easterling and Rayburn 1993).

The extensive, well-planned, and technologically advanced facilities at City Point presented an obvious target to Confederate forces. To protect the supply lines, depot, hospitals, and shipping lanes, Union forces constructed a series of forts and earthworks to defend the City Point development. Forts Abbott, Craig, Graves, McKeen, and Lewis O. Morris were erected in a northwest-to-southeast line several miles west of City Point, wile another earthwork was built across the City Point peninsula itself (Lewes et al. 2003).

While City Point was never the target of any large-scale Confederate attack, one dramatic episode in August 1864 would have shattered any feelings of complacency amongst the settlement's residents, had it not been dismissed as a terrible accident at the time. On August 9, two Confederate agents managed to detonate a time bomb on the ammunitions barge *J.E. McKendrick* by handing it over to an unsuspecting laborer to carry aboard the ship (Trudeau 1991). In the blast, which also destroyed two other vessels, at least 43 people died and another 126 were injured. According to one contemporary report, "Much damage was done to the wharf, the boat was entirely destroyed, all the laborers employed on it were killed, and a number of men and horses near the landing were fatally injured" (Porter in Livermore 1904). Twenty-eight

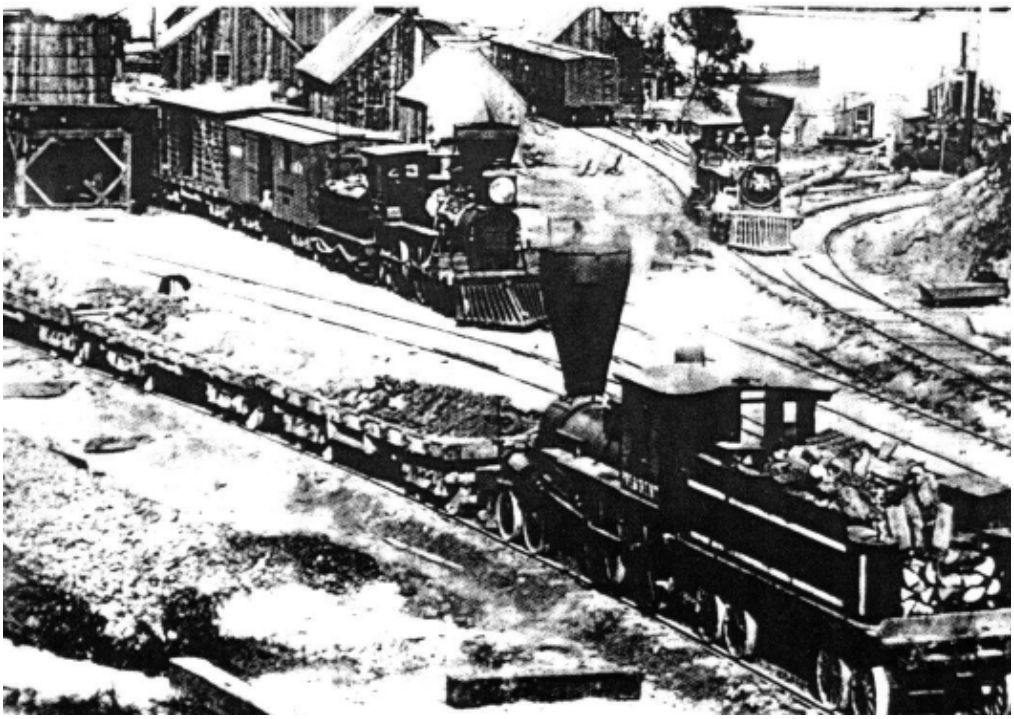

Figure 50. Railroad at City Point (National Park Service).

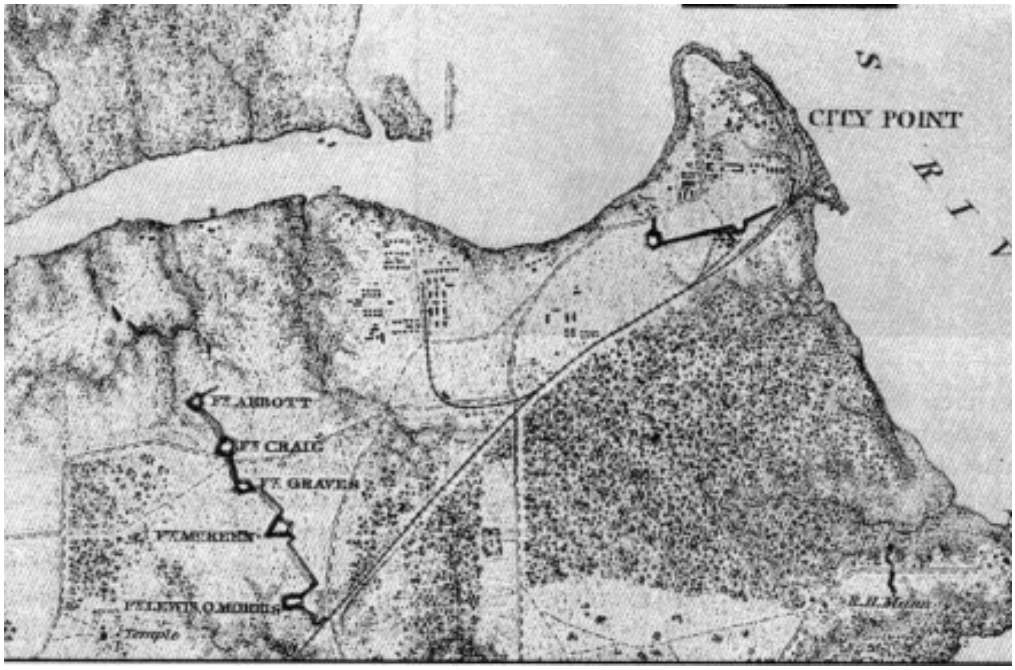

Figure 51. Union defenses around City Point (Michler 1867).

of those killed and 86 of the wounded were African American stevedores and laborers. According to one report scattered and un-attributed human remains from this blast filled eleven barrels. In addition to the human cost of the explosion, an estimated two million dollars worth of supplies were destroyed, including an estimated 700 boxes of artillery ammunition, 2000 boxes of small arms, 600 to 700 blank cartridges, and large quantities of gunpowder were lost. Much of the brand new portside infrastructure, including over 200 feet of the 400-foot long wharf, was damaged beyond repair. Subsequent building plans called for the separation of ammunitions dock from the remainder of the facility. The new dock extended some 500 feet into the river, and was connected by rail line to the main depot.

Medical Care at City Point

The medical care provided at City Point must have contrasted sharply with that provided in the poorly supplied Confederate hospital run by Dr. Richard Eppes in Petersburg. While estimates vary as to the capacity of the hospitals at City Point, their presence within a well-supplied and highly organized depot close to the front lines at Petersburg meant that medical supplies were attainable. One of the hospitals, the Depot Field Hospital, has been described as capable of providing aid to 10,000 patients, housed first in an array of 1200 tents which were replaced by 90 log structures measuring 20 by 50 feet in extent (Butowsky 1978; Zinnen 1991). According to Christie (1997), "medical conditions at the City Point hospitals were an improvement over the bleak situation of the early years of the war, which were plagued by unsanitary practices, overcrowding, and limited knowledge of triage." The hospitals at City Point were staffed by men and women enlisted by the civilian United States Sanitary Commission as well as by the Army medical corps, while teams of relief workers from

Figure 52. Photograph of the damage caused by the August 9 explosion at City Point (National Park Service).

secular and religious organizations also labored in the wards, kitchens, and supply facilities of the hospitals. Relief workers associated with the United States Christian Commission set up shop in the eighteenth-century City Point House. From those headquarters they distributed Bibles and religious tracts, led prayer meetings, and assisted with medical duties (Calos, Easterling, and Rayburn 1993).

Recent analysis of the largest Civil War field hospital, the Sheridan field hospital constructed at Winchester, Virginia in September 1864, provides specific insight into the development of modern military medicine. Constructed in a four-day period, the Sheridan field hospital utilized a system of rectangular tents to encourage air circulation which were heated by a trench system connected to barrels used as chimneys (Whitehorne, Geier, and Hofstra 2000). The archaeological signature of such a system, if used at City Point, would be the subsurface traces of those trenches in addition to artifact scatters.

Despite the careful organization and adequate supplies, the medical facilities at City Point were often taxed and clearly unpleasant for both the injured and for those caring for the injured. Weather conditions during the hot summer months of 1864 worked against sanitation efforts, while the capacity of the facilities and the skills of its workers were stretched by the horrendous casualties wrought by the Battle of the Crater at Petersburg. On July 30, 1864, Union troops exploded a mine near the Confederate picket line in Petersburg which blew a hole in the ground 170 feet long, 60 feet wide and 30 feet deep. What must have seemed like a great idea in the planning stages ended in Union as well as Confederate bloodshed. Union soldiers who entered the crater found themselves unable to get out, where they became sitting ducks for a Confederate counterattack that produced 4,000 Union casualties in a

Figure 53. Hospital at City Point (National Park Service).

single day (Orr 1994). Less than two weeks after this event, the injured and dying from the City Point explosion joined the soldiers in City Point's hospitals.

Nurse Sophronia Bucklin recorded the grisly nature of everyday work in a City Point hospital: "beds were to be made, hands and faced stripped of the hideous mask of blood and grime, matted hair combed out over the bronzed brows, and gaping wounds to be sponged with soft water, till cleansed of gore and filth preparatory to dressing. I busied myself with everything save touching the dreadful wound until I could evade it no longer. Then with all my resolution I nerved myself to the task and bound up the aching limbs." On the plus side, according to Bucklin, "the absorbing nature of hospital labor gradually hardened my nerves to the strength of stench" (cited in Christie 1997). Latrine facilities associated with the hospitals and the temporary hut and tent structures tended to be fairly rudimentary trench affairs. Such features, if recognized and examined archaeologically, would undoubtedly yield plentiful evidence for the many diseases that must have plagued the myriad inhabitants of the City Point depot.

Community Life at City Point

All manner of people traversed the log sidewalks built to connect the diverse facilities at City Point. According to *Chicago Times* journalist Sylvanus Cadwallader, when Grant first set up camp at City Point visitors "swarmed around the wharves, filled up the narrow avenues at the landing between the six-mule teams which stood there by the acre, plunged frantically across the road in front of your horse wherever you rode, plied everyone with ridiculous questions about the 'military situation,' invaded the

privacy of every tent, stood around every mess-table till invited to eat unless driven away, and wandered around at nearly all hours" (cited in Butowksy 1978). During the course of the siege Confederate prisoners including Generals Richard Ewell, G.W. Custis Lee, Joseph Kershaw and Eppa Hunton were brought to City Point before being transported to prisoner of war camps (Calos, Easterling and Rayburn 1993), where laborers, Union army personnel, journalists, and curious civilians eyed their arrival.

Among those who found themselves amongst the "swarms" of people at City Point were African American families, many of whom found themselves living again in communal quarter arrangements, as indicated by Union army maps delineating a residential area separate from the main camping ground labeled as "contraband quarters." Here men in particular were organized into labor gangs by the Federal Quartermasters Corps in an arrangement not dissimilar to that employed during slavery. The term contraband was applied to people who fled from their masters into Union lines in the search for freedom. As previously noted, "contraband" and free African American men labored on the wharves and in the supply and repair facilities. Some of these individuals were recruited from freedmen's camps throughout the Tidewater, while others escaped local bondage to serve the Union army (Butowsky 1978; Orr 1994).

African American women found employ in the kitchens and laundries of the hospital and other facilities, as well as working as housekeepers for some of the white northern women in residence at City Point, as described by Christie (1997) "some of the affluent officers' wives were talented in planning menus and other household maintenance, but had no interest in actually cooking, so former household slaves found a ready market for their domestic skills." At least these women now earned a salary for their labors, while their employers endeavored to carry on with elite social activities in the midst of the chaos that was City Point in 1864 and 1865. Some of these women joined their officer husbands in two of the antebellum homes still extant at City Point, Bonaccord and the Proctor House. Even General Grant's wife and four children, Frederick, Ulysses Jr., Nilke, and Jessie spent time at City Point. Other women at City Point worked directly with the military. Women known as vivandieres served within the regiments to care for the wounded and to coordinate activities with the medical and sanitary personnel. One soldier from Ohio, Charley Anderson, was discovered to be Charlotte Anderson while camped at City Point (Christie 1997).

Less reputable souls also haunted the crowded thruways at City Point. For example, ships often carried prostitutes to the port. Although Christie (1997) states that "only a fractional minority" of prostitutes operated within City Point itself, naming one Madame Grundy, on his return to City Point in 1866 Dr. Eppes reported having to evict a prostitute from a structure that had been built adjacent to the Appomattox Manor house (Turk and Willis 1982). The ready availability of food, medical supplies, clothing, and sundries must have been an irresistible temptation for impoverished Virginians who had watched their homes, fields, and families destroyed during the conflict. While women in Richmond rioted for bread, the City Point bakeries efficiently churned out their 123,000 loaves per day. City Point must have attracted the desperate and destitute as much as it lured entrepreneurial sutlers and social climbing soldiers' wives.

