

The Millie Woodson-Turner Nottoway Reservation Allotment and Farmstead



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

The oral history of the Nottoway community and the documentary record of Southampton County identify the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site as an historically important farmstead of the old Nottoway Indian reservation. Through the National Park Service's *Underrepresented Communities* grant, and in collaboration with the now state-recognized Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources [VDHR] seeks to identify, research, and nominate minority populations' historically significant locales to the state and national registry of historic places. The VDHR project *Continuity Within Change: Virginia Indians National Register Project* moves that effort forward, through an archaeological, archival, and oral history investigation of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site. The home no longer exists, but the location of the reservation allotment and associated family farm remains in the memory of Nottoway descendant community members, and chronicled in the archives of Southampton County, Virginia.

This study, conducted by the Department of Anthropology's American Indian Resource Center at the College of William & Mary, provides the supporting materials necessary for the nomination of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site to the National Register of Historic Places. The activity that is the subject of this report has been financed in part with federal funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior.

Special thanks and recognition are in order for the Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia, who completed a 2016 Memorandum of Understanding with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in advance of the conducted research. Nottoway Chief Lynette Allston, Assistant Chief Archie Elliot, Councilman Leroy Hardy, Jr., and tribal citizens Joyce Flythe and Rick Kelly were signatories and offered their review. Community and family members Gloria Faye Hardy, Felicia Thornton-Manuel, and Alfred O. Whittaker provided invaluable comments to the draft materials.

The Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead [44SN0341] on Indian Town Road [Rt. 651] in Southampton County is a primary ancestral residence of the historical Nottoway community. Along this section of the Nottoway River, the Iroquoian-speaking tribe was settled during the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries; the community had a dispersed "Indian Town" along the river's middle reaches of the six miles between modern Courtland, VA and Carey's Bridge, including the area of the Millie Woodson-Turner Nottoway reservation farmstead [hereafter referred to as the Millie Woodson-Turner "Allotment," "Homestead," "Home Site," "Farm," or "Farmstead"]. Extended Indian families maintained farmsteads along this riverine stretch during the nineteenth century, organized on the "Indian Town Road," which ran through the center of the Nottoway community. Occupied through the first half of the twentieth century, the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site was one of the last remaining farms of the Nottoway's Indian Town. Today, the farmstead is an archaeological site, but with connection to the living mem-

ory of Nottoway descendants of the residence, and prior to c.1950, an uninterrupted indigenous tenancy stretching back hundreds of years. The Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site is a significant heritage resource, the cultural patrimony of Nottoway descendants, and represents aspects of the Nottoway historical experience within the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The Nottoway are indigenous to the interior coastal plain of Virginia and North Carolina, and closely related to the region's other Iroquoian-speakers, the Meherrin and Tuscarora. After intermittent contact with Europeans c.1560-1650, a brisk trade emerged c.1650-1675 between the Nottoway and the English who settled in the eastern tidewater. Colonial expansion and increased conflict led to several wars and subsequent treaties between the Nottoway and Virginia. The Nottoway, along with the Pamunkey, were signatories of the 1677-1680 Articles of Peace negotiated at the Camp of Middle Plantation, later established as the colonial capital of Williamsburg. Through the articles in the agreement, the Nottoway became "tributary" to the English king – a quasi-alliance – that forced the Nottoway and other tribes to acknowledge the dominion of the Crown, but confirmed Indian governments and territories as dependent sovereigns. The Nottoway tributary status was again confirmed by treaty in 1714 at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War. As stipulated in these treaties, the Nottoway lands were surveyed and two reservations were established around their Indian Towns, in the landscape of what is today Southampton County, Virginia. The southern reserve was called the "Square Tract," and formed a six-square mile territory south of the Nottoway River. The reservation was surveyed off of the Nottoway town of Ronotough, a site that is now a plantation manor called Rose Hill on Indian Town Road. Later, the reservation was divided among the resident Nottoway c.1830-1880, and "allotment" farms of extended Indian families were developed as private property homesteads. The Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site [44SN0341] was established c.1850 on Nottoway Indian allotment land, and occupied by the family and descendants until c.1950.

The *Underrepresented Communities* grant *Continuity Within Change: Virginia Indians National Register Project*, aims to research and include Iroquoian Nottoway sites within the recognized places of cultural and historical significance to the Commonwealth of Virginia. The Millie Woodson-Turner Homestead is the first Virginia Iroquoian site to be researched and nominated for the National Register of Historic Places [NRHP], and the only state-sponsored Iroquoian reservation research conducted to date. As there have been limited anthropological or historical investigations of Virginia Indian reservations, the Continuity Within Change project adds significant knowledge to our understanding of an overlooked and underrepresented period of Virginia Indian culture and history.

METHODOLOGY

Today, the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead is an archaeological resource [44SN0341], but with living memories of its previous occupancy by the descendant community. As well, Southampton County has extensive courthouse records dating back to the county's formation in 1749, and a large body of Nottoway documents is extant within the Library of Virginia's archival collection. Thus the research approach employed multiple methodologies to establish cultural linkages to the Nottoway community and establish clear historical documentation to the property:

- Phase I archaeological survey of the property
- Ethnographic interviews and oral history collection from the descendant community
- In-depth archival research at multiple repositories
- Extensive review of the existing literature on the historical Nottoway tribe

Archaeology

The Square Tract Nottoway reservation has never received a complete archaeological survey of its American Indian cultural resources, however some sites within the tract were previously identified, and recorded with the Virginia Department

of Historic Resources [VDHR]. The majority of these sites date to the deeper prehistoric past, and are generally unrelated to the historical Nottoway community. Several exceptions include avocational research conducted at Rose Hill by various parties during the mid-twentieth century, which primarily explored the Weyanock settlement of Warekeck, with some overlay of Nottoway materials from Ronotough. The sites of Warekeck, Ronotough, and Rose Hill are situated in the same locale, roughly in chronological order of occupation. The excavation of the Rose Hill sites remain unpublished, and the associated collections are mostly in private hands or mislaid. A few individuals from the Archaeological Society of Virginia can be attributed with incidental investigations of the Square Tract environs, periodically published during the mid-century in the organization's *Quarterly Bulletin*. The preeminent archaeologist Lewis Binford conducted field surveys of Indian Town Road sites in the 1930-40s. In the limited publication of those explorations, primary attention was given to evidence of Late Woodland and seventeenth-century occupations, rather than the Nottoway's later reservation settlements. Of significance to the current investigation of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site, most of the Indian Town Road colonial-era and nineteenth-century archaeological resources were misidentified as Euro-American deposits, instead of reservation-era homesteads and farms. Therefore, a goal of the Phase I archaeological survey of the Woodson-Turner site was to establish the continuity of cultural materials from the colonial-era reservation through the nineteenth-century allotment period and twentieth-century occupation. Another task for the NRHP and VDHR site listing was to accurately identify the site's overall boundaries and research potential. Appendices II and III more fully overviews the archaeological survey methodology, artifact recovery, and cultural resource findings.

There are multiple contemporary stakeholders associated with the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site. Today, the property is privately owned and several changes in title have occurred since the Woodson-Turner occupation of the farm. The current owner, identified here as "Landowner," allowed

for access to the site and the archaeological survey during the spring of 2016. The Landowner and VDHR entered into a Memorandum of Agreement in order to proceed with the physical investigation of 44SN0341. Prior to the submission of the present document to VDHR, a preliminary archaeological research report was provided to the Landowner in the fall of 2016.

Civic-Engagement and Ethnography

Southampton County is home to two state-recognized tribes, the Cheroenhaka Nottoway Tribe and the Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia [NITOV]. Members of the latter tribe are genealogically and historically associated with the Woodson-Turner farmstead and allotment. Multiple descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner retain direct memories of visiting the property, and the community's historical relationship to the farm is well documented. NITOV and VDHR entered into a Memorandum of Understanding prior to the archaeological investigation, and members of the NITOV are commentators and reviewers of the research report.

However, there are descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner who are not enrolled members of either state-recognized tribe, but are "descendants" and members of the farmstead's "descendant community." Descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner, both enrolled Nottoway and non-enrolled, stressed this distinction during the ethnographic interviews and archaeological research. Extended family members from the wider descendant community, and family members from NITOV, participated in the collection of oral history, contributed to the historical documentation, and assisted with the Phase I archaeological survey. At the conclusion of the artifact processing and analysis in August of 2016, select descendants convened at the College of William & Mary's Department of Anthropology for a preliminary review of the findings and discussion of the archaeological materials.

The civic engagement with the Landowner and the descendant community has informed the

project's methodologies, which have been conducted to the highest ethical standards of anthropological research. As such, all principal investigators and graduate student researchers completed extensive training and updated state-certified credentials [2016-2018] for working with human subjects through the Collaborate Institutional Training Initiative [CITI]. Within the report, two bodies of ethnographic data contain the memories of descendants of Millie Woodson-Tuner and her daughter Susanna Turner Claud: the Patricia Phillips manuscript [cited as Patricia Phillips MS 1977] and the field notes of Dr. Buck Woodard [cited as Woodard Field Notes]. The Phillips manuscript dates to the 1970s oral history interviews in Portsmouth and Southampton County with the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Millie Woodson-Turner; the Woodard field notes date to interviews conducted 2006-2017 in Baltimore, Franklin, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Southampton County through previous and present research with Nottoway descendants. In both citations for the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site report, the names of the quoted descendants have been withheld for privacy. In cases where the historical data is older than seventy years, and in public record such as census schedules and court documents, direct names have been used where appropriate. Due to the Iroquoian kinship structure, irregularity in Nottoway surname use, and the tracking of Nottoway descendants through time, the individuals with the surnames of Turner and Woodson are underlined in the document narrative. Hyphenated names are used as signposts for descent reckoning, but also because surnames appear differently in the records depending on context: Millie Woodson, Millie Turner, or Millie Woodson-Turner; Susanna Turner, Susanna

Claud, Susanna Turner Claud. For a further analysis of Nottoway kinship relations, Iroquoian descent, and reservation allottee descendants, consult Woodard (2013).

Archival and Historical Research

Research of historical records and more recent public documents was conducted at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library, the Library of Virginia, the National Anthropological Archives, the Newberry Library, the Southampton County Courthouse, Swem Library at the College of William & Mary, and the Virginia Historical Society. Additional archival materials were checked and reviewed from digital sources at www.Ancestry.com, www.Fold3.com, and www.FamilySearch.org. Of the secondary sources, previous work consulted include Binford (1964) and Smith (1971, 1984) on the contact-era Nottoway social organization and culture history; Binford (1967) and Dawdy (1994) on the colonial-era ethnohistory and cultural milieu; Briggs and Pittman (1995, 1997) and Rountree (n.d., 1987, 1989, 1990) on historical Nottoway documents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and Crofts (1992, 1997) and Parramore (1992 [1978]) on the historiography of Southampton County. A summary of Nottoway culture and brief history can be found in Boyce (1978); a review of the Square Tract's land sales and allotment can be found in Rountree (1987) and Woodard (2016). Woodard (2013) is the most in-depth source on antebellum-era Nottoway reservation kinship, marriage, and political economy. A review of Nottoway-Tuscarora Iroquoian linguistics can be found in Rudes (1981, 2002).

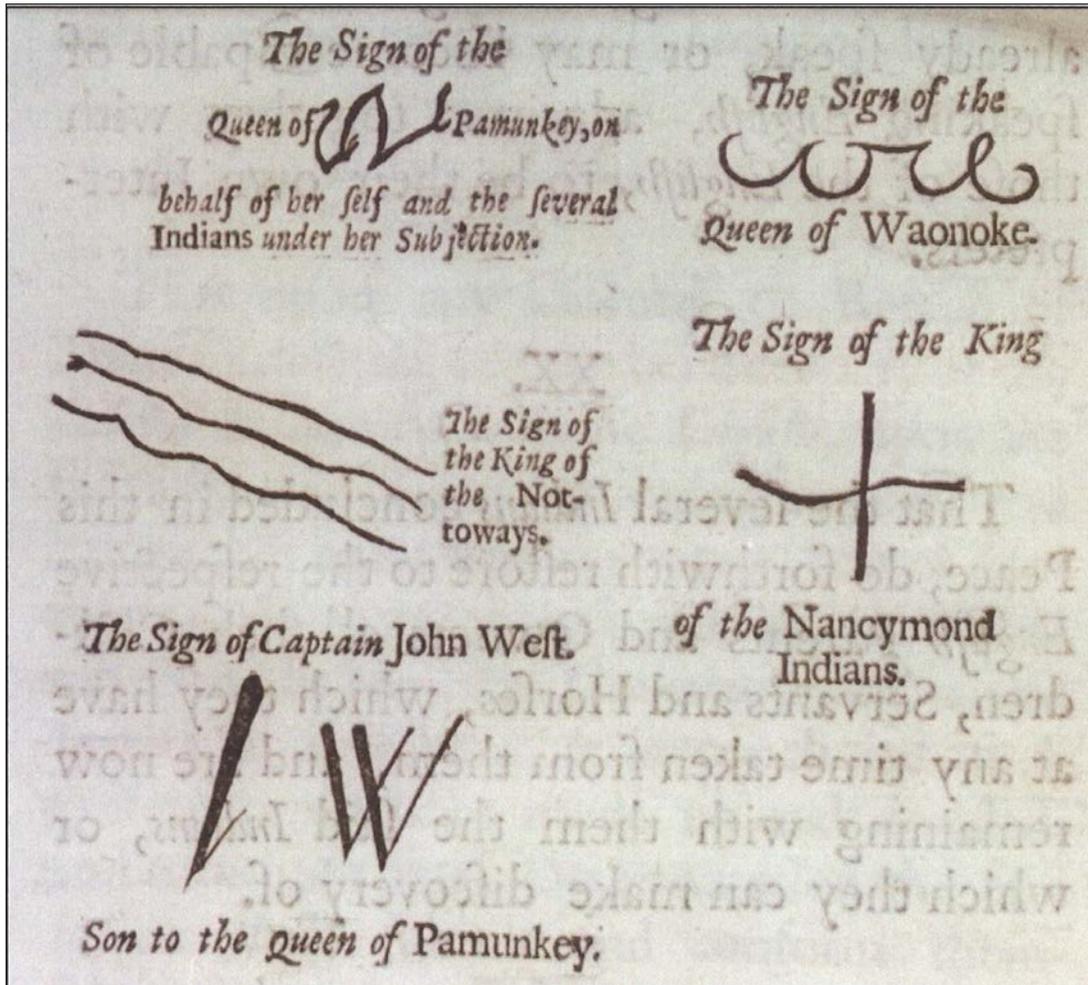
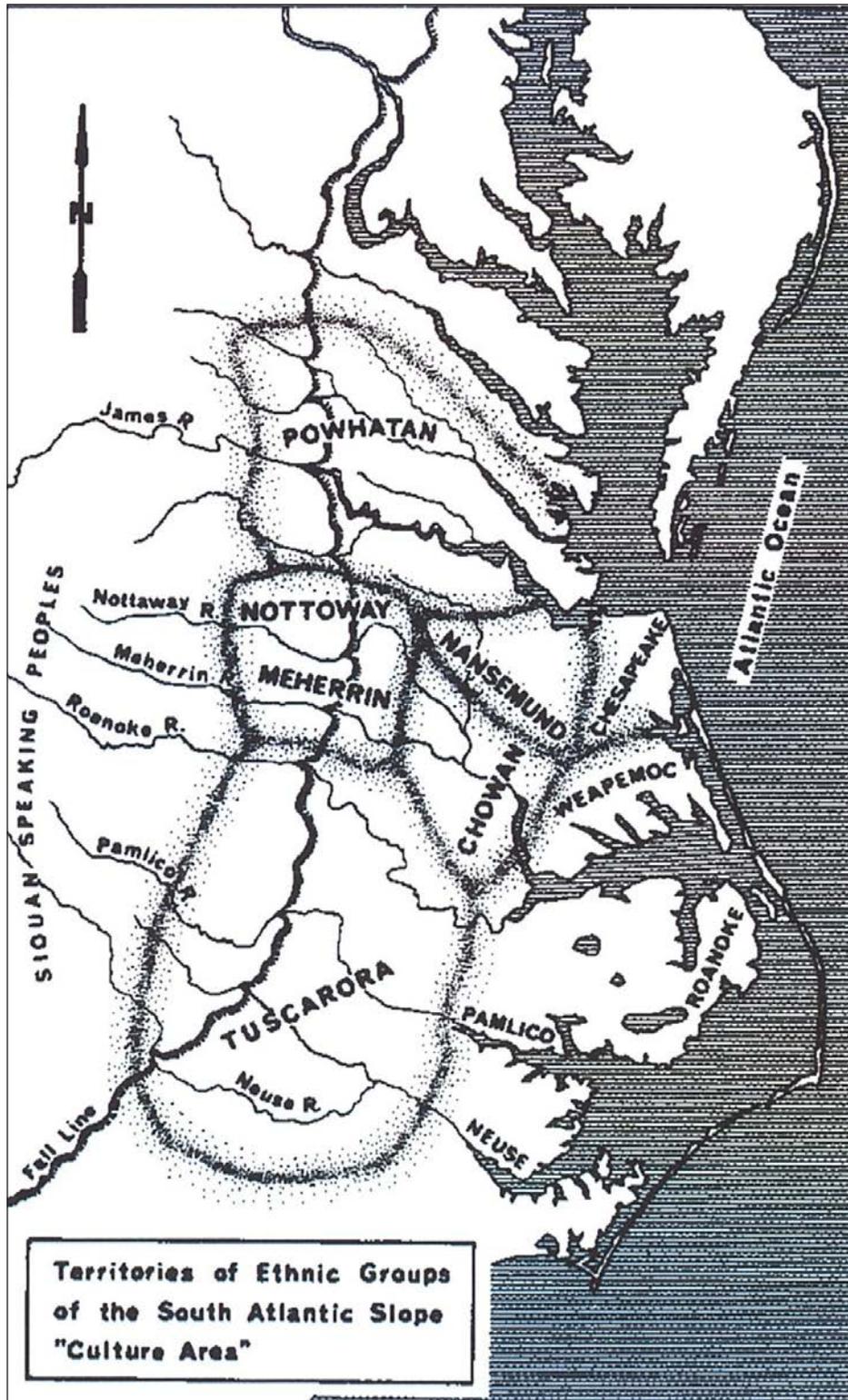


Figure 1. The signature page of the 1677 Articles of Peace, or Treaty of Middle Plantation, signed by the Nottoway in Williamsburg. Aside from the Pamunkey signatories, the Nansmond, Nottoway, and Weyanock tribes all lived on the south side of the James River, and eventually coalesced as one community on the Nottoway's Southampton County reservation.



Map 1. The Iroquoian territory of the Nottoway, Meherrin, and Tuscarora (Binford 1967).

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

HISTORICAL NOTTOWAY SETTLEMENTS AND TERRITORY, 1650-1735

During the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Nottoway habitations and hunting areas were situated along branches of the Chowan River drainage, concentrated on the upper Nottoway River. English records from the period identify four Nottoway towns near the mouths of present-day Rowanty Creek in Dinwiddie County [Rowantee and Cohannehahanka] and Stoney Creek in Sussex County [Cottoshowrock and Tonnatorah]. To the south, the closely related Meherrin Indians were settled in several villages, one east of Emporia, Virginia on the Meherrin River [Cowinchahawkon] and another [Unote] near Adams Grove in Southampton County. South along the interior coastal plain, other Iroquois-speaking towns of the Tuscarora were dispersed along the Roanoke, Tar, and Neuse rivers (Map 1).

Between 1650 and 1675, the Meherrin, Nottoway, and Tuscarora became staunch trading partners of the English and allies of the colonial government of Virginia. Competition for English goods among neighboring tribes, and the continual push of Virginia traders deeper into the southwest, eventually produced conflict and upheaval; by the end of the seventeenth century, war, disease, slave raiding, and displacement had reduced most of Southside Virginia-Carolina's indigenous people to several thousand individuals scattered among a half-dozen settlements. Some Algonquian-speakers, such as the Weyanock and Nansemond, relocated from the proximity of English plantations on the James River toward the Iroquoian territory. Brittle

alliances among these groups were crosscut by intermittent hostilities. At the end of Bacon's Rebellion, treaties between Virginia and nearby Indian groups were signed in 1677 and 1680, including the Meherrin, Nansemond, Nottoway, and Weyanock. Along with the other Indian signatories, the Nottoway became tributaries of the English Crown. An alliance with unequal power relations and semi-sovereignty, the Articles of Peace [commonly known as the "Treaty Middle Plantation;" see the signatory page, (Figure 1)] outlined mutual rights and responsibilities, including military cooperation and territorial boundaries (Binford 1967; Boyce 1978; McCartney 2006).

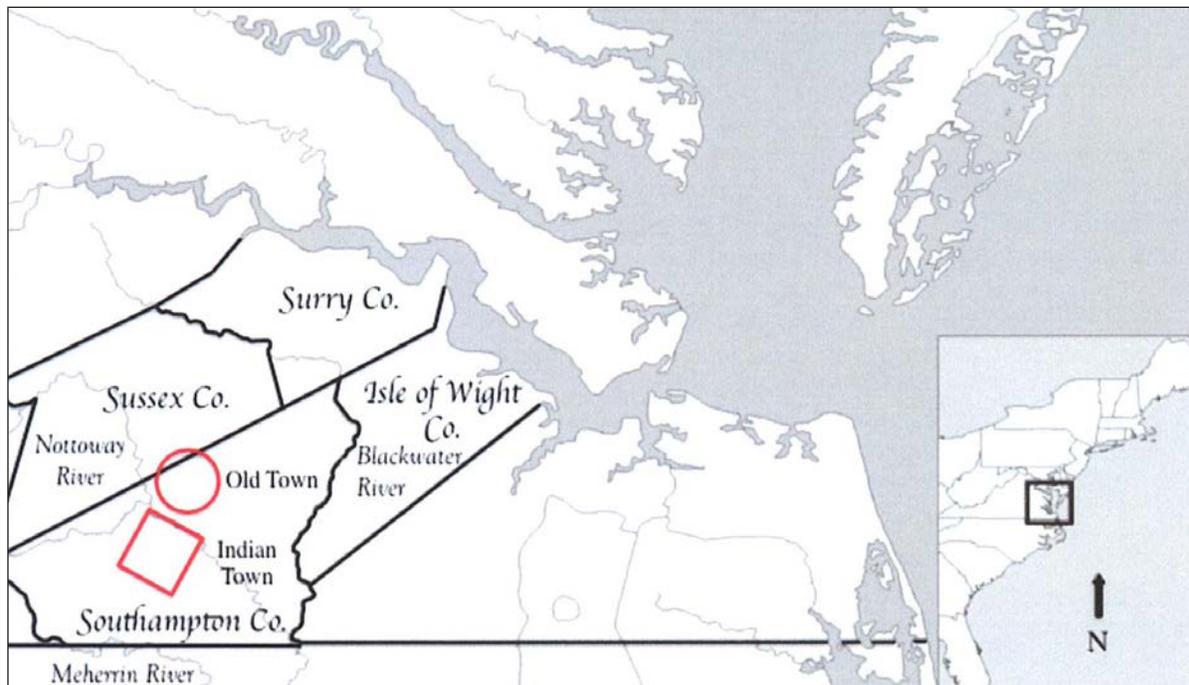
By the early 1680s, some Meherrin removed downriver and established a town [Taurara] at the mouth of Tawarra Creek near Boykins, Virginia. Others established a large settlement at the confluence of the Meherrin and Chowan Rivers in present day North Carolina. Between about 1685 and 1691 the Meherrin towns of Cowinchahawkon, Taurara, and Unote were all abandoned in favor of this new chief habitation. Near the same time, the Nottoway left their upriver towns [Cohannehahanka, Cottoshowrock, Rowantee, and Tonnatorah] and relocated to the Assamoosick Swamp environs, where by 1695 they built a fortified "Great Town." Farther south, several Nottoway families reoccupied an old Weyanock village [Wareck], today near where the Assamoosick empties into the Nottoway River in Southampton County. During this era, the Weyanock abandoned their last village along the Blackwater River near Coppahaunk Swamp and integrated their community with the Nottoway and Nansemond (Binford 1967).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the colony of Virginia opened the Indian lands beyond the Blackwater River for English settlement. Per the 1677-1680 Articles of Peace, the Nottoway and other signatories were to have a three-mile perimeter established around their towns. The goal of the buffer was to limit Euro-Indian conflict over hunting and grazing areas, and establish a surveyed boundary against land encroachment. An act of the House of Burgesses in 1705 ordered, “the Bounds for the Nottoway Lands be Laid out for Them...a Circle Three Miles Round...and another parcel of Land on the South Side Nottoway River Six Miles Square” (McIlwaine III:98).

The Iroquoian treaty lands surrounding the Nottoway “Indian Towns,” totaled sixty-four square miles or 41,000 acres (Briggs and Pittman 1997:134). The land north of the Nottoway River along the Assamoosick Swamp was a twenty-eight square mile polygon often called the “Circle Tract,” which surrounded the Great Town. The Nottoway lands south of the river, known as the “Square Tract,” contained approximately thirty-six square miles (Map 2). Today, the formerly reserved land is mostly in Southampton County, with a small portion extending into Sussex County. However, the

earliest colonial surveys of these reservation tracts do not survive and were unaccounted for by the Commonwealth as early as 1809 (Palmer 1893 X:66; Rountree 1987:196).

Following the c.1705 surveys and the opening of the Southside to English settlement, the colonial government again recognized the Nottoway’s land rights by treaty in 1713, at the conclusion of the costly Tuscarora War (Spotswood 1885 II:196-200). The Nottoway remained mostly allied with Virginia during the conflict, which significantly divided the Iroquoians in the region. As an outcome of the 1711-1713 war, large segments of the Tuscarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin populations emigrated to New York under the protection of the northern Iroquois League. The Tuscarora became the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy in 1722. Those Nottoway that continued to reside in the southern coastal plain remained tributaries to Virginia’s colonial government; Native communities bordering the piedmont were considered militarized buffers against foreign encroachment into English settlements (Boyce 1978:286). Per the 1677 and 1713 treaty agreements reached in Williamsburg, the Nottoway began sending students to the Brafferton Indian School at the College of William & Mary.



Map 2. The Circle and Square Tract Nottoway Reservations.

Maintaining two students at the College confirmed the Nottoway's tributary status, and provided some measure of continued engagement with colonial officials (Stuart 1984).

Most Nottoway settlements described by Englishmen were not nucleated but rather, were dispersed along the waterways with horticultural fields between familial compounds (Salley 1911:9-11). John Barnwell's 1712 description of Iroquoian towns indicate "it is only a plantation here and there scattered about the Country, no where 5 houses together, and then $\frac{1}{4}$ a mile such another and so on for several miles" (1908:32). The legislative order of the 1705 land survey described the Assamoosick town as "Their Fort," so at least by that date a central portion of the village was fortified with a palisade (McIlwaine III:98). Palisades in Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian communities were constructed during times of strife, although the fortifications did not necessarily encompass the whole settlement (Boyce 1978:283; Byrd 1941:424-425). Descriptions of the Nottoway Great Town 1695-1734 indicate that the community was scattered along the Assamoosick drainage towards the Nottoway River where an additional settlement was seated (Binford 1967:177-179; Byrd 1941:424).

About 300 Nottoway occupied these several settlements until c.1735, when the main residence was moved from their fortified "Old Town" on the lower Assamoosick to the south side of the Nottoway River. This latter settlement, known as Ronotough, was at a sharp bend in the Nottoway River near the Assamoosick's terminal Concorie Branch. This tract was the same that the Weyanock called Warekeck, leased to them by the Nottoway decades earlier. From the mid-1730s onward, Ronotough was the main Nottoway habitation, and the only remaining Iroquoian-speaking town within the colony of Virginia. About 1737, the Nansemond moved from their settlement on the lower Nottoway River, then straddling the border of Isle of Wight and Nansemond counties, to combine with the Nottoway at Ronotough (Binford 1967:189; Briggs and Pittman 1995; Byrd 1929:112-114; Woodard 2013:143-146; 2016:162).

According to the records of the Virginia House of Burgesses, the Nottoway began making inquiries toward the selling of their abandoned "Circle Tract" treaty lands in the 1730s. John Simmons petitioned the Virginia Council as early as 1728 to allow him to "patent a certain tract of land...formerly assigned to the Nottoway Indians" (Stanard 1925:21). Simmons had developed some rapport with the Iroquoians and, like their colonial interpreter Henry Briggs, occasionally interceded on their behalf. With apparent consent of the Nottoway, in 1710 Simmons arranged to build a gristmill on Indian land at Buckhorn Swamp and surveyed several tracts along the Nottoway River prior to becoming one of the first "trustees" of the tribe in 1734 (Alexander 1972:156; Hennings IV:461). Thus, the formal survey of Nottoway towns corresponded with the English occupation of the region. By the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, hundreds of European farmsteads surrounded the reservation lands and the Nottoway frontier began to quickly close (Binford 1967:168; Parramore 1978:6; Woodard 2016:162).

NOTTOWAY SUBSISTENCE, 1650-1735

The pattern of Nottoway subsistence was more or less only slightly modified until the end of the first century of English occupation. Binford (1967), Boyce (1978), and Smith (1984) describe the indigenous cultural milieu of the Virginia-Carolina Iroquoians, so that only a summary of their provisioning will suffice here. Nottoway subsistence consisted of a combination of hunting / gathering and horticultural pursuits. Seasonal migration between upland and lowland riverine territories provided the communities with hardwood nut mast and animal meat in the fall, followed by fish, shellfish, and tubers in the spring. Corn, beans, sunflowers, tobacco, and members of the *Curcubita* genus [gourds, pumpkins, squash, etc.] were grown through the summer. Wild fruits, such as blackberries, grapes, maypops, mulberry, persimmons, and strawberries were gathered as they ripened in the seasonal round. Cordage and house coverings [bark, cattails, rushes,

etc.] were collected in the warmer seasons; houses conformed to the oval, bent sapling variety of the Mid-Atlantic. Mats and other textiles were woven from vegetable fibers and animal hair, the majority of clothing produced from animal skins. Food and clothing provisioning practices would shift during the years leading up to the eighteenth century, as European trade and settlement encouraged the Nottoway into further participation in the colonial economy (Binford 1967:188-189).

Indigenous trade networks positioned the Nottoway as middlemen between resource areas of the interior and coastal regions. Raw and modified shell, dried fish, and similar oceanic products streamed into Nottoway lands from the east, as lithics, animal products, and copper flowed in from the west. Comments by early European settlers suggest that the Natives of the Nottoway region traded freshwater pearls, salt, and botanical products in multiple directions. Native trade continued into the eighteenth century, but the Nottoway's role as trade brokers with the English increased in importance and prominence with the rise of the Virginia fur trade. New relationships and labor practices developed, and new materials and technologies flowed into Nottoway communities. The Nottoway role as middlemen was soon, however, eclipsed as the colonial frontier pushed farther into the interior and James River traders engaged more distant groups.

Descriptions of the Nottoway from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries indicate that animal husbandry was introduced into the region during the first seventy-five years of the colonial encounter. Hogs, cattle, and horses were noted in multiple Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan communities (Brickell 1737; Henning III:109; Lawson 1967; Rountree 1990:150), although the degree to which Native people relied on them during this period is speculative. By the 1690s, Nottoway and Weyanock hogs were given a special "Indian Town Mark" to distinguish the roving swine from English stock and to clarify the origin of pigs that were sold (Stanard 1903:55). The incorporation of domesticated animals into Nottoway settlements was a significant shift in the indigenous economy and subsistence practices.

Peaches and apples were introduced into Nottoway-Tuscarora communities at a relatively early date. Orchards were noted in Southside Algonquian towns during the latter half of the seventeenth century (Rountree 1990:108), as well as in Iroquoian contexts at the turn of the eighteenth (Barnwell 1908:34). Lawson suggested that some orchards were cultivated prior to colonization (1967:115), possible evidence of Spanish diffusion from the Juan Pardo or DeSoto expeditions (Rudes 2002; Woodard 2006). William Byrd's c.1730 visit to the upper Roanoke River region noted the presence of abandoned Indian peach orchards (1901:286), most likely of Siouan origin (DeMallie 2004:292). Tuscarora migration into New York after the Carolina war left a series of "irregularly planted" apple orchards along their path, including one site that was organized c.1714 (Boyce 1973:32).

NOTTOWAY SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, 1650-1735

Based on colonial accounts, the Nottoway and other Iroquoians were politically organized in autonomous independent villages (Salley 1911:8-19; Stanard 1911:273; Lawson 1967). Status distinctions within communities were determined by individual accomplishment, with some leadership positions being hereditary. A council of "great men" governed the affairs of local groups, possibly based on clan positions or some similar crosscutting social mechanism (Woodard 2013:120). Evidence suggests that Meherrin, Nottoway, and Tuscarora towns possessed a significant degree of territorial and political autonomy, with alliances struck through kinship and individual social responsibilities (Binford 1967:236; Boyce 1978:283). Thus, Nottoway politics were driven by individual and community agendas as much as by "tribal" obligations. Such crosscutting webs of social and kinship interaction can be gleaned from a Meherrin headman's 1727 deposition: "Captain Rogers who is their Chief man says that he has no doubt of the Nottoway's friendship, having his Mothers Sister and Several of her Children grown up, now living with these people" (Palmer 1875:212). This passage suggests that mar-

riages extended beyond the local group, linking linguistically and culturally similar communities across territorial boundaries.

Nottoway descent was matrilineal and possibly organized into clan structures (Dawdy 1994:51; Landy 1978:523; Swanton 1946:654; Woodard 2013:120). Prior to their removal, Tuscarora clans may have included the Deer, Wolf, Beaver, Turtle, Bear, and possibly several others (Beauchamp 1905:145; Landy 1978:519; Morgan 1877:93; Wallace and Reyburn 1951:44-43). Ritual and political positions were probably drawn from these segments at the community level. A dual division of clans formed moieties, whose function was primarily ceremonial. Smith (1971) and Dawdy (1994) support a moiety dual division for the Nottoway, a pattern widespread in Northern Iroquoia (Fenton 1978:310-311; Trigger 1990:68). Von Graffenried's illustration of his 1711 captivity among the Tuscarora depicts what appears to be a totemic moiety division of the Deer and the Wolf. In a ritual context, these groupings had reciprocal rights and responsibilities – particularly in the community's ceremonial cycle and mortuary activities (Woodard 2013:109-110, 112).

Nottoway political organization changed little during the first centuries of European colonization. Multiple seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents depict the Nottoway as being governed by a “king” or Teerheer and a body of “great men” (i.e. McIlwaine III:407). Each family or kinship division had a political position that contributed to the formation of a community council at the local level. Senior women of the matrilineages may have controlled hereditary titles to leadership positions. The Teerheer could have been drawn from a particular lineage that held title to the senior headmanship.

It is probable that the Teerheer and other great men that appear so frequently in the Virginia Council records and on county land deeds and indentures represent the kin-based governing body of the Nottoway. It was a segmentary structure linked to family units and matrilineages, their civil actions made through consensus at the local level. Senior matrilineages, sometimes disguised as “wise

women” (ibid:5), a “grave Matron” (Byrd 1967:116), or “queens” (Morse 1822:31) controlled the candidacy of distinguished men to offices of leadership, whereby the “great men” ruled more through persuasion and generosity than by domination or monarchy. Consensus building was a major component of Iroquoian governance, and a frustration of eighteenth-century colonial officials; Nottoway and other Iroquoian headmen could not always act on behalf of their towns without further council:

“We are sent by the Town to hear what the Gov'r says or has to propose & upon their return, their Great men will come in to conclude...They cannot answer it without consulting their Town – they may tell lyes and their people may be offended with them & not stand to their offers” (Stanard 1911:274).