Figure 54. Development at City Point (National Park Service).

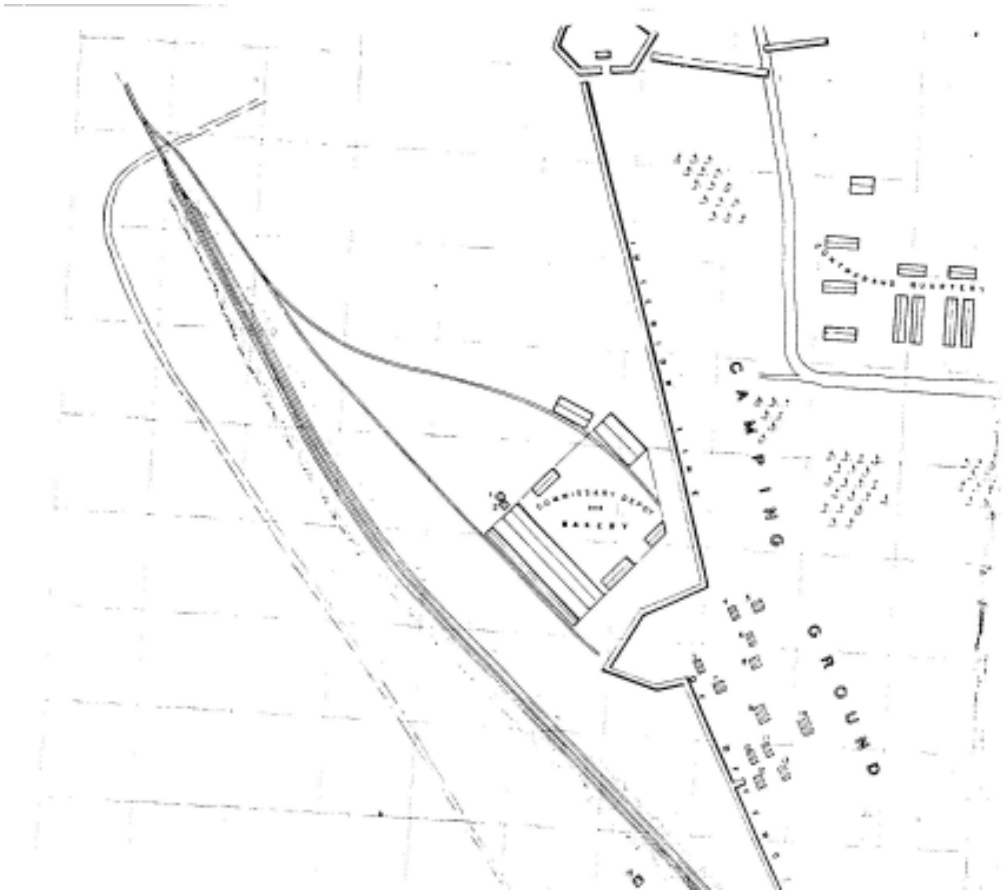

Figure 55. Map detailing the location of the "contraband quarters" (National Park Service).

Figure 56. Bonaccord house at City Point, commandeered for officers' quarters during the Union occupation (National Park Service).

Historical Archaeology of the American Civil War

Over the last decade, archaeological approaches to the study of the Civil War have evolved from particularistic examination of movements on a battlefield to also addressing soldiers' lives on and off the battlefield, and examining the evolution, function, and impact of military technology in what must be considered the first modern war. Further concerns and developments in the field include recognizing and attempting to interpret the impact of the war on civilian life, addressing the experience and role of African Americans during the war, and finally, embarking upon a critical re-evaluation of the way in which Civil War sites are presented and interpreted to the public.

Productive efforts to address the individual soldier's experience on the battlefield and in the camp are reflected in recent examinations of the archaeology of Petersburg and Antietam. Limited testing at the location of the Battle of the Crater at Petersburg provided a glimpse into the realities of that August day, which served to humanize the experience of the soldiers who huddled in the trenches along the Confederate Picket Line. The presence of hearths and drainage ditches reflected "idiosyncratic solutions to the ennui and discomfort of trench occupation" while the presence of recast bullets somberly underscored the lack of supplies endured by the Confederate forces while Union troops were well stocked by the depot at City Point (Orr 1994). The recent recovery of human remains from the location held by the New York Irish Brigade at Antietam (Potter and Owsley 2000) ultimately led to the identification of one individual as most likely an Irish immigrant named John Gallagher, who was aged over forty years and suffered from arthritis. Gallagher was likely conscripted straight from

the boat on which he sailed into New York harbor. He, along with 60 percent of the Irish Brigade, died at Antietam.

Battlefield studies remain critically important to understanding the progress and tactical elements of battles, and the individual experience of soldiers. Yet battles are temporally ephemeral events that leave behind a wake of destruction often difficulty to read in the commemorative landscapes that so often imposed upon the locales of decisive battles. Civil War battlefields were most often once the locale of homes and farms, places where families and individuals lived out their lives and dreamed their dreams for the future. Understanding the transformation of those landscape into theatres of war, and their return to homes and farms or their abandonment and conversion into commemorative landscapes, has become an important element in the historical archaeology of the Civil War.

Perhaps the best realized study of the life of a Civil War battlefield landscape is Elise Manning-Sterling's (2000) examination of the impact of the Battle of Antietam on the Sharpsburg, Maryland agrarian landscape. The Poffenberger and Mumma families watched their homes and farms confiscated and systematically destroyed by the armies of North and South. The Poffenberger farm was converted into Confederate field hospital, while the Mumma house was looted and burned. Carefully erected and maintained fences were ripped apart and burned by soldiers, those crops that were not trampled were pulled out of the ground, livestock were slaughtered indiscriminately, and dead soldiers interred willy nilly throughout the fields. Following the battle, the stench of death reportedly clogged the air for miles, while the replenished hog stock of the Mumma's would continue to root up human bones for decades. The Mumma's "commitment to re-establish the way of life that existed before the battle" ultimately resulted in a reclaiming of the landscape which aimed to erase the impact of the battle, found to be very minimal in archaeological examination of the Mumma farm. While the Mumma family succeeded in rebuilding and physically erasing the battle scars on their farm, many other landholders in battlegrounds faced economic ruin. Some simply pulled up stakes and moved west, never to recover what they had lost (Manning-Sterling 2000).

The experience of African Americans during the Civil War is another key element of the historical archaeology of the period. Whether or not the Civil War was about slavery or states' rights, it deeply impacted the lives of African Americans. What role did they play in the conflict, and where do they figure in representations and remembrance? Critical re-evaluation of presentations at Manassas Battlefield in northern Virginia has sought to first acknowledge, and then reposition the story of the African Americans, free and enslaved, who made their homes in the vicinity of Bull Run where the opening battle of the Civil War was staged (Galke 2000). While lands now held by the National Park Service were acquired from the descendants of African Americans who experienced the Civil War at Manassas, their past is muted by the emphasis of interpretation upon troop movements and an effort to balance Union and Confederate commemoration on the battlefield.

Underscoring the devastating consequences of the Civil War on the civilian population, Paul Shackel (1994) has baldly described the Civil War experience in Harpers Ferry, location of the Union armory and staging ground for John Brown's 1859 raid,

as "four years of hell." Residents of the small town at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers watched their homes alternately looted and burned by Confederate as well as Union troops, and then for the last year of the war, their town expand as a supply depot, somewhat analogous to City Point. Archaeological investigations at several residences in the town revealed the stresses of the experiences, from the presence of wild animal bones suggesting a scarcity of regular food supplies, to evidence for rampant disease and poor sanitation in the form of apothecary bottles and parasites (Shackel 1994, 2000). Arguably, "the anthropological significance of the Civil War rests, finally, in an array of sites located, in most instances, far from the battlefield itself" (Orr 1994). Harper's Ferry represents such a place, as does City Point.

Civil War Archaeology at City Point

Archaeological investigations at City Point have not surprisingly revealed intact and significant evidence of Civil War activity. One of the more focused exercises concerned locating and interpreting the position of General Grant's headquarters, a vertical log structure situated in a formation of log huts adjacent to the Appomattox Manor house and commanding an unsurpassed view of the James River. Two of the cabins, one used by Grant, differed from the simple, horizontal log construction and rectangular plan of the other huts. Grant's cabin was T-shaped in plan with a square public room in front and rectangular private quarters to the rear (Orr 1994). Following the war (and discussed further in the next chapter) the cabin was dismantled and taken to Philadelphia, where it was re-erected in Fairmount Park. Prior to the return to and re-erection of the cabin at City Point, archaeologists located its exact position and unearthed evidence for a foundation trench and the base of the chimneys for Grant's cabin and an adjacent cabin (Orr 1982, 1994; Orr, Blades, and Campana 1985).

The eighteenth-century well discovered during the 1980s archaeological investigations at City Point, discussed in Chapter Seven, had apparently been filled in during the Civil War period. Artifacts retrieved from the fill of the structure included mid-nineteenth century ceramics including a sherd of stoneware and quantities of "ironstone," a highly fired refined white earthenware (Blades 1988). Further association of the well found archaeologically and one filled during the war comes from Dr. Eppes's journal of 1866. On August 28 he recorded that a laborer named Cypress "commenced opening the old well that was filled up by the Yankees but found all the bricks taken out" (cited in Blades 1988). Excavation confirmed the disturbance of the bricks.

Materials found on the property of Appomattox Manor currently in the ownership of the National Park Service include unspecified number of "unspent bullets" found in the plowzone layer during test excavations in the area of the current parking lot. During the Civil War occupation of City Point by Union troops, this area was used as a camping ground. The bullets (presumably minie balls) may have been supplies accidentally lost by the occupants of the tents that dotted the grounds in this area. Further evidence for the daily activities of these individuals may be sealed under the parking lot itself. The discovery of an extensive area of "a bright orange clay stratum… in which charcoal flecks, burned soil, brick fragments and one whole brick, nails, and ceramics

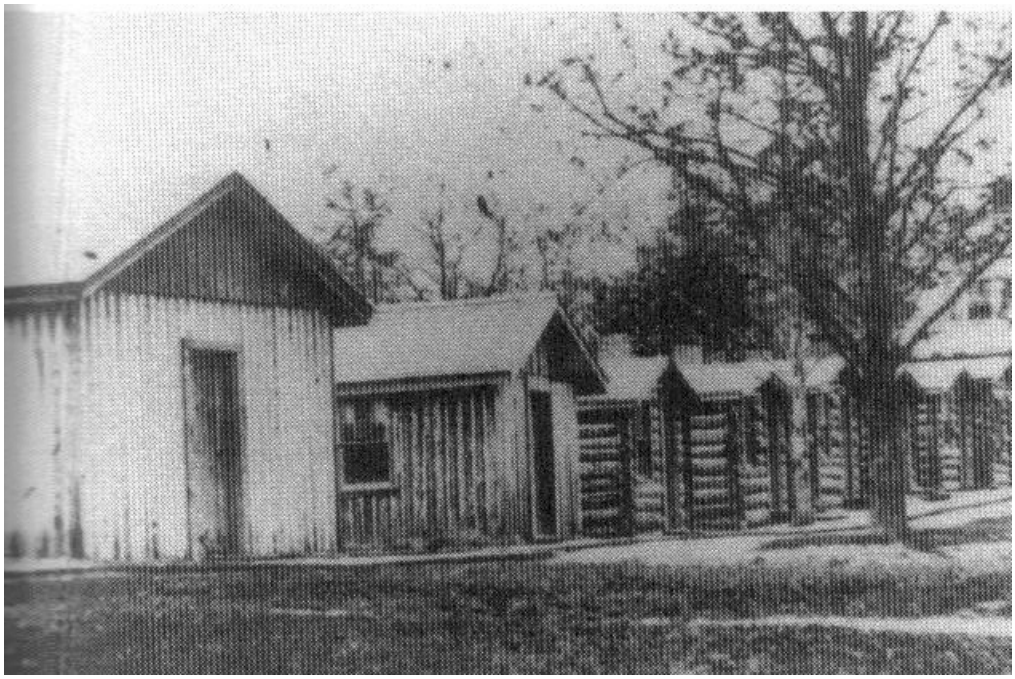

Figure 57. Grant's cabin and adjacent log huts (National Park Service).

Figure 58. Grant's cabin, re-erected at City Point (Audrey J. Horning).

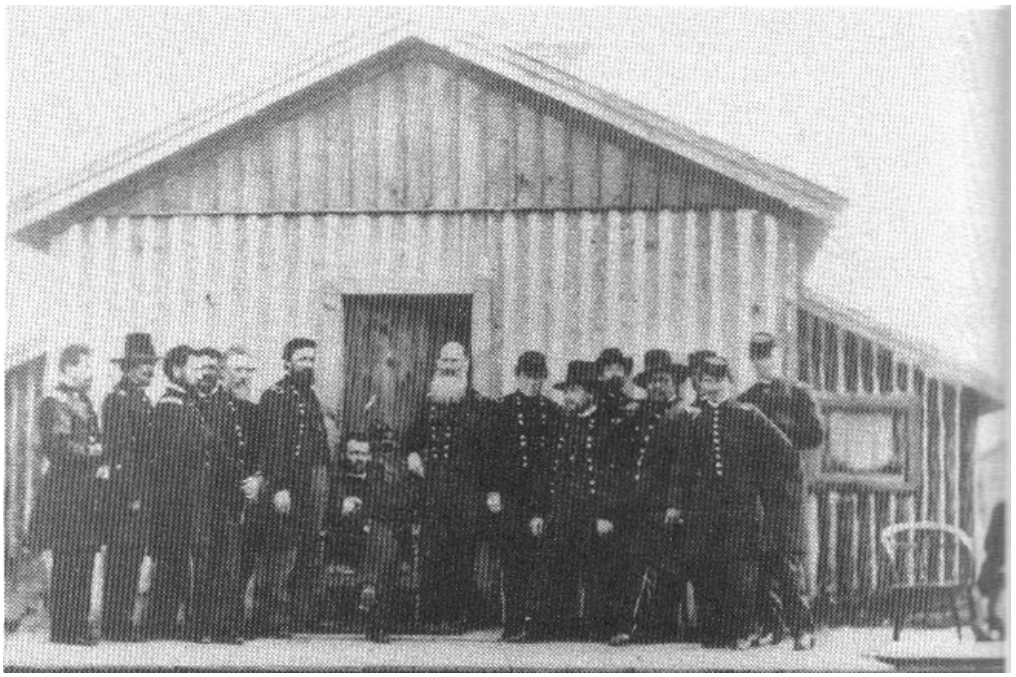

Figure 59. Grant's cabin from the rear (Audrey J. Horning).

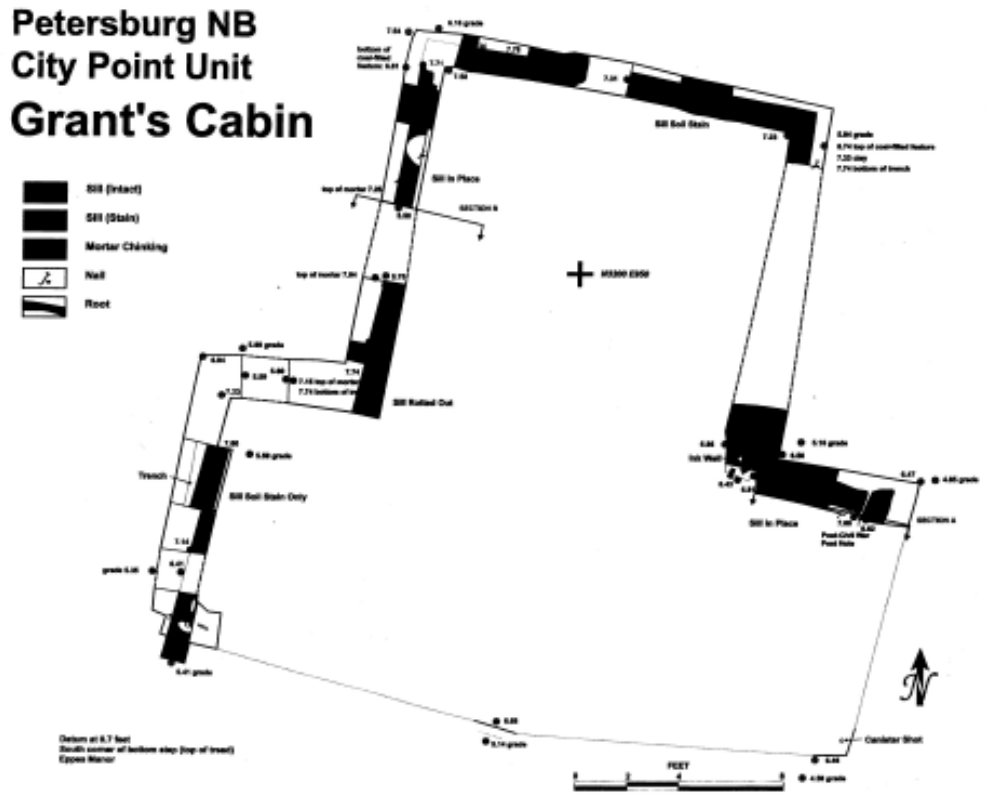

Figure 60. Plan of Grant's cabin (National Park Service).

were discovered" may be a Civil War era campfire (Swartz 1980). However, without any identification of the ceramics recovered from the feature, it is obviously impossible to do more than speculate upon its temporal associations.

In 1995, archaeologists from the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research performed a mitigation excavation prior to improvement works on the Route 10 Bridge over the Appomattox River (Stuck et al. 1997; Stuck 2004). In addition to evidence for prehistoric activity and eighteenth-century occupation associated with the family of Theodorick Bland, traces of postholes and Civil War-period material culture (including minie balls) were uncovered. These postholes mark the location of tents which were used to house wounded soldiers during the Siege of Petersburg. The tents unearthed during this compliance excavation were drained with small ditches, and one exhibited evidence for an interior hearth (Stuck et al. 1997; Stuck 2004). The posthole and ditch patterning at site 44PG381 constitute important comparative evidence for evaluating future Civil War archaeological discoveries at City Point.

More recently, archaeologists from the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research unearthed a Civil War era deposit in a vacant lot on Prince Henry Avenue interpreted as a "cellar or storage area within a shelter utilized during the Union occupation of City Point" (Lewes et al. 2003: 55). The depression appears to have been intentionally filled and capped perhaps immediately following the abandonment of the encampment. Over 5,000 artifacts were recovered from the pit, ranging from a soup tureen to military ration cans to extensive quantities of animal bone and shell to re-deposited prehistoric artifacts possibly swept or shoveled into the pit when it was intentionally filled. Faunal analysis of the bones found in this feature suggest that the diet in the City Point Union encampment was more diverse than that observed at other Union Army sites, underscoring the ready access to markets at the port and the organized stores of the Union forces (Andrews 2003). What is unclear as yet from this excavation is exactly who was enjoying these rations.

Possible evidence for another Civil War encampment domestic site within Fort Park at City Point includes a cluster of artifacts also found by archaeologists from the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research in several adjacent test pits including a copper alloy U.S. Army button, refined earthenware, and nails, glass, and handmade brick. In another investigation, concentrations of nineteenth-century materials found through shovel testing in a vacant lot on Pierce Street have been interpreted as the location of a structure. Owing to the lack of domestic artifacts found in the vicinity, it has been tentatively interpreted as possibly a church or other meeting place. Excavations did not attempt to define the physical extent or construction of this posited building, nor whether or definitely dated to the Civil War period (Lewes et al. 2003).

Additional material evidence for the extensive human presence at City Point during the brief period when the locale served as the Union army depot can be readily spotted along the shore of both the James River and Appomattox River. The continual erosion of the bluffs above both rivers is dislodging buried materials, while changing tides and weather events frequently dislodge or expose materials below the bluff. Walking along Water Street and examining the edges of the road often reveals the

Figure 61. View of grassy area and parking lot once used as a Civil War camping area (Audrey J. Horning).

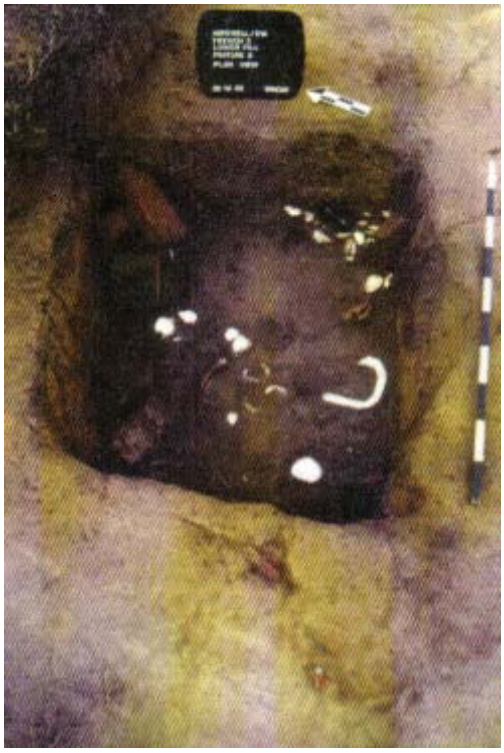

Figure 62. WMCAR excavation of a Civil War era refuse-filled feature (Lewes et al. 2003).

Figure 63. Historic materials eroding from the bluff below Appomattox Manor (Audrey J. Horning).

presence of nineteenth century bottles and ceramics, while the stark pilings of wharves and piers still jut up from the waters adjacent to the shoreline.

Maritime Archaeology of Civil War-era City Point

A significant percentage of the archaeological record pertaining to the Civil War at City Point lies within the James River. The river itself served as "a central focus of strategic maneuvering by both the Union and Confederacy" (Margolin 1994: 76). The Confederate forces constructed a series of earthen and log-reinforced earthen forts lining the James, such as Fort Darling on Drewry's Bluff, approximately seven miles south of Richmond on the James in an effort to repel the Union's extensive James River fleet. There are extensive archaeological resources pertaining to the Civil War period submerged in the James River. At Drewry's Bluff, for example, the Confederates intentionally scuttled three ironclad ships as they were fleeing Richmond on April 3, 1865. At least three other ships believed to be steamers previously sunk by the confederates in an effort to block the channel lie on the river bottom below Drewry's Bluff with the remains of the ironclads (Margolin 1994).

The massive explosion that rocked the City Point docks on August 9, 1864 destroyed at least three ships. The ammunition barge *J.E. McKendrick* was blown to bits with debris and cargo flying over a mile wide area, while the *General Meade* and *J.C. Campbell*, anchored nearby, were also damaged and sunk during the explosion. As noted by Foster (1991), "the wrecks and scattered cargoes of these vessels could provide data about canal boat construction, their adaptations for military use, and the lies of soldiers and mariners of the period." Northern canal boats evidently had been

Figure 64. Extant pilings on City Point shoreline (Audrey J. Horning).

Figure 65. Fragments of brick, bottle glass, and a wire nail on the shore adjacent to Appomattox Manor (Audrey J. Horning).

pressed into service for the Union Navy, and formed part of the fleet anchored at City Point. Foster also noted observing "a section of low wooden railing with turned stanchions, similar to those used on some canal boats" lying exposed in shallow water close to the shore in 1991. Bits of cargo and ordnance dislodged by the explosion were spewed out into the river, and are likely to still rest at the bottom of the river. Unfortunately, looters have long been aware of these resources, and many have been unscientifically removed (e.g., Calkins 1987) and others blatantly sold on the open market (Foster 1991). More positively, a recent permit application by a sports diver to vacuum up materials from the base of the river off City Point was denied. The diver in question, implicated in previous looting episodes in the James, has since agreed to cooperate with marine archaeologists in a more systematic survey of the resources present in the James and Appomattox rivers at City Point.

In the spring of 2004, archaeologists and marine researchers from the College of William and Mary and its Virginia Institute for Marine Science conducted a geophysical survey of the James River along a stretch of the river adjacent to and east of City Point. Following a two-day survey, three wooden-hulled shipwrecks were located and identified. One of these may be a Civil War era barge, another a schooner, and the third possibly a steamer. All three most likely date to the Civil War era. Additionally, three other geophysical anomalies were encountered which may also represent the remains of sunken vessels. Sections of dock and wharf remains were also observed, which should be considered quite significant cultural resources. A range of artifacts spread across the river bottom accompanied the larger anomalies. Recognizable objects include a wooden wheel, and a mooring anchor (Blanton and Meide 2004), possibly articles blown into the river on August 9, 1864. Considering the deaths that also occurred on the waterfront at City Point on that day, the riverbed adjacent to Water Street should also be considered as a possible graveyard.

Conclusion: Interpreting the Archaeology of the Civil War at City Point

Most documentary accounts of the occupation of City Point as a Union depot during the last year of the conflict tend to emphasize the well run, "modern" nature of the facilities, with an emphasis upon the contrast between Union and Confederate conditions towards the end of the war. Soldiers received fresh bread from the City Point bakeries, and excellent medical care at the numerous well-supplied hospitals. While this may indeed have been the case, the Union army had also stretched its capacity and funds by the end of the long-drawn-out war of which the Siege of Petersburg may have been the longest siege, but not necessarily the most horrific of a horrific war. Archaeological data from sites at City Point may some time in the future serve as a needed corrective to what seems an overly rosy image of a very difficult and unpleasant time in the history of the nation. How many local residents who were part of the original expansion of the port and the establishment of City Point as an incorporated settlement were still present by the time Union forces arrived in 1864? How did their lives change, and what had they endured during the 1862 engagement and the subsequent two years of deprivation? How did the provisions given to the African American

labor force compare to those being enjoyed in the log huts occupied by General Grant's staff?

If one of the central concerns of a new archaeology of the Civil War is concerned with the way in which the events of the War are presented and portrayed to the public, then a revision of presentations at City Point and Petersburg may be in order, a revision which acknowledges the modern, sophisticated and large-scale nature of the facilities at City Point, but one which also addresses the social tensions and inequities within the settlement and the society at large. Christie (1997) makes clear the stresses and discontent experiences by the female nurses mopping up blood and guts in the hospitals while the well fed, well dressed wives of the Union officers concerned themselves with organizing social events and enjoying the hard won "free" labor of African American women in their households.