Documents pertaining to Nottoway land sales from the first half of the eighteenth century indicate that seven to fifteen individuals represented the community's interests in formal dealings with the colonial government (Rountree n.d.). Drawn from a population of 200-300 inhabitants of one or two Nottoway towns (Beverly 1947:232; Lawson 1967:242; Byrd 1967:116), the averages conform to a pattern consistent with other regional communities' segmentary or dual structures based on familial, clan, or territorial divisions (Woodard and Moretti-Langholtz 2009).

The incorporation of Weyanock and Nansmond kin-groups into the Nottoway community c.1695 and c.1737 mirrored other Iroquoian demographic strategies and adoption practices. Thus, Algonquian matrilineages could be preserved as new community segments. Many times, these additions were considered as “little” or “younger brothers” when formally incorporated politically (Tooker 1978:428-429). Coalescence was also a response to community needs for defense, including the removal and consolidation of some Nottoway-Meherrin with the Tuscarora as the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy (Gatshet 1883:4, 36; Rudes 1981:32-34; Wallace and Reyburn 1951; Woodard 2013:121-122, 126-128).

THE NOTTOWAY IN THE COLONIAL ECONOMY

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Nottoway were firmly engaged in the Virginia fur trade. Acting both as hunters and interpreters for James River English traders, Nottoway men ranged far from the river homeland that bore their name. Regular hunting forays extended across the Virginia-Carolina fall line into the upland piedmont. Nottoway hunters were regularly noted along the upper Roanoke River (Stanard 1907:114) and seasonally “being gone” from their towns, “not being at home” or “gone abroad” (Stanard 1897:35-39). Lt. Governor Spotswood reported to the Board of Trade in London that the Nottoway were engaged in “Trafficking with the inhabitants their Skins and Furs for Cloathing, powder, Shott and other European manufactures” (I:167).

Deerskins were the main staple of the Nottoway trade, but beaver, mink, otter, and muskrat were also trapped (Crane 2004:328; Traunter 1698:10). Each hunting season, the Nottoway received credit with licensed traders – usually the employees of factors. Men like William Byrd of Westover and Nathaniel Harrison of Brandon funded the operations of dozens of Indian traders. Factors’ credit purchased European goods with merchants that, in turn, would be weighed against tobacco and skins trucked to warehouses along the James River. Skins and furs marked to be exported were first taxed by the Colony, the income used to supplement the funding for the Brafferton Indian School and the College of William & Mary. Spring and autumn exports of Nottoway skins from Virginia were received across the Atlantic in ports such as Glasgow and Liverpool. These imports would then be credited to accounts in England in order to balance the debts of factors, merchants, and shipmasters. The fur was felted mostly for hats while the deerskins were turned into leather for breeches, gloves, book covers, saddles, etc.

The credit the Nottoway received was extended to purchase “trade goods.” Guns replaced bows, linen and wool replaced buckskin, iron tools replaced stone, and kettles replaced Native ceram-

ics. The entrance of the Nottoway into a market system eroded the earlier subsistence-based economy, whereby like many Native groups in the colonial encounter, the community no longer was able to produce the items they needed or control the dynamics of exchange (see White 1983; Wolf 1998). Increased competition for diminishing resources lead to other Nottoway strategies for provisioning their towns’ needs. The establishment of Isle of Wight markets allowed the Nottoway to sell Indian-made wooden bowls and utensils, which assisted the Iroquoian towns with acquiring additional avenues for income (Henning II:410, 480; Binford 1967:167). Finely woven mats made of cattails or tule reed were also sold to planters, as were “Baskets of their own making” “of a very fine sort of Bullrushes, and sometimes of Silk-grass, which they work with the figures of Beasts, Birds, Fishes” or dyed in “several sorts of Figures, in imitation of Gorges, Crosses, Stars, or any other odd kind of Figure that their imagination suggests” (Byrd 1967:122; Brickell 1737:338, 349). A modified Euro-Indian ceramic tradition also emerged during this period. Nottoway women produced earthenware plates, shallow bowls, and mugs in European styles for sale to Southside farmsteads (Binford 1964:303; 1990; Egloff and Potter 1982:114).

Land sales coincided with the Nottoway and associated groups’ participation in the fur trade and the expanding colonial frontier. Loss of territorial hunting grounds through European settlement, marked with an increase in demand for manufactured goods, resulted in a “viscous cycle” of dependency and debt with James River traders (Binford 1967:163-168; Rountree 1987:198; Woodward 2013:45-48). Equally, competition for land use and trade resources created factionalism among Iroquoians:

“...the Tuskaruroe Indians (being incouraged thereto) do often come in the upper partes of the Countrey, about Appamattox, amongst the English, who furnish them with Gunns and Powder & shott, which enables them to hunt upon and burn up all the their [Nottoway] grounds, whereby their game is

Destroyed and their hunting spoiled. That the English trust the Tuskaruroes in trade with Rum & other goods which they bring out amongst the Nottowayes, and sometimes set into Play [gambling], and lose all or great parte of those goods, and not being able to make satisfaction to the English, they tell the tell them the Nottways take their goods from them, which occasions Differences and dissatisfactions between the English and the Nottoways” (Palmer 1875:65).

The sale of uninhabited lands allowed for the settling of trade deficits and reopening of exchange with local merchants and traders who kept those debts. The Nottoway complained that they were often engaged by “ill disposed and dishonest people” who plied them with alcohol and took “great advantages of them, by first getting them in debt, and then taking their skins, money, cloaths, and ammunition; by which means they defeat the just trader from getting paid, for furnishing them with the necessaries of life” (Hennings V:273). At other times the Nottoway feigned that they were decrepit and unable to maintain themselves without the land sales,

“...reduced by warrs sickness and other casualties, to a small number and among those that remain many are old and unable to labour or hunt...whereas they have petitioned this general assembly to be enabled to sell the first mentioned tract in small parcels, for the payment of their debts, and the better support and maintenance of them and their posterity” (Hennings IV:459).

Thus, the sale of Nottoway lands enabled the community to alleviate their debts and resupply their households with manufactured goods, livestock, and other services. The long-term impact, however, of Nottoway increased participation in the colonial economy was the loss of control of their provisioning resources.

THE NOTTOWAY COLONIAL RESERVATION, CIRCA 1730-1750

Towns and Houses

At the time of the Nottoway’s settlement at Ronotough, the community’s cultural patterns remained indigenous in character, however changed in their materiality and provisioning practices. Colonial descriptions c.1730, such as from William Byrd II and physician John Brickell, indicate Iroquoian houses were still “made of Saplings, arched at the top, and cover’d so well with Bark as to be proof against all Weather” and were “made oval, or round like an Oven.” These cabins were multigenerational, where three or four matrilineal “Families commonly live together, all related to one another...In one of these Houses.” The kindred shared several central interior fires, “made in the Middle...the Smoak whereof finds no other Vent but at the Door, and so keeps the whole family Warm” (Brickell 1737:290-291; Byrd 1967:114).

Byrd also wrote of “Appartments” with regard to Nottoway housing, possibly relating to the multiple sections of the longhouse divided among family segments. These bedding and storage areas formed the interior structure of the houses, “The Indians have no standing Furniture in their Cabanes but Hurdles to repose their Persons upon, which they cover with Mats or Deer-skins.” Brickell’s portrayal agrees, “These Dwelling-Houses have Benches all round, except where the Door stands, whereon they lay Beasts Skins and Mats made of Rushes, on which they sleep and loll, having no other Beds but these.” When Byrd’s troupe visited the Nottoway, they were given “the best Appartments... which just before had been made ready for our Reception, and adorn’d with new Mats, that were sweet and clean.” These scant details provide the character of mid eighteenth-century Nottoway lodgings – with wooden benches and bark coverings, tanned deer-skins and woven mats – organized around central hearths. The Nottoway matrilineage, the ohwachira, translates as “a fireside,” the metaphor for closely related families that live next to one another and share a lodge fire.

John Brickell's account of the interior coastal plain described other village structures, such as ramadas and storehouses, the latter being a modification related to increased participation in the Virginia fur trade,

“They have other sorts of Cabins made without Windows or Holes at the top, which are their...Store-Houses for their Deer or Bever Skins, and all other kind of Merchandize that they deal in. They have Cabbins of another kind made like a Shead, being only covered over head, the rest left open to the Air; these have Reed Hurdles like Tables to lie and sit on in Summer, and serve for pleasant Banqueting Houses in the extremity of the hot Weather” (1737:291).

As early as 1609 and 1621, Native leaders had European-style houses constructed in Indian towns, including the Weyanock coalesced with the Nottoway. In their old settlement at Warekeck, the Weyanoke had an “English-built house... and an apple orchard,” the former long gone by the time the Nottoway resettled Ronotough on the “Waricake old fields.” However, the Nottoway had adapted their Great Town palisade fortifications, conforming to the square pattern of the English; possibly some other aspects of Virginia architecture made its first appearance amongst the Nottoway during this era. For the English housing style, Lewis Binford notes that frame construction, rather than hewn log, was the prevalent form at this time. Among the neighboring Iroquoians and Algonquians, Brickell indicated he was most familiar [1729-1731] with the remaining Tuscarora and nearby Chowan, stating that oval bark cabins were the normative structures in Indian Towns, “except the civilized Kings, who of late have Houses fashioned and built after the manner that the Christians build theirs.” Over the next fifty years, houses at Nottoway Town would become transformed, both in their interior material goods and in their construction. They would however, remain organized in an indigenous pattern based on uxorilocality [living with the mother's family] and matrilineal kinship [descent through the mother]

(Binford 1967:157-161; Brickell 1737:291; Stanard 1900 8:3-4; Woodard 2013:136-137)

During the mid-eighteenth century the Nottoway maintained horticultural plots, as well as a limited animal husbandry, and the men were constantly hunting. Corn was the major crop staple of the community, as mentioned in passing by William Byrd II c.1730 and by the House of Burgesses in 1759, “by reason of their Absence from Home made little corn to subsist on, and praying that some allowance may be made them to purchase Corn for support of themselves and their Families” (Byrd 1967:116; McIlwaine 1915 [1908:86]). The women worked these horticultural fields through the traditional sexual division of labor, “The little Work that is done among the Indians is done by the poor Women, while the men are quite idle, or at most employ'd only in the Gentlemanly Diversions of Hunting and Fishing. In this, as well as in their Wars, they now use nothing but Fire-Arms, which they purchase of the English for Skins” (Byrd 1967:116). Pigs, dogs, and a few horses were among the Nottoway's animals, howsoever not entirely used for subsistence. Nottoway attachment to swine came during this and an earlier era, first as semi-wild stocks in their swamps, and second as a reoccurring staple of domesticity. Byrd indicated that he offered “bacon & Rum” as negotiable commodities in village exchange, “which they accepted very kindly, the Ladys as well as the Men” (115). Nottoway engagement with animal husbandry increased over the next half century, becoming more a part of daily life and seasonal commerce.

Early Land Sales

The Nottoway petitioned to sell their Circle Tract reservation in 1734, after they retired to the south shore of the Nottoway River at Ronotough. The sales of the northern Nottoway lands provided relief from existing trade debts and an infusion of currency into the Nottoway community. To manage the land sales and the resulting income distribution, the Virginia House of Burgesses appointed four to six “Trustees” to manage the Indians' affairs. These men facilitated the commodification

King William Edmonds	Jack Will	Alexander Scholar
Colonel Hill	Jamey [James]	Robin [Robert] Scholar
Cockerouse Tom	John	[Capt.] Charles Skipper
Cockerouse Will	John, Jr.	George Skipper
Old / Captain Sam	John Turner	Watt [Walter] Bailey
Cherino	Indian Dick [Richard]	William Hines
Doctor Tom	Ned [Edward]	Wineoak Arthur
Frank	Peter	Wainoak Robin [Robert]
Harrison	Old/Indian Roger Cheavins [Chavis]	Robin Wainoak Jr.

TABLE 1. HEADMEN LISTED ON NOTTOWAY DOCUMENTS BETWEEN 1715 AND 1749

of Nottoway land through surveys, estimating market values, overseeing transactions and disbursing monetary funds, or equivalent in trade goods, to the headmen of Indian Town. Nottoway Trustees were White men, Southampton County landowners, and usually of considerable political and economic standing in the Southside; they were not Nottoway Indians. The House approved the Nottoway request to sell their Circle Tract lands, and in 1735 Trustees Thomas Cocke, Benjamin Edwards, and John Simmons held an auction for about one quarter of the northern reservation. Twenty-eight parcels were sold for the “support and maintenance” of Indian Town residents, raising about £500. The land transactions were made in tripartite contract, or indentures, among the chief men of the Nottoway, the Trustees, and the purchasers. After these first sales, as the Nottoway needed monetary resources or material goods, they sold land to generate income. By 1754 the majority of the Circle Tract was surveyed and sold, with only a few small parcels remaining (Briggs and Pittman 1997:139-140; Woodard 2013:143-146).

The sale price of individual Circle Tract plots ranged widely, from fourteen shillings to forty-five pounds, depending on the size of the parcels and relationship of the buyers to the Nottoway headmen. The monies derived from land sales were used to supplement the growing mercantile needs of the community: merchant and traders’ goods such as blankets, brass kettles, new guns, iron tools, linens, powder, shot, rum, and woolens. Nottoway reliance on merchant capital intensified as they further consumed finished goods, adopted

animal husbandry, and acquired farming implements (Rountree 1987:196-201; Woodard 2016; and see Biolsi 1992:1-33; Meyer 1994:9-67; O’Brien 1997).

The need to settle existing debt contributed to some of the eighteenth-century Nottoway land transactions. Local merchant Samuel Blow cleared outstanding tribal accounts with a purchase of fifty-seven Circle Tract acres for the paltry sum of £0.14s.3d. Other planters in Isle of Wight, Prince George, Southampton, and Surry contracted business with the Nottoway, and through close association with leading Indian Town men were given opportunities to purchase uninhabited tribal lands, with most sales below fair market price. Eighteenth-century Nottoway Trustees Etheldred Taylor, John Simmons, and Thomas Cocke all surveyed lands within the Circle, as did immediate members of their families. Elizabeth Lucas Briggs, the widow of the old Nottoway interpreter Henry Briggs, received a bargain price of £1.19s. for 130 acres east of the Assamoosick Swamp. The documents indicate only one woman purchased land directly from the Nottoway; Briggs’s property straddled the border of what is now Sussex County (Briggs and Pittman 1997:140, 143). The relationship of the Nottoway to non-Indian planters, such as William Hines and the Quaker Walter Bailey must have conferred an insider-status, as both men purchased Circle Tract lands and Nottoway headmen took their names as honorifics when signing mid eighteenth-century deeds (DB5:455; DB8:17, Isle of Wight, VA). Marks and signatures of Nottoway leaders suggest the creation of English-style names – some names adopt-

ed whole cloth as honorifics, others as hybridized descriptors, and some by descent. The headmen in Table 1 are listed on Nottoway documents between 1715 and 1749:

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR AND REVOLUTIONARY WAR ERA, CIRCA 1750-1790

With the transformation of the landscape surrounding Indian Town, the Nottoway's maneuverability was significantly reduced, and the impact of territory loss became more acute. Hunting parties and trap lines ranged farther beyond the Roanoke frontier, and the Indian Trade shifted decidedly west of the Nottoway settlement. Trade deficits and the lack of Nottoway resources again required the Nottoway to pursue alternative avenues for subsistence. Through the lobbying of their Trustees, a 1752 act of the House of Burgesses was passed for the protection of the Nottoway:

“Many evil disposed persons under pretence of the said Indians being indebted to them do frequently disposes them of their guns, blankets, and other apparel, to their great impoverishment...persons so offending, shall forfeit and pay to the Indian or Indians so injured, the sum of twenty shillings current money, for every such offence... [and] shall be paid to the trustees aforesaid, and by them laid out in common necessaries of life, for the Indian to whose use the same shall be recovered” (Hening VI:286).

The tribe also requested to sell more of their reservation lands in 1748 and 1756, totaling 20,000 acres out of the Square Tract parcel. With their settlement situated along the river, the Nottoway elected to sell the lower portion of their Southampton lands. While the Acts to sell these tracts provided monetary income and relief from existing and future debts, the reduction of Nottoway territory also further impacted the men's ability to hunt and trap as extensively as before.

The French and Indian War

As the French and Indian War began in the mid-1750s, Virginia called upon the colony's trading partners, the Cherokee and Catawba, to take up the fight against the French and their Native allies from the Ohio country. Garrisons and forts were established along the Virginia frontier, and war parties began arriving in Williamsburg several times a year to be supplied before heading to the frontlines. In the spring of 1756 a band of Cherokee “were received by the Militia of this City under Arms, attended by a great Concourse of People” and soon “agreed to proceed immediately to Winchester to join our Forces.” The conflict also afforded small tributary nations the opportunity to resituate themselves within the colonial dynamic, and reassert their roles as allies of the Crown.

“Yesterday came to Town several of the Nottoways, to renew their ancient League with their Brothers the Cherokees, which was done in the Market Place, by smoking the Pipe, &c. after which the Cherokee Warrior made a long Speech, desiring the Nottoways to go immediately to the Assistance of their Brothers the English, to fight strong, and drive away the French and Indians, who have seized the Lands of their Father King George. The Nottoways have agreed to go, and will set off in a few Days, together with the Cherokees” (*Maryland Gazette*, May 6, 1756).

That season, fourteen Nottoway joined sixty Cherokee warriors in action around Ft. Cumberland, Maryland and Winchester, Virginia. Led by Lt. James Baker of Isle of Wight County, the Nottoway received buckskins for new moccasins and a coat a piece upon arrival. The Nottoway fought in several engagements against the French and Shawnee through the midsummer, alongside Thomas Cresap, Nathaniel Gist, and Adam Stephen, all under the command of the young Lt. Colonel George Washington. However, unable to pay the Iroquoians the agreed upon “bit per day,” by July Washington purchased various “sundries for the Nottoways”

and allowed them to retire from the battlefield with their newly acquired side arms. In August as the Nottoway planned to head for Southampton, Washington called upon "Capt. Tom" Step of the Nottoway to deliver a written speech and wampum strands to the Tuscarora chief men in North Carolina. Step had proven himself a worthy ally during the summer, and as a probable Brafferton alumnus, his literacy allowed Washington to address the Tuscarora through Step as a proxy; Washington's goal was to raise more warriors for the next season of fighting against the French. As Virginia enlistments dwindled in September 1756, Washington encouraged Lt. Governor Robert Dinwiddie to monetarily pay the Nottoway and Tuscarora to fight alongside the colonials. When Lt. Baker returned to Isle of Wight in December, Washington again asked for the Nottoway and Tuscarora to come to his assistance (Robert Dinwiddie to George Washington, 4/23/56; William Fairfax to George Washington, 4/26/56; George Washington to Adam Stephen, 5/18/56; Adam Stephen to George Washington, 5/29/56; George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie 8/4/56; 9/8/56; 12/19/56; George Washington to the Tuscarora, 8/1/56 [GWP]; Quarles 1974: 36-37).

Thomas Step was successful in his overture to the Tuscarora, and in March of 1757 Lt. Baker, King James Blunt, "39 Tuscaroras, 13 Nottoways, 7 Meherrins, and two Saponys" arrived in Williamsburg to join Virginia's fight against the French. They were supplied armaments from the Magazine, as well as "Ammunition, Cloathing... Paint," "Blankets, &c." to encourage and sustain them. Too old to fight, Blunt's emissary to Virginia was the first in some time. He produced Washington's Tuscarora speech to the Governor, and designated "Captain Jack" to lead the war party, join Lt. Baker's column to Fredericksburg, and take the band on to Winchester. By midmonth, over 300 Indians had followed, including the Catawba under Hagler and the Cherokee under Second Yellow Bird. A large display of presents were organized for the Indians' enlistment, but the British struggled to have enough materials in continual supply, and were challenged by the task of managing the Indian parties (*Maryland Gazette* 4/21/57; McIl-

waine VI:39; George Washington to Dinwiddie 5/29/57 [GWP]).

During the 1757 action, several warriors distinguished themselves and Washington recommended Gov. Dinwiddie recognize their specific efforts. Among them was "Captain Tom, the Chief of the Nottoways: He has received less, and deserves more than any of them; as he used great pains to bring the Tusk[arora]s, and has met with no reward for it, although he was promised one." Thomas Step and the other tributaries fought through the summer, providing war parties from Ft. Cumberland and Ft. Loudon against the French and Shawnee around Ft. Du Quesne and Logstown. By the fall, most all of the Indians had retired (George Washington to Dinwiddie 6/10/57; Gov. Arthur Dobbs to William Lyttelton 4/10/57 [GWP]; Quarles 1974:37).

About half of the Nottoway-Tuscarora band rejoined the fight in summer and fall of 1758, meeting Washington's escort above Williamsburg at the King William County Courthouse. They served at Winchester's Ft. Loudon, Ft. Cumberland in Maryland, and Ft. Bedford [Raystown], Pennsylvania, providing raiding parties and armed guards for colonial supply trains. Provisioned by General Forbes with new armaments, the Nottoway-Tuscarora stayed on with the fight when many Cherokee abandoned the effort. Arriving as a part of Washington's Virginia Regiment, they scouted Forbes' road toward Ft. Du Quesne, and according to Lt. Col. Henry Bouquet and others, fought "very well" "all last Summer and Fall in Conjunction with his Majesty's Forces, against the French, faithfully and honestly, until the Reduction of Fort Du Quesne." Later, the House of Burgesses noted,

"Tom Step, Billy John, School Robin [Robert Scholar], and Aleck Scholar, Nottoway Indians...were in the Service of this Colony, and did behave themselves with great Bravery during the last Campaign, particularly...Tom Step, who distinguished himself very remarkably in the Action before Fort Du Quesne, under the Command of Major Grant."

In recognition of their service, the House agreed to further compensate the Nottoway, “Tom Step ought to be allowed £10 and the other three Indians £5 each, as a Reward for their Service.” Recommended to the Governor by George Washington and Adam Stephen, Step was further decorated with the “purchase [of] a Silver Gorget and a Suit of Cloths, to be presented to Captain Thomas Step, one of the Nottoway Indians, as a Mark of Distinction, and as a Reward for his brave and gallant Behaviour during the last Campaign” (Henry Bouquet to George Washington 7/8/58; Francis Faquier to George Washington 6/25/58 [GWP]; McIlwaine IX:94).

Removal to New York

At the conclusion of the French and Indian War, 160 Carolina Tuscarora elected to remove from their southern reservation and rejoin their kinsmen in New York. While others, including some Meherrin and Nottoway, immigrated to the Susquehanna River before 1752, the 1760s migration was the largest since the 1722 adoption of the Tuscarora into the Northern Iroquois League. Growing pressure from encroaching Whites, increased isolation in Virginia-Carolina, and recent tribal reconnections made while on the Pennsylvania frontier, likely influenced the decision to relocate to the Susquehanna towns. The elders of the Tuscarora told Carolina Governor Tryon in 1766 that, “we are mostly old men” “and children” “our young men [have]... gone to the Northward with the Northern Chief Tragaweha [or Diagawekee / Tiagawehe].” Of the 200-300 Nottoway enumerated by William Byrd II c.1730, just thirty-five adults remained in Southampton County by 1773, only three of which can be identified as the prominent men of the records from the 1750s. Thomas Jefferson offered a more dire description in 1781, “Of the Nottoways not a male is left. A few women constitute the remains of that tribe. They are seated on the Nottoway river in Southampton county, on very fertile lands.” Thus, the evidence suggests that waves of northern migration dwindled the populations of the Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian Indian Towns. By the time of the American Revolution about fifty Nottoway

remained in Southampton, 100 Tuscarora on their Bertie County reservation, and just a few families among the Meherrin and the Algonquian Chowan (Ayers MS 3212; Clark 1890 VII:218-220; Jefferson 1787:155-156; Wood 1992:34).

The Tuscarora departing Carolina funded their southern exodus through the 1766 leasing of 8000 acres of their reservation, leaving the remaining 3-4000 acres under the management of the Indians that chose to stay. In a plausibly parallel strategy, the Nottoway sold about 5200 acres of their Southampton Square Tract in the late 1750s, and another 1600 acres in the early 1760s. The Tuscarora raised nearly £1000 from their rentals – used to buy provisions, wagons, and horses – while the Nottoway raised more than £919 from their land sales. No doubt some of this income went to address existing debts and community needs, but much of it supported the removal effort. As they were moving through Paxton, Pennsylvania en route to New York, the convoy suffered some losses at the hands of antagonistic colonials. However the Virginia-Carolina groups eventually settled on the Susquehanna River, south of the existing Tuscarora villages. Those that emigrated established the villages of Shawiangto and Ingaren near present day Windsor, New York (Boyce 1973:50-51, 98-101; DB2:124-144, 59-60, 163-164; DB3:84-87, 103-105, 228-230; Henning VIII:588-591; Johnson 1968 II:89-90; Wood 1992:33-34).

The reduction of the Nottoway population to approximately fifty individuals impacted the community in substantive ways, with an unanticipated long-term outcome. With the continued emigration of many adults to New York, the remaining Virginia Nottoway adults, and soon-to-be adults, had a decreased pool of potential Iroquoian marriage partners. The result of this imbalance was contracts with non-Nottoway spouses, and a further shrinking of the matrilineal members of the community. Children of Nottoway men by non-Nottoway mothers can be referred to as “agnatic” Nottoway, and did not carry the same rights to tribal leadership positions and hereditary roles of matrilineal descent. With the removal of Indians from the re-

gion, further complications emerged with children of White and Black marriages; a biological diversity came to be present at the Southampton Nottoway settlement. Born c.1831, Millie Woodson-Turner's Nottoway parents were of African, Native American, and European descent.

It is unclear the exact processes by which these southern refugees removed and settled in the north, but the population loss on both reservations was documented in the local records of the 1770s. The Tuscarora consolidated their Carolina settlement in one village Resootskah, and the Meherrin, dwindled to less than sixty individuals, either abandoned or were driven from their reservation, and apparently established a series of conjoined private farms along Potecasi Creek in Hertford County, marked as the “Meherrin Indians Town” on the 1770 Collet Map. The remaining Nottoway huddled along the stretches of the river near their fishing shores at the juncture of the Assamoosick's Concorie Branch, somewhat east of Warekeck / Ronotough (Boyce 1973:76-78; Dawdy 1994:113-120; Henning VIII:590; Saunders VI:616).

The easterly movement of the Nottoway settlements can be traced in the documentary and archaeological record of the Millie Woodson-Turner Site. Discussed below, by the early 1770s the Nottoway leased the former town center of Ronotough, among a number of tracts west of the settlements associated with the Woodson-Turner Home environs (DB4:535-547; DB5:1-3, 22-23, 516). The artifact record from the 2016 investigations of 44SN0341 show a correlating increase in eighteenth-century artifacts, indicating that domestic activity on the property occurred during this era, and may be associated with the residential shift. There were few diagnostic artifacts that indicated an earlier historical occupation before the mid to late eighteenth century. Two colonoware fragments – from Nottoway-made ceramic vessels – were recovered during the field surveys, and can be typically dated to pre 1800 on Nottoway sites; a single Westerwald fragment was recovered, a sixteenth- through eighteenth-century Rhineland-produced ceramic which, “confirms that there was at least some form of occu-

pation at the site in the 18th century.” In support of this analysis, one Buckley-type Redware vessel sherd was found, a manufacture that predates the 1770s, and several Pearlware sherds were recovered, which begin manufacture in 1780. A kaolin pipe bowl fragment was also recovered, which are “ubiquitous on archaeological sites from the 17th through the 19th centuries.” These artifacts speak to the emergence of a domestic space at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead sometime during the era of the 1760s Nottoway removals to New York, and the correlating easterly shift [pre 1772] of Nottoway settlement away from Ronotough along the river terrace. The colonial-era artifacts were mostly recovered from the northeast end of the field survey, and possibly represent an Indian cabin from the last quarter of the eighteenth-century (see Appendix I).

Further Nottoway Land Sales and Leases

In 1772, the Southampton Nottoway approached the House of Burgesses to again approve the sale of the remaining lands from the old Circle Tract, which were a few small parcels, and to also allow them to rent half of their Square Tract reservation to local planters. The Nottoway specified that the land they currently occupied should not be leased, and that they wished to protect their fishing place. The leases were intended to be long term [twenty one years], and not more than 300 acres within any one lease. The Trustees of the tribe were to collect and enforce the rentals agreements, which included not cutting more than half of the standing timber on each tract, and reporting to the Southampton Court each January an account of their annual rents. Within five years of each lease, the planters were to develop the property; the act of the Assembly stated that the lessees were to,

“build and compleatly finish a dwelling house twelve by sixteen feet, the frame to be sawed, covered with featheredge plank and shingled with good pine or cypress shingles, and shall moreover plant, inclose with good fences, and cultivate fifty apple trees on the lands so respectively leased to them”

The Trustees were instructed to use the money raised from the rentals to settle existing Nottoway debts, and once relieved, keep the remaining balance of the income in order to furnish “the said Indians with the common necessities of life,” as long as no accounts were directed toward “spirituous liquor.” For their troubles, the Trustees were granted a five percent fee on the “whole money arising from the sale and leasing.” The Assembly anticipated the arrangements would also allow the Nottoway to pay their annual tribute, which may have been arrears since the removal of many Nottoway northward (Henning VIII: 588-591).

The Trustees announced the 1772 rentals and land sale options by placing an advertisement on the courthouse door, at every church and chapel in Nottoway parish, and through a notice in the *Virginia Gazette*, all to be concluded through public auction. Twelve separate leases were arranged for approximately 2650 acres, raising an annuity for the Nottoway of £96.16.0. The leased lands were in the northwest corner of the reservation, west of the Millie Woodson-Turner Site on Indian Town Road, running from “Buckhorn Bridge” and “Buckhorn Road” or modern Cary’s Bridge and the environs around Buckhorn Quarter Road, Cary’s Bridge Road, Medicine Springs Road, and Pope’s Station Road. The leased land also included the old village site of Warekeck / Ronotough, further evidencing the easterly movement of the community along the riverine terrace in the northeastern section of the reserve (Henning VIII: 590-591; DB4:535-547; DB5:1-3, 22-23, 516).

From the 1750-1760s land sales and the 1770s rentals, a pattern begins to emerge with regard to the Nottoway and their financial relationship with their Trustee wardens. The Southampton Trustees, “whose duty was to watch over their interests, and guard them from insult and injury” managed a tribal trust fund and the disbursement of Nottoway annuities. Annually, or as occasion dictated [such as death or crop failure], the Trustees would allocate monies to supplement individual Nottoway subsistence or additional earned income. However, they also controlled the land surveys, pricing, and lease

agreements for the tribe. As prominent men of finance and politic in the county, the oversight of such large amounts of land, timber, and monetary resources created a situation whereby the Trustees found their position to be a lucrative one. As an outcome, a small circle of related and politically aligned men remained in control of the Nottoway Trusteeship for over a hundred years (Jefferson 1787:155; Woodard 2016).

By controlling the financial and material resources of the tribe, the Trustee system also undermined traditional Nottoway leadership roles, and restricted the economic maneuverability of the remaining Southampton Nottoway community. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Nottoway headmen had to navigate two layers of colonial management: legislative permission to relinquish title to Native lands, and Trustee advocacy on the Nottoway’s behalf to seek fair market value and sale. Moreover, the capital accrued from land sales and rentals remained in the control of the Trustees and under Trustee management. The bureaucracy created by the colonial apparatus weakened the Nottoway headmen’s ability to affect desired outcomes, as Trustee oversight competed with indigenous leaders’ traditional roles as community negotiators and representatives. The Nottoway were thus, at the mercy of Trustee discretion for doling out resources: capital outlay for finished goods, resolution to trading debts, and continued access to a market the Nottoway did not control. Trustee mismanagement of Nottoway funds ensued, to the advantage of the Trustees and to the inequity of the Nottoway people (Woodard 2013:152).

The American Revolution

On the eve of the American Revolution, thirty-five adult Nottoway remained on the Southampton reservation. Relations with the Carolina Tuscarora appear to have been maintained during this period, even with the depressed numbers of community members at both locales; the surnames Rogers, Turner, Scholar, Seneca, and Wineoak appear on extant documents from both reservations and military records during the fourth quarter of

the eighteenth century. From a careful reading of those documents, a new phenomenon begins to emerge following the 1760s migrations: named Nottoway and Tuscarora women start appearing in official exchanges with the courts, state legislature, and tribal trustees. Of the thirty-five adult Nottoway listed in the 1773 annuity distributions, eighteen were women. Within ten years, Nottoway and Tuscarora women also began signing legal documents as consensual parties to tribal actions. Previously, only “great men,” “head men,” or “chief men” negotiated with outside parties. While matrilineal descent and residence characterized the internal organization of the Iroquoian communities, this shift in external representation was a significant departure from normative cultural practices, and likely signals the deterioration of some aspects of traditional Iroquoian socio-political organization (Woodard 2013:103-125).

The shift in demography also impacted the Nottoway’s ability to act as a corporate body in military affairs. Whereas during the French and Indian War the Nottoway and their relations fought as “tributary” “nations” for the Crown, during the American Revolution Southampton Indian recruits fought as individuals embedded within Virginia Regiments. From a limited amount of data, the same situation appears to be true of the remaining Meherrin and Tuscarora in North Carolina. In contrast, the Iroquoians that removed to New York were identified during the war by their tribal town names, or as belonging to the “Oneida and Tuscarora.” However, in those landscapes, there was political division between British and American alliances (Boyce 1973:85-106; Dawdy 1994:116-119; Thomas 2013: Appendix 1).

The Nottoway soldiers fought from beginning of the war, alongside Whites, Blacks, and other Indians in the service of the Commonwealth, integrated within revolutionary Virginia’s Regiments of Foot. One 1775 company within Col. David Mason’s 15th Virginia Regiment, was composed of men from multiple eastern Virginia counties, including Southampton and King William. Of the fifty-three privates counted at muster by May of

1777, nearly half of them may be associated with the Nottoway, Mattaponi, and Pamunkey; of the Nottoway, James Woodson, James Gabriel, William Seneca, Joseph Turner, and Peter Marriot may be counted among these men. The unit was deployed to New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and saw action at the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. Service records of Nottoway during the war indicate:

- Peter Meritt/Mariot and Joseph Turner were among the casualties of 1777.
- “Charles Winoke,” “Isaac Scollar” [5th Regiment], and “Robert Wainek” [6th Regiment] mustered in near the Tuscarora reservation at Edenton, North Carolina.
- Isaac Scholar was killed at the Battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania on October 4, 1777.
- John Woodson served his two-year enlistment and was discharged in February of 1778.
- Alexander Scholar mustered into the 4th Virginia Regiment and died in a hospital at New Windsor, New Jersey on December 24, 1778.
- Alexander Quaker joined the 4th Virginia Regiment and was among the 5,000 American prisoners of war following the 1780 siege of Charleston, South Carolina (Revolutionary War Rolls).