Ultimately, the question again turns on which history, and whose history, do we choose to tell? Lessons can be drawn from Shackel's critique of presentations at Harper's Ferry that prioritize the industrial and "modern" context of the war experience over the often-horrific conditions experienced by the town's residents during the Civil War. In Shackel's estimation, the built environment maintained by the National Park Service at Harpers Ferry originated from a conscious effort on the part of "northern industrialists [to construct] a memorializing landscape that established and reinforced an industrial ideology through the remainder of the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries." As such, it is not true to the experiences of the individuals who contributed their labor to the industrial machine of the armory, and their lives to the Harpers Ferry community. While Shackel's version of Harpers Ferry in the Civil War consciously prioritizes labor over management in a manner which may not be appropriate for City Point, any interpretation which acknowledges the "messiest" of the past—the existence of multiple perspectives and contradictory experiences, must be one that brings us closer to the complicated lives of past peoples and one that will resonate more deeply in the present.

Chapter Ten.
City Point from 1865 to 1979

Introduction

In many ways, the postbellum era at Appomattox Manor represents a return to the pre-Civil War existence. The settlement of City Point settled back into a quiet village, retaining its rail connection to Petersburg, but no longer possessing the strategic significance as a port that it had enjoyed for the ten months before the end of the war. White landholders like Dr. Richard Eppes quickly managed to reassert economic and social power, while poorer white Virginians found themselves, or perceived themselves to be, worse off than in the days of slavery. While the early days of Reconstruction carried the promise of freedom and equality for Virginia's newly-freed African Americans, the resistance of white Americans North and South to any significant reforms sent the hopes of many African Americans into a downward spiral. Even the Freedmen's Bureau struggled to perform even a small percentage of its remit to oversee the successful transformation of former slaves into American citizens with all the attendant rights, privileges, and responsibilities.

While the introduction of wages, labor contracts, and tenancy reflected the end of slavery and promised some degree of choice for laborers, economic and social power was still held by white landowners including Dr. Richard Eppes. Despite these constraints, freedpeople grasped the strands of freedom and set about structuring new

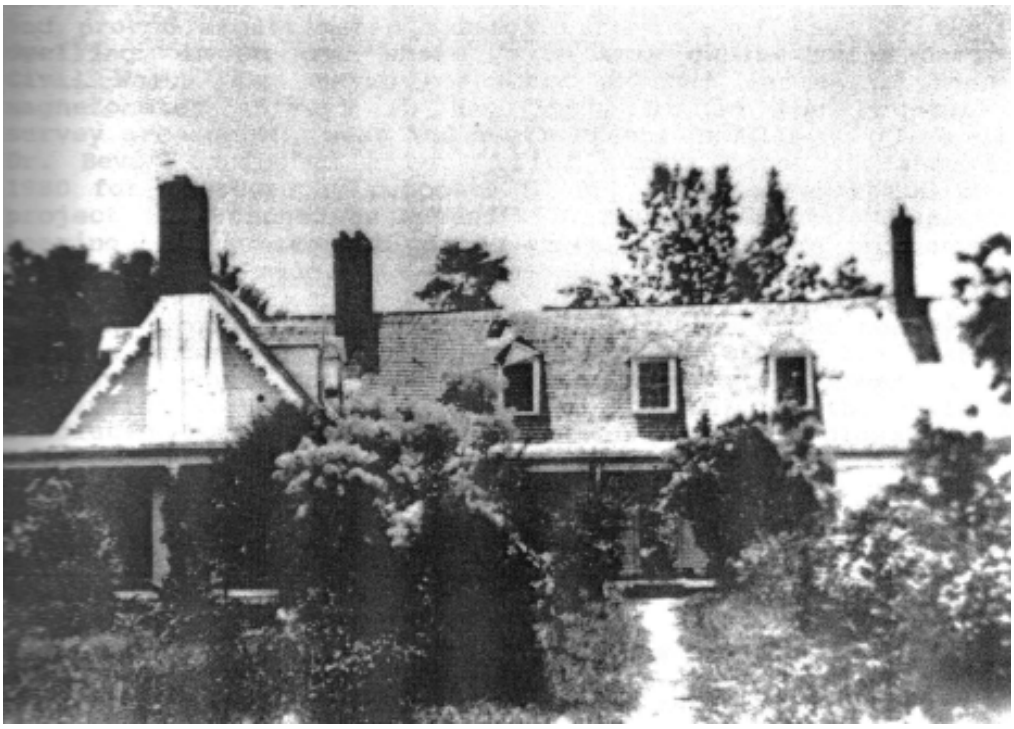

Figure 66. City Point at the end of the Civil War (National Park Service).

lives while retaining the bonds of family and community that had strengthened them during the period of enslavement. By the end of the nineteenth century many black Virginians had managed to acquire land and prosper even within the constraints of the Jim Crow era.

Another war would bring significant changes to City Point. The insatiable thirst for munitions on the Western Front in Europe during World War I facilitated a boom in the fortunes of dynamite and guncotton manufacturers, including the DuPont Company which had set up shop on the Eppes family lands of Hopewell Plantation in the second decade of the twentieth century. Almost overnight, as in 1864, the greater City Point area was transformed from farmland to the incorporated City of Hopewell with more than 40,000 occupants. City Point itself would ultimately be swallowed up by the new city, but Appomattox Manor itself sat apart from the winds of change. The vestiges of the Lost Cause stirred together with the ideals of the Colonial Revival movement fostered a desire to promote, preserve, and present the colonial pedigree of the property. Financed by the sale of lands to DuPont, the manor house was upgraded and the property extensively landscaped in Colonial Revival fashion. The twentieth-century landscape features at City Point remain an important element of the cultural resources of the property.

Postbellum Life in Virginia

Almost as quickly as it emerged from the dust and decay of the early years, City Point the bustling depot was emptied of its inhabitants and its myriad structures left vacant. The Eppes family returned to City Point to find their ancestral home barely habitable, and their once-pristine, ornately landscaped grounds awash with temporary structures and the flotsam and jetsam of everyday life in the Union depot. Meanwhile, freed African Americans lost their jobs in the now closed depot. Filled with hope if uncertainty, they and others who began returning to City Point, commenced the task of constructing new lives under freedom.

When Lincoln was assassinated at Ford's Theatre on Good Friday, 1865, questions about reparation and the rights of freedmen and the rights of former slaveholders had not yet been resolved. Was reconstructing the nation going to be characterized by forgiveness and a return to the status quo, albeit with slavery? Should Southerners be treated as traitors, conquered enemies, or citizens with rights? If the Constitution did not allow for secession, then the Southern states were not truly out of the union, and the South could not be treated as an annexation. Who should rebuild the South, then, and what should it look like? Would there be a radical rethinking of the structures of American society and the position of African Americans? Did freedom have to mean equality?

In 1863, when Lincoln delivered the Emancipation Proclamation freeing all enslaved Americans, his plans for Reconstruction were founded on a policy of leniency towards Southerners and a belief that secession, being illegal, had not really occurred. Southerners would have to agree to give up slavery and swear an oath of allegiance to the United States, but they would be assured that although free, former slaves would receive no political rights in a reconstructed United States of America. In Lincoln's words, then:

> I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to with:
>
> I, ——, do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified or held void by the Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, as long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God.

By contrast, the hard-line Wade-Davis Bill proposed in 1864 treated the South as a conquered region to be rebuilt and remodeled along the lines of Northern society. The act of secession was viewed as "state suicide," with all rights and privileges of the United States rejected and henceforth revoked. As stated by Thaddeus Stevens, "Dead men cannot raise themselves. Dead States cannot restore their existence 'as it was'… The future condition of the conquered power depends on the will of the conqueror. They must come in as new states or remain as conquered provinces. Congress … is the only power that can act in the matter." The South would then be open to Northern investors to take and develop what they wanted, with no rights to former landholders (and few for newly freed people).

Plans for the establishment of a Freedmen's Bureau to protect the interests of freed people and to help smooth their transition to independent living were in place before the death of Lincoln. The organization was to provide immediate relief and mediation if necessary between freed people and their former owners, as well as with the society at large. Yet the single most important question regarding the rights and privileges of free people was not resolved before Lincoln's assassination: land. Would lands owned by slaveholders be confiscated and turned over to newly freed people? Would every African American family receive the means to live independently in the rural South? Individuals who had formerly worked the Eppes plantation lands returned in 1865 and 1866, in the belief that the properties would be divided up amongst those who had performed the labor that made the land productive. But their dreams for independence were not to be realized. While the Freedmen's Bureau did manage to confiscate some Southern properties for redistribution, it could only do so for lands that were considered abandoned because the taxes had not been paid.

Despite the hopes for the Freedmen's Bureau, and the desire for revenge by people like Thaddeus Stevens, the postbellum era at City Point closely reflects its pre-Civil War appearance. The formerly bustling depot settled back into a quiet village,

retaining its rail connection to Petersburg and a number of its small businesses, but economically unable to capitalize upon the military infrastructure abandoned on the landscape. Like many, the Eppes family faced a struggle to regain and reconstruct their lands and profits at the close of the war. Yet the powerful ties of class had not been broken, and within less than a year, Dr. Richard Eppes had reasserted political, economic, and social power and, with financing from his Philadelphia relatives, set about re-establishing the antebellum landscape of control across his four plantations. Meanwhile, poorer white Virginians found themselves, or perceived themselves, worse off than in the days of slavery. For many white farmers and laborers, the lingering economic depression that blanketed Virginia for decades following the war forced them to compete with free African Americans for wages, a situation which Dr. Richard Eppes used to his own advantages. The resentment and uncertainty experienced by landless white Virginians soon transformed into the virulent racism of the post-Reconstruction era, lasting well into the twentieth century and resonating down to the present.

Reclaiming City Point: The Eppes Family Return

Following the cessation of hostilities, Dr. Eppes mobilized his resources and contacts in an effort to regain control over his lands. Although he swiftly took the oath required by Lincoln in the Proclamation of Amnesty, he found that as a Confederate with pre-war assets exceeding $20,000 he was not qualified for instant amnesty. He returned to his property at Eppes Island to direct his campaign. As part of this campaign, on June 24, 1865, Eppes penned a letter to the new Governor of Virginia, F.H. Peirpont. In this missive, Eppes expressed his belief that he "had been exempted by the Amnesty oath of President Lincoln's Proclamation" and that upon finding out the contrary, "my energies have been completely paralyzed and I know not what to do." Eppes then claimed to have been only a "plain farmer" before the war, and that he had "always confined myself to agricultural pursuits." While Eppes had clearly never sought political office nor had he played much of a military role during the war, his considerable fortune and his extensive slaveholdings had been a financial asset to the Confederacy. To what extent his local influence also aided the Confederacy can only be guessed at, but he clearly controlled the lives of his white overseers and the lives of those living and working on his properties and businesses within the port of City Point. Eppes, who ended his letter requesting "a little comfort and encouragement" from the governor, did not have long to wait. Eppes was fortunate that the voices in Congress advocating more radical treatment of the South were swiftly muted by the majority of members, eager to ensure a rapid return to some sort of normality. The new President, Andrew Johnson, readily signed pardons for all but a few Confederates, including the pardon of Dr. Richard Eppes.

Although his title to the property remained unclear in 1865, Eppes did return to City Point and endeavor to begin reconstructing while his wife and children stayed with their relatives in Philadelphia. On September 1, 1865, he recorded what he found on his return:

> At City Point I found a good many temporary buildings and wharves erected on my property, all my old buildings standing and my own dwelling house repaired which had been nearly destroyed during the McClellan Campaign. The grounds around my dwelling house were filled with many little huts having been the Headquarters of General Grant during the campaign around Petersburg, all of shrubbery fruit trees and garden that had been nearly destroyed and that along the river also much injured though most of the large shade ornamental trees were still standing (Eppes, September 1, 1865, reprinted in Butowsky 1978).

Ultimately, Eppes did manage to reclaim his properties, with title restored to him in October 1865, only six months after the end of hostilities. The decree, however, specified that "nothing in this order be construed as entitling him to compensation for damages to the property" which may have occurred during its military use. The military, however, still retained some control over the land from a May 8, 1865 order by General Grant. The occupants of the government buildings could not be evicted, nor could Eppes remove or make use of any government construction. Eppes was clearly frustrated by this situation, and directed another letter to Major General John Gibbon in November 1865, requesting "the restoration of my houses and lots, located at City Point, now in the occupancy of the military. Having procured from the President of the United States a Warrant of Pardon, date June 28, 1865, I applied sometime since verbally, but could attain no definitive answer, about its restoration from the commandant of the Post, and as my means are very limited and my expenses very large in this city [Petersburg] I am anxious to get possession of my family residence to enable me to raise means to support my family" (copy of letter in Butowsky 1978).

Eppes borrowed money from his relatives to purchase all of the Union Army "improvements" on the property. Eppes was evidently well pleased with the moderate cost of $641.50 for these buildings, which he was able to turn into housing for his workers. Although some soldiers still resided at City Point through the remainder of 1865, by February 11, 1866, less than one year after the end of the war, Eppes received full title to his lands and was able to evict all those on his lands as he desired. One month later, the family returned to City Point, "a day ever memorable in the Calendar of our family" according to Dr. Eppes (Butowsky 1978). With the money borrowed from his Philadelphia in-laws, Eppes repaired Appomattox Manor and began reasserting control over the landscape and the lives of those working on his four plantations.

Turk and Willis (1982) note that the interior of Appomattox Manor appears to have been completely refinished as part of the repairs undertaken with Horner moneys after the war. Additionally, the roof, dormers, gutters, and porch had to be repaired or replaced, one entire chimney and the central stairs rebuilt, and the windows reglazed. The new work on the interior of the house was not just intended to make the home habitable; it was also intended to restore the home to its function as a center for hospitality and a symbol of the elite status of the Eppes family. Two types of plasterwork were employed, and a variety of paint colors and wallpapers were selected. It is likely that at least some of the interior furnishings were updated at the same time. Eppes also invested money in repairs to structures on his other plantations at this time,

although under the new postbellum labor arrangements, he passed the responsibility of repairing tenant houses onto his workers.

Experiences of Freedpeople at City Point

The work of mopping up after such a costly Civil War often fell to those lowest on the socioeconomic ladder: free African Americans. In May 1866, Dr. Eppes complained that the United States Burial Corps was recruiting workers in City Point to assist with the recovery and reburial of human remains from the ten-month-long Siege of Petersburg. Eppes decried the fact the Corps was offering $15 per week plus rations to anyone signing up for this grisly and unpleasant duty, when he himself was not prepared to offer laborers more than fifty cents per day to work in rebuilding his plantations (Brown 1999).

Eppes's aim in re-establishing his plantations was, not surprisingly, to replicate as closely as possible the pre-Civil War organization, an approach replicated by thousands of other southern landholders. Work opportunities for African Americans thus closely resembled what was available in the pre-Civil War period. As noted by Kenneth Koons (2000), "continuity prevailed in the economic opportunities available to blacks." In 1865, Eppes and a new organization of local plantation owners calling themselves the James River Farmers drafted a series of sixteen rules guiding the treatment and expectations of their freed work force. The rules themselves served to regulate and depress local salaries. Rule number nine clearly expressed a desire to retain the older structures of labor relations: "All of the hands will be required to submit to such rules, and work in such way, and at such times, either night or day, as was formerly customary in this section of the country" (Eppes, September 13, 1865, Appendix 3 in Brown 1999). Some of the rules were exactly the same as in Eppes's earlier code, discussed in Chapter Eight. This time, however, infractions were punished with fines rather than the whip. Eppes and his fellow planters did not enjoy complete control over their workers in the postbellum era. Laborers found various means of resisting sanctions and controls, just as they had done during slavery. In his journals, Eppes records numerous occasions when African American laborers organized themselves in demanding higher wages and other concessions from the James River planters.

Virginia's newly freed people were cognizant of the efforts of individuals like Richard Eppes to return life to the pre-Civil War status quo. A remarkable address "to the Loyal Citizens and Congress of the United States of America adopted by a convention of Negroes held in Alexandria, Virginia, from August 2 to 5, 1865" outlined the realistic concerns of a convention of freed Virginians:

> Four fifths of our enemies are paroled or amnestied, and the other fifth are being pardoned, and the President has, in his efforts at the reconstruction of the civil government of the States, late in rebellion, left us entirely at the mercy of these subjugated but unconverted rebels, in everything save the privilege of bringing us, our wives and little ones, to the auction block.… We know these men-know them well-and we assure you that, with the majority of them, loyalty is only "lip deep," and that their professions of loyalty are used as a cover to the

Figure 67. Painting *The Scarecrow*, dating to the 1890s. Romanticized view of African American field laborers that essentialized their role as peasants (Virginia Historical Society).

> cherished design of getting restored to their former relations with the Federal Government, and then, by all sorts of "unfriendly legislation," to render the freedom you have given us more intolerable than the slavery they intended for us.

The records of the Freedmen's Bureau, which include reports of cases of unfair arrest and prosecution of freedpeople, illustrate the unease and violence that often attended the restructuring of racial relations in Virginia. For example, on May 1, 1866, three African American churches were burned to the ground in Petersburg in what was interpreted as a racially motivated attack. Other cases were reported which exemplify the unease of white Virginians in accepting the mobility of newly freed people. For example, Albert Williams was jailed for not carrying a pass in late 1865: "I am a citizen of Petersburg and while on my way to Alexandria, to establish myself in business, stopped in Richmond, to get some tools I had left there. With my arms full of tools, I was arrested by the Police, who demanded my pass. Told the officers I was not a slave & that the day of passes was at an end. He said it was Yankee freedom now, which he had always told the niggers would be worse than southern slavery" (www.freedmensbureau.com).

Just as Eppes returned to City Point in an effort to rebuild the familiar structures of his life, it is not surprisingly that a number of African Americans (including Madison Ruffin) who had grown up at Appomattox Manor also returned to their home after the war. Their arrival, and their expectations for changes in the same social and economic structures that Eppes was trying to reproduce, were not exactly welcomed with open arms. According to Eppes, people like Madison Ruffin and George Bolling, long trusted servants of the Eppes family, endeavored to regain these position by making it difficult for other to attain jobs at Appomattox Manor (Brown 1999). Considering that they had spent their lives at Appomattox Manor and were invested in trying to re-establish some sense of community and normality, even if it meant returning to work for the Eppes family, the attitude of the Ruffins and Mr. Bolling is hardly surprising. Eppes,

however, does not appear to have felt any loyalty to them at all, expressing his desire to rid the plantation of the entire Ruffin family: "found it a bad rule to employ former slaves of your own, being more unmanageable & disposed to take more liberties than strangers" Some evidence suggests that George Bolling had remained with the family during their stay in Petersburg, as Eppes noted that when the family returned to Appomattox Manor in February 1866, "my wife with George Bolling our former house servant superintended the move from Petersburg to City Point. I myself remained a silent spectator at the request of my wife who preferred to have the entire management to which I agreed most cheerfully" (cited in Butowsky 1978).

The economic difficulties faced by most Virginians following the cessation of hostilities drove poor white laborers to seek employment from the wealthier landholders such as Eppes. Some of these individuals may have once been small farmers, who returned from the war to find their fields destroyed, their livestock long dead, and their homes beyond repair. Wage labor then provided the only possible hope of attaining enough capital to rebuild. Ever the pragmatist, Eppes discovered that if he preyed upon the discomfort and prejudices of white and black laborers by forcing them to work together on his lands, "more work" was accomplished because of the "species of rivalry between them" (Brown 1999).

In many ways, life on the Eppes plantations had changed little from the antebellum period. Dr. Eppes still maintained ultimate control over the lives of his workers in depressing their wages and extracting rent payments from them. From his perspective, the new system may even have been preferable to that of slavery, because the reciprocal relationship between master and slave no longer existed. Eppes, although he did provide rations as part of month-long contracts, was not required to clothe his workers, nor did he bear their costs for medical treatment. Instead, his workers lived under the fear of being dismissed for small infractions, as both they and Eppes knew others would swiftly arrive to take their place.

Although most scholars of postbellum Virginia agree that conditions for African Americans did not improve measurably from before the Civil War, one historian (Kerr-Ritchie 1999) has postulated a measured improvement for African Americans in tobacco growing regions of Virginia in the late nineteenth century. As large companies gradually took over tobacco manufacturing in Virginia, many white landowners sold off their barely profitable tobacco farms. With the arrival of purely capitalist-driven enterprises, particularly into urban areas, more traditional social means of control began to be dismantled. Furthermore, the availability of land provided African Americans with the opportunity to attain one of the promises of freedom—land ownership. Ownership of any land, however unprofitable, was seen as a measure of success. Kerr-Ritchie (1999) points out, however, that this desire was generational. African Americans who had not been born into slavery did not necessary share the same desire for property ownership; instead, a move into the growing manufacturing centers of the early twentieth century promised greater advancement. One of these manufacturing centers was to be located in what had been the heart of Eppes agricultural lands: Hopewell Plantation.

Historical Archaeology of Postbellum Life

The literature on the material lives of Southerners in the postbellum period is small but growing. One of the first full-length studies in the discipline was Charles Orser's examination of the Millwood Plantation, located in the South Carolina piedmont, during the postbellum era. In an arrangement somewhat analogous to that on the Eppes lands, workers at Millwood were principally formerly enslaved people on the plantation. After the war, they found their lives still controlled and constrained by the plantation owner. While the system changed to wage labor, tenancy and sharecropping, workers were still virtually powerless because even if a landowner broke a signed contract, workers could not sue as only those with property had recourse to the courts.

According to Orser, "plantation landlords were interested in profits, and plantation tenants were generally interested in getting away from the plantations." Although Orser, applying a materialist theoretical framework to his subject, could not explain why some African Americans opted to stay at Millwood rather than striking out on their own, more considered examinations of the motivation of formerly enslaved peoples are beginning to characterize archaeological and historical treatises on the postbellum era. These studies comprise a significant basis for comparative analysis of Appomattox Manor in the postbellum era. Laurie Wilkie's examination of Oakley Plantation in Louisiana employed the archaeology of one house site in the yard of the Big House to address the transformation from slavery to freedom (Wilkie 2000, 2001). Several generations of the Freeman family lived in the abode, from which they worked for the white owners. During the postbellum era, Sylvia Freeman served the spinster Matthews sisters, while living within a vibrant African American community with ties that were strong enough to bind families and individuals together during slavery and ties that kept much of the community together after slavery. Similarly, Brown and Cooper's examination of transition from slavery to tenancy on the Levi Jordan plantation in Texas found continuity in the structure and lifeways of an African American community from the antebellum through postbellum eras (Brown and Cooper 1990).

Examination of the historical archaeology of tenancy and of small farms in the postbellum through early twentieth century has evolved from efforts to discern material differences between African American versus white tenants, as in Stine 1990, to more considered examinations of the interplay between forces of modernization and forces of traditionalism within southern society (for example, Cabak, Groover, and Inkrot 1999); the ways in which individuals maintain and express individual and community identity in the face of social and economic difficulty (e.g., Joseph and Reed 1997) and the increasing impact of industrialism (e.g., Russ, McDaniel, and Wood 2000; Peterson et al. 1992). Regarding research into the postbellum archaeology of rural Virginia, Barbara Heath has suggested, "archaeology of postbellum farms… will be the archaeology of economic collapse and its material effect on farmers." Postbellum archaeology in Virginia is still in its infancy, with the majority of projects addressing the time period limited to compliance-based archaeology (for example, Peterson et al. 1992). One interesting compliance-based project with a significant research component of value to understanding the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century experi-

ences of black Virginians is the work of MacDonald, Stuck, and Bragdon (1992) in tracing the oral history of a community of freedpeople established outside of Yorktown in 1865. Acquiring the lands through gift and deed following the war, the community of former slaves built farms, churches, and an oystering industry, thereby managing to realize some of the promises of emancipation until 1918, when they were given 30 days to vacate their lands to make way for a military installation.

As yet, the potential of postbellum era archaeology at City Point is unrealized. However, it is likely that significant deposits reflecting the reclamation of the property from the devastation of the Civil War, the reassertion of antebellum social relations, and the implied continuity in daily life at Appomattox Manor exist in the vicinity of the dwelling. Certainly landscape analysis of the property underscores the desire to re-establish the antebellum face of the property, albeit that the present landscape is overlain by the plantings and reorganization effected by a twentieth-century immersion in the Colonial Revival movement, as discussed below. Of particular interest to understanding the nature of relations between the Eppes family and their servants would be examining the fate of the former slave quarter structures in the yard of Appomattox Manor. When did the individual homes of Madison Ruffin and others disappear from the landscape? Were they used after the war, or did the restructuring of relations and the distancing of responsibilities to the work force compel the Eppes family to remove the dwellings (and thus any potential occupants) from the immediate vicinity of their home? Additional examination of the documentary record in concert with archaeological study should shed additional light upon the nature of labor relations on the postbellum plantation.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Eppes family was no longer able to maintain and manage their extensive landholdings. Was there any specific reason for the downturn in their fortunes, beyond the series of depressions that affected all Virginians? Archaeological deposits associated with the manor house itself (including the rubbish that was routinely tipped over the bluff according to Elise Eppes Cutchin (1980)) would shed light upon the material culture of the Eppes family in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Were they able to keep up with changing fashions, particularly in terms of modernization? The history of the house itself suggests a minimal investment in upgrading during the period from 1866 to after Dr. Eppes's death in 1896, which may have also translated into conservatism in terms of interior furnishings and personal possessions. The timing of changes to the house itself suggests that any conservatism may have been associated with Dr. Eppes himself. Changes that were made not long after his death include the installation of a new water system and new bathrooms, the fitting of a new roof, and the installation of steam heat (Turk and Willis 1982). The sale of much of the Eppes property to the DuPont Company by 1916 filled the coffers of the family, allowing for more extensive upgrading of the home. However, the sale of lands that had been in the family since 1635 also contributed to a desire to reflect upon and romanticize the colonial past of the property and the family, as Appomattox Manor joined a host of other once dilapidated Virginia family seats to be recast in the mold of the Colonial Revival.