Thus out of the families represented in the 1770s documents from the Nottoway Indian Town, half sent young men into the service of the American Revolution, and at least three of them lost family members during the conflict. Nearly fifty years later, the Nottoway reminded the Virginia General Assembly that they had served the Commonwealth during the War for Independence, losing one of their “chiefs” to the cause (LP William G. Bozeman 1824). Again during another theatre of war the Nottoway and Tuscarora fought alongside each other, in service of the colonial and state govern-

ments to which they were tributary. As in the 1750s and 1760s, northern Iroquoian reconstructions may also have been made with the previously removed Tuscarora in New York, as one Virginia journalist indicated, “many [Nottoway] joined the Tuscaroras, to whom they were related by language, and in 1776 emigrated north with them” (Mead 1832:127).

THE NOTTOWAY DURING THE ERA OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC, CIRCA 1790-1830

Following the American Revolution only 25 Nottoway adults remained at Indian Town. Based on the language of the 1780s documents, the community was in difficult circumstances. Through war and removal, many had left; through intermarriage with Whites and Blacks, others were struggling to be recognized as Nottoway Indians. Nansemond land sales appear to have been a temporary solution for income, as was a meager profit from the sale of small tracts within the former Circle reserve. However, by 1790s the debt-to-income ratio was overwhelming for a small community accustomed to an infusion of young men’s actions by war, hunt, and prowess – now depleted to a few adult males. As the 1772 leases came due on twenty-one year contracts, the remaining Nottoway men elected to sell the properties for a bulk sum, which could be invested in stock, and hypothetically, retrieve annual annuities from the sale. Thus in 1792 the Nottoway divested themselves of another 2700 acres. Deeds were signed by the remaining chief men: William Gabriel, Littleton Scholar, James Woodson, Henry Woodson, Robert Wyoak, James Wyoak, and Thomas Turner. Possibly these men, or their nearly adult children, were destined for New York, or at least were contemplating voluntary removal. The Tuscarora chiefs returned at the beginning of the nineteenth century to retrieve their “people” from the south, and both of the Virginia and North Carolina reservations were engaged in discussions with state governments and the New York Tuscarora (Palmer 1890:332-333; LP 1791, 1792, 1803).

The Last Nottoway-Tuscarora Removals, c.1802-1803

A Tuscarora chief visited the Virginia Governor and future U.S. President James Monroe in the fall of 1802 with the intent of “undertaking to collect the scattered remains of my people” and with the “hope it will be convenient for you [Monroe] to have my business laid before your Legislature...” The chief bore the formal title of “Saguaresa,” or properly Sekwarí0re, meaning the Turtle clan chief Spear Carrier. Visits to Richmond, Virginia and Windsor, North Carolina were undertaken to discuss Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian land claims and the migration of tribal remnants northward. The result of the diplomatic envoy was the 113-year lease of Tuscarora lands to North Carolina [which corresponded to the amount of time left on a 150-year lease from 1766] and a new North Carolina state treaty, as well as the emigration of “10-20 old families” from the south to New York. One Nottoway, Melbury Turner, immigrated to New York from North Carolina in 1802, indicating either a Meherrin or Tuscarora residence (Kappler 1913:701-704; Gatschet 1883-1884 MS 372-b; Palmer 1890:332-333; Parish Family Papers).

The Tuscarora political activity may have spawned an 1803 Virginia Nottoway Legislative Petition, in an effort to resolve the latter tribe’s land claims from their old Circle Tract survey and sales. The question of indigenous title clearly motivated an 1809 Virginia Attorney General’s opinion that “the [Nottoway] Indians’ claim under title paramount to every other – the aboriginal right to their soil before the rights of either the King or colony...or of the Commonwealth.” Judging by the response from Virginia’s Attorney General, Virginia’s Nottoway Indian lands were part of the Tuscarora discussion, but Virginia Nottoway tribal affiliation and autonomy were upheld as superseding any northern Nottoway claims presented. Despite these acknowledgements, some Nottoway removed without resolving land claims, leaving the future of the tribal preserve to their Virginia kinsmen who remained (LP Dec. 1803; Palmer 1892:69).

<i>NOTTOWAY SURNAMEs 1773</i>	<i>NOTTOWAY SURNAMEs 1808</i>
—	<i>Bartlett</i>
<i>Cookrouse</i>	—
<i>Gabriel</i>	—
<i>John</i>	—
<i>Merriot</i>	—
<i>Pearch</i>	—
<i>Quaker</i>	—
<i>Rogers</i>	<i>Rogers</i>
<i>Scholar</i>	<i>Scholar</i>
<i>Step</i>	<i>Step</i>
<i>Swan</i>	—
<i>TURNER</i>	<i>TURNER</i>
<i>Wineoak</i>	<i>Wineoak</i>
<i>WOODSON</i>	<i>WOODSON</i>

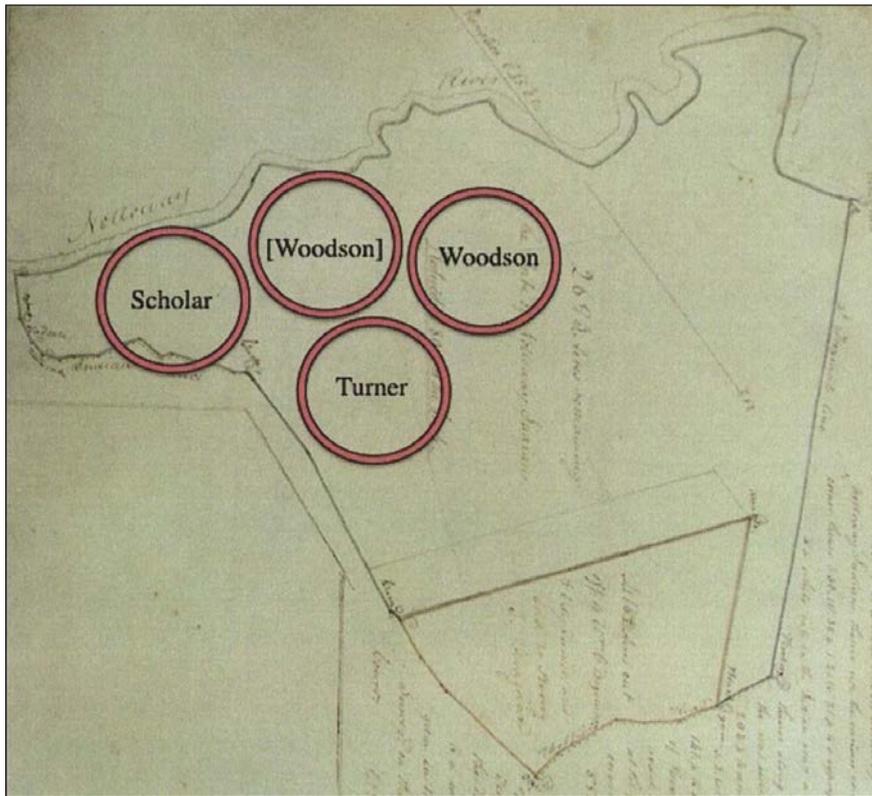
Table 2. Nottoway Town surname shift, 1773-1808. Through death, exogamy, and removal, the Turner and Woodson families became the dominant and most numerous matrilineages during the nineteenth century.

The number of Nottoway who left Virginia-Carolina during the 1802-1803 Tuscarora removal and land leases cannot be determined. It was the last Iroquoian exodus from Virginia-Carolina to New York, completing an effort started nearly ninety years earlier at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War. The migration reconnected related Iroquoians and through some formal process, socio-politically integrated Virginia-Carolina refugees with New York Tuscarora communities. Nottoway that removed during the waves of northern immigration c.1720-1800 relocated along familial lines, so that entire clusters of relatives migrated out of the region and disappeared from Southampton's documentary record. Nottoway population decline from 200-300 individuals c.1730 to approximately fifty in the 1770s reflects more than natural attrition; it infers the removal of lineages from the Nottoway community. A comparison of official tribal documents from 1770-1790s and 1808 confirms a shift in Nottoway surnames during the interim [Table 2], whereby through death, exogamy, or removal the community lost family segments (Ayer MS 3212; Byrd 1967:116; 1808 Cabell Papers; LP 1792).

Nottoway Leadership and Trustees

Less than a decade after the last eighteenth-century land sales, a strong leader named Edith Turner arose from the matrilineal women of the tribe, and the remaining few males acquiesced to her authority at the Nottoway reserve in Southampton. Whereas in previous decades Nottoway headmen were identified in formal dealings with the state, no specific leadership figures appear in turn-of-the-nineteenth century documents. Rather, during this period of increased population loss, adults of both sexes signed documents on behalf of the community. This may have been due to the political restructuring required when half of Indian Town's families removed to New York. Along with the contemporary report indicating some Nottoway removed at the time of the American Revolution, several other individuals were described as "absent" during 1790s transactions, suggesting several waves of migration, 1775-1803 (DB8:97-99, 102-103, 153-154, 248-251; Mead 1832:127). Nottoway civil leaders emerged during this transitional era, but it is unclear the exact means by which authority was wielded at the community level.

Thus at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the remaining Nottoway were the only Iroquoian community in the region to maintain continuous control over a portion of their indigenous territory – 4,235 acres in Southampton County (Map 3) (Briggs and Pittman 1995:11; Woodard 2013:125-126, 167). Few matrilineal Nottoway remained, and of those that did, each had either a "free negro," "mulatto," or "white" spouse, and their children were described variously as "Free Negro," "Indian," "Mulatto," or "White." After the c.1803 removal, the Trustees distributed annual provisions for all seventeen remaining matrilineal Nottoway, regardless of age. The practice may have started in the 1790s (Rountree 1987:200). An 1808 document fixed the annuity due each Nottoway at £9 annually, for a total of £153. With the 1790s land sales earning thousands of pounds for the tribal remnants, and thousands more existing in the tribal trust and rents owed, continuing Nottoway complaints about Trustee accounting and resource allocation signaled



Map 3. The remaining Nottoway lands, c. 1830. Circle areas are settlements of the matrilineages.

a level of on-going impropriety. Led by the “female chief” Edith “Edy” Turner, the Nottoway wrote the Governor and General Assembly and accused their Trustees of conflicts of interest, embezzlement, and mismanagement / misappropriation of Indian funds. Further, the Nottoway argued, the Trustees’ dysfunctional practices had been ongoing for years, but now with so few matrilineal Nottoway heirs remaining, Virginia should protect the tributary’s interests and call for an accounting of the tribe’s financial affairs (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808; Woodard 2013:160-162).

The General Assembly for the first time removed all of the Nottoway Trustees from office and ordered an audit of the tribal accounts. The language of the act suggests the Nottoway complained of abuse and requested “a settlement of their accounts, and...demand [to] recover from them [the former Trustees], or the executors or administrators of them, or any of them, whatever sum or sums of money or tobacco may be justly due from them” (Shepard 1836 III: 346-347). A similar Trustee turnover again occurred in the

1810s, when Nottoway complaints again required the Commonwealth to regulate Trustee oversight of tribal affairs. The Trustees were found to be syphoning off Nottoway money and mismanaging lands, loans, and rentals to the advantage of White landowners. The documentary record of the specific outcomes of these Nottoway complaints remains unclear. By the late 1810s, yet another new set of Trustees was “recently appointed to manage their affairs” (LP Dec. 16, 1818). Further investigation into the finances revealed, “that upon a settlement with their former Trustee, a balance of five hundred & two dollars 28/100 was all that remained of the proceeds” (LP Dec. 16, 1818). Judging from the amounts of money being handled by the Trustees for land sales, land leases, and personal loans ten and twenty years earlier, some mismanagement was indeed at work. Nottoway dissatisfaction with their Trustees continued through the first half of the nineteenth century, as demonstrated by the tribe’s multiple court cases and legislative petitions (e.g. CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al., 1849-1852; LP Dec. 11, 1821; Dec. 13, 1823).

The coveting of Nottoway land appears as a reoccurring theme in the extant Trustee discourse. By the 1820s, the Trustees recommended to the General Assembly that they, along with the Southampton Court, should be given the local authority to manage Nottoway affairs of finance and land. This arrangement would “prevent the necessary recurrence to your honorable body whenever any new state of things presents itself” and allow the Trustees and Court “to be vested with the authority to direct & superintend the management of the whole matter” (LP Dec. 10, 1821).

The close relationship of the county court officials [Clerks, Judges], the Nottoway Trustees, the lawyers, and the land-owning elite of Southampton reflected the conjoined interests of the upper socio-economic class. Freeing the Nottoway managers from legislative oversight lessened the burdensome bureaucracy of liquidating tribal assets. When reading the Nottoway documentary record it becomes clear that the Trustees, county administrators, and local men of finance were in regular communication with one another. They consistently engaged the Nottoway on economic terms, with their primary attention focused on land and its unrealized potential for productivity.

The tributary relationship between the Nottoway and Virginia was a relic from the colonial era. The structural shift of Virginia-Indian relations from a state-focused relationship to one of local administration signals the deterioration of the Nottoway position within the political economy. It also demonstrates that conceptions of separate peoples from two societies were converging toward peoples within a single society. Indigenous title to land proved to be a hindrance for wresting away localized control of the Nottoway assets. As long as the tribe held communal property they were recognized as tributary to Virginia; the state structures [even at the local level] provided some level of protection for Indian Town. The Trustees, however, wielded the economic prowess and political power.

The Final Reservation Land Sales and First Allotment Petitions

During the years of 1818-1821, a group of recently appointed Trustees petitioned the Legislature to sell Nottoway land needed for “furnishing them [the Nottoway] with the necessities of life.” The Trustees recommended selling all of the remaining Indian land on extensive credit. The Nottoway refused this proposal, as it would “completely dispossess several of your petitioners of their plantations & settlements on which they have resided for several years.” Acknowledging the “reduced state of their fund” the Nottoway counter-petitioned the “legislature to amend the former law...or to pass a new law authorizing...[the] sale of the land contained in the annexed plat containing one thousand acres” on “one or two years credit” (LP Dec. 14, 1819). The Nottoway again pleaded with the General Assembly to hold the Trustees accountable, “that the said Trustees be compelled to account annually with the executive of the Commonwealth.” The 1819 document was endorsed by the marks of twelve adult Nottoway, including Edith Turner at the top of the petition, and undersigned by literate John and William Woodson – the two head males of the Woodson matrilineage. The bill was deemed reasonable, drawn and passed in February 1820 (LP Dec. 14, 1819; Dec. 10, 1821).

The legislative petitions filed during this period suggest competing views from the Nottoway and their Trustees about how best to stabilize the tribe’s growing debt and financial security. Though thwarted from selling as much of the Nottoway land as recommended, the Trustees persevered and arranged to sell one quarter of the tribe’s 4235 acres in four divisions (DB17:97-104; LP Dec. 16, 1818; LP Dec. 8, 1819; LP Dec. 14, 1819; LP Dec. 10 1821; LP Dec. 14, 1822). By the December 1821 Legislative Session, the Trustees again appealed to the General Assembly for more direct control over Nottoway affairs. Complaining that the interest of the new fund was insufficient to support the Nottoway material needs, the Trustees requested the county court be given full jurisdiction over Nottoway concerns, including annual accounting, the

determination of individual tribal annuities, and the collection of debts owed the tribe. Within this scheme, the Trustees could recover their own existing expenses from the principal of the trust, allow their colleagues [land buyers] to retain capital for their own uses, and thus influence the Nottoway estate's management at the local level (LP Dec. 10, 1821).

The Legislature deemed the Trustee request "reasonable" in January of 1822. The Nottoway did not endorse the petition and instead found new legal representation to propose another arrangement. The tribe needed monies for new agricultural pursuits, and to support growing families, then upwards of thirty matrilineal members. Headed by the Woodson matrilineage, the Nottoway also sought cash to pay for mounting legal fees associated with pursuing the tribal estate, and for defense attorneys needed by individual tribal members. The 1821 Nottoway petition contained something very different, however, from any previous request: upon mutual agreement reached by the tribe "convened in Council," they requested the Legislature "*to have their lands divided amongst them*" (LP Dec. 11, 1821, emphasis added).

The 1821 Nottoway petition offered an alternative to Trustee "superintendence." Headed by "the female chief" Edith Turner, the community argued they wanted a restriction placed on the potentially divided land, and thereby limit "the power to alienate the land allotted to each." The tribe, in concert with the Iroquoian lineage-system, requested the "first, second, third and fourth holders [generations] in succession" be prevented "from selling more than one fourth part, each, of the quantity actually confirmed each individual." In this way, the growing Woodson matrilineage would see the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the 1810s newborns secure in their inheritance. For this consideration, the tribe requested "an extension of the time [for allotment] of minority among them and their descendants for a given number of years." Thus the Nottoway proposed reserving some allotments until those minors matured. Simply put, the Nottoway wanted to determine how much land was sold in the future, have full control over the princi-

pal amounts derived, and internally manage the distribution of those resources (LP Dec. 11, 1821).

To emphasize the Nottoway request, the chief and three other signatories signed the document with Iroquoian titles or personal names: Wane' Roonseraw or Edith Turner, Kare' hout or Polly Woodson, William Woodson, and Te-res-ke' or Solomon Rogers. Significantly, the 1821 Nottoway Legislative Petition is the only extant document of nineteenth-century Tidewater Virginia where Indian people use their indigenous language in political discourse. These individuals represented the leadership of the remaining Nottoway matrilineages, and notably, were two males and two females. One of the signatories of the 1821 petition, William Woodson, was also known as Billy Woodson or William G. Bozeman. He was the son of Nottoway Indian Nancy Woodson and Micajah "Mike" Bozeman, a White smallholding farmer. William G. Bozeman had a Quaker education and experience with his father's land dealings, both of which may have influenced this early Nottoway request for privatization and allotment. Bozeman was literate, had close association with his father's land purchases, monetary loans, and farming ventures. He also worked his own farm outfit, first as a laborer, and then as a landowner (C1820, Halifax County, NC; DB19:136, Northampton County, NC; OB1819-1822:433; PPTL1807-1821).

As well, the Nottoway had engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry for many years, selling crops, livestock, and home-manufactures in Southside markets. They worked as day laborers for monetary remuneration, purchased and hired slaves to work Nottoway agricultural lands, and accumulated personal property. An 1820 visitor to Nottoway Town described headwoman Edith Turner as "extremely intelligent... although illiterate she converses and communicates her ideas with... facility and perspicuity." While the Trustees dismissed Nottoway industry as not reaching the land's full potential, outsiders suggested portions of the tribe's "plantations" were "comfortable... [.] well furnished" and kept "in a good state of cultivation." Onlookers to the 1819-1820 land sales remarked Indian Town "farming and other business" was managed

“with discretion and profit” (Gentleman’s Magazine 1821:505-506; Cabell Papers 1808; Morse 1822:31; PPTL1782-1792, 1792-1806 and 1807-1821; OB1691-1713:83, Surry County, VA).

The Nottoway tribal petition for allotment was rejected by the General Assembly in January of 1822. The House approved the Trustees’ petition from the same year, but did not enable them to access any of the principal from the land sales [about \$4,000]. The Trustees claimed the available interest for annuities only amounted to about three dollars per Nottoway, which was not adequate to satisfy the “demands” of the community. The Nottoway recognized the arrangements. As long as the General Assembly maintained the Trustee system, the elites of Southampton could manipulate the financial trust.

Unsatisfied with the Trustees’ response and still wanting more control over the estate, the Nottoway considered their position. Another tribal petition went to Richmond in 1823. In this instance, only one tribal member applied for permission “to hold in fee simple so much land as he may be considered entitled to free from the control of the Trustees.” The genesis of the 1823 William G. Bozeman petition is not entirely clear. Additional tribal members did not endorse the application, nor did the Trustees; the petition was made by Bozeman as an individual. However, based on the previous Nottoway petition endorsed by four residents of Indian Town on behalf of the whole “Council” that also requested some form of allotment, the origins of the appeal can at least be partially attributed to the tribal community. In general, it can be said that allotting Nottoway land was a goal of some residents of Indian Town and a goal of some Southampton landowners. The exact configuration, however, of the agents orchestrating Bozeman’s appeal is unknown (LP Dec. 1823, Letter, Sept. 15, 1823).

The stipulations of the 1824 Act Concerning William G. Bozeman included:

- Nottoway individual rights to independent surveys,
- The ability to individually possess land allot-

ments and monies from the tribal trust,

- The Nottoway were granted “the same power to sell convey or exchange the same, as free white persons of this Commonwealth possess and enjoy” and lastly,
- The land allotments and financial trust were open to “any descendant of a female of the Nottoway” who applied.

And thus, William G. Bozeman also known as Billy Woodson, a principle male of the dominant Woodson matrilineage successfully lobbied the General Assembly for the allotment of the Nottoway reservation (Acts Passed...Commonwealth of Virginia 1824:101-102).

Six years later, the first allotments were taken by leadership figures of Indian Town. Edith Turner petitioned the Southampton court for an allotment of reservation land on March 11, 1830; five days later William G. Bozeman made the same request (CC). The lands surveyed were “the most inferior” of reservation and unoccupied by Nottoway residents. These actions suggest strategy on behalf of the community and coincide with Nottoway Town’s more complete participation in the agricultural economy. At a deeper level, Nottoway agency speaks to an indigenous understanding of economic relationships and the constraints imposed upon them within Virginia’s legal system.

Trustee Jeremiah Cobb was appointed commissioner to establish the Nottoway’s interest in their property, which Cobb later reported was 3,109 acres with a value ranging from \$4 to \$10 per acre. Averaged, the total valuation of the tribe’s real estate was \$21,763. Bozeman and Turner, as “two of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians” received a 1/27 division of the surveyed land, 209¼ acres in severalty each, plus a cash payment from the general fund of \$24.50 for three and one-half acres that were lacking from the survey. Bozeman and Turner made arrangements to sell the combined allotments to Henry Vaughan, a White planter who previously [1819-1823] purchased Nottoway lands from the Trustees. The newly surveyed tract conveniently bordered Vaughan along the Belfield Road, south of

Indian Town, suggesting the community coordinated the survey, the sale, and the locations of the allotments. Vaughan paid \$1160 to Bozeman and Turner for 416½ acres in May of 1830. It would be over ten years after the 1824 Bozeman Act – and fifteen since the 1821 “Council” request – before further Nottoway allotments were made in 1835. (CC May 1830; DB21:381).

THE NOTTOWAY DURING THE ANTEBELLUM ERA, CIRCA 1830-1860

Following the first surveys and privatized allotments of Indian land, the Nottoway settlement stretched along a winding dirt road about two miles in length. Known locally as the “Indian Road,” the path cut through thousands of acres of remaining tribal land “laying on the west side of the Nottoway River in what is known as Indian Town, Va” (DB27:470; LP March 16, 1830; WB21:613). The community was situated on the landscape in a similar pattern as they were in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Binford 1967:138-137, 162, 179), “in [a] relatively dispersed manner with houses and clusters of houses not generally aggregated” and they “probably lacked any great elaboration in corporate facilities, such as council houses” (183, 196). Trustee Jeremiah Cobb described Indian Town during the period of reservation’s allotment:

“They are now settled in huts scattered pretty much over their whole tract, each settler having a sufficiency of land in cultivation for [their] family’s support; what they do not cultivate themselves, they by their trustees Rent out for them, there are no differences among them about their particular settlements, each claiming their arable land; the woodland being held in common among them” (LP, Cobb to Bowers, December 31, 1821).

Nineteenth-century references to the community’s settlement give the impression of small farmsteads located on agricultural lands crossed by tracts of timber, generally referred to as the “Indian Woods.” The “Edi Turner settlement” was located

south of the Indian path and Jack Woodson’s place was noted as a tract of land surrounding a “small log house situated on the Indian Road” (DB24:116; 25:62). A swath of timber “in the Indian Woods” was cut “on the land of Edwin D. Turner” (DB34:212) not far from the crops of “corn, cotton, peanuts and peas planted on the farm of...Alex Steward” (DB34:176). Families occupied a “small log cabin” or “a well furnished and comfortable cottage” where “horses, cows, and other domestic animals” were housed in pens, sheds, or arbors (Binford 1961:246; Morse 1822:31). Most households had apple, cherry, peach, or pear trees nestled between adjacent farmlands, and small creeks crisscrossed the “low lying” grounds in the Indian Woods (DB28:699; DB38:404). Along the river, several sections were known as “guts” where arteries of the Assamoosick Swamp joined the Nottoway (DB28:699). Here, a “sain fence” or V-shaped rock weirs were seasonally fished by Indian Town residents, and the “Indian seine place” or “Indian fishing place” appeared as a landmark in period deeds and plats (CC March 4, 1854; DB8:98, 250; OB1835-1839:153; PB20:12; Trout and Turner 2006:45-46; Woodard 2013:211).

Nottoway Marriage and Descent

By the time of their reservation’s allotment, the Nottoway were descended from disparate groups brought together by the Colonial Encounter, comingled by the alterative processes of the capitalist system’s development. Caught in this polarity were “free peoples of color,” which included the Nottoway, but also free descendants of Indian and African former slaves. These latter individuals represented manumissions or the successors of free and indentured mothers of African, European, or Indian descent. While not enslaved, this population was descended from coerced laborers [in various forms] and subject to the social, political, and economic prejudice of the period.

Challenges emerged for the Nottoway matrilineage system, as the children of Nottoway men with non-Nottoway women created an imbalance in the rights to community resources, in both spheres of socio-cultural practice and political economy. Ir-

Iroquoian descent and the codified Virginia laws governing Nottoway resources, stated that allotments could be requested by “any descendant of a female of the Nottoway.” Thus, as a matrilineal Nottoway Billy Woodson/William G. Bozeman could receive allotment land and a share of the trust, but because he married a White woman, his children could not. His sister, Winifred Woodson-Bozeman passed her rights to her children, and in turn through one of the females, the descent carried to her granddaughter, Millie Woodson. During the antebellum era, Nottoway families were anchored around female sibling sets, tied to the matrilineal resources of land and membership in the extended lineage.

Indian Town residents increasingly oriented themselves as linked nuclear families, and framed their external relations around farm production and labor exchange. Individual property ownership and personal finance became tied to small family interests, rather than communal compounds where resources were equally divided among matrilineage members. Depressed Indian population numbers necessitated marriages beyond Indian Town, with surrounding Whites and other Free People of Color. Prior to the Civil War, Indian Town economic relationships, business interactions, and marriage-mate selection drew from the neighboring population (Woodard 2013:214-213).

During the antebellum era, Nottoway Turner and Woodson matrilineage members were certified by the Southampton County Court as “not a free negro or mulatto,” but “persons of mixed blood” and “descendants of a female of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians” (e.g. OB18:320 [1837]; M22:169 [1864]). However, some of the individuals certified as “not a free negro or mulatto” were described in other documents as having one non-Nottoway “free negro” parent (LP John Turner 1837). Intriguingly, Virginia’s Attorney General upheld Nottoway rights as “tributary Indians,” despite tribal members meeting the “statutory definition [of] a mulatto” or “having one fourth or more negroe blood” (LP Parsons Turner 1838). Southampton court orders relating to racial or legal definitions of Nottoway people were always certified “upon satis-

factory evidence of white persons adduced to the Court” (OB18:320).

The Nottoway were increasingly forced to navigate a legal code established to restrict Free Peoples of Color’s social, economic, and political mobility. During a period of increased tension between Whites and individuals of African ancestry [i.e. Nat Turner’s 1831 Rebellion occurred in Southampton County], Indian Town contended with the demographic impact of the 1802-1803 Iroquoian removals and the challenges associated with non-Nottoway intermarriage. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, there were no matrilineal Nottoway married to other matrilineally-descended Nottoway, but rather “their husbands and wives are chiefly free negroes” “mulatto” and “white” (Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808; LP, Cobb to Bowers, December 31, 1821). Between 1830 and 1850 at least two marriages between the remaining Nottoway matrilineages occurred [Edwin Turner and Betsy Woodson; Parsons Turner and Mary Woodson], as did one union between a matrilineal-descended Nottoway woman and an agnatic-descended Nottoway male [Patsy (Martha) Woodson and Alexander Scholar]. These “inside” Indian Town marriages maintained clan and lineage rules, and demonstrate efforts to support and foster Nottoway solidarity within an increasingly narrow social position and shrinking Iroquoian demographic. Millie Woodson-Turner’s mother was Mary or Patsy Woodson, and from this Nottoway ancestry Millie Woodson-Turner accessed an allotment tract on Indian Town Road (Woodard 2013:231, 368-369, 370-377).

The Nottoway Reservation Allotment

Nottoway allotments during the Antebellum occurred in two waves, first during the period of 1830-1840, and then 1847-1854; additional allotments also occurred during post-war Reconstruction, 1868-1871. The 1830-1840 divisions were surveyed and nearly immediately sold, repeating the previous Nottoway pattern of using land sales as a means of generating significant income. Possibly the revenue was distributed among matrilineages or collectively managed by the community leaders.

Based on the allotment petitions and sales, collective community action is implied, rather than acts of individualism.

The 1847-1854 allotments, however, took on a different character. The majority of property allotments from this later period were retained by tribal members and developed into smallholdings farms managed by conjoined nuclear families. Land allotments were requested as group efforts, with matrilineage sibling sets or parallel cousins [Iroquoian classificatory siblings] leading the allotment initiatives. While small-producing Nottoway farms were flourishing, some tracts were sold within several years; property acquisition and sale could be a means to promote other agendas. One entire lineage segment [Taylor] relocated during this period, opting to timber their tracts, sell their shares, and remove to Richmond and Petersburg for wage labor opportunities. Importantly, Indian Town headman Edwin Turner purchased these allotment lands from the Nottoway planning removal (DB28:699), and thereby retained allotted land, but enlarged his personal property (C1850-1860 Petersburg, VA; DB28:44, 357-358; Woodard 2013:258-259).

The matrilineal component of the Nottoway community requested allotments near the time of their adulthood, and of those that did not sell, they kept their personal tracts as individual property owners. Judging by the household composition and residence of allottees following the transactions, the funds from some land sales were reinvested in multi-generational, matrilineal, sibling-set farmsteads (C1850-1870; D28:306, 339).

The tribe again sued their Trustees in 1849-1852, in an attempt to recover missing funds and unpaid rents and annuities. The Chancery Court case was complicated by the death of former Trustees, but the Nottoway were eventually able to recover some of the funds, pursue new allotments, and request the appointments of new Trustees (CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al., 1849-1852; CO1832-1858:260-261; 273). No further proceedings against the former Trustees emerged before the Civil War. Based on a careful review of the documentary re-

cord, it is obvious the new Nottoway Trustees and their legal representatives were more careful and transparent with recordkeeping than previous generations. The Nottoway continually resisted Trustee manipulation and paternalism, confronted their protectorates' embezzlement, and actively sought financial control of their real and personal property. A pattern of struggle, resistance, accommodation, and acceptance is revealed through decades of legislative and judicial proceedings. Following the Trustee court case, matrilineage segments consolidated their holdings more fully in small family farms. With the infusion of capital, more active participation in labor sharing, cash crop production, and individual farm development, Indian Town showed signs of prosperity during the decade before the Civil War.

THE MILLIE WOODSON-TURNER ALLOTMENT AND FARMSTEAD, CIRCA 1850-1860

Born c.1831, Millie Woodson-Turner was one of the few residents of Indian Town whose parents were both of matrilineal Nottoway descent. Her mother called for her first allotment of Indian land in 1837, and received additional shares in 1840. During that time one of the Turner men was the subject of an important court case during the late 1830s, in which the Attorney General of Virginia confirmed the Nottoway's tributary status. From the records of that case, Parsons Turner's matrilineal descent was confirmed, but also some level of African ancestry, as he was described as "having one fourth or more negroe blood." To clarify this apparent legal conflict, the Attorney General ruled:

"to the case of [a] member of any of the tribes of tributary Indians although such member may be in the statutory definition a mulattoe...they are under the full powers of our laws, but it is in the their character of members of a dependent nation of indians that their relation to the government is formed, and not their individual character as mulattoes"

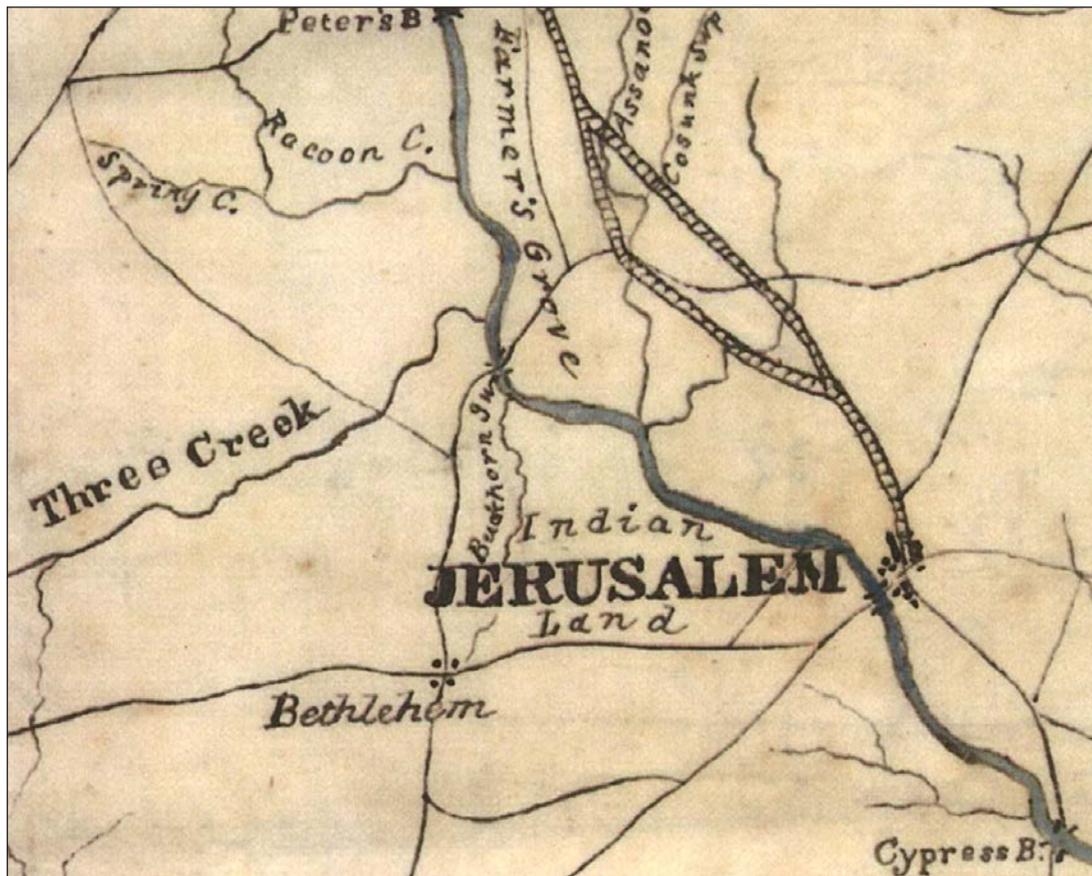
“In their character of members of a dependent tribe of Indians the individuals of the [Nottoway] tribe have all the privileges of Indians. The fact that some of them may also be mulattoes should not deprive them of this privilege. The term mulatooe might by a liberal construction embrace them[.] But as the law should be strictly construed I cannot think that they are properly embraced in it” (Sidney S. Baxter, Attorney General of Virginia, LP Parsons Turner, March 29, 1838).

Thus, the 1838 ruling recognized the Nottoway’s tributary status, as well as confirmed matrilineal descent as a means of identifying members of the tribe. This case, along with the 1824 Bozeman Act, codified Indian rights and resources as linked to matrilineality. Only individuals who “descend from a female of the Nottoway,” could access allotment lands or the financial trust. However, these orders also locked the community into a legal framework that would not allow flexibility in the reckoning of tribal resources. From 1824 onward, Virginia law, not Iroquoian cultural practice, dictated access to the Nottoway estate.

Of the daughters of Winifred Woodson [also known as Winifred Bozeman, sister of William G. Bozeman, the 1824 allotment act petitioner], there are several females in the Nottoway records named “Patsy,” “Polly,” and “Mary.” Whether one and the same, all can be assumed matrilineal Nottoway, as one or two of these named individuals called for allotment land. Winifred, like her brother William, was Nottoway on her mother’s side and had a White father. Winifred’s husband, however, was a non-Nottoway named Burwell Williams, variously described as a “free colored person,” “negro,” or “mulatto.” Thus the children of Burwell Williams and Winifred Woodson-Bozeman were matrilineal Nottoway, but were of African, Native American, and European descent. The use of multiple surnames reflects the conflict of matrilineal descent, patronymic surname use, and legal or common-law married name, depending on the context (Woodard 2013:367-370). During the first half of the nineteenth century, Virginia’s

slave-holding society restricted the legal, social, and economic mobility of African-descended peoples, free or enslaved. Therefore, the Virginia laws and court orders that separated the Nottoway from these constrictions are important to recognize, as they are the source of some Nottoway strategies and behaviors during the antebellum era.

Despite the shifting surname use, Millie Woodson-Turner descended from Winifred Bozeman through one of her daughters and carried the surname “Turner” through a father. Multiple Nottoway allottees carried the Turner surname, including Green Turner, Henry Turner, James Turner, John Turner, Parsons Turner, and William Turner. One of the possible families of Millie Woodson-Turner’s origin was that of Parsons and Mary Turner. Parsons Turner and Mary Woodson raised a family along the main dirt road [modern Rt. 651] that cut through the Indian Town. According to extant documents, the Woodson-Turner farm was along the northern side of the road, in the northwest corner of the remaining Nottoway lands. The allotments Parsons and Mary Turner received [along with all of the above identified “Turners”] were sold in the 1830s and 1840s – and farther away from the Woodson farms – within the middle of the reservation, areas called the Indian Woods and Indian Outlet (Map 4). The children of these allottees, as young adults, requested allotments and shares of the Nottoway trust during the 1850s Southampton court proceedings, a period when the Nottoway exerted significant control over their real and personal estate. Three females, Betsy, Millie, and Rebecca Turner requested Nottoway allotments, 1850-1852, as did their maternal kin [all classificatory siblings in the Iroquoian system] Caroline, Indiana, and Patsy Crocker. Both sibling sets descended through the Woodson-Bozeman matrilineage, their mothers being sisters. Based on the configuration of the allotment surveys and distribution of land, the matrilineage segments were conjoined in small farming; the allotments included the residential compounds of the matri-



Map 4. 1864 Map detail of Southampton County, prominently showing the remaining "Indian Land" west of Jerusalem, later known as Courtland.

lineage (LP Plot of Indians Land 1125 acres, Nov. 18, 1850; Woodard 2013:258, 369).

From these allotments, several Indian-owned family farms emerged adjacent to the undivided reservation lands, all north of Indian Town Road. Millie Woodson-Turner established a cabin on allotment land sometime during the 1850s, adjacent to her mother and matrilineal kin. Next door, were the farms of Millie's nearest relatives: Patsy Woodson and husband Thomas Crocker [mother or Iroquoian classificatory mother], and Martha/Patsy Crocker [sibling or Iroquoian classificatory sister] and husband Alexander Scholar [also known as Alex Stewart]. Farm "cabins" or "cottages" were surrounded by small agricultural fields, which crisscrossed the Indian lands. The neighboring matrilineal farms had outbuildings of barns, corncribs, livestock sheds, smokehouses, and possibly privies, as well as small "dwelling houses,"

which housed "free colored" tenants. Chickens, hogs, cows, mules, and horses served the residents of the farms through labor or sustenance. Completing each compound, ditches and fences outlined the fields and property divisions. House gardens and orchards provided the source for family table fare. Mid-century crop yields and income estimates suggest Nottoway farmers were competitive with their middling planter neighbors, and in some cases cornered market niches in swine, orchard, Indian Corn, and cotton production (C1850, 1860, 1870; Crofts 1997; DB 41:377; Kocher and Dearstyne 1954:108-110; Perdue, Barden and Phillips 1976:139-142; Woodard 2013:209-212, 274, 372, 376).

Indian Town's nearest property-owning neighbors [1850-1860], James and William Gray, and Susan Lamb, were members of the White middling planter class, occupying and developing smallholding farms from previously sold Nottoway lands. Nearby, Charlotte Bryant owned Rose Hill, a pros-

perous Southampton plantation of the county's upper economic tier. The Trustee Blow family formerly owned Rose Hill, being a part of the Nottoway lands leased in the 1770s and sold in the 1790s; it also was the site of the old Indian villages of Warekeck and Ronotough, and thus a relatively short distance up the river from the c.1850-1860 Woodson-Turner farms. The Grays, Lambs, and Bryants were all slaveholders, but also relied on hired laborers and family members to seasonally work the agricultural fields, orchards, and to cull livestock. The Nottoway and their farm neighbors also relied on slave hires during the decades leading up to the Civil War. Slaves were not compensated for their labor. Rather, the owner of the enslaved person was paid for the enslaved laborer's activities, toil, and contribution to production. At times, this arrangement included "shared labor," whereby one owner or free person would contribute labor or collateral in exchange for enslaved labor. Extant records indicate only a few Nottoway owned slaves, but slave hires and labor exchange were common practice. As well, Indian Town residents contributed much of the hired labor to neighboring middling farms and plantations (Woodard 2013:218-223, 302).

Evidence does not suggest Millie Turner owned any enslaved peoples, but her neighboring relative Martha/Patsy Stewart owned one slave near the time of the 1850s allotments. Martha's husband Alexander Scholar-Stewart, with his brothers Jordan and Charles, were among the regularly hired plantation hands. Tax records and census schedules from the era also reveal a fairly stable, but seasonal, rental population of laborers on the Indian Lands. These individuals were categorized as "Free Colored People," and may or may not have been of Nottoway descent, although some, like Alexander Scholar-Stewart, were descendants of Nottoway men (DB26:395; PPTL1807-1820; SCLP1822; Woodard 2013:219, 221, 227, 304, 317-319, 375-377).

Millie Turner established a residence on one of the Nottoway allotment tracts c.1852. During this era, "before the war," oral history suggests a first, but "separate set of children," were born to Millie Turner. The era is difficult to document, but

based on census tabulations, the following children were born to Millie Woodson-Turner during the antebellum era, and all may be reasonably considered born at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead:

Virginia, born c.1853, [also known as Virgi]
 Cordelia / Ophelia, born c.1855, [also known as Candy or Puss]
 Joshua, born c.1857, [also known as Josh]

By the time the war ended, Millie Turner began a relationship with a young man named Morefield Hurst. Listed in the Southampton census as "Free Colored Persons," the Hurst family worked as farm laborers and Morefield's father was a cooper by trade. Cooperage was highly desirable in Southampton, owing to the extensive orchard brandy business that utilized casks for storage and shipping, along with other domestic uses such as barrels, buckets, and firkins. Thus, a skilled tradesman headed the antebellum Hurst family, rather than a general laborer (C1820, 1830, 1840, 1850; Woodard 2013: 311, 319-322).

However, Hurst was a seasonal laborer on other Southampton farms, working as a ditcher, and appears not to have maintained a permanent residence with Millie Turner prior to the Civil War. Millie Turner headed her 1860 household, which included three of her children, and a live-in adult female from the affinal [spousal] Crocker family. During this era, it was not uncommon for young women at Nottoway Town to either head or reside within multigenerational households that included kindred of spouses or lineal kin, but with absentee husbands or fathers of their children. Male residence was dictated by labor and agricultural work on neighboring and surrounding farms, whereby non-propertied males pooled resources and income, contributing partially to Indian Town farms and earning wages at neighboring plantations. Morefield Hurst and Millie Turner had the following children after the end of the Civil War, and all may be reasonably considered born at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead:

Susanna, born c.1865, [also known as Susan]
 Thomas, born c.1867, [also known as Tom]

Indian Town Farms

Antebellum farms at Indian Town had the character of other local smallholders and plantations (Map 5). Mid-century Nottoway agricultural production became geared toward sale and export, whereby subsistence essentials, such as coffee, flour, salt, and sugar, could be purchased from the derived income. The Nottoway sold livestock and agricultural produce, and had long become reliant on the mercantile goods that pervaded most communities of the American South. By the time of the Civil War, Southampton's Indian Town was completely connected by railroad, planked roads, and all manner of county infrastructure to the markets of the Atlantic. In turn, connections to urban centers like Norfolk, Petersburg, Portsmouth, and Richmond became increasingly important. Shipping and export lanes for farm produce, importation of finished goods, and in some cases wage jobs, connected Nottoway farmers to the surrounding economic centers.

In 1853-1855, Southampton cotton cultivators raised money to improve the overland-roadway to Petersburg, including a private bridge over the Assamoosick Swamp, which at its lower extremities emptied into the Nottoway River at Indian Town. Individual subscribers agreed to provide financing "for the benefit of the neighborhood" in "building a bridge across the Asamossock swamp." This contract included twenty-four farmers, two of which were Nottoway-affiliated men. Significantly, the two Indian Town farmers contributed as much or more capital than their White contemporaries, and were the only non-Whites to help fund the construction (Crofts 1992:17; 1997:53-54).

The archaeological record of the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead [see Appendix II and III] supports the interpretation of Nottoway connections to markets and finished-good consumption. Based on the materials recovered during the 2016 survey, manufactured goods completely replaced earlier indigenous forms – in all aspects of life. Multiple forms of mid-nineteenth century ceramics, and window, bottle, and container glass were recovered in substantive quantities. Further archae-

ological research would likely make more of specific domestic features, contexts, and develop tighter chronologies. The existing assemblage suggests a substantive increase in domestic activity and finished good consumption at the Millie Woodson-Turner farm c.1850-1860. Further evidence of connectivity and consumption can be seen through Nottoway household inventories, documented in the Southampton archives. Mid-nineteenth-century Nottoway residents listed "household and kitchen furniture," "2 feather beds and furniture... farming utensils," "2 ploughs," "[an] old waggon," and significant "farm implements and machinery" among the possessions of the allottees (AG1850:421, 433; AG1860:416; DB26:395, 544, 600; DB27:313; WB12:106; Woodard 2013:286-293).

During this era, Nottoway produce for market included cotton, fodder, hay, Indian corn, oats, peas, and potatoes; the collective Indian Town farmsteads had over 300 acres engaged in agriculture in 1860. On average, the antebellum community annually produced 2.3 bales of cotton, 837 bushels of corn, 137 bushels of peas, 38 bushels of Irish potatoes, 167 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 24 tons of hay. Domestic animals at Indian Town, which would be characteristic of the Woodson-Turner farm, included cattle, chickens, hogs, horses, milch cows, mules, and sheep. Some animals were used for farm labor and table fare, but others were raised for market. Similar to the agricultural produce, Nottoway hog ownership 1850-1860 reflected a cash-cropping pattern. Records indicate Nottoway households owned twenty, thirty, forty, and over fifty hogs during a given season. Combined with agnatic [male-descended] Nottoway, affines [spouses], and collateral kin [siblings and siblings' descendants], Indian Town's 1860 passel was enumerated at 134 hogs, those culled valued at \$600 – all compounded on reservation allotment or tribally-owned land. Notably, Nottoway cash-crop swine livestock and husbandry surpassed all neighborhood plantations' production (AG1850:423-424, 433-434, 443-444; AG1860:416-417; Woodard 2013:303, 313-315).

Growing Indian corn was one cropping staple with continuity to the Nottoway past. The

community's relationship to maize growing remained constant through the colonial period and references to nineteenth-century Nottoway agricultural production begin with corn, "The quantity of land occupied by the Tribe is about 144 acres, all high land, the greater part is commonly planted with corn..." (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808). Shucked corn was stored in corncribs while still on the cob; corn intended for human use was shelled before being ground into meal. Thus, Nottoway corn took several forms during the antebellum era. Corn stalks and tops were used as blade fodder for livestock, as was whole corn on the cob, as loose corn kernels for hominy, and as grinding corn for cracked corn, grits, and meal. According to the extant documentary record, fodder production was a constant and increasing Nottoway pursuit. Beyond corn and hay, Indian land and allotments yielded 103 bushels of oats in 1860, more than tabulated for Nottoway farms at any other time. Increased production of fodder and grain coincided with the enlargement of Indian livestock holdings, but also reflected bales, barrels, and bushels for potential markets in Petersburg or Southampton (AG1860:416-417).

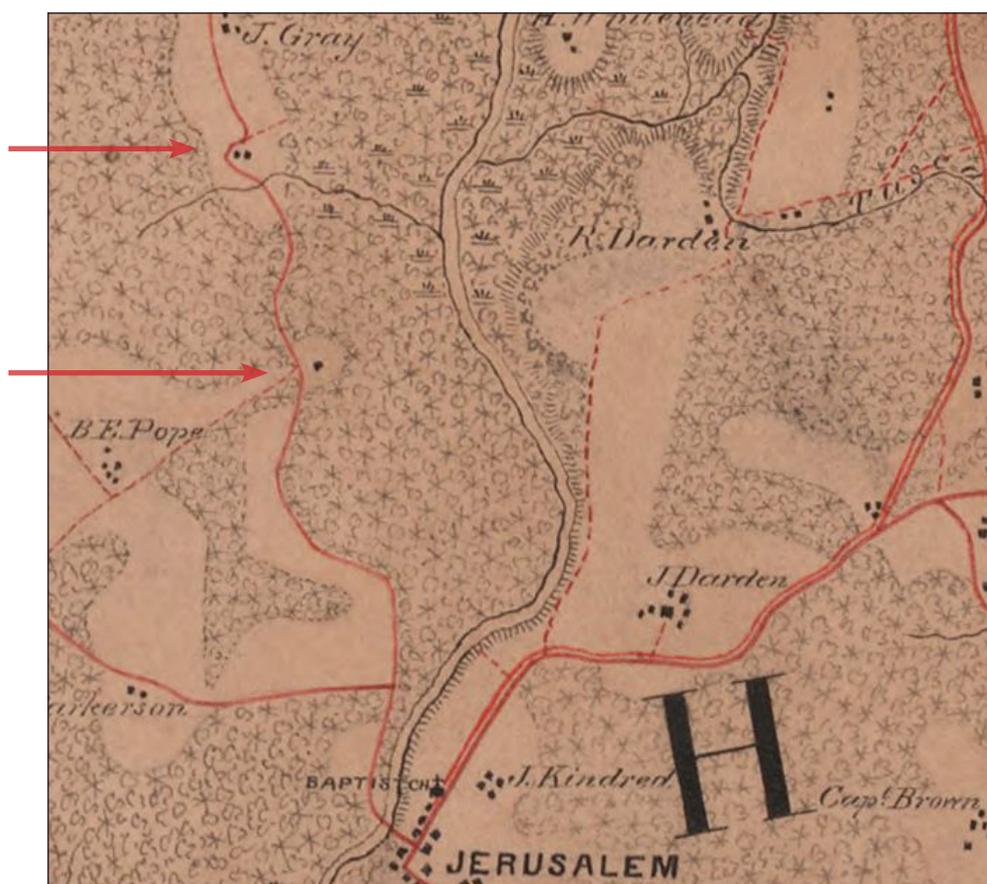
Millie Turner's sib [Iroquoian classificatory sister] Martha Stewart and husband Alexander used their crops, allotment land, and livestock as securities on credit for agricultural pursuits. Adjacent to the Woodson-Turner homestead, the Stewart records provide a window into the specifics of Nottoway farms during the midcentury. One contract inventoried Alexander Stewart's "twenty head of hogs and increase[,] 3 head of cattle & increase... [his] present growing crop of corn[,] fodder[,] peas & potatoes & also five barrels of corn & one thousand pounds of fodder now in hand...". In another transaction, Stewart used "one fourth of [his] crop of corn[,] fodder and peas now growing on [his] wife's land" and one-third of another tract's "crop of corn[,] fodder & peas..." to settle existing debt – some of which was owed to another Nottoway. The court provided the forum to secure the credit and schedule an auction to "sell the...crop of corn fodder and peas to the highest bidder for cash" (DB26:396; DB27:430).

Cash cropping for the demands of the market diversified the Nottoway's agricultural-economy, and shaped the routines and choices of Indian Town's farmers. Based on the evidence, one may argue the conjoined Nottoway farms were beginning to show levels of prosperity during the years prior to the Civil War. Allotment lands, such as that of Millie Turner and her sibs [Iroquoian classificatory siblings], were retained and developed into income-producing agricultural ventures. A careful reading of Southampton's deed books and court records suggests cycles of debt and repayment were part and parcel of the antebellum political economy. As property owners, the Nottoway replicated the farming operations of their neighbors, including financial liens and farm loans, and more intensely participated in the cash-crop economy of the region. At the beginning of the 1860s, Indian Town had lost a substantial amount of their reservation, yet the tribe retained nearly 725 acres of communal land and a small financial trust. Like the Millie Woodson-Turner homestead, there were hundreds of acres in individual Nottoway allotments adjacent to the tribal lands.

THE MILLIE WOODSON-TURNER FARMSTEAD, CIRCA 1860-1900

The Civil War

The brief ten-year period of Nottoway economic stability and increase was destroyed as a result of the 1861-1865 Civil War. (Map 6). Like Southamptoners of all socio-economic classes, "they were just struck down, as was everybody else, by the war...there was deep deprivation and poverty" (Friddell 1978:2, 6). With emancipation and the influx of thousands of freed slaves into the labor market, the Nottoway allottees struggled to resituate themselves as competitive wage-laborers and small-holding property owners. Indian "certification" no longer carried the same social and political status as during pre-Civil War times, only an attachment to undivided tribal property. During Reconstruction, the last Nottoway allotments were made, as Indian Town families attempted to recover from economic



Map 6. 1862 Gilmer Map of Southampton County (detail). Two unnamed Indian Town farms are identified by the arrows; the upper one is the Millie Woodson-Turner family compound

diminishment, boost farm income, and socially distinguish themselves as individuals within the South's transforming society.

While no significant Civil War battles were fought in Southampton, the loss of county resources in support of the war effort was significant. Confederate requisitions drained away White and Black labor for military service, and appropriated much of the county's productive agriculture and animal husbandry. One period observer noted Southampton's "center of civilization, refinement & wealth" had been rendered "poor and desolate" by 1862. Food shortages became a severe problem across the county as Robert E. Lee's Southern army claimed all farm produce "except for those that were actually necessary for the sustenance of life" (Crofts 1992:201-203). The county court empowered magistrates to consolidate existing private property and stock, in order to redistribute stores to families that had little

or no food, including the farms in and around Indian Town. Children of Nottoway reservation allottees, who lived through the conflict, recalled, "when the soldiers came" through the "fields" along the Nottoway River. Countywide loss of property and provisions were substantial among all segments of Southampton society (Friddell 1978:2, 6; Parramore 1978:157-177). Descendants of Nottoway reservation households recalled their elders "talked of the old days, when life was hard following the Civil War" and that Indian Town residents "got along... without much." Susanna Turner, daughter of allottee Millie Woodson-Turner reportedly stated, "we lived off the land" but "supplies were very short" (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

The war had multiple and long-lasting economic impacts on the Nottoway. Wages dropped as property owners attempted to bargain with freed slaves for annual pay, share crop tenancy, and oth-

er sustenance in exchange for labor. Northern-installed political officials oversaw the county's administration, including the Freedmen's Bureau who assisted the regulation of former slaves' contracts with property owners. Smallholding and plantation assets, whether tied up in Confederate currency, bonds, or slaves, were wiped out. Land values stagnated or depreciated and many creditors were unable to recover extended credit lines or extensive debt. The default of many loans dried up local sources of capital. The war's economic devastation required Nottoway farmers to leverage much personal property in order to maintain existing agricultural operations (CC Bozeman vs. Lanier Bros., 1869; Crofts 1992:221-223; DB30:408).

Reconstruction

Of the records from Southampton's Reconstruction labor contracts, no Nottoway appear, suggesting they maintained a level of separation from the property-less Whites and Blacks, as well as semi-independence from the plantation owners. A Nottoway affine [spousal] family, however, did maintain an 1866-1867 contract with nearby Rose Hill. Described as a "mulatto" and born a free man, Thomas Hill worked the land at Rose Hill during and after the Civil War, and had a wife among the enslaved workforce. Rather than accepting supplies for labor payments, as did most former-slaves following the war, Hill received \$90 per year in wages. So too, by 1869 Nottoway headman Edwin Turner had rented some of his arable allotment land to James T. Hill, a White tenant farmer. Turner, Martha Stewart, and Patsy Crocker's allotment farms all returned figures for agricultural production in 1870, indicating some level of recovery among the allottee families. One may argue that the Nottoway farms had weathered the Civil War, and were successfully navigating Reconstruction. The community members appear to have utilized the court system, personal property collateral, and financial relationships with middling and upper class Whites to fund and stabilize their farms. During a period where White vigilantes were terrorizing Southampton freedmen, the Ku Klux Klan organized and demonstrated in the county, and former slaves were

attacked and driven from their homes, it is notable that the Nottoway appear to not have been targets of the pervading radicalism. Possibly there was an attempt to distinguish themselves as a particular kind of people, or that others identified them as a separate "Colored" class from the recently enslaved. For the first time in the Southampton County census returns, the majority of Nottoway allottees, and their children, were identified as Indians in 1870 (AG1870:1-2; C1870; Crofts 1992:261; FB Register of Contracts 1866-1867, Jerusalem, Southampton County, Labor Contracts, Indenture and Apprenticeship Records, 1865-1872).

The Nottoway continued to build alliances with the segment of Black Southampton that were free before the war, as well as Black individuals of distinction, such as Reconstruction officials, Black politicians, and Baptist preachers from newly organized Black churches. The Freedmen's Bureau saw an opportunity at Indian Town for Virginia's Reconstruction education initiative, although a lack of funding and prejudice were seen as barriers to progress in Southampton. The Freedmen's Bureau schools were not well received by Whites in the local counties, to the extent of arson and violence against adult students and teachers. Southampton Bureau agent Mortimer Moulden reported from Jerusalem in 1868 a county of resource shortfalls, extreme prejudice and violence, and a great resistance from White residents to Union occupation and Reconstruction. Moulden stated that there was significant interest among the "Colored People" in creating day schools, but much difficulty in getting support and keeping the fledgling schools open. Beyond funding, the most challenging obstacle for Moulden was "a large class of people, designated 'poor whites' who are ignorant and superstitious, and are hostile to the education of the colored people, perhaps fearing they may outstrip them in the race of life." Nonetheless, besides other schools at Black Creek, Franklin, Zion, and Nottoway Station, Moulden was hopeful of "getting a school in the 'Indian Woods'." By March of 1869, "a school [was] started at the 'Indian School House'" (FB Reports and Records, 1866-1868 [Field Office Records, Jerusalem]).

A philanthropic organization, the New York Friends, offered charity to fund several Virginia schools, including ones in neighboring Southside counties and Richmond. Situated on Indian allotment lands, the “Turner’s Hill School” was adjacent to the Millie Woodson-Turner farm, on the precipice sometimes called “Clay Hill” or “Red Hill” in county records. Nottoway headman Edwin Turner was listed as owning the building that housed the school. The school’s teacher was Harriet A. Gregory, daughter of the Black politician and preacher Joseph Gregory – a leader of Southampton’s Reconstruction era Republican Party – and candidate for the House of Delegates in 1869 (Crofts 1992:246; DB41:377; FB Education Records Roll 15, Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia [Southampton]; Paramore 1978:189).

Harriet A. Gregory reported in April of 1869 that she had thirty-two students in attendance, six over the age of sixteen, and seven who were advanced readers. Twenty-eight pupils could “spell, and read easy lessons,” and a few students were engaged in arithmetic, geography, and writing. The Gregory reports indicate that the Freedmen’s Bureau and New York Friends jointly funded the Indian Town school, but that funding was irregular, rent was not always paid, and transportation not supported. After the first months of the school’s opening, Gregory stated that “my scholars ar[e] doing as well as eny one could expect them to do.” The Bureau provided Gregory’s board; she received about \$8 per month. Nottoway headman Edwin Turner received \$10 per month as the rental fee from the New York Friends. By October, Gregory reported that the county sentiment toward the “Turner Hill School” was “Favorable indeed” and that “our school is getting along very well & prosperous.” Amanda S. Montier transferred to Turner Hill in the fall of 1869 and continued as the instructor in 1870 (FB Field Office Records [Jerusalem]; FB Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia [Southampton]).

The number of Nottoway allottee children that consistently attended the school is not known. Gregory and Montier’s enrollment fluctuat-

ed throughout the year, and attendance waxed and waned with the crop cycles. The numbers of enrolled students hovered on average at forty, but only about thirty regularly attended. In the lull between crop ripening and harvest, enrollment increased to sixty with fifty-two consistently counted present; when the cotton was ready in October and November, attendance of the children dropped by half. Of the children that attended the Indian Town school, fewer than twenty were “Free before the War” and only about a dozen of these pupils regularly attended. The regular scholars correspond to the number of Nottoway allottee children in the 1870 Indian households, nearly all of whom, including adults in their twenties, were notated in the county census as “attended school within the year.” In contrast, not all of the neighboring White or Black children were recorded as having recently attended school. Millie Turner and Morefield Hurst sent their children to the Turner Hill School, which was within literal sight of the family’s farmstead (C1870; FB Field Office Records [Jerusalem]; FB Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia [Southampton]).

Millie Turner and Morefield Hurst maintained their “little farm...up on the road” during the Reconstruction era, with a growing household. Morefield worked the property as well as continued ditching and “grubbing the land for White folks.” Among the marketable crops, they “raised apples and peaches...and had two to three tenants” working small tracts. Morefield carried the garden produce and the larger staple crops to market in Courtland (Patricia Phillips MS 1977). The Hurst couple had the following children during the Reconstruction period:

Josephine, born c.1868
 William P., born c.1870
 George, born c.1871
 Ben, born c.1874

All of the children can be reasonably presumed born at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead, owing to the consistency of census residence, land surveys, and deeds that identify Millie Turner as remaining on one of the Nottoway allotments.

The family was neighbored on Indian Town Road by Millie's collateral Nottoway kin [Iroquoian sibilings] and their spouses: the surnamed families of Artis, Barrett, Britt, Claud, Crocker, Lewis, Stewart [or Scholar], Turner, Wiggins, and Williams were among the Nottoway and affinal [kin of spouse] households in the Indian Woods c.1880. Two children of Martha and Alex Scholar-Stewart applied for allotments during the early 1870s, further privatizing the reservation lands north of the Millie Woodson-Turner tract against the Nottoway River, and leaving approximately 600 acres of undivided Indian tribal land adjacent to the allottee farms (Map 5). Headman Edwin Turner was deceased by 1877, and his seven children moved to divide the remaining reservation land amongst themselves in 1878. Notably, significant numbers of matrilineal Nottoway descendants remained [such as those of Millie Turner], but neither future allotment petitions nor recognition of their interests were discussed in the extant Southampton records. By the early 1880s the final remains of the Nottoway Indian Tribe's reservation were divided amongst the children of deceased headman Edwin D. Turner. Thus, the period of Nottoway allotment ended [1824-1881], and the remnant community entered into a post-reservation era of privatized allotment tracts [1881-1953].

Post-Reconstruction Nottoway Families

Near the time of the Turner division of tribal assets, one of Millie Woodson-Turner's daughters, Susanna Turner, also known as Susanna Hurst, became involved with a local man who had ties to the labor community at Rose Hill. James Thompson Claud was raised by the "free issue" Tom Hill, his mother being Hill's common law wife Sarah Claud, a former slave on the nearby plantation. The term "free issue" was used prior to the Civil War to identify individuals born free, or who were manumitted, and issued papers confirming their freedom. Descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner recalled Tom Hill continued to identify himself as a "free issue," decades after the Civil War. The descendants suggested it was a mark of distinction, for which Hill was proud to claim, many years beyond Reconstruction. James Thompson Claud's biological father was a White man,

Dr. E.C. Barrett; Claud had a half-brother through E.C. Barrett, named Charlie Barrett, who also married a matrilineal Nottoway, Annie Wiggins. Susanna Turner-Hurst and James Thompson Claud began a family at this time, and like Morefield Hurst, Claud remained a non-resident of the Woodson-Turner allotment household, laboring on nearby agricultural properties for White planters. James Thompson Claud was married to Susanna Turner "in the year of 1880 August the 18 at seven o'clock at night," and their first child, Nannie Turner-Claud, was born to the couple in October of 1880 (Claud Bible, 1880-1904; Woodard Field Notes).

James Thompson Claud was engaged in the community and was close to his sisters, fathered by Thomas Hill. Along with his half-brother, one of the sisters [Adeline Hill] also married a Nottoway allottee descendant [John H. Williams]. Thus, one can see an emerging, continuing, and progressive Nottoway relationship with free Black and formerly enslaved individuals during the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras – relationships framed by aspects of social difference and similarity. Claud was "half White," and his descendants recalled that he was "a very proud man, who stayed dressed up," and thought of himself "as better" than some people; that he was a "particular" father and "ran the other children off of the [allotment] property" as a "protective measure...he did not want his children to mingle" with other "certain children." Claud was known as educated, a preacher, and to visit multiple Baptist Churches in the vicinity of Jerusalem, later known as Courtland. His descendants described him as a "short [man] with a mustache, coal black hair, and rosy light skin" (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

James Thompson Claud became more and more a part of the 1880-1890 Indian Town agricultural cycle, and eventually a permanent resident. He appeared in the 1880 agricultural census working fifty acres for a share of the produce, possibly in association with Rose Hill. Neighborhood allottee families with farm production, such as James Artis, William Artis, John K. Britt, James Robert Crocker, Martha Stewart, Edwin D. Turner Jr., and John B. Williams

all owned their land, or were spouses of allottees (AG1880:24-26).

Private property as collateral, farm ownership, and a small tract of tribal land continued to distinguish Nottoway Town residents from Southampton's property-less masses, but social divisions with other non-Whites became increasingly blurred. Competition among landless White and "Colored" laborers increased. The social divisions between peoples "free" before the Civil War and those recently emancipated underwent realignment during Reconstruction. The significant identification of the Millie Woodson-Turner household and other Nottoway allottees as "Indian" in the 1870 Census was not repeated in the 1880 Census, indicating that for a brief time following emancipation, county officials distinguished Nottoway individuals from others with African ancestry. The separation of Nottoway peoples from the wider Southampton Black community, however, would dissipate with the allotment of the final tracts of tribally held lands in the 1870s and 1880s. Additional forms of "otherness" would come to replace a strictly "Indian" notion of peoplehood; moral character, church membership, civic leadership, deportment, economic success, education, and property ownership would all play important roles in defining who were socially-related peoples (C1870-1880; Crofts 1992:218-234; Rountree 1987:211-212; Woodard 2013:334-335; Woodard Field Notes).

The foregoing discussion indicates that aspects of the dominant society's racialized stratification and social restrictions placed upon Southampton County peoples were observed and incorporated at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead. While not exclusive of a particular race, owing to the complexity of the biological origins of the family, the Woodson-Turner choices made in marriage-mate selection, social distinctions, and the "particular" practices of family members suggest forms of social segregation based on class distinctions. The choices individuals made were not unique to the Millie Woodson-Turner family, but their preferences and actions speak to a wider phenomenon of social stratification, both in class and racial cleaves of late nineteenth-century Southampton.

Post-Reconstruction Nottoway Finances

As the post-war economy slowly recovered, individual allottees continued to use their personal property for extensions of credit and long-term loans, entering some Nottoway households into a cyclical credit dependency with their White neighbors. The Southampton records of the 1880s and 1890s indicate allotment lands were leveraged as security on debts, sold, and repurchased multiple times (Rountree 1987:212). Following the 1878-1881 division of the last tracts of the Nottoway tribal estate, cooperation among allottee households for labor and material resources became paramount. In an 1883 example, Indian Town men [mostly Nottoway males and their brother-in-law] James Thompson Claud, John K. Britt, James Robert Crocker, William Artis, Augustus Wiggins, and Thomas Hill collaborated on the sale of a \$100 "grey mare." The expensive mare was likely raised stock for horseracing, a well-known Southampton activity of the nineteenth century (DB37:190-191). The economic collaboration of these related men suggests an increasing importance of male labor and resource pooling among Indian Town residents, despite the matrilineal organization of households and property ownership.

The period's finances of "credit" and "trust" collateral can be seen in the records of Millie Woodson-Turner and the neighboring allotment farms. In 1875 Millie "Bozeman alias Turner," used one tract [70 acres] and another allotment she controlled [48 acres] as security on a loan from land speculator Robert S. Pope (DB 37:517). Millie Turner repaid her 1875 loan from R.S. Pope in March of 1884, and in turn the same day leveraged two allotments in trust with William B. Shands for a long-term loan from E.J. Gardner, a White farmer and grocer. Familiar with the Nottoway, Shands had acted as the lawyer who facilitated the final allotment disbursements to the children of Edwin D. Turner and their spouses. During the same spring as Millie Turner's loan, in May of 1884 Martha Stewart also entered into a loan with Ezra J. Gardner. Instead of using her allotment as collateral, Stewart utilized a future crop, planted with the assistance

of Hugh Darden, husband of her first cousin [Iroquoian classificatory sibling] Emma Wiggins. For an advance of \$150 and “fertilizer and provisions,” Stewart and Darden made a lien on “all the crops of cotton, corn, field peas, fodder, potatoes, and other crops growing on the land of Martha Stewart for the year 1884.” The parties were to “deliver the said crops...in good merchantable order to...Ezra J. Gardner at his store in Jerusalem” (DB37:619). However, Stewart still owed Gardner \$74.25 by the end of the season, and she was forced to use her personal property as security on another loan to repay the debt. As trustee, William B. Shands agreed to clear Stewart’s debt, in exchange for the rights to two allotment “tracts lying in the Indian Woods,” as well as “one yearling steer, two sows & three pigs & three shoats [and] all her growing crops of cotton, corn & field peas” (DB38:404). By 1890 the Scholar-Stewart family had lost both tracts of land [combined about 100 acres] to unpaid debt. As well, one of the allotments [48 acres] Millie Turner used as collateral in 1875 and 1884 was lost due to “taxes” by 1889, although Turner’s second loan was paid in full by January of 1903 (DB37:517-518; DB41:377; DB43:324).

*The Nottoway Reservation Descendant Community:
Changing Designations*

Southampton residents’ social perspectives about the Nottoway during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries vacillated between recognizing some of them as “Indians” of the “Nottoway Tribe,” and grouping them collectively under the “colored” category as “negroes.” Others recognized the community as “mixed bloods – none pure...in the vicinity of Jerusalem, belonging to the Nottoway tribe.” Emic descriptions of the Indian Town kindred, provided by Millie Turner’s elderly grandchildren during the 1970s, offers a window into the complexity of the community’s appearance and biological roots. Turner was described as having “long hair down to her waist,” as “a stout, brown skinned woman,” but also as “a full blooded-Indian with red skin.” Her daughter Susanna Turner Claud was remembered as a small-framed woman, “light skinned,” or “brown

skinned with pretty long hair and tall,” “a long thin face, with a big nose, high cheekbones and little legs.” Long hair with a “grey streak” marked her older years (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Outside of Southampton, there was a growing academic interest in the study of American Indian culture, driven in part by the rise of anthropology as a scholarly discipline, and the emergence of American museums. The end of the nineteenth-century Great Plains Indian wars also fueled this interest, as scholars mobilized to study the cultures of “the vanishing Indian race,” then confined to western reservations. Researchers, many of whom were located in eastern urban centers, were further concerned with the “salvage” of culture from American Indian tribes long marginalized by the previous centuries of culture contact. In 1889, the Smithsonian Institution’s Bureau of American Ethnology [BAE] circulated research flyers throughout Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia in search of multiple Indian tribal remnants, archaeological sites, Indian place names, and names of people identified as Indian in each of the states’ counties.