City Point and Hopewell in the Twentieth Century

In the year 1910, the population at City Point numbered 300 individuals, virtually the same as it had been in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. But just as events were to overtake the village in the 1860s, so too was a sea change in the air in the early twentieth century—one again linked with bloodshed and discord. In 1912, recognizing the same advantages of City Point which had attracted the Union Army, the E.I. DuPont de Nemours Company selected the locale as the new location for an extensive dynamite factory. Purchasing the Hopewell Plantation from the Eppes family, the company rapidly erected a plant and attracted thousands of workers. Elise Eppes Cutchin (1980) recalled that the naming of the DuPont factory Hopewell was due to the direct influence of her aunt. "[My] aunt, Mrs. Shands,… was the one who found out that they expected to call the plant Mr. Ramsey, after Mr. Ramsey. So she wrote them and said that that land had always been called the Hopewell Farm; they thought after the ship, Hopewell, that they suppose that Francis Eppes had been brought to this country on and that could they call it Hopewell" (Cutchin 1980).

Diversifying into the production of gun cotton, DuPont and its labor force capitalized upon the war in Europe. By 1916, when the city of Hopewell was officially incorporated, 40,000 people called the settlement home. To house its workers, DuPont built streets of worker housing divided into separate "villages" for supervisors, for white workers, and for black workers, thereby reifying and replicating Old Virginia social divisions. DuPont had not only brought thousand of workers to labor in its plant, but also attracted thousands of other who would build and invest in the numerous shops and manufactures required to service this boomtown community (Lewes et al. 2003; Lutz 1957; Calos, Easterling, and Rayburn 1993).

From a sleepy, economically depressed postbellum village hearkening to the past rather than to the present, City Point was almost instantly transformed into a twenti-

Figure 68. Late nineteenth-century riverfront at City Point (National Park Service).

eth-century, multicultural, industrial city. Joining the black and white Virginians who cast their lot in the new city were thousands of immigrants from Western and Eastern Europe and from the Middle East. According to one report (Crump 1981), DuPont employees spoke 35 separate languages. With the rapid influx of new citizens, housing and other developments rapidly sprang up through the new city, albeit with little planning control (a 1915 conflagration burned some 300 frame buildings within Hopewell). In addition to the legitimate workers, and reminiscent of the Civil War period, Hopewell also attracted a criminal element. Once again, floating brothels visited the docks at City Point, while gambling and Prohibition violations were commonplace in the city's hotels. Reputedly, Hopewell's police force was corrupt and virtually indistinguishable from a criminal gang. The attendant social tensions that plague any working class town with so many ethnic groups and local factions erupted into a riot in 1918. A clash between African American and white residents culminated in a gun battle with the local

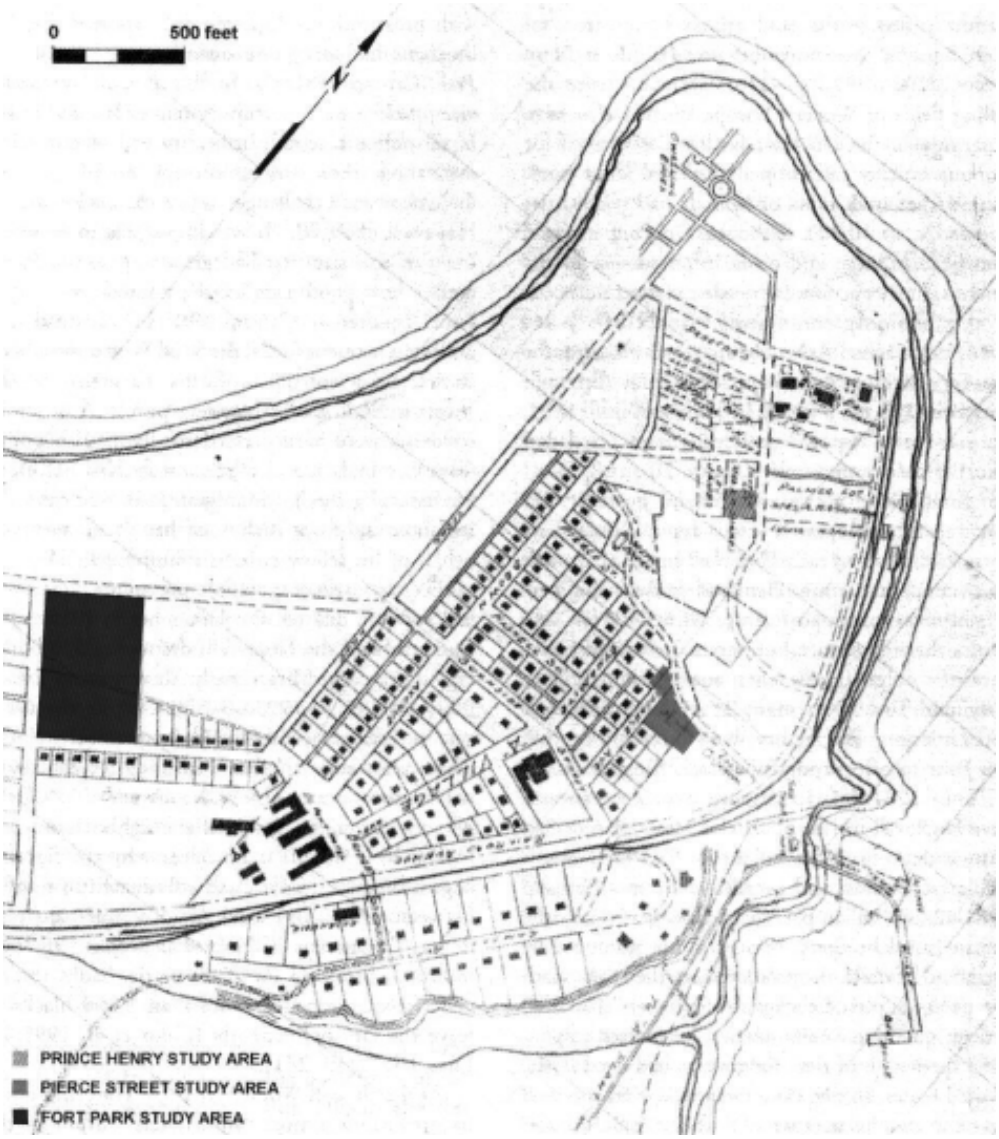

Figure 69. DuPont Company neighborhoods in 1918 (Lewes et al. 2003).

militia, with up to 1,000 African Americans leaving Hopewell for good after the incident (Lewes et al. 2003; Lutz 1957; Calos, Easterling, and Rayburn 1993).

The cessation of World War II, like the end of the Civil War, threatened the boomtown with the prospect of abandonment. The DuPont Company closed its operations, laying off workers and forcing many to leave Hopewell. The 1920s, however, were not a period of stagnation in Virginia as was the decade after the Civil War. Hopewell and the attributes of the river, rail, and road connections appealed to a variety of other industries, including the Tubize Artificial Silk Company and Allied Chemical. Continued operation of the plants shielded Hopewell from the worst effects of the Depression in the 1930s. War again would serve as a means of expansion for the Hopewell community, with the reactivation of Camp Lee as a military base during World War II. In 1942, Fort Lee housed 45,000 military personnel. While its population shrank after the war, Camp Lee became the training base of Fort Lee and remains a significant element of the greater Hopewell community.

While the City of Hopewell was born and emerged as a productive manufacturing center with a diverse and often boisterous population, the inhabitants of Appomattox Manor itself seems to have intentionally endeavored to remain aloof. The sale of the Hopewell Plantation lands as well as other Eppes family properties in the second decade of the twentieth century provided much needed financing for a series of renovations of the main house, and funded a renewed focus upon landscaping. As recalled by Elise Eppes Cutchin, 1916 was "when there was first a little money to spend; that's why so many things were done then" (Cutchin 1980). In many ways, it would appear that the Eppes family at Appomattox Manor consciously strove to commemorate their long history as Virginians by involving themselves wholeheartedly in the Colonial Revival movement and steadfastly ignoring the sights, smells, and sounds of the booming twentieth-century manufacturing city fast encroaching upon their City Point domain.

City Point as Commemorative Landscape

Scarcely had the ink dried on the documents of surrender when souvenir hunters turned their attention to the material culture and landscape of Civil War-era City Point. Amongst the first souvenirs to be plucked from the landscape was General Grant's headquarters' cabin. Grant gave the cabin to George H. Stuart, head of the United States Sanitary Commission. By the time it was transferred to Philadelphia in the summer of 1865, however, the interior furnishings had "become somewhat scattered, some of the articles being carried off at City Point by relic hunters" (cited in Butowsky 1978: 130). That the structure was already in danger of falling prey to the construction of a mythic history even in the first few months following the surrender at Appomattox is evident from a July 21, 1865 letter to George Stuart on behalf of Ulysses Grant. Adam Badeau, secretary to Grant, wrote "He [Grant] also directs me to state, in reply to your request for a history of the cabin, and especially to your reference to a supposed council of war between President Lincoln, Gen. Sherman and himself to which you allude, were rather insignificant than 'momentous.'" Badeau, however, jumped in two feet first into the murky waters of commemoration by stating his personal conviction that "the cabin, however, you will permit me to say, has an interest beyond that to

which in Gen. Grant's eyes it seems entitled… although to the appreciation of the Lieut. Gen'l they seem, as he directs me to style them – insignificant" (Badeau 1865, reprinted in Butowsky 1978). Like many souvenirs, however, Grant's Cabin lost any meaning for succeeding generations of Philadelphians. By the 1980s, the cabin was quietly moldering away in a virtually forgotten corner of Fairmount Park. Removed, renovated, and restored to its position at City Point, the survival of the structure has been described as "an incredibly significant reminder of the rebellion, the sole survivor of an entire genre of military architecture" (Orr 1994:31).

Although the Eppes family initially appears to have wanted to erase the physical legacy of the Civil War and sweep the experiences under the rug in their haste to re-establish pre-war social structure and economic productivity on the plantation, they were unable to do so. While they may never have experienced hogs rooting up human bones, as did the Mumma family at Sharpsburg (Manning-Sterling 2000), the ghosts of the war returned in the flesh. During the lifetime of Elise Eppes Cutchin, granddaughter of Dr. Richard Eppes, former Union soldiers often traveled back to City Point to reminisce over their experiences. "…when I was a child, soldiers would come down to see where they had camped. [I] was sent out to show them where the chimney [of one of the cabins] was and I could remember one of them sayin': 'the spring was down there' and 'it was the best water I ever tasted'" (Cutchin 1980). In 1916, the family demolished the one remaining cabin on the property in an effort to dissuade visitors from camping within the structure, "people wandering around used to spend the night and build a fire in it" (Cutchin 1980). As an adult, however, Cutchin endeavored to protect the chimneys remaining from Grant's cabin and that of the adjutant general, perceiving the structures as significant to the memorialization of City Point history.

Figure 70. Grant's cabin at present (Audrey J. Horning).

As previously noted, the Eppes family began a series of landscape changes at Appomattox Manor in the early twentieth century which were designed to be in keeping with the ideals and practices of the Colonial Revival movement. The aims of the Colonial Revival were closely linked with the remaining strands of Lost Cause ideology; the romanticized lamentation over the heroic stand of the South in the face of an unjust invading force. The Lost Cause and its apologist version of Southern culture still pervade notions of Southernness and the significance of Southern history. The Lost Cause effectively was a means of recasting the pre-Civil War South as a society driven by gentility, and a code of honor (not by avarice, as the North was perceived to be)—a land peopled by virtuous ladies, honorable men, and dutiful, devoted servants. Writers like Thomas Nelson Page wrote wistfully about the diminished situation of the postbellum Southern gentleman: "The greatness of the past, the time when Virginia had been the mighty power of the New World, loomed ever above him… . He saw the change that was steadily creeping on…" (Page 1897). In Page's version of Old Virginia, not only were men honorable, chivalric, and serious, but the women were selfless and dutiful: "What she really was, was known only to God. Her life was one long act of devotion—devotion to God, devotion to her husband, devotion to her children, devotion to her servants, to her friends, to the poor, to humanity" (Page 1897).

The Colonial Revival movement consciously built upon this romantic image of the pre-Civil War South by focusing upon the eighteenth-century heyday of the great Tidewater Planters. Tradition-minded white Virginians scrambled to celebrate and preserve the past of the Commonwealth in such a manner as to prove that "the Old Dominion had founded the nation, established representative government, instituted racial order through slavery, and stood for civility and grace," attempting to "win through

Figure 71. Chimney base adjacent to Grant's cabin (Audrey J. Horning).

monuments and pamphlets what Lee had lost at Appomattox" (Lindgren 1993). Aesthetics were central to this effort, with a renewed focus upon historic properties within the Commonwealth, particularly those with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century associations. Such properties and their newly ordered gardens symbolized timeless virtues, serving as veritable oases in the face of a chaotic modernity. City Point and Appomattox Manor clearly fit the bill, and a private organization, the Appomattox Manor Preservation Corporation, mobilized itself to present the property as a significant element of the colonial history of the James River region.