According to the flyer responses, the Nottoway were recognized by Carolina and Virginia residents, as well as were a number of Iroquoian place names. BAE researcher James Mooney handwrote an additional query on the Southampton circulars, “Any Nottoways speaking any of the language?” The responses indicated “no,” the “Indian language lost,” but multiple people recognized the Nottoway families of “Edwin Turner,” “John Williams,” “Robert Joyner,” the location of the old “reservation,” and that “the Nottoways...village or town... some three miles west of Jerusalem now known as Courtland.” However, those individuals “of mixed Indian blood,” who “belong to the Nottoway tribe,” were also described as “very few in the county.” It is noteworthy that county residents only identified males affiliated with Indian Town, thus overlooking the matrilineal organization of linked Nottoway farms, such as that

of Millie Woodson-Turner. Most respondents referred the BAE to the tribe's former lawyer, William B. Shands, who had facilitated the last distributions of land in 1878-1881, and acted as the trustee for Millie Turner and Martha Stewart's loans several years before. Shands reported to Mooney:

“some few years since under the law I obtained a decree of the court dividing the residue of the tribal lands among those indians who still had an interest in them[.] I think there was some ten of them who received shares[.] And you may say this was an end of the Nottoways as a tribe” (William B. Shands to James Mooney, June 30, 1889 in Mooney MS 2190).

While Shands personally knew Nottoway allottees, recognized the legal rights of the community, and their specific descent from the historical Nottoway, he disparaged the tribes of “Eastern Virginia” “now extinct, having intermarried with negroes until there are no pure bloods left.” Shands thus identified his Nottoway acquaintances as “negroes and very poor” (CC Edwin D. Turner et al. v. William Turner et al., 1881-1885; Mooney MS 2190).

Shands' race-based view pervaded most outside observations of Nottoway descendants during the next century. However, other reports indicate the community's Nottoway affiliation was recognized, as evidenced by the 1889 BAE circular responses. In another example the following year, the July 28th edition of the *Alexandria Gazette* offered “Virginia News,” in which it stated “John Williams, the eldest of the remaining Nottoway tribe of Indians, was at court at Boykins last week. He is seventy-four years old, hale and hearty and works on his farm every day.” The *Gazette* notice was a rare public statement from the 1890s; official Southampton records pertaining to the Nottoway eventually tapered off during the twentieth century. Those identifying documents usually appeared in relationship to further land divisions of allotments, deeds of sale for timber or privatized land, tax liens and delinquencies on allotments, and inheritance cases. Record-

ed references included the “Indian Woods,” the “Indian Road,” “the Nottoway Tribe of Indians,” and “Indian Town,” but rarely were twentieth-century individuals described as “Nottoway” or “Indian” in official Southampton documents (Chancery OB14:331; DB104:251; Trust DB8:117; Woodard 2013:336-338).

However, the personal stories of Southampton residents were less restrictive in social conversations, and easily accessed upon inquiry. Multiple contemporary sources referenced the Nottoway descendants of Southampton County living along Indian Town Road [Rt. 651] during the twentieth century (Binford 1964; Boyce 1978; Calvin Beale pers. comm. 2006; Commonwealth of Virginia 1983; Gilbert 1946; Painter 1961; Parramore [1978] 1992; Speck n.d.; Stanard 1925, 1928; Rountree 1969-1973, 1973, 1979).

Among those personal recollections was the “small farm” of Millie Woodson-Turner and “Suzanna T.[urner] Claude;” that the “Turner family still lives on this road [Rt. 651] and the Claude family is very large.” Others were “scattered all over the county” but the “reservation which they occupied” was clearly known to residents, “Our road got its name from what it implies – Indian Town Road. The Indian town and settlements were located here” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977).

THE MILLIE WOODSON-TURNER FARMSTEAD, CIRCA 1900-1949

By 1900, James Thompson Claud and Susanna Turner Claud had taken over the farm of her parents, and lived alongside the other remaining adult children of Nottoway allottees. The couple worked the arable land in cotton, peanuts, and other crops for market and table fare, as well as rented some of the property to tenants. Millie Turner and Morefield Hurst, then in their 60s, appear to have taken up residence in one of the adjacent dwelling houses on the allotment lands. Millie was listed in the 1900 census as the owner of the structure, while Morefield was classified as “a lodger.” Based on the order of

the census households and other records, the Claud occupation of the farm “in the bend” of Indian Town Road is certain, but the location of Millie and Morefield’s second home is less clear. Millie Turner’s previous use of an adjacent allotment of forty-eight acres is suggestive of the locale, as this was the site of several tenant structures (Map 7). James Thompson Claud repurchased three allotment tracts of nearly 200 acres in 1903, lost for debt by Nottoway descendants during the 1890s. The parcels were contiguous to the Millie Woodson-Turner allotment. Combined, at the beginning of the twentieth century the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead, which encompassed the James and Susanna Turner Claud farm, equaled approximately 350 acres, all from Nottoway allotment lands. The farm included the lands previously allotted to Caroline Bozeman [41 acres, 1851], Indiana Bozeman [50 acres, 1853], Patsy Bozeman [48 acres, 1851], Millie Woodson [64 acres, 1853], Lamb Bozeman [71 acres, 1868], and Lydia Bozeman [75 acres, 1871] (Map 5, detail).

As Susanna Turner was a resident of her mother’s farm through the 1880s, the Claud family’s growth appears to have occurred in that locale, with Susanna’s parents Millie Turner and Morefield Hurst relocating to a neighboring dwelling to accommodate the increasing household, the seniors’ advancing age, or some other domestic reason. William P. Turner, Susanna’s brother, eventually incorporated their parents into his home, which was also adjacent as a tenant structure on an old allotment off the “Indian Road” (C1900-1910). James Thompson and Susanna Turner Claud had ten of sixteen children live into adulthood, born during the 1880-1900s:

Nannie, born Oct. 1880
 Mattie, born Oct. 1882
 Sarah, born May 1885, [also known as Lovey]
 Lila, born Sept. 1886, [also known as Tiguel]
 Arthur, born c.1888, [also known as King Arthur or Boss]
 Addie, born Dec. 1891
 Virgie, born Dec. 1895
 Lilly, born Dec. 1897
 Joshua, born Nov. 1899, [also known as Josh]
 Alice Rosetta, born c.1904, [also known as Ett]

The Claud Farm

The Millie Woodson-Turner homestead became known as the “Claud Farm,” however it retained much of its nineteenth-century character during the first decades of the twentieth century. The family continued to rent land, borrow money against property, and “made their living through farming.” Susanna “worked in the fields picking cotton, working hogs [and] planting in the fields.” Now as the “matriarch of the family” Susanna Turner Claud was called “Big Grandma” by the lower generations, from which she organized labor through her immediate family and extended kin networks; they “worked in the fields and picked cotton and tended hogs” among other farm and family activities (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes). As recalled by the children of Susanna Turner:

“The house garden contained corn, bush beans, tomatoes, potatoes, and cucumbers. Corn was dried for feed, eaten fresh, and dried for meal...potatoes were stored in a root cellar for the winter, surrounded by straw...cornhusks were used for bedding in mattresses.”

“The hog pen was away from the house. The pen near the house was for a sow with new piglets. Ma [Susanna] would feed them scraps from the kitchen, ‘slop the hogs,’ [she would say]; she would stand on the bottom rung of the pen fence and toss the bucket of scraps over.”

“Chickens were free-roam, as were the ducks and geese – all in the yard of Ma’s [Susanna’s] house.”

Susanna Turner Claud’s descendants also described domestic pig and cow butchering, game hunting, and smokehouse cuts, “side meat, shoulder and sausage.” Hunting and fishing supplemented all meat offered from the farm; freshwater fish from the Nottoway River and opossums were regular additions to the table fare. Whalen Nickens, husband of Nannie Claud, along with Susanna’s son Joshua



Map 7. 1919 USGS Topographical Map, Boykins District (detail). Beginning in the bottom right corner, Indian Town Road runs through the middle of the map. The Millie Woodson-Turner / Susanna Turner Claud farm and associated structures are visible in the "bend in the road."

Claud, would “share meat, [and] help in butchering and scaling fish.” Susanna was close to her brother’s [William P. Turner] wife Romine Turner; the family called her “Miss Romine.” The two women would go fishing together on the Nottoway River, in the vicinity of where nineteenth-century records documented the Nottoway “fishing seine.” Other farmstead recollections from Susanna’s descendants included “a big iron pot to render fat, to fry meat in boiling grease,” and another “for laundry.” Susanna’s farm “had apple trees and pear trees,” and a “favorite dish was apple turnovers,” “dough rolled out with apples placed in and folded over and fried.” These treats, as well as common “cornbread,” could also be “baked” in a Dutch oven, or cooked as “Johnny-cakes,” as there was “no stove” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Others recalled “water was retrieved from a freshwater spring bubbling out of the ground near the river. It was very clean and good water. Someone’s job was to haul that water every day.” Outbuild-

ings at Susanna Turner Claud’s farm included “covers for the pigs and chickens” and “a shed for the cows,” a “two-seater out house,” where “newspapers were toilet paper.” A repeated comment of Susanna’s descendants concerned the crops and burden animals of the farmstead, “there was a mule or horse for working the fields...[the family] grew peanuts and cotton as a cash crop.” On “a bright day,” relatives remembered, Susanna would “hitch-up her wagon to go to Church” or “hitch her wagon to go to Courtland to sell cakes, pies, and chickens.” Susanna wore a “large outdated bonnet to protect her from the sun.” She hitched “two cows to a wagon to drive herself to church” and she “smoked a pipe” along the way. Church was an important part of the post-reservation Nottoway community, owing to the social restrictions of the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras. James Thompson Claud “went to school to take up preaching,” and had regular attendance and preaching at Shiloh Baptist Church, a few miles south of Indian Town Road; Claud baptized his children at this church. The family also had an affiliation with nearby

Bryant's Baptist Church, organized in 1874 (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna's great grandson Alfred O. Whittaker, who claims to have repeatedly visited the property during the 1930-1940s, recounted the Susanna Turner Claud farm. Whittaker's keen memory, described in field notes, remembered the homestead as such:

Property Description

"Susanna's house – 'round logs, notched out' – a log cabin. [The] interior was 'covered with newspapers,' 'shellacked like wallpaper.' The exterior was 'whitewashed' and 'the roof was tin.' When it rained, 'buckets were positioned to catch the water' that came 'through the roof.' The floor was hard-packed dirt, 'which was pleasing to the children from the city who wore no shoes!' [There was] 'no running water or sewage... there was a bedpan for the night or a bucket.' The entrance most often used was 'in the back the house, to the left.' A small covered stoop served as a porch. A bell hung nearby for 'calling people out of the field or in for dinner.' A block of wood was used as a step in to the house. The front entrance was used 'for company.' The rear door entered into the kitchen where shelves were lined with plates, tin cups, mason jars, canned foods, and other supplies. The 'sink was a zinc box...water ran out the bottom' to a pan or bucket. Water was brought in from the well or the natural spring. 'Kerosene lanterns' lit the interior at night. Water barrels were placed 'off the corners of the house to catch rainwater.' 'Monday was washday...a big kettle was used to boil wash water,' others were used 'for soap,' etc. Inside, 'a brick chimney with a big fireplace' served as both the 'heat and stove' for the house, 'Freeze in the back and burn on the front,' was a common saying in the house. There was 'always a kettle cooking and a fire smoldering.' A table in the kitchen was 'used by the grown ups to

eat, then the children...it sat about six, with chairs.' Brooms 'were made from sedge in the fields...wheat-like grass tied with a string, used to sweep the dirt floor.' 'Hooks' for the fireplace and cast iron 'were the only cooking space;' the 'kitchen table doubled for counter space.' There were 'cloth partitions' to divide a mostly 'one-story, one-room house.' There were 'two windows on either side of the front door, maybe screened, but no glass, with shutters for when storms blew up.' 'Benches and crates were used as furniture around the fireplace.' 'Straw and cornhusks' filled cloth sacks for bedding. Small platforms or 'palettes made of wood sat on the floor' to give the bedding 'height off the dirt floor.' 'Men slept in one part of the bedding area, women in another, with partitions'" (Woodard Field Notes).

Aside from contemporary descriptions c.1900-1949, Susanna's descendants remembered stories about the old days, when the reservation lands were still intact and allotments petitions were mid-stride. For instance, one descendant recalled Susanna discussing conditions during Reconstruction, "when life was very hard for the family." The oral history of that period recounted when the "family lived off of the land and supplies were short," told by Susanna as "living like animals, without much." A difficult time was recollected, when food was served in common wooden trenchers, described "as troughs like the animals." However, the later era was more prosperous and stable, particularly during the twentieth century when the children of Susanna Turner and James Thompson Claud moved to urban centers, and traveled between the urban and rural homes. Most family members tried to put the difficult times behind them, telling "Big Grandma" to "hush about that" and "Oh momma, no one wants to hear about that." However, it is clear that the difficulties of Reconstruction continued in varying forms into the twentieth century, whether through memories, social constructs of the "new order of things," or the legal arrangements made during that time (Crofts 1992:218-234; Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Another topic, alcohol production and consumption, reoccurs in the historiography of Southampton County (i.e. Crofts 1992; Parramore [1978] 1992) and the oral history of the Woodson-Turner descendants. Southampton County was well known during the nineteenth century for its particular apple and peach brandies, referred to locally as “Apple Jack.” The Nottoway reservation allottees, their neighboring plantation owners, and smallholding farmers contributed orchard stock to the multiple farm distilleries of the 1800s. The “best apple brandy to be found in the world” was reported to come from Southampton County (Crofts 1992:79; Parramore 1978:50-51; Woodard 2013:319-321). By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mass produced and distributed beer replaced earlier spirits, although county moonshine was popular during Prohibition and in the later 1930s. Edgerton Claud, grandson of Susanna Turner Claud, was “well known for his brand of corn liquor. He also distilled barley.” During the first half of the twentieth century, drinking was a social and business activity for men. As recalled by Susanna’s descendants, men “in the country” would often gather on Saturdays, imbibe, and socialize in the barns of Indian Town Road farms. Susanna’s father Morefield Hurst [husband of Millie Woodson-Turner], her brother William P. Turner, and her son-in-law Whalen Nickens, were among the men who participated in these social activities (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

The Death of Millie Woodson-Turner

The granddaughter of Millie Turner, Alice Rosetta “Ett” Claud, recounted the family memory of Millie’s death. As a daughter of Susanna Turner Claud, Ett was a resident of the farmstead, and about ten years of age when her grandmother died c.1915. She recalled her grandparents “lived on the old Indian Reservation,” and “the day Millie died”:

“Ett told the story of the day...she had been in the field and had been walking with a stick. She asked Virgie [granddaughter] to help her get to bed to lie down. She took her arm and wrapped it around Virgie’s neck to help her

to lie down and told her to leave the house. She lied down and died. Morefield came in and started crying.”

Millie Turner’s death at the homestead marked the end of an era for the Woodson-Turner-Hurst-Claud family, of an individual Nottoway allottee’s living memory of the Nottoway reservation and the division of tribal resources. Millie Turner’s husband Morefield Hurst died a few years later in 1918. By then, multiple adults of the family had moved to Petersburg and Portsmouth, and a new period of urban-rural relations and migrations emerged (ibid). However the descendants’ oral histories of Millie Woodson-Turner and community’s memories of the Nottoway Reservation era remain linked to the old farmsteads of Indian Town Road.

Millie Woodson-Turner Descendants: Outmigration, c.1905-1950

By 1904 Sarah Claud, one of Susanna Turner Claud’s oldest children, had relocated to Portsmouth. She married William M. Wright and the couple lived on the South Street Extension, near the Seaboard Railroad Yard where Wright worked as a janitor for the “Seaboard Shop.” Other Claud siblings followed the urban migration, and according to their descendants, “Aunt Lovey [Sarah] was the first to move from Southampton to Portsmouth... the siblings who arrived first would assist the others who came along later.” Lila “Tigue” Claud, one of Susanna’s middle children, lived with Sarah and William Wright in 1905. “She was single when she moved to Portsmouth,” relatives recalled, “but met Mathew Harris...probably through the church.” Harris was from Ridgeway, North Carolina and worked at the naval yards as a caulker. They lived on Rutter Street once married, and then later, on South Street. Sarah and Lila’s sister, Addie Claud, moved to Portsmouth and married James Edwards by 1920; the couple lived on First Avenue, then later Glasgow Street. Edwards, born in Carolina, worked as a hauler for teamsters (C1910-1930, Portsmouth, VA; Death Certificate, Addie Edwards, July 31, 1928, Portsmouth, VA; Woodard Field Notes).

Other children of Susanna Turner Claud took on farming as their livelihood, and remained in Southampton County. Nannie Claud and her husband Whalen Nickens remained as tenants adjacent to the Woodson-Turner / Claud farm, and “King” Arthur “Boss” Claud took up his own farming operations in the county, both as an owner and tenant farmer. Another daughter, Mattie Claud, married Edwin Turner, Jr., the son of former Nottoway headman Edwin Turner. The couple farmed on Indian Town Road until the 1910s, when they relocated to Portsmouth. Their children, William Turner [b.1904] and Bessie Turner [b.1906], remained with their grandmother Susanna at the Claud farm through 1920, and eventually joined their parents in Portsmouth. Joshua Claud continued to live at the old allotment home site, and farmed the Woodson-Turner / Claud land through the 1940s (C1900-1940; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna’s daughter Lilly Claud [b.1897] “was the first of the family to move to Philadelphia.” She followed “her husband Ashby Jones, who was a railway man and worked repairing the rails up the Atlantic.” The couple lived in “north Philly,” first on 28th Street [c.1930] and then “on 22nd and Diamond.” After moving from Susanna Turner Claud’s farm in Southampton to the Portsmouth home of her parents Edwin and Mattie Turner, Bessie Turner also relocated to Philadelphia. She eloped with William Harris, ten years her senior and brother of Mathew Harris, husband of Bessie’s aunt Lila “Tigue” Claud. Once in Philadelphia, Bessie worked as a private domestic for a family, and William was engaged as a private chauffeur. Bessie and Lilly were “close in age” and had a good relationship, “Bessie and Lilly were the anchor of the Philadelphia family.” As the Portsmouth families assisted those moving from Southampton, the Philadelphia immigrants helped kin settle in the northern center. Arthur “Boss” Claud’s second oldest daughter, Susie Claud [b.1915], moved to Philadelphia and lived with Lilly until she was “able to find a job...and get settled” (C1920-1940, Philadelphia, PA; C1920-1940, Portsmouth, VA; Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

While Portsmouth and Philadelphia were destinations for some of Millie Woodson-Turner’s grandchildren, others moved to nearby locales. The family of granddaughter Virgie Claud offers an example of the itinerant Southampton residences and patterns of movement c.1910-1950. Virgie Claud married John W. Hardy in 1915, and for a time the couple lived in Courtland on the corner of Water and High Street. They rented the house from Frank Davis, a White businessman, and soon had a growing family, including twins Mary Elizabeth and Joseph born in 1923. John Hardy worked as a farm laborer in the county and a sawmill hand for F.W. Fisher’s Estate. Soon [1925], the couple relocated to River Road, north of the Nottoway River, where Virgie’s paternal aunt Johnny Hill [Scott] had a country store, and Virgie’s brother “King” Arthur or “Boss” Claude was the head of his own farm. The family recalled a path through the woods, and a “foot bridge over the river,” that led back to Susanna Turner’s farm “from Johnny Hill’s.” The Hardy family relocated to Riddicksville Road [now Riverdale Road] c.1928 and “were sharecroppers” until the beginning of “the war,” when John Hardy died, the older sons joined the military, and the family created multiple households. Daughter Gertrude [b.1916] married Walter Porter in 1940. The other Claud-Hardy females [Verlee and Mary Elizabeth] and younger male [Joe] moved with Virgie to Pine Street in Franklin c.1943, then to “Hall Street for a few years.” Like some of her Portsmouth cousins who relocated for opportunities in Philadelphia, Mary Elizabeth moved to New York (C1910-1940; DC 1917 Arthur Claud; DC 1917 John W. Hardy; Woodard Field Notes).

John Melton Hardy [b.1919], the eldest son, had joined the Navy in 1940 and served on board the USS Memphis out of Norfolk; Leroy Hardy, Sr. [b.1921] served in the Army, starting in 1942. Between 1940 and 1948, John Melton Hardy sent “a portion of his military pay....to his mother...he supported his mother and family.” After his 1947 marriage, and the 1948 birth of his daughter, Hardy directed his earnings toward his own nuclear family and household. He stayed in the military, and again served honorably during the Korean War. By the end of the World War II, and the years thereafter, most

of the Claud-Hardy children had married and started new families during America's "baby boom" (Woodard Field Notes).

By c.1950 Virgie and her other children established residences in a "new" developing area of Franklin, and eventually most of the family lived within a few blocks of one another between South Street and Rosewood Avenue. Virgie Hardy resided on the corner of Rosewood and Roosevelt. Her daughter Verlee Hardy Baker [b.1917] lived on the corner of Washington and Rosewood, and was "very proud of her brick home" as it was "a symbol" of upward economic movement. Another daughter, Gertrude Hardy Porter [b.1916], and son Leroy Hardy, Sr. [b.1921], both lived "around the corner on Washington Street." After his Army service, Leroy Hardy, Sr. worked in the construction business and was part of the effort to develop this area of South Street in Franklin, including building New Hope Baptist Church on Rosewood Avenue. Adjacent to the Claud-Hardy households, families of similar socio-economic status from the "Colored" community included the surnames Britt, Brown, Chavis, Cutler, and Everett (C1920-1940; Woodard Field Notes). The Virgie Claud-Hardy family transition from itinerant rural laborers to suburban homeowners was part of a wider pattern in the United States c.1900-1950, and as such, situates the Nottoway descendants within trends of shifting American demography, the banking system, increased labor mobility, and industrialization.

Urban-Rural Connections During Jim Crow, c.1920-1950

With the death of her parents Millie Turner [d.1915] and Morefield Hurst [d.1918], and the outmigration of most of Susanna Turner Claud's children c.1905-1920, the character of the Claud farm became somewhat different than in earlier years. Most of the men and women of the extended allottee family lived away from the "old reservation," some in urban centers, others in Southampton or nearby counties. Many worked in jobs for wage labor, while some were "share croppers," but few owned their own businesses or labor. Memories of the decades before the Second World War focused on "visiting," resource pooling

between the urban and rural residents, and a type of socio-economic continuum of kinship between "city life" and "in the country." Interviews with elderly informants who lived through this era also described the racial climate of Portsmouth and Southampton, and that Nottoway descendants were identified and segregated as "Black," with little regard by Whites for other distinctions.

Portsmouth c.1940 was racially segregated in all of its institutions and businesses. As a consequence, Nottoway descendants of African ancestry and affiliation were barred from participating in social and economic institutions reserved for "Whites Only." As an outcome, the Nottoway descendants more fully engaged the Black community in Portsmouth. "In the early years, Colored people owned more businesses and serviced the community," recalled one allottee descendant. Blacksmiths, barbershops, canvas shops for boat's sails, mechanics, pool halls, theaters, and other stores were "commonly Black-owned and had Colored patrons." Black churches were the "center of the Portsmouth community," and burial associations, fraternal orders, insurance societies, and schools that attended to the needs of the urban residents were barred by White society. Nottoway descendants regularly participated in and contributed to these businesses, institutions, and social networks. However, some relatives were known to "pass as White," and they "could not be visited;" they "would visit infrequently for purposes of [a] holiday, funeral, or the like." These relations had access to more resources "better pay, better food, and merchandise," and would "visit intermittently, sometimes bringing hard to find food items" or similar desirables. Other relatives, who were "light-skinned" and phenotypically White, many times "with one White parent, insisted on being identified as Colored or Black," and as full members of the family. These racially motivated choices, and the narrow social maneuverability of family members, speak to the complexity of the Nottoway experience during the first half of the twentieth century (Woodard Field Notes).

In regard to urban labor, nearly all of the family's adult males worked in association with the

railroad depot, naval yard, or in manual labor. Most of the male spouses of the Claud women were described as “Negro,” and along with the social segregation of the period, the Portsmouth families were also stratified economically. Affine Mathew Harris [husband of Lila Claud] was a caulker for wooden ships engaged in coastwise trade, and his brother William Harris joined the Merchant Marines before relocating to Philadelphia with Bessie Turner. William Wright [husband of Sarah Claud] was a janitor for the Seaboard Railroad, and James Edwards [husband of Addie Claud] worked loading and unloading goods for shipping. Others were engaged in “Public Work,” or unskilled manual labor. “The men used to ride together in trucks. The kinds of jobs that they had sometimes were pick-and-shovel kind of jobs. The truck would come by and they’d climb on and go off to wherever the work was repairing roads.” The women of the families worked as maids and servants for Whites “across town,” and some did laundry for White households as a side job. Lila “Tigue” Claud-Harris washed clothes, “ironed them and delivered them to their door. That was one of the jobs she did.” Adjacent to her home on South Street “there was Benny’s sandwich shop” that served the Seaboard railway workers, “sold cigarettes...other tobacco products, and made sandwiches to order.” Lila Claud-Harris “cooked for the uptown location” and “many [of the family] bought chewing tobacco or snuff there” (C1910-1940, Portsmouth, VA; Woodard Field Notes).

In rural Southampton County, Depression-era “Public Work” at the county seat of Courtland involved men waiting for the train “across from the depot to unload the boxcars” when they arrived. Other jobs included paving roads, sawmill labor, and hauling. When not farming his family’s allotment land, Josh Claud caught work in Courtland, as did Joe and Leroy Hardy [sons of Virgie Claud-Hardy]. “Colored” laborers almost exclusively manned these jobs in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. While wage labor was vital, Courtland was recalled as,

“not a welcoming place for people of color... most stayed away from there, especially when there were events or congregations of people

in town...too many chances to get arrested for looking the wrong way, unless you were standing on the corner waiting for work.”

“There was an amazing amount of pressure on those people to conform...to constrain themselves and work within society...you had to do what you had to do to survive, and those people did it” (Woodard Field Notes).

Despite the Depression and racial politics in both locales, connections to Southampton remained important for the Portsmouth immigrants. With economic and social constrictions, the resources of the Woodson-Turner / Claud rural homestead on Indian Town Road provided urban family members with a constant infusion of foodstuffs from the farm. Plants and animals were transplanted to Portsmouth, mostly in the form of chickens, fruit trees, and vegetables. Lila Claud-Harris “had chickens in the coop and we would collect the eggs in the morning. Occasionally they had a duck or two in the yard.” Mattie Turner “had a grape arbor that would grow great big juicy grapes. She [also] had an apple tree and a fig tree.” These amenities provided some level of comfort to the Nottoway descendants, and represented an aspect of Southampton “country life” in Portsmouth. Mattie Turner also utilized an empty lot of “railroad land” to have “a garden right outside their house,” where “they would plant butter beans, collards, and cabbage out there, and every year they’d get a nice supply of fresh vegetables.” These domestic food sources were not uncommon for some neighborhoods in the city, but their origins from the family’s rural lifeway on Nottoway allotment farms made them unique (ibid).

In support of the importance of Southampton connections, family members fondly recalled, “visits to the country” during the summer and early fall ripening and harvest seasons. Brother Arthur Claude and mother Susanna Turner Claud annually contributed to the Portsmouth produce supply during the 1930s and 40s. “Fill up the basket” was the cry from the Claud matriarchs in the city as the younger generations “roved Big Grandma’s [Susanna Turner’s] garden;” the family would

“fill the bushel basket full of vegetables to take back to Portsmouth.” Sometimes, the family would be called to assist with harvesting on the Claud farm, “they would be met by Uncle Boss [Arthur Claud] who would bring them to the country to pick cotton on the farm of James Thomason Claud” or assist “Uncle Josh [with taking] his peanuts to market to sell.” Starting in November the Portsmouth families would “return to Southampton for fresh meat” from animal culling and butchering, and game hunting; in the spring and fall, “fishing in the river,” was particularly important when the herring and shad would run (ibid).

Visits to the Susanna Turner Claud farmstead “were sometimes only overnight or for the weekend,” and other times “longer in the summer.” During the 1920s, some members of the “family had a car,” others only “for a short time,” or “a car was borrowed to drive to the country.” By the 1930s, a summer tradition of the urban families was to “drive to the country” and “strut” their accomplishments from Portsmouth and Philadelphia. The extended kin would “show off their cars, new suits, hats with big feathers in them...to show how well they were doing in the city...that lifestyle was appealing to the [younger] farm [kindred] looking out into the world...they looked up to their success.” Visitors from Philadelphia came less often, only for holidays, weddings, or funerals. Lilly Claude “often had fancy clothes...fitted gloves and tailored attire... her husband worked for the city [Philadelphia]. He had steady pay and benefits...they had a nice house, fancy china, sterling silver settings, and glass ware.” The lure of economic mobility and the benefits of urban wage labor weighed heavily on Southampton kindred; by 1940 70% of the Claude children lived in cities, although the generation remained connected by kinship to the matrilineal allotment farms of Millie Woodson-Turner / Susanna Turner Claud from their Southampton youth (ibid).

The women, in particular, would return to socialize with their Southampton cousins, aunts, and uncles. Bringing “all their kids,” they crossed the “the wooden bridge with the boards on it” from Courtland, wound past “the peanut factory,” and turned

up Indian Town Road to Susanna’s farm. Extended family lived along the “old reservation” in “an old house that sat back off the road” where people “would recognize you by waving and sometimes with a handkerchief” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes). Living descendants of Millie Turner and Susanna Turner Claud remembered that, “people came from all around” to visit and socialize at the Claud farm, particularly during the warmer months:

On the old Turner Claud farm, “they would sit on the porch in the evening trying to get something burning so they could keep mosquitoes from biting. They’d sit out there until 9:00, 9:30, 10:00 talking, depending on the conversation, if they were having fun remembering things, telling lies on each other. That’s how they entertained themselves in those days. They didn’t have T.V., didn’t have telephone, didn’t have radio in most cases...[one relative] used to get the paper every day, but they didn’t have a whole lot of other stuff up in the country...they would sit on the porch and somebody from the community or the neighborhood would come by with a guitar and they would sit out there and harmonize. They’d sing along [to] church songs, somebody would pray...it was almost like a church service. Those were the kind of things they would do to entertain themselves and spend some time together.”

Other community engagement included attendance at Bryant’s Church on Sunday mornings, where “Pastor David” preached in the 1920s and 30s. The church was four miles south of the Claud farm, and continued to be a center of Turner-Claud descendants’ life into the 1970s. Several members of the family, including Arthur “Boss” Claud, were buried in the associated cemetery (ibid). By c.1940, the Millie Woodson-Turner / Susanna Turner Claud farm and associated tracts had been allotted from the Nottoway reservation and maintained as a private homestead for ninety years. As a continuously occupied Nottoway property from the 1705 colonial reservation surveys, descendants had resided on the tracts for 235 years.

Farm Loss

Many of the Nottoway descendants repeatedly used their reservation allotments as collateral on loans, or placed a lien on their livestock or future crops to secure funding. Sometimes crop failure ruined a family's finances, and resulted in farm loss due to debt. In other cases continual tax delinquency required outside assistance to maintain the property of the poor and elderly. The Turner Claud family lost property, repurchased it, and some cases, rented tracts after they were sold. Southampton County court documents indicate the Nottoway descendants were often engaged with prominent White court officials, landowners, and lawyers, such as D.D. Barham, James T. Gillette, Robert S. Pope, Junius W. Pulley, William B. Shands, and William J. Sebrell. These men acted as lawyers, securities on debt, witnesses on deeds, and financial lenders to the Nottoway. However, as during an earlier period of Nottoway Trustee superintendence, these prominent men did not always act with the Indian Town Road residents' interests in mind, but rather their own. There are multiple transactions within the Nottoway's Southampton documentary record c.1920-1950 that demonstrate predatory lending and liens, with the result being debt, dependency, and property loss.

There were also disagreements among descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner regarding the inheritance of the allotment tracts, and some competition over control of portions of the Claude farm. After Millie's death, a lawsuit among some of her children and their spouses resulted in the public auction of several tracts within Claud farm, and the proceeds distributed among the heirs. Some suggest the sale took place without the knowledge of the all concerned parties, but the monies were divided once the tracts were sold (Chancery OB 15:256). Included in the 1917 auction was the sixty-four acre wooded tract Millie Woodson-Turner originally received as an allotment, situated in the middle of the Claud farm (DB60:78). The property changed ownership multiple times thereafter, but it does not appear to have physically impacted the residential compounds of the homestead, situated on the cleared area of the adjacent allotment facing Indian Town Road.

James Thompson Claud and Susanna Turner Claud used the Nottoway allotments as loan collateral multiple times before 1920, but always paid down the debt over time. However, with the relocation of the grown children, and the advancing age of the Clauds, the productivity of the larger aggregate of allotment properties diminished; a home farm and smaller operation emerged "in the bend by Clay Hill" on Indian Town Road, which Josh Claud eventually managed with family help. The Clauds timbered several hundred acres of the allotment land after Millie Turner and Morefield Hurst's death, providing a substantive boost to the farm's finances (Trust DB 13:552-553; Woodard Field Notes).

By 1926 James Thompson Claud was failing in health, and entered a will at the Southampton Courthouse in April of that year. Signed by witnesses James T. Gillette, a prominent lawyer and future mayor, and Bessie T. Shands, daughter of lawyer and former senator William B. Shands, Claud's will outlined several points related to personal property and debt. He directed that all of his financial shortcomings be paid at his death, and that all of his household furniture should be given to his wife Susanna. James Thompson Claud's will, however, also included several unusual articles, based on the existing patterns of Indian Town property holding:

"All the balance of my property, real, personal, and mixed, I desire shall be sold and converted into cash. I give to my wife one-third of the entire amount, to be hers forever, and the balance of the property, after one-third is taken out and given to Susanna Claud, I desire to be equally divided among all my children. Should any one die before my death, I desire that his, or her part, shall go to his or her children. Thus my grandchildren shall have their parent's share"

"I desire that my hereinafter named Executor shall have the authority and power to sell my real estate and convert same into cash...I do hereby nominate and appoint James T. Gillette of Courtland, Virginia, Executor of this my last Will and Testament...Witness my

hand and seal this 8th day of April, 1926”
(WB23:83).

Family members indicate that Susanna Turner Claud was unaware of what arrangements her husband made or why he made them, but after James Thompson Claud’s death in October 1926, James T. Gillette moved to survey the property for sale. Susanna Claud appeared before the county clerk in protest and entered a renouncement of the will:

“I Susanna Claud, widow...do hereby waive and renounce the said clauses and provisions of the said will of James Thompson Claud, deceased, and elect to claim such share of my said husband’s estate, real personal, and mixed as I would have had if he died intestate...Witness my hand and seal this 2nd day of December, 1926. Susanna Claud her X mark (SEAL) Witness Nannie E. Nickins”
(WB23:87).

Children and grandchildren of Susanna Turner Claud remarked that James Thompson Claud “would have never wanted to evict his children.” The witness, Nannie Nickens was Susanna’s oldest daughter and farm neighbor; the sale impacted the Nickens family and several other Nottoway descendants living as tenants on the Turner Claud farm. Neither the court nor Gillette were moved by Susanna Claud’s rejection of the will, and Gillette who “qualified as the Executor on the said estate on the 4th day of November, 1926” proceeded to sell about 200 acres of the Claud farm. Ten acres of land at Clay Hill, bordering Indian Town Road and Millie Turner’s old allotment, were kept as a dower interest of Susanna Turner Claud as long as she lived, but reverted to the sold “tract at the death of Susanna Claud.” W.J. Sebrell purchased several tracts, which contained three allotments [Patsy Bozeman 48 acres, Lydia Bozeman 71 acres, and Lamb Bozeman 75 acres], and sold them to D.C. Gillette and Lucile Gillette by March of 1928. Lawyer James T. Gillette, as trustee, retained control of some of the properties, including the tract around Susanna’s farm (DB:73:121; 125:524; 243:239).

The sale of the allotments by Gillette was denounced by the family, who stated in oral history interviews that, “lawyer Gillette...had the will drawn up...to fool [Susanna] out of 350 acres of land.” Allottee descendants remained suspicious of county officials, lawyers, and financial institutions, as they were seen to be the mechanisms by which families were “cheated” “out of their land.” It was Gillette that facilitated the sale of the Millie Turner tract in 1917, and as of 1926, the dispossession of the remaining allotment farmstead. Thus, some descendants saw Gillette in a negative light. A sentiment of betrayal and loss pervade the oral histories of Nottoway allottee descendants, particularly those who lived through the last divisions of the old reservation farmlands (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna Turner Claud was remembered as being fastidious about her tax payments, as she knew this was a means by which other families on Indian Town Road had relinquished their allotments. Several of her matrilineal family on Indian Town Road lost their properties through over ten years of tax arrears 1924-1939, resolved by a small circle of prominent White men in Courtland (COB 11:446, 477-479, 498). Family members recalled that White men, who kept track of due dates, interest, and bank loans for a fee, sometimes paid the property taxes. But others suggested that some “prominent White men” collected the money, never paid the tax, allowed the arrears to accrue, and then facilitated the farms’ auction. In most of these cases residents retained “lifetime rights,” once their property had been sold to a third party (Rountree 1987:212). As during the nineteenth century, sometimes the trustees for the property sale, and the family of the purchaser were one and the same, closely related in business, or the lawyer and trustee became the purchaser (DB69:435-436; 125:121-122).

According to descendants, another strategy used by the same circle of Courtland officials, was to pit one family member against another in inheritance situations, and thereby force the resolution in court. As most of the Nottoway descendants could not afford to outright purchase their kin’s interests

in the land, the court favored auctioning the property and dividing the income, including substantial fees paid to the lawyers. There are multiple examples of this situation unfolding on Indian Town Road, including the 1926 auction of the Claud farm (CC Edwin D. Turner et al. v. William Turner et al., 1881-1885; Rountree 1987:212; CC Sykes et als. v. Harris et als., 1952-1953; WB23:83-84, 87). A pattern of manipulation and loss may not be conclusive, but when compared against the history of the Nottoway Trustees and Reservation Allotment, a connection is suggested.

Despite diminishment and loss, Susanna “stayed on the land,” “farmed,” and “paid her taxes.” Family members recalled that Susanna Turner Claud “became sick when she was informed she would lose the farm.” The evidence is lacking for the specifics of the situation, as she retained her ten acres of “dower interest” until her death. She “took to her bed, which was an uncommon state for her.” Bed-ridden, “Big Grandma” left the remains of the Claud farm c.1947 and “went to live with her son King Arthur Claude – Uncle Boss.” However, while Susanna Turner Claud vacated the old allotment compound, a mysterious fire burnt the c.1850 farmhouse to the ground. Completely devastated, Susanna Turner Claud died of a coronary, March 10, 1949. Her death certificate attributed congestive heart disease as the source of the occlusion, but interviewed family members repeatedly connected the death of Susanna Turner Claud to the burning of the old family home, “it was just too much for her;” “she died from the stress,” “a broken heart” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna Turner Claude’s children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, extended family, and many community members attended the matriarch’s funeral in Southampton County. Those that lived away travelled from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Portsmouth for the service. According to individuals that attended the funeral, descendants gathered at the site of the old homestead, and photographs of the event show well-dressed men and women from multiple branches of the extended family. The death of Susanna Turner Claud, daughter of Nottoway allottee Millie Woodson-Turner, and the loss of the home and farmstead marked the end of continuous Nottoway affiliation with the site (ibid).

In 1952, one of Nottoway headman Edwin D. Turner’s granddaughters, Rosa Ellen Sykes, sold her life interests in two Indian Town Road reservation allotment tracts to her daughter. Another relative contested the transfer, and in 1953 a chancery court ordered the property be auctioned, and the monies arising from the sale divided in proportion to descent from the original allottee (Rountree 1979:48). As Edwin Turner, Jr. had married Mattie Claud [daughter of Susanna Turner Claud], their children and descendants were identified in the suit. Thus, William Turner and Bessie Turner [Harris], who had lived with “Big Grandma” Susanna Turner Claude when their parents moved to Portsmouth, were considered interested parties. The court traced the Nottoway descendants in Southampton, as well Susanna’s grandchildren and great-grandchildren in Philadelphia, for the monetary divisions from the auction (Chancery OB 14:331-332, 400; Woodard Field Notes). With the 1953 sale of these two allotment tracts, the last continuously controlled parcels of Iroquoian territory left the hands of Nottoway descendants.

CHAPTER THREE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The narrative of the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead is remarkable, not only because of the Iroquoian descendants' retention of the property for such a long time, but also because the history is so unknown and has been so overlooked. While not yet part of the wider storyline of Virginia's Indian people, the memory of the Nottoway, Millie Woodson-Turner, and Susanna Turner Claud remain strong among their descendants – linked to the allotment properties and farms of the “old Indian Reservation” on Indian Town Road. The Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site [44SN0341] was one of the last continuously occupied matrilineal Nottoway farms, and as such, the site remains a primary ancestral center of the contemporary and historical Nottoway community.

The memory of the Susanna Turner Claude family farm remains in Southampton – among descendants – and also the wider community. For nearly forty years, the house chimney of Susanna Turner Claud's farmhouse continued to stand in the middle of the current agricultural field in which 44SN0341 is situated. A member of the Southampton County Historical Society, and resident of Rt. 651 Indian Town Road, wrote a correspondence to one of the matrilineal Nottoway descendants in 1979:

“Yes I do remember Suzanna T.[urner] Claude. They owned a small farm between my place and Courtland. The chimney still stands after a fire several years ago. The Indians were given this land years ago for a reservation[,] which they occupied until early 1920...A great deal of information can be obtained in the courthouse at Courtland.

Deeds, marriages, wills, leases and court proceedings are on record there” (Woodard Field Notes).

To improve agriculture at the site, the chimney was eventually toppled and other remaining architectural debris removed by tractor to the edge of the agricultural field. Informal interviews with property neighbors and county residents, both related and unrelated to the family, revealed that artifacts from the house were known to be scattered across the field, and that the chimney stood for many years, at least until c.1985 “at the bend in the road” and “by Clay Hill.” The removal date of the chimney to the edge of the agricultural field is suggested to have occurred c.1990. The remains of the chimney are now situated in the southeast corner of the site, along the drainage ditch and entrance to the property on Indian Town Road.

The 2016 archaeological survey confirms that 44SN0341 represents the remains of a structure[s] with “strong evidence of inhabitation on site” from the mid-nineteenth century through c.1950, which corresponds to the documented occupation of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site environs. Of the 2016 materials recovered, “the site assemblage is characterized largely by domestic and household items, which can be seen especially in the glass, ceramic, and metal components” (Appendix II). Evidence suggests that the site suffered a fire event; some artifacts show signs of intense heat, are burned, and several lenses of charcoal were recorded in the site's soil stratigraphy (Appendix I, Appendix II). Moreover, the artifactual record documents the site was not occupied as a domestic space after

the mid-twentieth century. Very few artifacts post date c.1950, may be counted as *terminus ante quem* for the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead, and likely represent secondary deposits. Third-quarter of the twentieth century artifacts include a 1956 U.S. Wheat Penny, 1950s Pepsi Cola bottle sherds, an iron refill tube for Revlon Futurama lipstick c.1955-1960, and a medicine bottle from c.1958. These artifacts suggest the remains of the house site may have served as a gathering point for field workers associated with the farm's post-1950 history, and a place where a limited number individuals congregated for social purposes or labor breaks.

From the 2016 survey, artifacts dated to the third and fourth quarters of the eighteenth century indicate an increase of historical artifacts deposited on the site during the colonial and early Republic eras. These artifacts are mostly situated in the northeastern section of the site, away from the core of 44SN0341's artifact density, and may reflect an earlier Nottoway domestic structure. In the same vicinity, at the north end of the agricultural field, a previously identified site 44SN0069 is a Late Archaic / Early Woodland camp [2500-1200 B.C./1200-500 B.C.]. Materials recovered from the 2016 survey and excavation confirms the

latter site's lithic assemblage, which is primarily focused on tool making (Appendix II), and unrelated to the Nottoway occupation of the Millie Woodson-Turner farm.

The Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site is an exceptional archaeological site, and a heritage space within the living memory of contemporary descendants. Not only does the resource represent the wider Iroquoian Nottoway community's connection to the Southampton landscape, it offers an opportunity to explore and examine the ways in which Nottoway people adapted, changed, and accommodated the colonial encounter, as well as the emerging American economy, over time. Future work could include archaeological investigation of the allotment tracts and other home sites, with excellent chronologies, an extensive documentary record, and undisturbed cultural resources. Based on the evidence presented, it is the opinion of the research team that the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead is worthy of consideration for nomination to the Virginia Landmarks Register and National Register of Historic Places, and meets the objectives set forth by the *Underrepresented Communities* grant and VDHR's *Continuity Within Change: Virginia Indians National Register Project*.



Figure 2. An assortment of nineteenth- and twentieth-century artifacts represented at the Millie Woodson-Turner and Susannah Turner (Hurst) Claud farmstead (44SN0341), including architectural remains, farm implements, household ceramics and glass, personal effects and clothing-related fragments.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AG	Agricultural Schedule [U.S. Federal]
C	Census [U.S. Federal]
CC	Chancery Cause [County]
Chancery OB	Chancery Order Book [County]
DB	Deed Book [County]
DC	Draft Card [U.S. Federal]
FB	Freedmen's Bureau [Virginia]
GWP	George Washington Papers Digital Edition
LP	Legislative Petitions [State]
M	Court Minute Book [County]
OB	Order Book [County]
PPTL	Personal Property Tax List [Library of Virginia]
SCLP	Southampton County Loose Papers [Library of Virginia]
WB	Will Book [County]

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APPENDIX I

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD METHODS, MAPPING, AND DATING

Field Methods

Prepared by Berek J. Dore II, MA, RPA

Phase I Archaeological Survey

Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site (44SN0341) and site 44SN0069

Courtland, Virginia

Introduction

This summary represents the field methods and preliminary results of the Phase I shovel test survey and pedestrian survey, of sites 44SN0341 and 44SN0069. In April 2016 an archaeological team under the supervision of Berek J. Dore (Project Lead Archaeologist) conducted a Phase I archaeological survey for cultural resource evaluation of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site (44SN0341). Site 44SN0069 is a Late Archaic / Early Woodland camp and not associated with the Woodson-Turner project, but 44SN0341 overlays the earlier cultural deposits and therefor the previously identified Archaic/Woodland site is represented in the sample. The project area is situated on the north side of Indian Town Road (Rt.651), Courtland, VA just south of the Nottoway River. In addition, the sites are located within the bounds of lands utilized for agricultural purposes.

The archaeological investigation was conducted for the College of William & Mary's American Indian Resource Center (AIRC), in consultation with the Landowner (by MOA), and collaboration with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR), and the Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia. The project is funded through an *Underrepresented Communities* grant from the National Park Service with the intention of increasing historic Native American representation on the Commonwealth of Virginia's Historic Register and the National Registry of Historic Places. The field team for the project included staff from the AIRC, a graduate student from the Department of Anthropology, College of William & Mary (Megan Victor, MA), contract crewmembers from the cultural resource management field (CRM), and descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner from the Nottoway community.

The archaeological survey summarized herein is pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974, Executive Order 11593, relevant sections of 36CFR60 and 36CFR800 and in compliance with the Virginia Department of Transportation's Expectations and Standard Products for Cultural Resources Surveys. The Lead Archaeologist and CRM field technicians directing and conducting this survey, respectively, have met the professional qualification standards of the Department of the Interior (48 FR 44738-9).

Phase I Identification and Survey Methods

Phase I Shovel Testing and Pedestrian Survey

The proposed survey areas were subject to pedestrian survey conducted concurrently with systematic subsurface testing. Shovel test pits (STP) were excavated at 50-foot intervals throughout the survey areas (Figure 1). Due to the high percentage of ground visibility, a thorough site walk over, or pedestrian survey, was conducted in lieu of the excavation of radial shovel test pits. Shovel testing did not occur in areas west of the site boundaries identified by VDHR in order to avoid any impact on the land.



Figure 1. Shovel test grid of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site 44SN0341. Red circles are negative tests, green circles are positive, and the datum stake is a violet-circled triangle in the southeast corner against the access road. *Map by Sarah Voeller.*

Shovel tests measured approximately 1.25 feet (15 inches) in diameter and all soils excavated from the shovel tests were screened through 1/4-inch mesh hardware cloth. Depths of shovel tests were recorded in reference to the ground surface. Shovel tests were excavated stratigraphically and close attention was paid to the distinction between the plow zone and the sub-plow zone. All shovel tests were excavated .3-.4 feet (~10 centimeters) into sterile subsoil. Investigators identified any areas where possible buried cultural strata were present. Descriptions of soil texture and color followed standard terminology and the Munsell (1994) soil color charts. All shovel test data was recorded on standard forms and identified on maps of the project areas. All artifacts were bagged and numbered by provenience.

The pedestrian survey was conducted in large part, based on the 50-foot interval utilized for the layout of the shovel test pits. In several cases the exact locations of some artifacts were recorded as opposed to the general approach of classifying location based on a 25 foot buffer around each 50 foot interval grid point. Meaning, the majority of surface finds that were collected and recorded were recovered within a 25-foot radius from the grid point identified on the artifact identification tags. No surface collections were recorded along the western side of the site, which is why further investigation of the western side of the site was not conducted.

Shovel tests were surveyed and plotted based on the site datum identified as 1000N/1000E, which was located along the southeastern side of the access road to the land and just north of Indian Town Road, Courtland, VA. All shovel tests, positive and negative (no cultural material), along with excavated test units and pedestrian survey finds, were mapped utilized GIS and CAD programs.

Test Unit Excavation

Following completion of the excavation shovel tests and pedestrian survey, field analysis of the stratigraphic and density data obtained from these efforts was used to establish the locations of test units (Figure 2). The goal of the excavation of test units was to thoroughly examine site stratigraphy, provide a representative sample of the artifact assemblage contained within the site for analysis, and to identify any possible buried cultural features.



Figure 2. The locations of Test Unit 1 and Test Unit 2. *Map by Sarah Voeller.*

Two test units were excavated in areas that had a relatively high probability of containing subsurface features. The first test unit measured 5 feet by 5 feet and the second unit measured 2.5 feet by 2.5 feet. The reason for the second, smaller, test unit was due in part to time constraints. Both test units were excavated stratigraphically to sterile soil (B-Horizon). The plow zone or overburden, where present, was excavated as a single stratigraphic level. The cultural material from each of these levels was bagged in reference to the northeast corner of the unit. The ground surface prior to excavation, the top of any newly encountered strata, and the base of excavation of each test unit was photo-documented. All subplow zone cultural features were mapped and photographed. Any cultural features identified during unit excavation were recorded in plan and photographed. The feature(s) were mapped and photographed, referenced to the previously established grid (Figure 4).

Area for Test Unit 1 was selected as a result of charcoal layers detected in STP N 1250 E 800. Upon opening the unit, clear plow scars were observed cutting through the stratigraphy, and a burnt feature was identified in the southwest corner. The boundary of the feature was faint, but the dark brownish grey loamy sand and black loamy sand were both heavily flecked with charcoal (Figure 3).

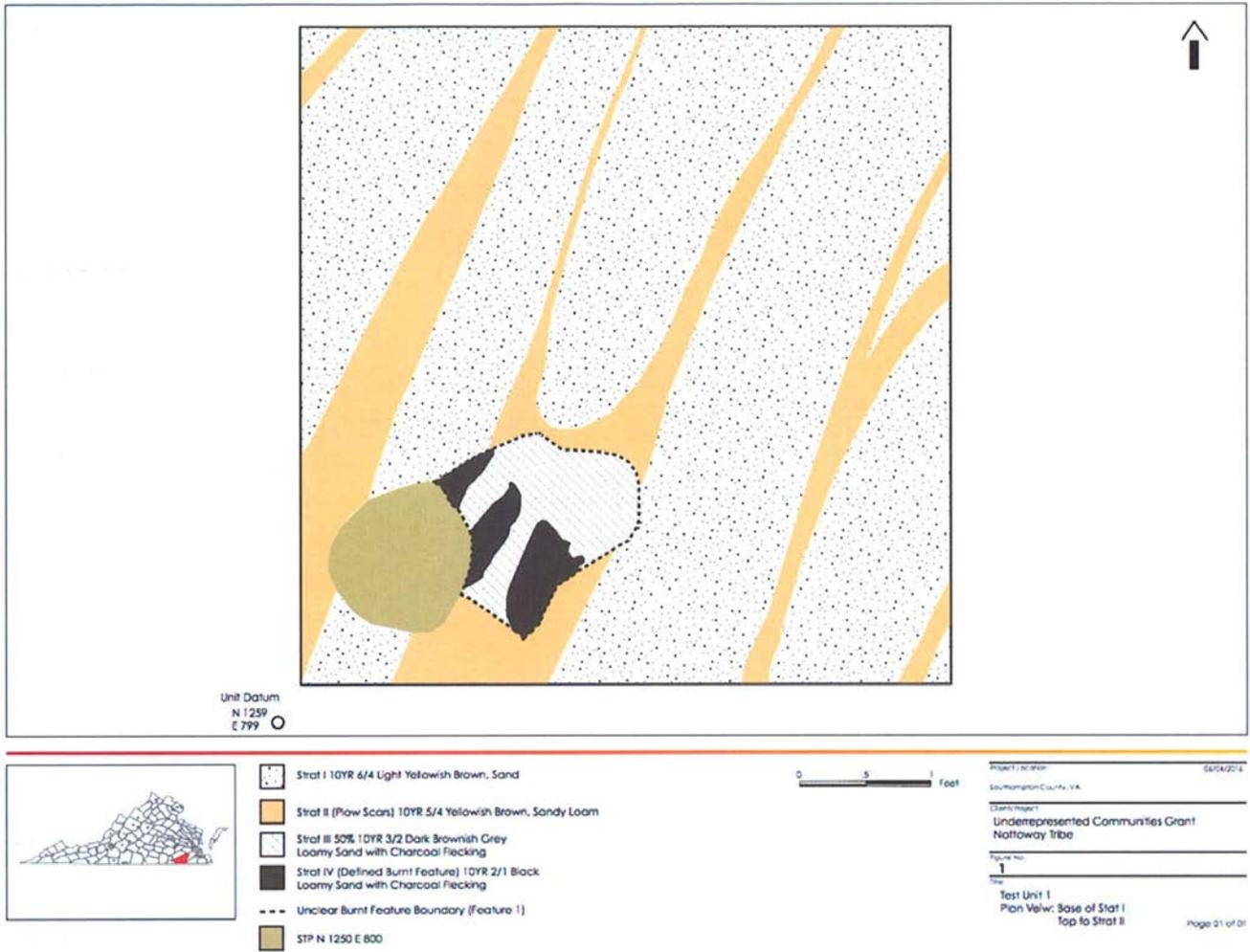


Figure 3. Test Unit 1 showing plow scarring and burnt feature. *Graphic by Sarah Voeller*

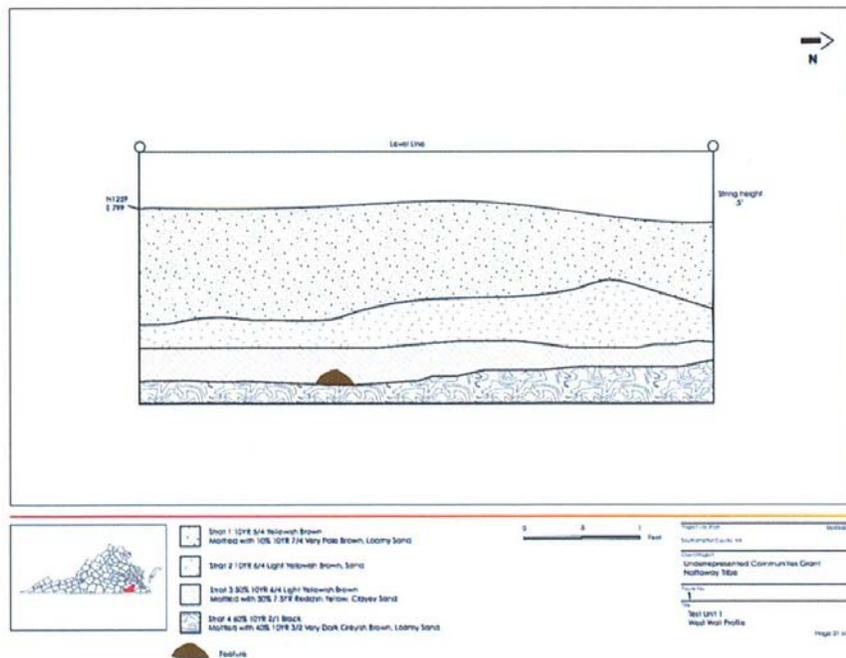
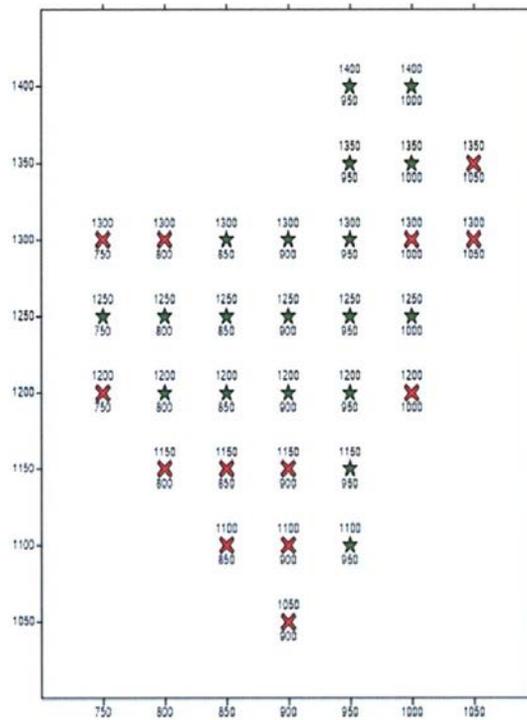
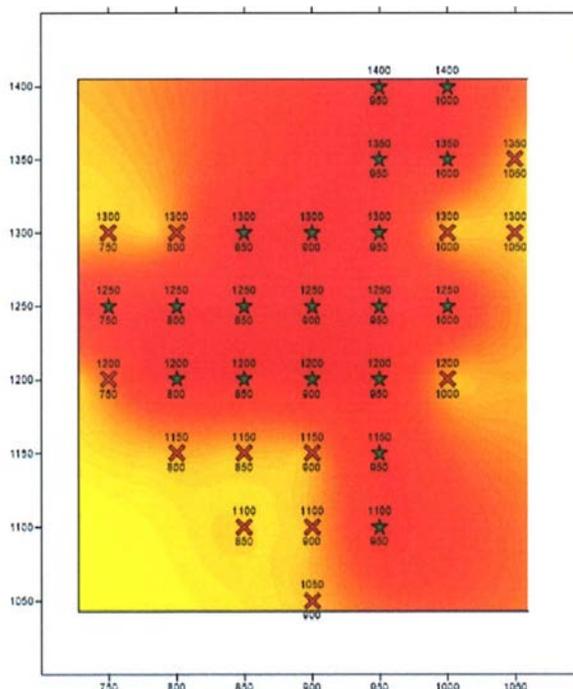


Figure 4. Wall profile of Test Unit 1 showing stratigraphy and feature. *Graphic by Sarah Voeller*

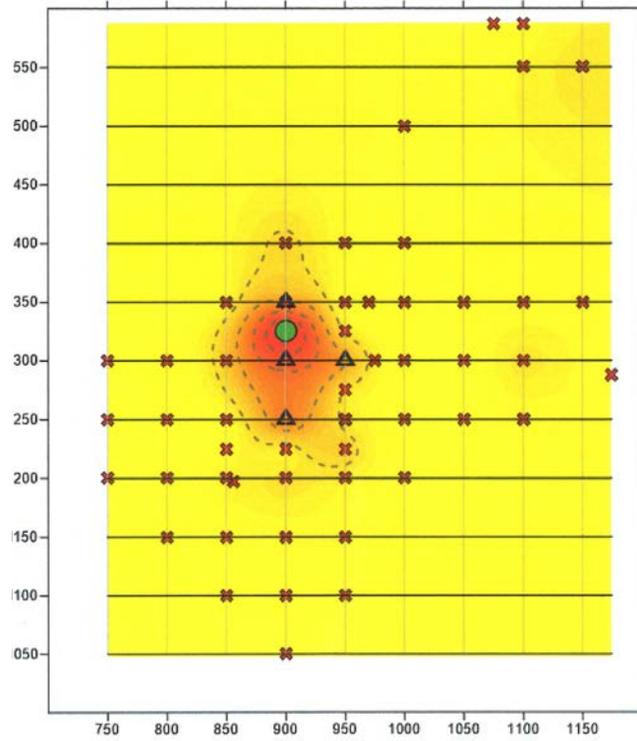
Fieldwork Mapping and Dating: Artifact Densities and Analysis
of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site (44SN0341)
Prepared by Megan R. Victor, MA



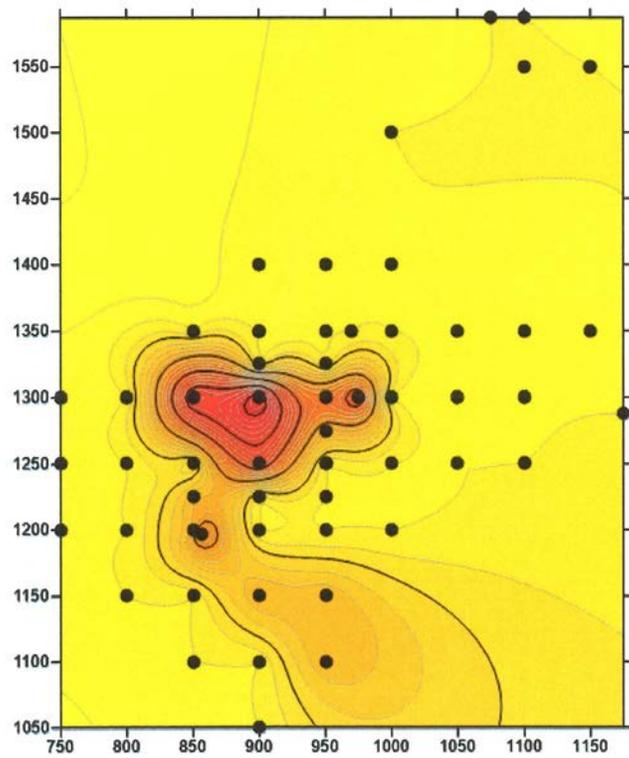
Map 1. Positive (Green) and Negative (Red) Shovel Test Pits (STP)



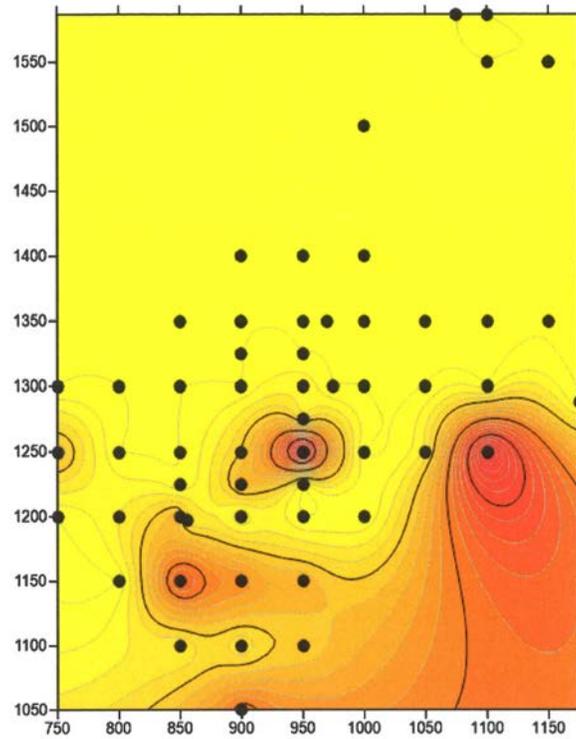
Map 2. : STPs, Positive and Negative, with Projected Artifact Densities



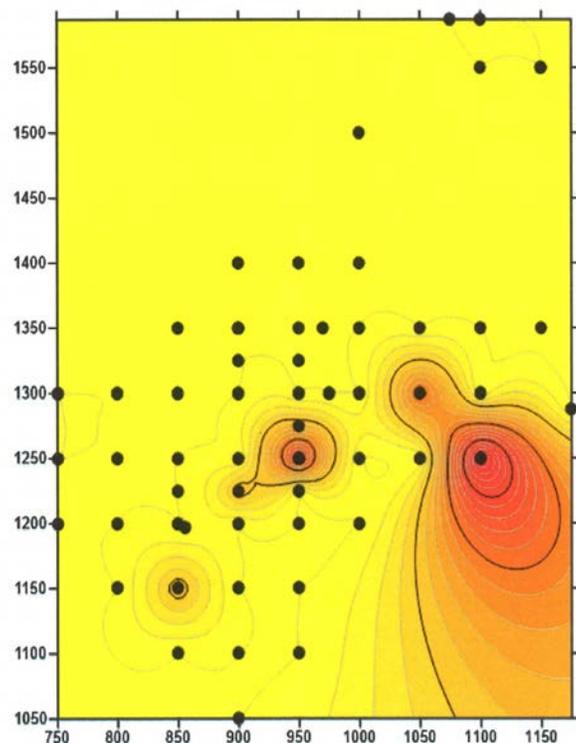
Map 3: Artifact Density Across Site, as indicated by Surface Collection



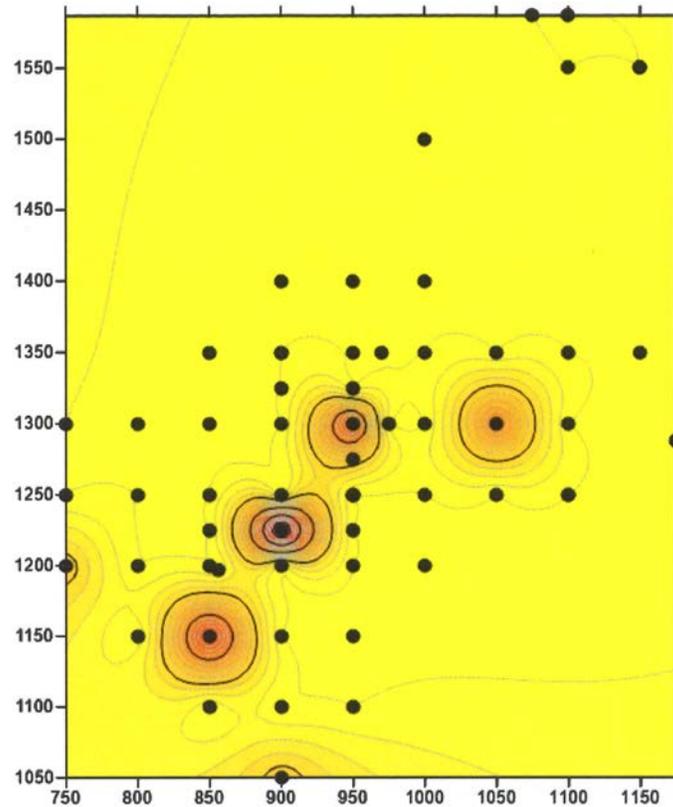
Map 4: Ceramic Density Across Site, as indicated by Surface Collection



Map 5: Glass Density Across Site, as indicated by Surface Collection



Map 6: Architectural Material Density Across Site, as indicated by Surface Collection



Map 7: Non-Glass / Ceramic Domestic Material Density Across Site, as indicated by Surface Collection

Table 1: Field Specimens Terminus Post Quem (TPQ)

FS #	FS TYPE	COORDINATES (N)	COORDINATES (E)	TPQ	ARTIFACT BASIS FOR TPQ
1	STP, STRAT I	1150	950	N/A	ONLY 1 PC CLINKER
2	STP, STRAT III	1250	800	N/A	ONLY 1 PC CHARCOAL
3	SURFACE COLLECTION	1300	900	1949	MILK GLASS BODY SHERD WITH SWIRL / SHELL PATTERN; LIKELY ANCHOR HOCKING FIRE KING: 1949-1976
4	STP, STRAT I	1300	900	1851	COLORLESS GLASS, 5 SHERDS TOTAL: POST-1850
5	SURFACE COLLECTION	1200	950	1851	COLORLESS GLASS BODY SHERD: POST-1850
6	STP, STRAT I	1200	850	1810	WHITEWARE BODY SHERD, HOLLOWWARE, POSSIBLY A JUG: 1810-1940s
7	SURFACE COLLECTION	1200	850	1871	WHITEWARE BODY SHERD, DECALOMANIA, BLUE FLORAL PLATE: POST-1870
8	STP, STRAT I	1300	850	1851	Colorless glass body sherd: post-1850

FS #	FS TYPE	COORDINATES (N)	COORDINATES (E)	TPQ	ARTIFACT BASIS FOR TPQ
9	SURFACE COLLECTION	1300	850	1810	Whiteware body sherd with handle attachment, likely a cup: 1810-1940s
10	STP, STRAT I	1250	850	1840	Milk glass button, round, 2 eyes: 1840-1940s
11	SURFACE COLLECTION	1200	900	1851	Colorless glass, 2 sherds total: post-1850
12	STP, STRAT I	1200	900	1800	Aqua glass basal sherd, bottle: 1800s-1930s
13	SURFACE COLLECTION	1350	900	1950	Rim sherd, plate, restaurant ware, likely Caribe China, two green annular bands, c. 1950
14	SURFACE COLLECTION	1150	900	N/A	UNKNOWN; ONE COARSE EARTHENWARE SHERD, POSSIBLY NATIVE
15	STP, STRAT I	1250	900	1851	COLORLESS GLASS, 2 SHERDS TOTAL: POST-1850
16	SURFACE COLLECTION	1250	900	1939	Milk glass rim sherd, saucer, Anchor Hocking, Fire King, fish scale pattern Vitrock: 1939-1943
17	STP, STRAT I	1100	950	1870	Solarized glass body sherd: 1870s-1930s
18	SURFACE COLLECTION	1100	950	1870	Solarized glass basal sherd, dish: 1870s-1930s
19	SURFACE COLLECTION	1150	950	N/A	Unknown; one coarse earthenware sherd, possibly Native
20	STP, STRAT I	1200	950	1851	Window glass, cylinder: post-1850
21	STP, STRAT I	1250	950	1861	Amber glass, 2 sherds total: post-1860
22	SURFACE COLLECTION	1250	950	1861	Amber glass body sherd: post-1860
23	SURFACE COLLECTION	1400	950	1850	Body sherd, Rockingham exterior, dark (Albany slip?) interior: 1850s-1920s
24	STP, STRAT I	1250	1000	1870	Solarized glass body sherd: 1870s-1930s
25	STP, STRAT I	1350	950	1851	Colorless glass, 3 sherds total: post-1850
26	STP, STRAT I	1300	950	1851	Colorless glass, 5 sherds total: post-1850
27	STP, STRAT I	1400	950	1916	Colorless rim sherd, jar, wide mouth, external thread lip design: post-1915
28	STP, STRAT I	1250	750	N/A	Only 1 pc charcoal & 1 possible mortar pc
29	STP, STRAT I	1200	800	1851	Colorless glass basal sherd: post-1850
30	STP, STRAT I	1350	1000	1851	Colorless glass, 2 sherds total: post-1850
31	STP, STRAT I	1400	1000	Late-17th century	Coarse earthenware basal sherd with Mananese: late 17th-early 19th century