A remarkable ethnographic record of the twentieth-century Colonial Revival landscape of City Point exists in the form of interviews with Dr. Richard Eppes' granddaughter Elise Eppes Cutchin and her brother James Eppes. Mrs. Cutchin had a keen interest in gardening, and shared her knowledge and recollections of the property with National Park Service landscape architects and archaeologists shortly after the National Park Service acquired the property in 1979 (Cutchin 1980). Cutchin appears to have not been very impressed by the actions of the Appomattox Manor Preservation Corporation, however, as she dubbed the organization the "Damage and Destruction Corporation." The organization evidently tried to raise money by selling cuttings from the property. It is possible that the greenhouse, which was added to the house in 1935, reflects these activities (Turk and Willis 1982).

The continued survival of Appomattox Manor, now as part of the City Point Unit of the Petersburg National Battlefield, owes much to the forces of modernity that transformed the pastoral postbellum landscape of the Eppes plantations into the industrial city of Hopewell. Without the influx of cash from the sale of the Hopewell plantation, and without the threat of disharmony posed by the rowdy, multi-cultural

Figure 72. Post-1916 arbor and plantings at City Point (Audrey J. Horning).

city of Hopewell, Appomattox Manor could well have decayed beyond repair, its perceived colonial significance greatly overshadowed by the momentous events of the Civil War with its uncomfortable and continuing legacy. The challenge for the National Park Service in the twenty-first century is finding a way to prevent the interpretation and memorialization of 1864-1865 from rendering the manor and its grounds irrelevant, while at the same time resisting the tempting packaging of the Colonial Revival version of Appomattox Manor and Old Virginia by dissecting and analyzing the layers of commemoration that swaddle the property.

Conclusion

The period from 1865 to the present is a long and complex time period for City Point, a time during which little changed and everything changed. The Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction era at City Point witnessed a conscious effort on the part of Richard Eppes to restore antebellum order to his plantations. Adapting to a new wage-based labor system, yet retaining power and control over individual lives, Eppes was able to carry on directing his considerable agricultural enterprises. For the freed people who had lived and worked at City Point, Eppes Island, Bermuda Hundred, and Hopewell, their lives during that same era were infused with hope yet crippled by reality. Some found themselves again working for Eppes and neighboring James River planters, earning low wages and caught up in the bonds of tenancy and sharecropping. Others would ultimately realize the dream of landownership, while witnessing the promise of the Fourteenth Amendment, ratified by Virginia in 1869, dissolve in the face of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision which legitimated Virginia's so-called Jim Crow laws. When Dr. Richard Eppes died in 1896, his lands were still in agricultural production, his home remained exactly as it had been following the repairs of 1866, and the village of City Point was little different than it was in 1860. Whether Eppes had any inkling of the changes on the horizon is unknown, although it would appear that conservatism underscored his running of the family plantations and the maintenance of the status quo in the family home. Within a decade, the landscape that Eppes had known throughout his life would be no more. The sleepy port of City Point was poised on the brink of irreversible change, change that paradoxically carried with it the preservation of Appomattox Manor.

The landscape of Appomattox Manor today owes much of its appearance to events of the last 100 years, a time period that witnessed the birth of the City of Hopewell amidst the bloodshed of the First World War, the emergence of the Colonial Revival and a veneration of Old Virginia, and the memorialization of the Civil War landscapes of Petersburg and City Point. Situated in but never of the city of Hopewell, Appomattox Manor and its grounds continues to occupy an uncertain place in the context of the twenty-first-century community on its margins. How best to tell the many stories of City Point while engaging the local community, itself a product of the industrial age rather than the colonial times glorified by the Colonial Revival movement, is a critical concern imbedded within this re-examination of the cultural history of the City Point Unit of the Petersburg National Battlefield, and a concern addressed in the following concluding chapter.

Chapter Eleven.
Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

The City Point Unit of the Petersburg National Battlefield contains significant cultural resources that encompass and illustrate the whole of human history in the James River region. Future management and interpretation of the site must take into account the multiplicity of individual stories associated with the landscape, the sensitivity and potential of its terrestrial and maritime archaeological resources, and the significance of the site in local, regional, and national terms. Architectural remains and landscape features on the property speak to Virginia life from the eighteenth century to the present, while archaeological material from the approximately fifteen-acre property which encompasses the City Point Unit of Petersburg Battlefield indicates significant and continuous human activity from at least the middle Archaic period, 8,500 years ago, to the present. In addition to the eighteenth-century plantation house and the ample physical evidence for significant and symbolic Civil War activity, the site also contains extensive prehistoric cultural material and served as the location for one of the earliest seventeenth-century English settlements outside of Jamestown.

Overview of Recommendations Regarding Archaeological Resources at City Point

From the perspective of the management of archaeological resources, priority should be given to the development of a proactive strategy of recognizing and protecting the underwater and intertidal resources associated with the site, as discussed in the next section. In terms of terrestrial resources, the first step should be the implementation of an archaeological survey that encompasses the whole of the property. To date, the excavations that have taken place on the property have been opportunistic in nature; in other words, opportunities to examine the archaeological record of the site have been principally related to compliance needs rather than part of an overall strategy for understanding, interpreting, managing, and protecting the buried cultural resources at City Point. Archaeological and historical research to date suggests the presence of significant archaeological resources that, if investigated further, could add significantly to interpretations of the site and understandings of Virginia history.

For example, the existence of an extensive dispersed Protohistoric Appomattuck village in the City Point vicinity is hinted at by occasional finds around Appomattox Manor and by findings elsewhere in the Hopewell vicinity. Only a large-scale survey pinpointing the distribution of Late Woodland and Protohistoric materials across the landscape is likely to shed any light upon the existence, nature, and complexity of such a settlement. The culture and fate of the Appamattuck people is integral to understandings of Virginia's history, and represents an element of the City Point cultural landscape of great potential interest not only to scholars, but to Virginia's contempo-

rary Indian population as they seek greater recognition from the government and general public regarding their past, present, and future within the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Similarly, the question of whether or not any traces of the ill-fated Bermuda/Charles City village, occupied by colonists between 1613 and 1622, survive on the property now held by the National Park Service is wholly dependent upon additional, systematic archaeological research. Such short-lived sites are likely to leave only ephemeral traces, and therefore any approach to the archaeology of City Point needs to take into account the nature of early colonial deposits found at places like Jamestown, Flowerdew Hundred, and Jordan's Journey to allow for appropriate recognition and treatment of such traces. The discovery of the location of the historically-significant settlement Charles City would be of immense value to scholarly understandings of cultural relations on the early Virginia frontier, and of enormous interest to the general public particularly in light of the increasing focus upon the archaeology of the early seventeenth century sparked by projects at Jamestown in the run up to the 2007 commemoration of the 1607 arrival of the English.

The documentary record so far remains silent on the occupation of City Point after the destruction of Charles City in 1622. Did the settlement survive in part? Or did Captain Francis Eppes settle tenants on the land following his acquisition of the property in 1635? Did the fact that Eppes chose to patent City Point mean that he already had settled on the land or set his indentured servants (including several Africans) on the property? What happened at City Point between 1622 and the last quarter of the century when William and Sarah Eppes (we believe) built the house that preceded Appomattox Manor? Again, the archaeological resources at Appomattox Manor that have been investigated hint at activity during the first three quarters of the seventeenth century. Pinpointing the location and accessing the nature of that activity is dependent upon archaeological research. It is likely that any activity taking place during that time was associated with tenants, individuals whose names are seldom found in the roll call of prominent Virginians, yet individuals, white and black, who shaped the course of Virginia history and forged what has been termed a colonial Creole culture in the Old Dominion.

While archaeological understandings of eighteenth-century life in the James River region are readily derived from a wide variety of projects, including the long-term archaeological program of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation as well as work at many of the James River plantations, questions regarding the nature of eighteenth-century life at Appomattox Manor are not inconsequential. Occupation at City Point spans the transformation of servitude into race-based slavery, fully institutionalized by the opening decades of the eighteenth century. We know much about the landscape of control created and enforced by Dr. Richard Eppes on the nineteenth century, but what did eighteenth-century slavery look like at City Point? More importantly, how did the African Americans who lived and worked at City Point construct their lives and their communities? What was the impact of the burgeoning port, and its transitory (and often rowdy) inhabitants on life in the surrounding plantations? Did the Eppes family in the eighteenth century endeavor to separate the plantation from the port, as did Dr. Eppes in the nineteenth century?

The extensive plantation records and journals compiled by Dr. Richard Eppes, housed at the Virginia Historical Society, constitute an invaluable and irreplaceable documentary source regarding the operation of the Eppes lands during the nineteenth century. However, over reliance upon Dr. Eppes' writings effectively legitimizes and prioritizes his own view of the world, a world in which enslaved people, women, children, and indeed anyone not of Eppes's social and economic status are mute and without influence. We cannot understand the experiences of enslaved people at City Point from Eppes's recollections. We can only understand his intentions and perceptions of their experiences. Archaeological examination of the homes of the enslaved, and later the homes of laborers and tenant farmers, will bring us closer to an understanding of the way that African Americans structured their own lives in spite of, or in perhaps in direct conflict with, Dr. Eppes's efforts to order their lives. Similarly, a continued reliance upon Dr. Eppes's journals leaves us with an understanding of the Horner women as existing only within the house or within the protective shadow of the Philadelphia relatives. What were their thoughts about leaving northern urban society to live in rural Virginia? How did they view the Civil War? The power of the Lost Cause ideology, and its offspring the Colonial Revival movement, leaves us with a recasting of the cosmopolitan, northern Eppes women into the epitome of the Southern gentlewomen, silently supporting the ideals of the Confederate cause while bearing responsibility for the moral uplift of the household.

A more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of family and community life at City Point plantation during the nineteenth century can be derived from a combination of archaeological, documentary, and oral historical research. Ample comparative historical material exists to allow for a new consideration of the role of the women in the Eppes household, while a careful reading and re-reading of archaeological material from the property can serve to return to them a role of significance. Identifying and investigating the homes of African American plantation workers will provide a material basis for assessing their experiences, an assessment which should be augmented by tracing the descendants of the individuals named in the Eppes records and recording their stories.

Undoubtedly, the ten months that the Union Army occupied City Point left a considerable archaeological signature. The potential of the Civil War related deposits underscored the acquisition of the property as part of the Petersburg Battlefield, and its legacy remains the principal legacy interpreted at the site. Yet, as discussed in Chapter Nine, overemphasis upon the modern nature of the depot and its impressive technology and organization can too easily overshadow the myriad human experiences associated with perhaps the most traumatic episode in American history. Future examinations of the Civil War at City Point should endeavor to address the experiences of civilians as well as soldiers, recognizing as well the conflict and tension that most have been rife within the depot and surrounding residential zones. While extant cartographic and photographic sources provide excellent insight into the location and nature of Civil War era structures and the general organization of the landscape, comprehensive archaeological survey is still needed to assess the presence of any associated archaeological materials and the nature of any threats to their preservation. As-

certaining the nature and location of such deposits is necessarily precedent to any renewed examination of the information contained in those resources.

The twentieth-century landscape of Appomattox Manor is also integral to understanding its history and is central to its continuing preservation. Fortunately, the extensive oral historical documentation gathered when the National Park Service first acquired the property provides a unique and irreplaceable emic insight into that landscape from the perceptive of an Eppes family member. However, understandings of twentieth century alterations and augmentations of the landscape will ultimately also be dependent upon a comprehensive archaeological survey of the grounds. The preservation or destruction of materials related to earlier periods in the history of the site is likely to be directly related to twentieth-century landscaping activities, activities which should not be viewed only as disruptive to, but rather as contributing elements of, the cultural landscape of Appomattox Manor. To avoid the possibility that ongoing National Park Service landscaping does not negatively impact upon evidence of earlier landscaping activity, including that of the Colonial Revival era, it is again imperative to conduct a survey capable of identifying concentrations of archaeological and also archaeobotanical materials.

Maritime Archaeology of City Point

The underwater archaeological heritage of the James River has long been lamented for the threats to its preservation:

> Historical records of shipwrecks in the James River indicate that large numbers of vessels were wrecked, abandoned, or scuttled there in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These physical elements of maritime history are central to the history of Virginia and the United States, yet, many of these sites have been destroyed by looting and through regular dredging of the river. State and federal agencies have been largely unaware of the archaeological potential of the river, and, until recently, unresponsive to notices that government inaction allowed important archaeological sites to be destroyed (Foster 1991).

According to Kevin Foster, untold numbers of artifacts from submerged sites in the City Point vicinity have been looted and put on the market. As he states, "When asked where the artifacts come from, the answer is usually a vague reference to 'City Point.'"

The recent survey by researchers from the College of William and Mary and its Virginia Institute of Marine Science, discussed in Chapter Nine, did not examine the "ship's graveyard" in the Appomattox River at its confluence with the James below City Point. According to Foster, "Aerial photographs show a number of large wooden and steel vessels scattered about in shallow water. Side-wheeled ferries, three-masted schooners, and at least one large wooden ship or bark *[sic, barque]* are badly dilapidated but recognizable. At least one group of schooners is surrounded by a line of pilings. This matches descriptions of the method used to dispose of excess wooden vessels after World War One so that floods would not send them wandering."