FS #	FS TYPE	COORDINATES (N)	COORDINATES (E)	TPQ	ARTIFACT BASIS FOR TPQ
32	TEST UNIT, STRAT I	1249	799	1940	Basal sherd, dish, Anchor Hocking, moonstone hobnail pattern, 1940s
33	TEST UNIT, STRAT I	1255	900	1956	1956 US Wheat Penny
34	TEST UNIT, STRAT I	1255	900	1851	Colorless glass, 2 sherds total: post-1850
35	SURFACE COLLECTION	1288	1175	1950	Plastic bead, round, molded with 6 points / raised fins, single hole: likely mid-20th century
36	SURFACE COLLECTION	1250	950	1851	Colorless shoulder sherd, tumbler, shouder, molded with heart and stripe pattern, unidentifiable
37	SURFACE COLLECTION	1550	1150	1840	Ironstone, 2 sherds total: 1840-1885
38	SURFACE COLLECTION	1300	950	1870	Solarized glass, 3 sherds total: 1870s-1930s
39	SURFACE COLLECTION	1550	1100	1780	Pearlware rim sherd, green shelledged, 1780-1840
40	SURFACE COLLECTION	1350	1150	1884	Clay pigeon fragment: post-1884
41	SURFACE COLLECTION	1275	950	1871	Milk glass rim sherd, fragment of Boyd's Genuine Porcelain Lined Cap (for jars, especially Ball jars); molded words read "OYD CAP"; 1871 - 1950s
42	SURFACE COLLECTION	1350	900	1916	Colorless rim sherds, jar, wide mouth, external thread lip design, 2 sherds total: post 1915
43	SURFACE COLLECTION	1300	1100	N/A	Only 4 pcs metal, none diagnostic
44	SURFACE COLLECTION	1225	900	N/A	Only 1 pc brick, possibly 20th century
45	SURFACE COLLECTION	1325	900	1951	Milk glass basal sherd, fragment of Fire-King ovenware, molded words read "OVEN" "FIREKING [in script lettering]" and "WARE"; 1951-1960
46	SURFACE COLLECTION	1225	950	N/A	Only 6 pcs metal, none diagnostic
47	SURFACE COLLECTION	1250	950	1937	Intact colorless glass knob, broken at attachment point, likely from lid, very likely Anchor Hocking Fire King Philbe pattern; similar knobs found on coffee percolator lids and on casserole dish lids; likely 1937-1956
48	SURFACE COLLECTION	1225	850	1850	Parian body sherd, molded with possible floral / botanical pattern: 1850s-late-19th century

FS #	FS TYPE	COORDINATES (N)	COORDINATES (E)	TPQ	ARTIFACT BASIS FOR TPQ
49	SURFACE COLLECTION	1250	1100	1100	Quartzite flake; prehistoric or contact-period
50	SURFACE COLLECTION	1500	1000	1000	Body sherd, Westerwald, incised / engraved checkered motif (diamonds) painted in cobalt blue under glaze; likely from a mug or jug; 1650s-1800
51	SURFACE COLLECTION	1197	856	856	Whiteware rim sherd: 1810-1940s
52	SURFACE COLLECTION	1325	950	950	Colorless glass basal sherd: post1850
53	SURFACE COLLECTION	1550	1150	1150	Only 1 artifact: cobble with possible man-made wear
54	SURFACE COLLECTION	1300	975	975	Whiteware rim sherd: 1810-1940s
55	SURFACE COLLECTION	1350	970	970	Stoneware lip and handle sherd, Albany slip, likely from beehive jug, given the narrow curvature of the lip and its proximity to the handle: 1800s-1940
56	SURFACE COLLECTION	1250	1100	1100	Solarized basal sherd, likely from soda bottle, molded with "A.G.W." (there appears to be a mistrike above the A with the ghost of another "A." visible) and below it "210"; American Glass Works, Richmond, VA 1916-1925
57	SURFACE COLLECTION	1350	1050	19th century	Rim sherd, gray salt-glazed exterior, brown unglazed interior, wheel-thrown, fabric looks like dark gray layer on top of buff layer (Virginia-made?), likely from a crock: 19th century
58	Surface Collection	1350	850	Late-17th century	Colonoware basal sherd, incised "X" on exterior: late 17th-late 19th century
59	SURFACE COLLECTION	1350	1100	1810	Whiteware marly sherd: 1810-1940s
60	Surface Collection	1587	1100	1810	Whiteware body sherd: 1810-1940s
61	Surface Collection	1500	1175	N/A	Only 1 pc broken oyster shell
62	Surface Collection	1587	1075	1780	Pearlware body sherd: 1780-1840
63	SURFACE COLLECTION	1400	900	1870	Solarized glass body sherd: 1870s-1930s

APPENDIX II

NOTTOWAY ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

Prepared by Megan R. Victor, MA, College of William & Mary

This artifact analysis report breaks down the artifacts into seven larger artifact classifications: brick, metal, glass, ceramics, plastic, other, and lithics. Within each category, this report discusses the artifacts recovered, the particular excavation from which the artifacts came, and their diagnostic utility. Where necessary, definitions are provided within the artifact descriptions.

BRICK

In total, there were 46 pieces of brick recovered from 44SN0341, 17 pieces from the original surface collection and 29 pieces from the second excavation that combined pedestrian survey and subsurface excavation. No mortar was found on any of the bricks, which makes definitive age testing difficult. As a result, the brick fragments found fall into six different groups, based on their color, size, and wear. Type 1 (n=12) is very smooth, bright red, and likely modern brick. Fragments from Type 2 (n=6) are also likely modern, although these smooth pieces are more orange in color, although one of the Type 2 fragments seems to have been burned, which changes the color. Type 3 brick fragments (n=3) most likely date to the 19th century; these pieces are a lighter orange than Type 2 and have a much rougher, sandy feeling. Additionally, these brick fragments have rocky inclusions. The brick fragments from Type 4 (n=17) also appear to date to the 19th century; these bricks are rough and have rocky inclusions as well, although they are redder than Type 3 bricks. Type 5 and Type 6 brick fragments cannot be dated. Type 5 fragments (n=6) are very dark and some may even have been burned. The Type 5 fragments also contain some inclusions. Finally, Type 6 brick fragments (n=2) are dark red, rough, and have rocky inclusions.

The recovery of the bricks came from three locations: STPs, Test Units, and Surface Collection. The majority of the pieces (n=25) came from Surface Collection, both from four different pedestrian survey contexts as well as from a single earlier pedestrian survey off-grid. The next highest number of bricks were recovered during the excavation of Test Units (n=16), with fragments coming from two different Test Unit contexts. STPs also yielded brick fragments (n=5), from four different contexts. Of the 46 brick pieces, 20 of them are likely to date to the 19th century, based on brick color generated by firing techniques, and 18 are likely from the 20th century; an additional two pieces date from either the late 19th or the early 20th century. There are also six pieces whose age could not be determined. As such, the bricks overall help to refine the chronology of the 44SN034, confirming that there was occupation at the site spanning the 19th and early 20th century.

METAL

Excavations at 44SN0341 yielded a metal assemblage that consisted of 97 objects and fragments, most of which were iron (n=94); unfortunately, due to corrosion on these objects, very few aid in establishing the site's age. Of this assemblage, seven metal pieces came from the initial surface collection and the remaining 90 pieces came from the second excavation, which combined pedestrian survey and subsurface excavation. The most prevalent metal objects were fragments of iron (n=53), which were too small (and in some cases also

too corroded) to be able to further identify. Three of these fragments came from the initial surface collection without a grid and the remaining 50 fragments came from the second excavation. Nine of them came from STPs, 16 came from the second, gridded surface collection, and 25 pieces came from the Test Units. While the iron fragments were the most common metal artifacts from the site, they proved not to be diagnostic and, as such, cannot help tighten the chronology. The next most prevalent items recovered were nails, which were also ferrous (n=35). Twenty of these nails came from Test Unit contexts, seven were recovered from STPs, and seven came from surface collection; one additional nail came from the initial surface collection done at the site before the grid was set in. The majority of the nails were heavily corroded, leaving just one identifiable square-cut nail and one round nail, both of which came from the same test unit context, Context 33. As such, the nails also cannot refine the site's age.

The other ferrous objects include hardware, vessel fragments, and a piece of a pipe. With regards to the hardware, a bolt with a square nut and a flat washer attached was recovered from surface collection from the second excavation, as was a large portion of a hand file. Square nuts were most commonly used in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century, and as such, this helps in part to refine the site chronology. The initial surface collection yielded a vessel fragment, as did the second excavation's surface collection; both of these likely have come from cookware but their age cannot be determined. There were three nonferrous objects recovered from the site. The first object is piece of foil, which was made from either tin or aluminum, and is likely a 20th century artifact. The last two remaining objects have very specific dates of manufacture, which help to refine the site chronology. The initial surface collection yielded up a copper and iron refill tube for Revlon Futurama lipstick, which debuted as a product in 1955 and was produced until around 1960. Additionally, a 1956 copper alloy United States Wheat Penny was found in a Test Unit, Context 33. Overall, the larger portion of the metals were not able to tighten the chronology of the site, but the presence of the square nut - combined with the two artifacts definitively dated to the mid-1950s, indicate that there was habitation on the site extending into the mid-20th century.

GLASS

In total, 296 individual glass pieces came from site 44SN0341, 116 pieces from the original surface collection and 180 pieces from the second excavation that combined pedestrian survey and subsurface excavation. The glass assemblage indicated the presence of a total of 78 glass vessels at the site. The glass was divided into 14 categories based on color, which helps to determine the objects' relative age and vessel type (if applicable), and consequently their function (see table below). This report discusses each category below, listing the glass types in alphabetical order. Additionally, the excavations recovered four marbles, which will be discussed at the end of this section.

Amber Glass

In total, 20 pieces of amber glass were recovered from the site; eleven pieces came from the initial surface collection and an additional nine pieces came from the second excavation (5 pieces came from the Test Units, 3 pieces came from the STPs, and 1 piece came from surface collection). Amber glass refers to a wide variety of glass that ranges in color from yellow to a darker golden color to dark brown. Additives such as sulfur, carbon (added as charcoal, wood chips, or coal), and nickel helped give glass batches their amber color, as did natural impurities such as manganese and iron, when present in high amounts. Amber glass cannot provide as tight a chronology as some other glass types, because of the broad amount of time that its production spans (including the present). However, there are a few minor characteristics that can sometimes assist in narrowing down the amber glass chronology. Machine manufacturing of bottles, especially amber ones, came

Figure 1: Recovered Glass Categories

Color	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Amber	11	9	20
Amethyst	0	1	1
Aqua	5	5	10
Cobalt	1	4	5
Colorless	54	94	148
Colorless Window	7	18	25
Emerald	1	3	4
Marbles	2	2	
Black	1	0	1
Milk	10	12	22
Olive	2	2	4
Pale Blue	2	5	7
Pale Green	2	1	3
Pink	0	1	1
Solarized Colorless	18	23	41
Total Number of Sherds	116	180	296
Total Number of Vessels			78

about around the 1920s, which resulted in a standardizing of bottle colors. As such, after 1920, amber glass is more uniform in both its color and shade. This means that very light and very dark amber fragments pre-date the 1920s. Additionally, amber glass with a greenish tint, a color referred to as “old amber” rarely appears after 1890. Finally, as a rule, most amber glass bottles are only found on archaeological sites after 1860.

Amber glass is occasionally seen in molded plates, saucers, and shallow dishes (such as candy dishes); however, it is most commonly used for beer bottles, because it provides the correct amount of light-based protection. Light-colored bottles can let in too much light and affect the taste of the beer, as can very dark bottles. Amber beer is still used to manufacture beer bottles today; as a result, amber glass is also sometimes referred to as “beer bottle glass.”

Most of the amber glass sherds recovered were non-diagnostic body sherds (n=14). However, there were several body sherds which proved to be semi-diagnostic, in that they at least indicated the presence of a unique vessel on the site (n=4). Two of these fragments had faint patterns on them, although the specific patterns were unidentifiable. An additional two fragments had molded lettering, although only one of them was legible; it appeared to be molded with the letters “EE”. This may be part of the word “beer,” which would not be surprising, as the fragment is from a bottle. The last two pieces of amber glass from the site both came from the first excavation. One was a nearly-whole apothecary bottle, although it lacks any identifying marks. The other was a completely intact apothecary bottle, molded with Owens-Illinois’s maker’s mark, and dating to after 1958. The first apothecary bottle looks very similar to the Owens-Illinois bottle and as such, may have a similar date range, although this is only speculative. The amber glass, although it is the fifth-most represented glass type in the assemblage, provide only some diagnostic data toward tightening the site chronology. It does, however, reinforce the fact that there was occupation on the site from the third quarter of the 19th century, which extended into the mid-20th century.

Figure 2: Recovered amber glass sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	8	6	14
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	1	3	4
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	0	0	0
Shoulder	0	0	0
Whole bottles	2	0	2
Total Number of Vessels			6

Aqua Glass

In total, ten pieces of aqua glass were recovered from the site, which were split evenly between the two excavations. Of the five pieces that came from the second excavation, three of them came from surface collection and two pieces came from STPs – the Test Units did not yield any aqua glass. The term aqua glass encompasses glass that is best described as a mixture of blue and green in color. Aqua, or aquamarine, glass is different from truly blue or green glass, which is why it has a category of its own. Like other colors of glass, aqua glass can range in color saturation from pale aqua to dark aqua. The bluegreen color of aqua glass stems from the iron found in most glassmaking sand. If glass makers add nothing to remove the color of the glass (creating colorless glass), the end product will range from aqua glass, if there is relatively little iron in the sand, to black or dark green glass, if the sands contain a lot of iron. Amber glass comes from a very high profusion of iron impurities in a batch of glassmaking sand, although color additives are often still needed, as explained above. The range of colors from blue-green to dark green also comes from the heat of the fire used to melt and blow or mold the glass. A more intense fire will make a greener glass, while a cooler fire will make a bluer glass.

Aqua glass is incredibly common, as a color, and a wide array of bottles manufactured before the 1920s were aqua, rather than green or amber. Due to this ubiquity, glassmakers, especially in the United States, often called aqua glass “bottle glass.” Aqua glass appears archaeologically around the beginning of the 19th century and stays present on sites throughout its length. The early 20th century saw aqua glass replaced with colorless glass, which manufacturers felt better displayed the product within (although Coca-Cola still uses aqua glass bottles to the present day). As such, bottle fragments recovered from an archaeological site generally can confirm a 19th century occupation – or at least an occupation that predates the 1920s. Fruit or mason jar glass, known as Ball blue, is a subset of aqua glass, although its color tends to be a more intense, saturated aquamarine. Over half of all of the fruit jars manufactured in the early 20th century United States came from the Ball Company, which ended up giving its name to the unique color of mason jars. By the 1930s, though, colorless glass became the glass of choice even for fruit jars. The presence of mason jars on a site pushes the latest possible date of occupation into the 1930s. Aqua glass rarely appears in any vessel forms other than bottles or jars.

Half of the aqua glass sherds recovered were undiagnostic body sherds, while the other half were all basal sherds, except for a single jar rim fragment. Two of the basal sherds came from bottles, while the other two came from fruit jars. Based on the rim and basal sherds, there were fragments of at least five

different aqua glass vessels in the site's assemblage. The aqua glass provides some diagnostic data toward tightening the site chronology, as the bottles likely pre-date the 1920s and the jars pre-date the 1930s. The fragments cannot narrow the occupation to a particular portion of the 19th or early 20th century, but they do reaffirm the fact that the site was likely inhabited from the 19th century through at least the 1930s.

Figure 3: Recovered aqua glass sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	2	3	5
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	2	2	4
Rim sherds	1	0	1
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	0	0	0
Shoulder	0	0	0
Whole bottles	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			5

Black Glass

Only one piece of black glass came from the two excavations, and it was found during the first surface collection. Black glass is a slight misnomer, as it is usually a very dark olive, amber, or purple when held up to a strong enough light. However, black glass does often appear to be glass in the direct light of a room or sunlight.

Forms of black glass have appeared since at least the early 16th century and are found on sites up through the 19th century. However, black bottles, in particular, saw a resurgence during the second and third quarters of the 19th century. It is believed that the surge in black glass during the end of the 18th century and during the 19th century came largely from a switch in the fuel used in glassmaking fires; coal replaced wood as the cheapest fuel source. Glassmakers used black glass frequently to make cheap ale, wine, and liquor bottles, especially whiskey bottles; these were all mass-manufactured and often of poor quality, but their dark color protected their contents. Additionally, ink wells, snuff bottles, and mineral water bottles were made out of black glass; occasionally, there were black medicine bottles, but they were very rarely used for condiments.

Black glass does provide a strong starting date for a chronology, but does furnish a tight end date. It is rarely found after 1890 on archaeological sites and American-made black glass drops off around 1880. Black glass inkwells disappear earlier, around the 1870s. The one 20th century example of black glass that appears on sites is an overall exception to the rule; black amber bottles made by Mission Dry Orange, a soda company, date from 1929 to around 1935.

While black glass overall confirms the chronology of 44SN0341 as being inhabited during the 19th and the early 20th century, the individual fragment recovered is a non-diagnostic body sherd, and as such, cannot tell us much as to vessel type or function.

Figure 4: Recovered black glass sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	1	0	1
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	0	0	0
Shoulder	0	0	0
Whole bottles	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			1

Blue Glass

The glass fragments in this section fall into two main categories: cobalt and pale blue glass fragments. This report will discuss each category's fragments, including possible vessels, and their diagnostic utility for dating 44SN0341.

Cobalt Glass

Only five pieces of cobalt glass came from the two excavations at the site; the initial surface collection recovered one piece. Three of the pieces found during the second excavation also came from surface collection. The last piece came from a Test Unit. Cobalt glass gets its name from the fact that glassmakers would add cobalt oxide to the glass to color it a rich, brilliant blue. They would also use copper as an additive to glass batches, but as cobalt oxide was more widely used, the name cobalt glass stuck. Lighter cobalt glass is sometimes referred to as sapphire or cornflower glass, while darker cobalt glass has earned the name midnight blue glass. These other names, however, are all simply conventions to describe variations on the larger spectrum of cobalt glass.

Generally, cobalt glass was used to make bottles, especially medicine, cosmetic and poison bottles, as well as flasks and ink wells. At the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century, cobalt glass also appeared as salt dishes and decanters. This glass type, however, does not provide a very tight dating utility, as cobalt glass appeared at the end of the 18th century and continued in use through the 20th century. Some tighter ranges emerge, when examining specific vessel types. Medicinal, poison, and cosmetic bottles fall into a general pattern of usage between 1890 and 1960. Mineral and soda water bottles appear in cobalt glass from around 1840 through the early 20th century. Inkwells appear around the same time and disappear from the archaeological record after the 1930s. While not as tight as other glass types, the presence of cobalt glass does at least reaffirm that there was a habitation at 44SN0341 during the 19th century, which continued at least through the first quarter of the 20th century.

Three of the cobalt glass fragments recovered were undiagnostic body sherds, likely from bottles. The remaining sherds were also body sherds, but provided a little more information. One of them definitively came from a bottle, and broke off just before the vessel's base. The other sherd is a fragment from a medicinal bottle. As discussed above, these two semi-diagnostic fragments come from vessels manufactured sometime between at least 1890 and 1960, although this date could be as early as 1840s, depending on the type of bottle that the unknown fragments came from.

Figure 5: Recovered cobalt glass sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	1	2	3
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	2	2
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	0	0	0
Shoulder	0	0	0
Whole bottles	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			2

Pale Blue Glass

Seven pieces of pale blue glass came from the two excavations at the site, with two pieces coming from the initial surface collection, three pieces from the second surface collection, and one piece from an STP and a Test Unit respectively. Pale blue glass is very difficult to definitively date, as pale blue glass vessels are generally either made of pale aqua glass or blue-tinged colorless glass. As stated above, aqua glass appears archaeologically in the earthy 19th century and remains on archaeological sites through the early 20th century; bottles and jars, in particular, can confirm an occupation on the site from sometime between the first quarter of the 19th century and the 1920s. Colorless glass, discussed below, generally is not found before 1870s and is most common in assemblages from the early to mid-20th century; some forms of colorless glass are still used today. The reason that colorless glass may appear to be pale blue is due to the fact that one of the decolorizing agents that was frequently used, selenium dioxide, usually went into the glass mixture along with cobalt oxide, which is blue. As a result, a bluish tinge can be possible in colorless glass. Pale blue glass vessel forms are also similar to that of aqua and colorless glass and include bottles, tableware, and jars.

Figure 6: Recovered pale blue glass sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	2	0	2
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	2	2
Basal sherds	0	1	1
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	0	0	0
Shoulder	0	0	0
Whole bottles	0	0	0
Other vessel	0	2	2
Total Number of Vessels			4

The two pieces found during the first excavation were non-diagnostic body sherds, although it is difficult to determine their vessel type. The two body sherds from the second excavation had slightly more utility; one fragment, from surface collection, seems to be from a tableware vessel and may have broken off just before the vessel's rim. A molded line runs horizontally across the sherd. The second body sherd is very thin and as such, may be a fragment of lamp glass, although this isn't definitive; this is the only pale blue fragment

that came from a Test Unit. The fragment that came from an STP was a basal sherd, with an indistinguishable maker's mark. This fragment likely came from a bowl. The final two fragments, both of which came from surface collection, are pieces of thick, squares with rounded edges, which are likely coasters similar to the colorless coaster discussed below.

The total vessel count for the pale blue glass is somewhat difficult to determine, although there appears to have been at least one bowl and two coasters. There is some slight evidence for the presence of a lamp as well. Overall, the diagnostic utility of pale blue glass is the same as that of aqua and colorless glass. As such, these sherds point to an occupation at the site during the 19th century, extending until roughly the 1920s.

COLORLESS GLASS

Colorless glass is the term used to describe glass that has no other color in it. This term is used rather than referring to it as "clear" because the goal is to discuss a glass vessel's color, not its opacity. Other terms used for colorless glass include "flint" and "crystal." While truly colorless glass has been sought after since the origin of glassmaking as a trade, true colorless glass generally is not found on assemblages before the 1870s and is most common on assemblages from the early to mid-20th century, after the automatic bottle press emerges, although colorless glass does still exist today.

The later date for true colorless glass comes from that fact that it is very difficult to manufacture. In order to produce colorless glass, glassmakers must use sand / silica batches that are as free of iron and other impurities as possible. The stabilizer used in the mixture must also be nearly free of impurities. The terms "crystal" and "flint" above get their name from earlier 15th century Venetian and 18th century English attempts respectively to create colorless glass, both of which used a very pure quartz rock, referred to as calcined flint. It is due to improved glassmaking techniques (and better knowledge of chemistry) at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries that colorless glass as it is known today truly emerged. It soon became both easier and cheaper to create colorless glass batches, courtesy of newly recognized additive types. Potash-lime, potash-lead, and soda-lime glass are the three main varieties of glass that can be colorless and the latter two glasses are still manufactured today.

It is important to note that even glass referred to as true colorless glass may have some faint color, generally a byproduct of the decolorizing agents used in the glass batch. Manganese dioxide produces faint purple or pink hues and, as discussed below, can even turn colorless glass a deep purple after long exposure to sun. Greenish tinges generally come from selenium dioxide or impurities from copper or iron. Aqua or blue tinges occur when cobalt oxide is present in a batch containing selenium dioxide. Arsenious oxide, which is derived from arsenic, produces a yellowish or amber tint, often referred to as "straw" coloring; this is especially seen when arsenious oxide is combined in a batch with selenium and or cobalt oxide. "Straw" colorless glass has a strong diagnostic utility, as it rarely appears before the 1910s or after the 1950s in machine-made vessels; "straw" mouth-blown vessels generally date to the first quarter of the 20th century, although they sometimes can appear as early as the mid-19th century. Finally, colorless glass can sometimes have a greyish tint to it, which often comes from lead oxide.

Colorless Non-Window Glass

The most common type of glass recovered from the site was colorless glass (n=148); there were 54 pieces from the initial surface collection and an additional 94 pieces came from the second excavation (44

pieces came from Test Units, 26 pieces came from STPs, and 24 pieces came from surface collection). The majority of the sherds were body sherds (n=107), of which 91 sherds were non-diagnostic for dating or function purposes - one sherd was burned, but was non-diagnostic otherwise. The remaining 16 body sherds provided limited diagnostic utility. Two of the pieces looked like possible lip fragments and three appeared to be possible neck fragments. These sherds add the possibility of five more vessels to the minimum vessel count, although they cannot be definitively added in; the vessel count will be addressed in more detail below. There were also several molded body sherds; one sherd had scalloped panels and another had molded squares. Four body sherds were molded with letters, although only one had enough legible to provide diagnostic utility; the sherd had "OZ" written on it, indicating that it was a vessel that contained fluid ounces. Finally, four body sherds had molded seams on them. An additional body sherd was found with two rim sherds of the same vessel and will be discussed in more length with the rims. The molded sherds indicate that the bottles were made sometime between 1800 and the present day, although it is likely that they are not from any later than the mid-twentieth century.

The remaining colorless sherds recovered provide more diagnostic utility with regards to the minimum number of vessels on the site, their age, and their function. One shoulder fragment with a molded hearts-and-stripe pattern was recovered, although the pattern could not be identified. As it is the only sherd with this pattern, it increases the minimum vessel count by one. Two neck fragments were found as well, which do not seem to match any of the lip or basal sherds and as such add an additional two to the minimum vessel count.

The rims, bases, and lips of vessels usually prove to be the most diagnostic glass artifacts and those recovered from the 44SN0341 site do help to tighten the site's chronology. The excavations recovered 11 colorless rim sherds; two of these are from the same pressed glass bowl (along with one body sherd), which likely dates to the mid-twentieth century. Additionally, the rims speak to the presence of one wide-mouthed bowl, a holloware vessel, and seven wide-mouthed jars, adding an additional nine vessels to the minimum vessel count. The jar rims all had external thread lips, which places their manufacture after 1915.

Eighteen basal sherds were recovered from the excavations and all of them appear to be from separate vessels, which adds substantially to the colorless glass minimum vessel count. Ten of the basal sherds help to refine the vessel types found. Two sherds are from molded drinking glasses, five are from bottles, and three are from dishes. The bottles are all molded, with three of them displaying numbers related to patents or their contents. One of the bottles bases has "Des. P" molded onto it, which indicates that the bottle originally had a patent designation stamp. Another bottle is molded with part of the Duraglas maker's mark and that, combined with the numbers found on it, identifies it as a Pepsi-Cola bottle from the 1950s. The basal sherds from the dishes also help to tighten the site's chronology. One dish likely comes from sometime between 1870 and 1930, given the faint purplish color of the glass (although it is not fully solarized like the other sherds that are discussed below). A second dish fragment is molded with the Anchor-Hocking Bubble pattern, which was manufactured from 1940-1965. The third dish fragment is molded with the Anchor-Hocking Moonstone Hobnail pattern, which dates from the 1940s.

The excavations also yielded seven colorless lip sherds, all of which date at least the late 19th century through the mid-20th century, with some types extending back to the beginning of the 19th century. One of the lip fragments was a nearly complete molded prescription lip from a drug bottle dating to sometime between the mid-1870s and the early 1920s. Another lip sherd was that of a bead-lip, dating to sometime between the mid-19th century and the mid-20th century. Also in the assemblage was a club sauce-style lip, with a neck fragment and a crown lip sherd with a neck fragment; both of these lip sherds date to sometime between the 1890s and the 1930s, although some club sauce-style lips date back to as far as the 1850s and some crown

lips date into the mid-20th century. Additionally, there were three small mouth external thread lip sherds, one of which also had a neck fragment, which was decorated with an English band. These were manufactured from the 1890s through the 1930s, although some present-day bottles still have small mouth external thread lips.

The final two colorless glass fragments recovered do not fit into any of the categories mentioned above. The first of these is a large fragment of a thick square coaster with rounded edges. The other fragment is an intact knob, broken at the attachment point. This likely comes from a coffee percolator lid or a casserole lid, designed in the Anchor-Hocking Fire King Philbe pattern, which was manufactured only from 1937 to 1938.

Overall, a minimum of 36 colorless glass vessels were recovered from the site; the fragments that can be identified further break down into the following vessel types: twelve bottles, two drinking glasses, three dishes, seven jars, two bowls, one lid to either a coffee percolator or a casserole dish, and nine vessels which can only be identified as hollowware. Further, the colorless glass confirms that there was an occupation at the site between the 1850s and the 1960s.

Figure 7: Recovered colorless sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	31	60	91
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	6	10	16
Basal sherds	6	12	18
Rim sherds	4	7	11
Necks	2	0	2
Lips	5	2	7
Shoulder	0	1	1
Other Vessel	0	2	2
Total Number of Vessels			36

Colorless Window Glass

A subset of colorless glass, which has been counted up as a separate category, is that of window glass. Twenty-five pieces of window glass came from the site, with seven fragments recovered during the first excavation and rest recovered during the second excavation.

There are two main types of window glass found on historic sites in the United States: Crown glass and Cylinder glass. Crown glass gets its name from the fact that glassblowers blew molten glass into a globe, known as crown. While still hot, this would be spun until it became a flattened circle. After the glass cooled, window glass makers cut squares out of the circle, each of which became a window pane. No two Crown glass pieces are alike, because the glass cylinder varied in thickness across its length, with the thickest pieces of glass at the center. Additionally, the flattened crowns had a smaller pool of cooled glass at the very center, called a ponty mark (a variation on pontil mark), similar to that seen in blown bottles. Crown glass manufacture continued until the mid-19th century. Cylinder glass began in the beginning of the 19th century and soon became the main method of window glass manufacture after the 1850s. Glassblowers, and later machines, swinging a molten ball of glass into a long tube-like shape. The ends of the cylinder were then removed and the remaining glass was cut, length-wise, as it was cooling. The large semi-open cylinder was flattened and

then cut into smaller panes once it cooled. Cylinder glass fragments have a uniform thickness, which separates them from Crown glass pieces. Toward the end of the 19th century, and into the 20th century, Cylinder glass became thicker and thicker, finally evening out at roughly 3 mm.

All of the glass recovered from the site were manufactured using the Cylinder technique, further confirming the fact that the site's inhabitation occurred after the mid-19th century and up through the 20th century.

Figure 8: Recovered colorless sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Window	7	18	25

Solarized Colorless

The second most common type of glass recovered from the site was solarized colorless glass (n=41), which is another subset of colorless glass that is counted up as a separate category. Eighteen pieces came from the initial surface collection and an additional 23 pieces came from the second excavation (4 pieces came from Test Units, 4 pieces came from STPs, and 15 pieces came from surface collection). Solarized glass is a form of colorless glass, which has become light to medium-hue purple, due to sun exposure reacting with the manganese dioxide that was used in the decolorizing of the glass. Solarized glass is also referred to as sun-colored amethyst glass and as sun-purple glass. This glass type is rather helpful in determining the age of a site, as its manufacture dates to a specific time frame, 1870 to 1930, although some argue that this time frame is more specific, placing the age somewhere between 1890 and 1920. As such, the presence of solarized glass inherently helps to refine the site chronology and confirm a presence on the site during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The majority of the sherds were body sherds (n=31), of which all but one sherd were nondiagnostic. The remaining body sherd is molded with "...EBRU..", which may be part of the word February. The body sherd is from a bottle, although the type of bottle is unknown. Four bottle lips were recovered from the excavations: two bead lips, one threaded lip and one whiskey finish lip, which brings the minimum vessel count to four. The bead lips and threaded lip were produced from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, during the same time frame as the solarized glass, and the glass type actually narrows the age to somewhere between the 1870s and the 1930s. The whiskey finish was manufactured from the 1860s to the 1920s, but as solarized glass didn't appear until the 1870s, this particular lip fragment was manufactured sometime between the 1870s and the 1920s. The last remaining solarized sherds were basal sherds (n=6). Three of these sherds could not be identified any further than coming from separate hollowware vessels; the other three sherds, however, came from individual bottles. One of these bottles was marked with "A.G.W." and even has a misstrike in the form of the ghost of another "A" above the mark. This mark indicates that the vessel, likely a soda bottle, was made by American Glass Works, out of Richmond Virginia, sometime between 1916 and 1925.

Overall, a minimum of ten solarized glass vessels were recovered from the site; the fragments that can be identified further break down into the following vessel types: seven bottles, of which one is a soda bottle, and three vessels which can only be identified as hollowware. Further, the solarized colorless glass confirms that there was an occupation at the site between the 1870s and the 1930s, tightening the chronology set out by the non-solarized colorless glass.

Figure 9: Recovered solarized colorless sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	14	16	30
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	1	0	1
Basal sherds	2	4	6
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	1	3	4
Shoulder	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			10

Milk Glass

In total, 22 pieces of milk glass were recovered from the site; ten pieces came from the initial surface collection and an additional 12 pieces came from the second excavation (one piece came from the Test Units, one piece came from the STPs, and ten pieces came from surface collection). Milk glass is the name used for opaque white glass, also sometimes called opal glass, which is created by adding zinc or tin oxide to glass, along with phosphates and fluorides. Occasionally, its characteristic color was made by adding animal horn and bone to glass. Milk glass is, essentially, an opaque colorless glass – no coloring agents were added.

This glass type can also assist in determining the age of a site; archaeologists and material culture experts have found no evidence of milk glass before 1870. Manufacturers used milk glass to make cosmetic and perfume bottles until around 1920; ointment and cream jars also were made out of milk glass from around 1890 through the middle of the 20th century. During this time period, milk glass also appears in the form of ink, liquor, bitters, and medicinal vessels, although not as commonly. However, it was not a glass type associated with soda, wine, beer, or mineral water. Further, milk glass from the end of the 19th century and the early 20th century (before the Great Depression) was a higher-status item, while it became a low-status item after the Depression. The most common post-Depression vessel shapes are those of plates, cups, and bowls – dinnerware – and these were made as late as the 1960s. The older milk glass tends to have elaborate molded patterns and is thinner and finer than its later counterparts. The presence of milk glass at 44SN0341 inherently helps to refine the site chronology and confirms a presence on the site during the late 19th century, which continues through at least the first half of the 20th centuries.