While many of the underwater archaeological remains in the rivers adjacent to City Point are likely to relate to the Civil War and later periods, the potential for

information concerning riverine activity in the earlier history of the site should not be discounted. The extensive development and (unsuccessful) dredging efforts of the Lower Appomattox River Company clearly left an impact on the two rivers, while the extensive activity at the port in the antebellum period likely was accompanied by at least one loss and certainly the deposition of refuse and possibly cargo, by accident or by design. In terms of the interface between land and river, evidence for Dr. Richard Eppes' landing, recorded on contemporary maps, may survive. Eppes employed this landing to travel to and from his properties at Eppes Island and Bermuda Hundred, and according to his granddaughter, was situated where steps are still maintained by the National Park Service (Cutchin 1980). Also during the nineteenth century, batteauxmen, including individuals from the free African American community of Israel Hill on the Appomattox, plied the waters. Associated with their activities are ephemeral landing and camping places.

The rivers were similarly crucial to transportation and communication during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and while we lack any specific documentary insight regarding losses, it seems quite likely that the waters off City Point claimed at least one vessel. The expansion of the port of City Point during the eighteenth century occasioned the development of docks, warehouses, and anchorages. Certainly when Captain Francis Eppes patented his lands in 1635, he employed the same means of controlling and observing activities on the properties as that used by Dr. Richard Eppes two centuries later: rowing or sailing across the James. During the long expanse of Native American occupancy and activity at City Point, the rivers also served to connect families and polities with one another, serving as the principal means for trade and communication. Evidence for the log canoes employed by Virginia's first people has been found elsewhere in the Commonwealth, and may yet be awaiting discovery in the City Point vicinity.

Use of the river for refuse dumping has inevitably left behind a significant trace, despite the actions of currents and erosion. Elise Eppes Cutchin, in a 1980 interview, recalled that her family routinely dumped their garbage over the edge of the bluff near the Appomattox Manor house, and that the effluent from the indoor toilet had also been channeled over the bluff. In response to a question about exactly what went over the cliff, she answered "the garbage and if you broke a teapot of something that you weren't going to have mended; it went right over the hill." She also described the hill as "built up land with stuff being thrown over," and suggested that the locale behind the kitchen had long been used for refuse disposal (Cutchin 1980).

The land and the river are inextricably linked in past human experience at City Point. Even the trees that stood around Appomattox Manor served a critical function for ships navigators. As recalled by Elise Eppes Cutchin, "…there were two large elm trees. The captains of the boat used to line the two elm trees up and come down a certain way and then they knew when it was time to turn, because the flats are quite dangerous out there" (Cutchin 1980). Extensive erosion has and continues to impact the preservation of cultural resources at City Point. Again, according to Elise Eppes Cutchin (1980), "at least fifteen, if not twenty or more feet" had eroded away from the bluff during her lifetime. It is imperative that a strategy for assessing the nature and potential of cultural deposits at the interface of water and land be implemented. There

is no doubt that the bluffs will continue to erode, and therefore, routine and frequent archaeological monitoring must continue to take place. While any efforts at stabilization would likely be very expensive and not necessarily successful, some engineering solution may be contemplated if examination of the bluffs reveals the presence of extensive cultural materials. Whatever the ultimate resolution of the erosion issue is, it is imperative that the bluffs be surveyed and sampled to determine the nature and extent of any remains.

Suggestions for Future Research and Interpretation at City Point

At present, the City of Hopewell is engaging in a long-term examination of its own history and cultural resources as reflected in the recent archaeological and oral historical research conducted by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (Lewes et al. 2003) and by anthropologists from the College of William and Mary Department of Anthropology (Hamada 2004). The renewed maritime investigations previously discussed (Blanton and Meide 2004) are also associated with the program affiliated with the City of Hopewell. The integration of research and interpretation of cultural resources at the City Point Unit of the Petersburg Battlefield with the program being implemented by the City of Hopewell is not only sensible in terms of the pooling of resources to examine the long-term human history of the general City Point landscape, it is also desirable from the standpoint of community relations and indeed the future of a charged landscape such as that of Appomattox Manor.

Members of the local Hopewell community have expressed their desire for archaeological investigations within Hopewell to focus upon the post-Civil War period, a period they perceive as more relevant to their lives and to the histories they chose to remember and prioritize. Principally populated by African Americans, today's Hopewell community is more interested in their recent industrial past, and the development of a diverse and prosperous urban community in spite of the constraints of segregation and discrimination. Landscapes associated with slavery and with notions of Old Virginia white male elitism would seem to have little place in the Hopewell past as presently constructed. Yet arguably, the one thread that links the entirety of City Point's history from the early seventeenth century to the present is the experiences of peoples of African descent.

City Point was home to the struggling settlement of Charles City when the first Africans arrived in Virginia, in 1619. Sixteen years later, the first patentee of the property, Captain Francis Eppes, acquired title in part through claiming the headrights of Bashaw, Juliana, Andrea, Maydelina, and Cessent, all African or of African descent. These five individuals and their offspring may well have occupied and farmed the lands at City Point, perhaps initiating the residence of City Point by African Americans, which continued down to 1979 when the National Park Service acquired the property. Not only did African Americans labor in the fields, kitchens, dairy, and smokehouse of the plantation, they also contributed to the construction of Appomattox Manor and its outbuildings, and tended and designed the gardens and broader landscape. To dismiss their contributions to the historic landscape at Appomattox Manor is to deny

not just the inequities of past relations on the plantation, but far more seriously, to deny the individual achievements of craftspeople. To suggest that an African American builder or plasterer never took pleasure in their achievements denies their humanity. To only attribute the formal gardens of Appomattox Manor to the Eppes family denies the skills, knowledge, and creativity of people like Madison Ruffin, who clearly possessed the most intimate knowledge of the gardens, landscapes, and plants of anyone at City Point.

African Americans also performed much of the labor in the port of City Point from its establishment in the late eighteenth century through its expansion as a depot during the Civil War, its contraction on the postbellum era, and its second boom in the twentieth century. The existence of a vibrant local community is evident in the gatherings reported nervously by Eppes in his journals, and underscored in the postbellum era by the three African American churches established in the City Point region, as well as the establishment of African American businesses in the settlement even before the incorporation of Hopewell. Even the conscious attempt to shut out Hopewell from the remaining lands of Appomattox Manor in the twentieth century is testament to the centrality of the African American experience at City Point. The aims of the Colonial Revival revision of the landscape were themselves a comment upon race relations within the Commonwealth, with, again, a significant portion of the actual physical work of gardening likely carried out by African Americans.

Emphasizing the African American history of City Point is not suggested as a replacement for telling the story of the Eppes family. Rather, the complex nature of relations between all of the players on the Virginia stage, past and present, means that their histories are intertwined and cannot be separated nor understood in isolation. To achieve the aims of a nuanced understanding of the past associated with places like City Point, while at the same time engaging with the interests and concerns of twenty-first century Americans, requires acknowledgment and critical examination of this shared history, with all of its attendant pain, joy, trauma, bloodshed, and passion.

Recommendations for Specific Research

As noted above, the main priority for archaeology at City Point must be the initiation of a comprehensive survey of the property, which should incorporate subsurface testing, additional geophysical surveying, and environmental analysis to pinpoint changes in land use. The survey should identify areas of archaeological potential and sensitivity relevant to the interpretative themes associated with each period in City Point's history as discussed throughout this report. The results of this survey work, incorporated within the Park Service's Geographic Information System (GIS) for the site, should then be used to guide management and future archaeological research. In tandem with the survey of the property, previously excavated materials and excavation archives should be re-examined, particularly those materials associated with the PRA testing in the current parking lot area. That vicinity of the park appears to have significant Civil War era archaeological deposits, as well as extensive prehistoric remains. The lack of specificity in the report on the project regarding other historic materials makes it imperative that the actual materials retrieved in the testing be identified. While extensive

excavation should be secondary to the completion of the property survey, block excavations around the manor could contribute greatly towards addressing the lives of enslaved workers, as well as pinpointing earlier structures, and refining the chronology of extant buildings.

Priorities for any additional archaeological research in the seventeenth-century history of City Point should focus upon areas and deposits that can contribute to our understanding of the Protohistoric Appomattuck settlement of City Point and to the location and nature of Charles City. Such a research endeavor could capitalize upon current public and governmental support for and interest in the archaeology of early English settlement linked to the Jamestown 2007 anniversary. Any renewed focus upon the Appomattuck Indian occupation and use of the landscape must also be proactive in involving the contemporary Virginia Indian community, beginning with the Virginia Council on Indians, prior to the start of any project. It is advisable that the VCI be contacted before the start of the comprehensive survey, as the survey is likely to unearth deposits associated with the Native American use of the landscape.

Examination of archaeological resources pertaining to the entirety of the African American experience at City Point should also be prioritized as part of the ongoing broadening of interpretation at Appomattox Manor as well as the interests of the local community. The input of local residents should be actively sought in connection with any refocusing of interpretation at City Point. Research projects that could accompany and contribute to an examination of the African American experience at City Point include historical and genealogical research to trace the many individuals referred to in Dr. Richard Eppes's journals. Learning and recording their family histories will provide an invaluable emic perspective not merely upon life at City Point, but the broader experience of Virginia's African Americans in the postbellum and twentieth-century eras. Individuals who worked at Appomattox Manor in the twentieth century (including National Park Service employees) should also be approached for their remembrances. Elise Eppes Cutchin, for example, named a number of people who worked on the property during her lifetime, some of whom, if still alive, undoubtedly could provide an alternative perspective to that of Cutchin. Similarly, oral histories from the residents of adjacent properties could be solicited to contribute to an understanding not only of the twentieth-century landscape of City Point, but also the ways in which the site and its multiple histories are perceived locally.

The most pressing concerns for cultural resource management at City Point are associated with the riverine and shoreline resources. The ongoing threats to the underwater archaeology associated with City Point (looting, dredging, and weather events) and to the bluffs (erosion) are serious enough that without action and the implementation of a coherent strategy, information pertaining to the entire human history at City Point will be destroyed forever. The first step in protecting the submerged cultural resources is a proactive public information campaign, coupled with coordination with state agencies and with the archaeologists currently working with the City of Hopewell and the avocational diving sector. The resources threatened by bluff erosion should at a minimum be regularly monitored and not just examined after major storm events. As discussed in the first chapter of this report, the James and Appomattox Rivers are not just incidental to the human activities that took place over thousands of years on the

piece of land that we know as City Point. Rather, the rivers are at the core of human experience, from the hunting and gathering activities of Virginia's first peoples, to the extensive trade and communication of the Powhatan Indian polities, to the early exploration of Virginia by European explorers and colonists, to the creation of the river based tobacco plantation society of the colonial era, to the establishment of the port of City Point, the Civil War supply depot, and the industries of Hopewell in the twentieth century. Management and interpretation at City Point must address the importance of the rivers, and acknowledge the necessity for protection of submerged and shoreline resources.

Conclusion

City Point represents an incredibly significant landscape with extensive research and interpretative potential. As enumerated in Chapter One, archaeological resources at City Point reflect the following significant themes in Virginia's human history: environmental changes and human adaptations since the last glaciation; the development and spread of the broad spectrum hunting and gathering economy and life style of the Archaic period; the spread of sedentism and the development of unequal, ranked societies during the Woodland period; the often fraught and globally significant initial interactions between Natives and Europeans, including French, Spanish, Portuguese, and English peoples in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; the establishment of a nationally significant early colonial settlement, probably fortified; the development of the plantation-based tobacco economy of the seventeenth century with its unique settlement patterns, vernacular architecture, and rise of a colonial elite; the concomitant process of cultural creolisation occurring as Native Virginians, Caribbean Indians, Africans, African-Caribbean, and European peoples engaged in uneasy yet often intimate daily interactions; the history of early African American life in the New World, from the arrival of the first Africans in 1619 to the institutionalization of race-based slavery in the late seventeenth century.

Further interpretive themes linked with significant material remains at City Point include the establishment of the great James River trading plantations by the colonial elite of the eighteenth century; the philosophical and physical prelude and to and the impact of the War of Independence; the official establishment of an urban port-based community in the second quarter of the nineteenth century; the unease of continued dependence upon race-based slavery and the growing economic divide between north and south in the antebellum period; the splintering of the nation during the Civil War, the war's catastrophic effects upon landscape and its contrasting effects upon communities- from the triumph of emancipation to the horrific loss of life on both sides of the conflict; the economic and social struggles of postbellum Virginia; the creation of and struggle for control over a symbolic landscape of remembrance at City Point; the growth of an urban manufacturing center of the twentieth century; the social impact of two world wars and a decline in American manufacturing; and finally, the perennial struggle over what histories to tell and how best to tell those histories which lies at the core of all discussions, plans, and projections of place-based National Park Service interpretation. There is no shortage of stories to tell at City Point. Its centrality to each

of these major themes in Virginia history may ultimately prove to be the thread that binds its interpretation, for there is certainly something to be learned by any visitor to the site. It is sincerely hoped that future interpretations of City Point be founded upon a thorough knowledge and informed management of the archaeological resources at the site as well as a proactive and cooperative relationship with the local community.

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