The majority of the milk glass sherds in the assemblage were rim sherds from liners used to seal canning / Mason Jars (n = 11). Of these sherds, four of these have enough writing intact to specify their manufacturer. They are all pieces of Boyd's Genuine Porcelain Lined Caps, which were predominantly made of milk glass, in spite of their name. These liners prevented jars' contents from having a metallic taste (caused by direct contact with the canning jar's lid). These liners were first produced in milk glass in 1871, with production continuing through the 1950s. The earlier liners were embossed with BOYD or BOYD'S on them; all four of the liners with writing indicate that they were made by Boyd's and appear to have been made closer to 1871 than 1900.

There were four additional rim sherds in the assemblage. Two were saucer fragments molded with the Vitrock / Fish Scale pattern, which was produced by Anchor Hocking, Fire King from 1939-1943; one of these sherds came from the initial surface collection, while the other came from the second surface collection. The final two rim sherds' manufacturers were unidentifiable, but they may have been part of a set of teaware

vessels. One sherd has a gold stripe painted on it and may be part of a teacup; the other has a shoulder and possible spout and may be from a vessel like a creamer. No bottle lips made of milk glass came from the excavations, but the dig did reveal one basal sherd – a fragment of Fire King ovenware, molded with the words “OVEN” “FIRE-KING [in script lettering]” and “Ware.” This dates from sometime between 1951 and 1960.

Five body sherds came from the two excavations, of which only one was non-diagnostic and one was semi-diagnostic (an unidentifiable bottle fragment). Of the remaining three, two of the fragments came from jar liners (whose chronology is above) and one sherd was a plate fragment molded with the Swirl / Shell pattern, which was produced by Anchor Hocking, Fire King from 1949-1976.

Figure 10: Recovered milk glass sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	1	1
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	1	1
Diagnostic body sherds	2	1	3
Basal sherds	0	1	1
Rim sherds	7	7	14
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	0	0	0
Shoulder	1	0	1
Button	0	1	1
Total Number of Vessels			9

Overall, a minimum of nine milk glass vessels were recovered from the site; the fragments that can be identified further break down into the following vessel types: at least four canning / mason jar liners, a piece of Fire King Oven Ware, two pieces of teaware, an Anchor Hocking Fire King saucer, molded with the Vitrock / Fish Scale pattern, and an Anchor Hocking Fire King plate, molded with the Swirl / Shell pattern. The milk glass by itself confirms that there was an occupation at the site between the 1870s and the 1960s.

One final piece of milk glass was recovered from 44SN0341: a round button. It resembles most glass buttons, in that it was molded / pressed and is a 1-piece button. The button is a sew-through button with two holes, or eyes. Milk glass buttons first appear around the 1840 and quickly rise to popularity by 1850, gradually replacing metal buttons for certain articles of clothing, including men’s shirts and women’s bodices. Milk glass buttons fell out of fashion around the 1940s. The presence of a milk glass button on the site also places its occupation sometime between the mid-19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

NON-OLIVE GREEN GLASS

Non-olive bottle glass ranges widely in color from pale to medium to dark greens, often with varying levels of blue or yellow in the color as well. Non-olive green glass can get its color either from the addition of copper oxide, especially in 18th and 19th century table glass, or from the introduction of iron, which results in lighter shades of green. Overall, the wide range of green glass shades and the long production history (even non-olive glass dates back at least to the 18th century) make it very difficult to assign any diagnostic utility to non-olive green glass alone. Instead, information from vessel form and manufacture generally provide clearer information on the dating of the objects and the site.

There are a few shades which provide some aid in assemblage dating, however. Bright greens, often referred to as “7-up green” because of the soda’s bright green bottle, usually appear on 20th century sites alone, with only a few showing up at the very tail end of the 19th century on some sites. Further, dark emerald green bottles, often referred to as “Congressville green” bottles, generally appear on 19th century sites alone, and usually pertain to mineral or soda water. Their unique color usually comes from adding chromium oxide and then reducing the glass in the furnace.

Most non-olive glass was used to make bottles, especially for mineral water, soda water, and other beverages, as well as tableware, including dishes, plates, saucers, cups, flasks, decanters, and even vases.

Emerald Glass

Four pieces of emerald glass came from the two excavations at the site, with one piece coming from the initial surface collection. Two of the pieces found during the second excavation also came from surface collection and one from a Test Unit. All of the pieces (two rims, a body sherd and a basal sherd) came from the same type of pressed glass plate – and may possibly come from a single vessel. The sherds are all marked with the India Glass Sandwich Pattern, which was produced from 1920 to 1930. This tight range aids in further establishing an early 20th century occupation at the site.

Figure 11: Recovered emerald glass sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	1	1
Basal sherds	1	0	1
Rim sherds	0	2	2
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	0	0	0
Shoulder	0	0	0
Whole bottles	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			1

Pale Green Glass

Three pieces of pale green glass came from the two excavations at the site, with one piece coming from an STP during the second excavation. The remaining two pieces came from the initial surface collection. All three pieces are not very diagnostic. Two fragments came from bottles and one is a possible hollowware rim, although it is difficult to determine. As such, little diagnostic utility comes from the pale green glass in the assemblage other than the fact that there was at least one pale green glass vessel on site; however, the color itself is generally found in late 19th century and 20th century assemblages, which aids a bit in tightening the site chronology.

Olive Glass

Only four pieces of olive glass were recovered from the site; two came from the first excavation and two from the second. Olive glass stands as its own category of glass, having more yellow-green or brown-green color than other green glasses. Glassmakers created olive glass through both sand impurities and the addition of iron

Figure 12: Recovered pale green glass sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	2	0	2
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	1 (possible)	0	1
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	0	0	0
Shoulder	0	0	0
Whole bottles	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			1

and copper oxides. Imported olive glass from Western and Central Europe is often referred to as potash-lime glass and contains, as the name suggests, both potash and lime, in addition to iron-rich silica. This glass usually comes from regions lacking in enough soda for glassmaking. When potash-lime glass was green instead of colorless, European glassmakers often referred to it as waldglas. Potash-lime glass, including its olive varietal, appears around 1680 and is used up through around 1900. American-made olive glass is most prevalent in the 19th century, with a few 20th century exceptions. Overall, olive glass is used for bottles, especially wine bottles, although it also used for liquor bottles until around 1910. Some champagne and scotch bottles are still made out of olive glass, usually as a nod to tradition. Especially after the 1920s, a lighter olive glass appears, which is tinged with amber. It is this newer glass that is used for present-day champagne and wine bottles and its brighter color aids in distinguishing it from its older counterpart. Olive glass also came in the form of mineral water bottles, inkwells, and some condiment bottles until the 1880s, flasks (especially those with figures) and snuff bottles until the 1870s, and even medicine bottles until roughly the 1860s. Rarely did glassmakers use olive glass to make perfume, drug, poison, or cologne bottles.

The four olive sherds recovered from the excavations were undiagnostic body sherds, all likely from bottles. Their presence does not really allow for any speculation on the minimum number of vessels other than that there was at least one olive glass bottle present. The sherds do confirm, however, an occupation during the 19th century at 44SN0341, which likely extends into the early 20th century.

Figure 13: Recovered olive glass sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	2	2	4
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	0	0	0
Shoulder	0	0	0
Whole bottles	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			1

Pink and Amethyst Glass

A single fragment of pink glass came from the excavations, specifically from the second surface collection at the site. Pink glass (and its darker variant red or ruby glass) is rather rare in the archaeological record, especially before the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Reddish glasses usually come from the addition of manganese and / or nickel oxides, often with selenium oxide added in as well. Some glassmakers even use gold oxide to create a rich red color. The manganese oxide mentioned here is the same used to decolorize colorless glass and is the reason why solarized glass looks purple. However, if enough manganese is added, glass can intentionally be turned light or dark purple, known as true purple or amethyst glass. These purples, when mixed with redder oxides, can render a batch of glass a pinkish color.

Pink glass, along with red and true purple, or amethyst glass, does not appear on archaeological sites before 1840 and, as bottles, are not found after around 1880. As tablewares, pink and purple were favored pressed-glass colors for a glass type known by collectors as Depression glass. This usually translucent glass gets its name from the Great Depression in the United States and it was often distributed for free or at a very cheap cost. Some companies even included a piece of glass in food boxes as an purchasing incentive. Most Depression glass had uranium oxide added to it, as it was relatively cheap until uranium supplies grew scarce during the Cold War. Much of the Depression glass manufactured came from the Ohio River Valley, which had a cheap source of materials and power. Depression glass was manufactured as early as the 1880s and as late as the 1940s.

There are over 100 different patterns for Depression glass, which greatly aids in its diagnostic utility, as the pattern and manufacturer, as well as dates of manufacturer, often are identifiable. Pink was a very common color for Depression glass, as was green, amber, and blue, along with colorless patterns. Depression glass also came in yellow, turquoise, cobalt, red (or ruby), amethyst, and black, along with opaque variants in milk, jadeite, which is pale green, and delphite, which is pale blue.

While only one pink sherd and one amethyst sherd came from the excavations, their presence still does quite a bit to tighten the site chronology. The amethyst sherd is a basal or foot sherd, likely from a compote or candy dish and is made of Depression glass, although there is no discernable pattern on the sherd. The pink body sherd came from the excavations, its molded pattern of alternating raised and incised vertical stripes is likely the Lincoln Inn pattern, which was manufactured in the late 1920s by the Fenton Art Glass Company. The body sherd comes from a tableware vessel, and is likely from either a goblet or a tumbler. These two sherds, and the pink one in particular, further confirm an occupation at 44SN0341 in the early 20th century.

Figure 14: Recovered pink glass sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	1	1
Basal sherds	0	1	1
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Necks	0	0	0
Lips	0	0	0
Shoulder	0	0	0
Whole bottles	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			2

CERAMICS

In total, 145 individual ceramic pieces came from site 44SN0341, 51 pieces from the original surface collection and 94 pieces from the second excavation that combined pedestrian survey and subsurface excavation. The ceramics were divided into 21 categories based on ware type, which helps to determine the objects' relative age and vessel type and/or function. Most ceramics recovered from archaeological sites fall into three main categories: earthenwares, stonewares, and porcelain. This report discusses each of the 21 ware types below, dividing them into their respective larger classes of earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain.

Figure 15: Recovered Ceramic Categories

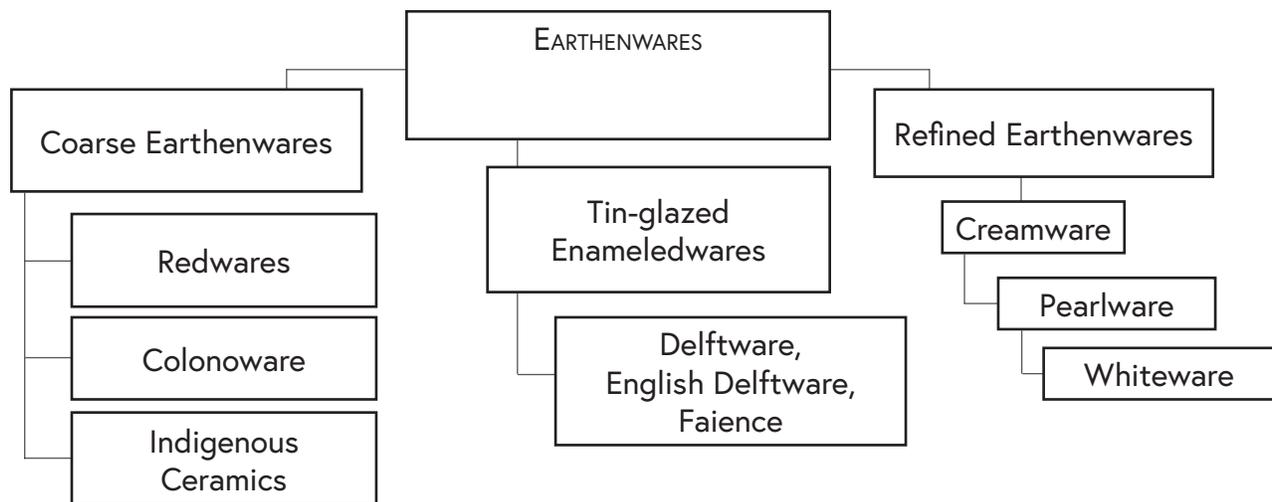
Ware Type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Earthenwares	42	68	110
China Ware	0	1	1
Clay Pigeon	0	1	1
Coarse Earthenware	0	10	10
Colonoware	3	1	4
Earthenware Tile	1	1	2
Pearlware	3	4	7
Redware	4	12	16
Rockingham	0	1	1
Smoking Pipe Fragment	1	0	1
Whiteware	30	37	67
Total Number of Vessels			50
Stonewares	8	16	24
Albany Slip	1	11	12
Albany Slip & Bristol Glaze	3	0	3
Bristol Glaze	2	1	3
Unidentified Gray	2	3	5
Westerwald	0	1	1
Total Number of Vessels			12
Porcelain	1	10	11
Parian Ware	0	1	1
English Porcelain	0	2	2
Japanese Porcelain	0	2	2
Other Porcelain	0	2	2
Unknown Porcelain	0	2	2
Semi-porcelain	1	1	2
Total Number of Vessels			7
Total Sherds	51	94	145
Total Number of Vessels			69

Earthenwares

Earthenwares are defined as ceramics that are fired at low temperatures and have soft, usually porous bodies. As such, these vessels have to be glazed, or otherwise sealed, to be able to hold liquid. Low-fired earthenwares are the earliest ceramics in most regions of the world and this assemblage contains several sherds that are possibly prehistoric. Most historical archaeology focuses, as a whole, on earthenwares produced in Europe – especially England – during the Middle Ages, with production beginning in the Americas roughly around the 1620s. This class of ceramics has a wide range of functions, based its level of refinement. Coarse earthenwares, the least refined, lowest fired, and most porous of the earthenwares, generally appear in the archaeological record in the form of utilitarian vessels like storage jars, pipkins and milk pans. Most early indigenous ceramics are also classified as coarse earthenwares, as is Colonware, which is attributed both to Native Americans and to enslaved populations. Refined earthenwares originally emerged as decorative prestige ceramics, such as tin-glazed enamelware (which is semi-refined). By the mid-18th century, refined earthenwares become more widespread until the 19th century, when they are as ubiquitous and utilitarian as coarse earthenwares. Figure 16 below represents the broadest divisions in earthenwares in chart-format.

Overall, earthenwares comprise about three-quarters of the ceramic assemblage (75.9%) with 110 individual sherds. Additionally, 50 of the site's X vessels are earthenware. This report discusses each of the 10 earthenware types, in alphabetical order. The ceramic types are as follows: China Ware, Clay Pigeons, Coarse Earthenwares, Colonware, Earthenware Titles, Pearlware, Redware, Rockingham, Smoking Pipe Fragments, and Whiteware.

Figure 16: Division of Colonial and Europeanwares



China Ware

One fragment of China Ware was found at 44SN0341 and it came from the initial surface collection. China Ware is separate from porcelain due to the fact that it is fired differently and is technically classified as a type of refined earthenware (explained below). Porcelain generally is fired twice and becomes vitrified, or glass-like, during this second, hotter firing. China Ware, by contrast, is only fired once, with vitrification happening then; the firing temperature is also generally lower than that used on porcelain, resulting in a slightly different shade of white, which some ceramic experts refer to as a warmer or creamier color. China Ware can have underglaze or overglaze decoration, although the former is more common.

Figure 17: Recovered China Ware sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	1
Total Number of Vessels			1

Although only a single sherd of China Ware came from 44SN0341, its particular pattern has a very tight production date. The rim sherd has two green annular bands and is most likely a piece of a Caribe China restaurant ware plate from around 1950. The single rim sherd also contributes one vessel to the overall ceramic vessel count of the site.

Clay Pigeon

Clay pigeons, also called clay targets, first appear in the early 1880s, with one patent granted in 1880 and another in 1883; early pigeons, often originally referred to as mud saucers, were made of a coarse earthenware and were fired in batches like bricks. These came in answer to the search for a target that flew more like a bird when shot out of a trap. Previous shooting targets varied widely, from metal propeller-like devices to glass balls, some of which even contained feathers inside seem more realistic. Trap shooting grew in popularity in the 19th century as Americans and Britons sought ways to hunt for sport without the expenses of actual hunting parties. The early mud saucers flew better and no longer left sharp sherds of metal or glass on the shooting range.

The sport of clay trap shooting took off almost immediately, especially in the United States. The first national clay trap shooting competition took place in 1885 and by the 1890s, Americans were purchasing millions of clay traps each year. Much of the appeal came from the fact that George Ligowsky, the first to receive a patent for clay traps, hired the sharpshooters Captain Adam Henry Bogardus and his rival William Frank “Doc” Carver to promote his disks. Carver himself had garnered a reputation with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Shows and both men agreed to a 25-match series using Ligowsky’s clay pigeons exclusively to demonstrate their shooting prowess.

A major change to clay pigeons occurred around 1884, when the material make-up of clay pigeons changed. Soon, what became known as composition targets replaced mud saucers. These pigeons were manufactured from a mixture – or composition – of limestone, pitch, and clay; other mixtures emerged but the limestone-pitch combination was the most successful and is still the most widely used today. The pitch gives the pigeon a dark black color, which is often painted for visibility and a flashy explosion of color when the pigeon is shot.

One fragment of a limestone-pitch clay pigeon was recovered from 44SN0341; it is a fragment which broke close to the rim and has traces of yellow paint on it. The presence of the composition pigeon gives a date of no older than 1884, although the fact that the pigeon came from the second surface collection means that the fragment can only help date the site overall in a general way. The yellow paint appears more modern, although it is not florescent. The presence of pigeon indicates that there could have been an occupation at the

site as early as the 1880s up through the present. As a fragment of a clay pigeon, this sherd does not contribute to the overall ceramic vessel count for the site.

Coarse Earthenware

In total, 10 sherds of coarse earthenware came from 44SN0341, all of which came from the second excavation (two pieces from surface collection and eight from test units). One fragment recovered (from a test unit) may be a piece of tin-glazed enamelware, from which the enamel has spalled off; it is categorized as coarse earthenware because no further definitive information could be ascertained.

The remaining nine pieces of coarse earthenware may be Native-made. All of the fragments are unglazed and one of them has a possible incised design on it in the form of a single diagonal line (although this could be an unintentional scratch-mark, given how relatively soft the fabric of the fragment is). One of the nine fragments may be a basal sherd, although it is rather battered, and – as such – it is difficult to determine its vessel position with certainty. Additionally, two fragments from the test unit appear to be burned. All of the fragments recovered subsurface came from the same location: Field Specimen 32, which is a test unit.

Overall, the coarse earthenwares do little to assist in dating the site. While Native-made ceramics can date back to before the arrival of Europeans, seven of the nine possible Native-made sherds were found in the same stratigraphic layer as the possible fragment of tin-glazed enamelware. This brings their date of manufacture forward in time to after European arrival. The coarse earthenware fragments add an additional two vessels to the site's ceramic vessel count: one vessel comes from the possibly Native-made basal sherd and the other from the body sherd that is likely a fragment of tin-glazed enamelware.

Figure 18: Recovered Coarse earthenware sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	8	8
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	1	1
Basal sherds	0	1	1
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			2

Colonoware

Four sherds of Colonoware were recovered from 44SN0341; three of these pieces came from the initial surface collection and one of them came from the second surface collection. Colonoware is a lowfired, unglazed (although sometimes burnished) coarse earthenware. It generally appears on sites in the southeast, including Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, although it is also found in the Caribbean. Colonoware was made from the late 17th century through the late 19th century. This particular ware type has often been the source of debate, for it is unclear who its original manufacturers were. There are American Indian sites that have evidence of Colonoware production, while there are also enslaved African sites with the same pattern of production. The current consensus is that both American Indians and enslaved Africans produced forms of Colonoware.

Of the three pieces recovered from the initial surface collection, one fragment is a rim sherd with evidence of burnishing and the other two pieces are basal sherds (although it is unclear if they are from the

same vessel). The fourth Colonware fragment, from the second surface collection, is also a basal sherd and it has a pattern of two incised lines in the shape of an “X” on the obverse side.

Figure 19: Recovered Colonware sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	2	1	3
Rim sherds	1	0	1
Total Number of Vessels			2

The presence of Colonware at 44SN0341 reinforces the site’s connection to the Nottoway. Additionally, it speaks to a presence on the site dating back at least to the late 19th century. The earlier dates for Colonware cannot fully apply, as no sherds were found in any undisturbed subsurface contexts. However, the presence of a rim and a basal sherd, which appear to be from different vessels, contributes another two vessels to the site’s overall minimum ceramic vessel count.

Earthenware Tile Fragments

Two different types of earthenware tile came from the excavations at 44SN0341: one fragment from the first surface collection and one fragment from the second. The first piece appears to be a fragment of red-brown ceramic floor tile, with part of the wire netting used to hold the tiling together still attached to the reverse. Wire mesh underneath floor tiles first appears in the early 20th century. The second tile fragment is likely made from terra cotta and has a glazed edge, but no glaze on the obverse or reverse. The tile may be a roofing tile, although its age is uncertain.

The two fragments, both of which are part of an architectural assemblage, speak to the presence of a domestic space at the site. The flooring tile speaks to a presence dating back at least to the early 20th century. Neither sherd contributes to the minimum ceramic vessel count.

Pearlware

Seven sherds of Pearlware came from 44SN0341. Three sherds were recovered from the initial surface collection and four additional sherds came from the second surface collection. Pearlware is a type of refined, white, hard-bodied earthenware. It was first produced by English potter Josiah Wedgwood in 1779 as Pearl White ware and was manufactured from the early 1780s through the 1830s. Pearlware, and adaptation of Wedgwood’s original name for the ceramic type, emerged as a whiter alternative to Wedgwood’s earlier Creamware, which had a yellowish tinge to it; through the use of cobalt rather than lead in its glaze, the ware was both whitened and given a slightly bluish tint (most noticeable in parts of a vessel where the glaze pooled, such as footings and handles). There is evidence that several potters in Staffordshire also produced a similar ware, which they called China Glaze around 1775. Pearlware is ubiquitous on sites in the United States that date anytime between the 1780s and 1830s.

While three of the sherds from the site were non-diagnostic body sherds, the remaining four pieces of Pearlware do provide more diagnostic utility. Two basal sherds had evidence of a footing and appear to be from plates. The third basal sherd came from the same surface collection context as the only Pearlware rim

found on the site and the two sherds likely come from the same vessel. A green shell-edged pattern decorates the rim and provides a tight date range for the sherd (and possibly the associated basal sherd). The rim sherd is broken and, as such, the exact style of shell-edged decoration is difficult to determine. However, based on the color of the decoration and the amount of incising on the extant decoration, the rim sherd dates to sometime between 1780 and 1830.

The Pearlware sherds found at 44SN0341 indicate that there were inhabitants on the site at least as early as the 1830s and that occupancy may date back to the 1780s. The Pearlware fragments contribute another three vessels to the minimum ceramic vessel count: a unique vessel for each of the two distinct basal sherds and a third vessel for the shell-edged rim and associated base

Figure 20: Recovered Pearlware sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	2	1	3
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	1	2	3
Rim sherds	0	1	1
Total Number of Vessels			3

Redware

The excavations at 44SN0341 recovered sixteen sherds of Redware, with four fragments found during the initial surface collection, two fragments from the STPs, and the remaining the fragments from the Test Units. Redware is a type of coarse earthenware made from iron-rich clays, which give the ware its name-sake color. The particular shade of red found ranges from an orange-red to a brick red to a dark, purplish brown. Additionally, while all Redware is classified as a coarse earthenware, some vessels are made from more fine grained clays and, as such, are more refined in appearance. Most Redware vessels serve utilitarian functions and – as a result – are often of poor quality. Potters in the 17th and 18th century British colonies had restrictions placed on the vessel types that they could manufacture, effectively keeping them from making more refined wares which could hurt the business of importing finished wares from England to the colonies. These potters used locally sourced clays to make a range of utilitarian vessels instead, such as butter dishes, pipkins, chamber pots, mugs, and other kitchen pieces that were not cost-effective to make in England and subsequently ship to the colonies. The colonies continued to import more refined types of Redware, such as Astbury and Buckley, along with other refined earthenwares, porcelain, and many forms of stoneware, and porcelain. Redwares, in general, appear on archaeological sites in North America from the 17th century through the 19th century.

The majority of the Redware sherds recovered were non-diagnostic body sherds from coarse Redware vessels (n=13); only two of these fragments had remnants of lead glaze on the interior and they both came from the same Test Unit context. Their presence indicates that there was at least one leadglazed Redware vessel on the site. One body fragment, which came from the initial surface collection, was semi-diagnostic. A dark red, more refined redware, the interior shows evidence of the vessel being wheel-thrown and the exterior has a black glaze. The sherd appears to be a fragment of a Buckley-type vessel; Buckley-type refers to vessels that resemble Buckley Ware but may not specifically come from kilns in Buckley, in northern Wales. Buckley-type appears on archaeological sites in Virginia from the 1720s through the 1770s, although it has been found as late as the early 19th century at a few sites. The two remaining sherds are basal sherds, one of which is very coarse and unglazed. The other has faint remnants of a black, manganese glaze on the interior.

The Redware sherds found at 44SN0341 indicate that there were inhabitants on the site sometime between the late 17th and the early 19th centuries; the wide date range attributed to redware means that most of the sherds recovered do not help tighten the overall chronology for the site. However, the presence of Buckley-type speaks to an 18th century presence at the site, which had also been suggested by the presence of Pearlware. The Redware fragments contribute another four vessels to the minimum ceramic vessel count: a unique vessel for each of the two distinct basal sherds, a third vessel for the Buckley-type vessel, and a fourth for the lead-glazed redware body sherds, which do not match up to any of the basal sherds.

Figure 21: Recovered Redware sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	2	11	13
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	1	0	1
Basal sherds	1	1	2
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			4

Rockingham

A single sherd of Rockingham came from the excavations at 44SN0341 and it was found during the second surface collection. Rockingham generally refers to a refined earthenware that is yellow or tan in color and glazed a mottled brown with honey-colored streaks, which is usually the vessel's body color showing through the glaze. Rockingham generally refers to a decoration style rather than a true ware-type because Rockingham glaze appears on earthenwares and, on occasion, stonewares. Rockingham appears in the mid-19th century and persists through the early 20th century; these vessels were relatively cheap and mass-produced in both England and in North America. By the 1880s, the United States stopped importing British-made Rockingham; potteries in Vermont, Ohio, Illinois, Kentucky, and New Jersey had been manufacturing Rockingham since at least the 1850s and they eliminated the need to import the ware from Britain.

While the single body sherd, with Rockingham glazing on the exterior and a solid, brown Albany slip on the interior, does not identify the type of vessel from whence it came, its decoration style does contribute to reinforcing the site chronology. The presence of Rockingham at 44SN0341 indicates that there were inhabitants on the site sometime between the 1850s and the early 20th century.

Figure 22: Recovered Rockingham sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	1	1
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels			1

Smoking Pipe

The initial surface collection at 44SN0341 recovered one fragment of a smoking pipe. Smoking pipes, made from white kaolin clay and bisque fired, became ubiquitous on archaeological sites from the 17th through the 19th centuries. Generally the shape, size, and angle of the pipe bowl, along with the size of the pipe stem's bore hole, indicate the age of any given smoking pipe. The fragment recovered from the site is a small piece of a pipe bowl which, while showing evidence of use on the interior, is not intact enough to give be of any diagnostic utility. The bowl fragment confirms that there was a presence on the site sometime between the 17th and 19th centuries, but other artifacts are needed to provide a tighter site chronology.

Whiteware

In total, 67 sherds of Whiteware came from 44SN0341; thirty of these sherds were from the initial surface collection. The remaining 37 sherds were from the second excavation with two pieces recovered from Test Units, five pieces from STPs, and 30 pieces from surface collection. Whiteware is a white, refined, hard-bodied earthenware which evolved out of pearlware in the 1810s. Never officially invented, Whiteware likely came about as a response to changing tastes; customers wanted ceramics that were brighter white and also more durable. This demand has not died down, and consumers still purchase Whitewares today. Archaeologically, Whiteware is truly white when placed next to yellow-tinged Creamwares and blue-tinged Pearlwares. Its diagnostic utility is weaker than that of Creamware and Pearlware because of its continued manufacture. It appears on sites from the first quarter of the 19th century onward; however, decorative features, such as maker's marks and pattern types, aid in tightening

Whiteware's diagnostic utility. Additionally, a subset of Whiteware, referred to as Ironstone, can also help tighten the site chronology. Ironstone first appears around 1840 on archaeological site, although it was most popular between 1855 and 1885. Ironstone is thicker, harder, heavier, and often whiter than other varieties of Whiteware. Some of the Whiteware fragments recovered were Ironstone fragments, which proves that there was occupation on the site at least after 1840.

Twenty-seven of the whiteware fragments recovered were non-diagnostic body sherds, which means that the remaining approximately 60% of the assemblage does contribute to better understanding the site and tightening its occupation chronology. Fourteen additional body sherds recovered provided some diagnostic utility. Two fragments were unique in their decoration, indicating additional vessels, although their patterns were unidentifiable; one sherd had a red glaze on the interior and exterior and the other had a faint, indistinguishable green pattern. Four sherds provided information about the vessels from which they came. One piece still had a fragment of a handle attached to it and likely came from a mug. Another sherd also came from a hollowware vessel, which may have been a jug, while a third broke off of a plate just before the vessel's base. Four undecorated Ironstone fragments once again speak to the presence of this Whiteware subset on the site; one of the sherds was a plate marly (which is the portion of plate between the rim and dish bevel). The final ironstone body sherd proved to be very diagnostic. It was a marly fragment from a plate and it was decorated with a specific variation of the Willow Blue / Old Willow pattern of English-made ironstone. The dish was likely made by the Johnson brothers sometime between 1930 and 1940. Also present in the assemblage of body sherds were fragments of two different vessels decorated with dark blue floral transferprint, dating from 1820 to 1860. The final two body sherds with diagnostic utility were two fragments of vessels decorated with blue, floral, decalomania and each dating to sometime after 1870; one fragment came from a plate and one from a cup. This body sherds added eleven Whiteware vessels to the site's overall vessel count.

Excavations yielded 15 Whiteware rim sherds. These speak to the presence of nine tableware vessels, including three scalloped plates (a nod toward their Creamware and Pearlware predecessors), one with a pink, painted pattern (which also matched a body sherd found in the same context), and three with molded patterns, which could not be specifically identified. The other six rim sherds came from hollowware vessels, one of which is part of a teacup hand-painted in pink. Three rim sherds were from ironstone vessels, and two of these show evidence of burning.

The basal sherds recovered provided more diagnostic information than that gained from the rim sherds. In total, eleven basal sherds came from the site, with seven coming from the initial surface collection. One of the sherds seems to come from a medicinal vessel, such as a phial or a mortar; the remaining ten of the basal sherds came from plates. Footrings were visible on six of the plate sherds. Two of the plates were Ironstone and, like the rim sherds, both showed signs of having been burnt. One of the plate fragments had a dark blue transferprinted design on the interior, which dates to between 1820 and 1860. An additional basal sherd has a green, pink, blue, and yellow floral pattern on the interior and a maker's mark on the plate fragment's underside. This mark that of a sailing ship and it represents the Edwin M. Knowles China Co. This particular iteration of the company's maker's mark only appears in the 1930s; earlier and later maker's marks for the company look quite different. The basal sherds do not definitively match up with any of the rim sherds recovered and, as such, add an additional 11 vessels to the site vessel count.

The Whiteware sherds found at 44SN0341 indicate that there were inhabitants on the site at least as early as the 1810s and they continued to live at the site up through at least the 1930s. The Whiteware sherds contribute another 37 vessels to the minimum ceramic vessel count for the site, of which seven are from Ironstone pieces.

Figure 23: Recovered Whiteware sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	13	14	27
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	2	12	14
Basal sherds	7	4	11
Rim sherds	8	7	15
Total Number of Vessels:			37

Stonewares

Stonewares, the next ceramic class in this artifact report, are fired at temperatures ranging from 1200 – 1390° C (2192 – 2534° F); these are much higher temperatures than those used to fire earthenwares. This increased heat creates a non-porous, partially vitrified body. This results in a 'stone'like fabric that is both hard and durable, as well as impermeable to water, which removes the need for a waterproofing glaze. In general, stoneware fabrics range from gray to buff and yellow to brown and red.

As with earthenwares, historical archaeology focuses most on stonewares produced in Europe from the middle ages onward, although stonewares were very common in Japan and China, emerging in the latter as early as the Shang Dynasty (1600-1046 BC). This long history of Chinese and Japanese stoneware is especially important when considering 19th century assemblages, as some of them contain high proportions of Asian – and especially Chinese – stonewares. With regards to European stonewares, most of them were produced

in Germany, specifically in the Rhineland, until the late seventeenth century, when they began to be produced in England. By the beginning of the 18th century, stoneware production was underway in North America, although mostly in the east. During the 19th century, American stoneware (also known as American Gray) was one of the most ubiquitous housewares in North America. Stonewares still appear today, especially as tablewares and kitchenwares, and retain popularity due to their durability and relatively low cost. Due to the fact that stoneware types from the 18th through the 20th century were produced over long periods of time, they do not provide the same diagnostic utility that earthenwares can; this pertains especially to those stonewares produced in North America.

Stonewares served a variety of functions. Thicker stonewares fulfilled utilitarian functions as pitchers, jugs, crocks, chamber pots, and even oil lamps, and inkwells. Thinner stonewares were used for mugs, jars, bottles, and tankards. Most archaeologists distinguish stonewares by the variations in their surface treatments, the majority of which fall into the following categories: unglazed (also known as plain), salt-glazed, Albany slip, and Bristol glazed. Other stoneware types, such as Frechen, Westerwald, Fulham, and English White Salt-Glazed, and Scratch Blue are also common on archaeological sites dating from the 18th century. The fact that nearly all of these types did not appear at 44SN0341 emphasizes the fact that the most intensive occupation at the site occurred during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Overall, stonewares comprise roughly 16% of the total ceramic assemblage, with a total of 24 sherds; further, twelve of the site's X vessels recovered are made of stoneware. This report discusses each of the 4 stoneware types, in alphabetical order. The ceramic types are as follows: Albany Slip, Bristol Glaze, Unidentified Gray, and Westerwald. Additionally, there are a few sherds that fall into a combined category because they feature both Albany Slip and Bristol Glaze.

Albany Slip

Albany Slip was the most numerous ceramic type found at 44SN0341, with 12 sherds, one of which came from the initial surface collection. Of the remaining 11 sherds, all but one came from the second surface collection; a single sherd was recovered from an STP. Albany slip refers to a dark, chocolate brown slip glaze used throughout the 19th century. A slip glaze is one that is made from a slurry of clay and water; Albany Slip gets its particular color from its high iron content in the glacial clay first sourced for it near Albany, New York. This particular decorative technique emerged in the early 1800s in Albany, but quickly spread to Midwest potters in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Albany Slip was used on the interior and exterior of stonewares and became popular due to its color, durability, and texture, which fired to a glassy smoothness. As the United States expanded west, Albany Slip's popularity did too, traveling in shipments on the expanding railroads. The slip fell out of favor by the 1910s and it is generally not found on archaeological sites after 1940.

Most of the sherds recovered were body sherds ($n=10$), six of which are curved such that they appear to come from hollowware vessels such as crocks or jugs. Based on the exterior decorations and the fabric colors of the body sherds, there appears to have been at least four hollowware vessels at the site: a vessel with a light gray, salt-glazed exterior and an Albany Slip interior, which is likely a crock based on a fragment broken just before the vessel's base; a hollowware vessel with a darker gray, salt-glazed exterior and an Albany Slip interior; a buff-colored vessel, also likely a crock, with an Albany Slip interior; and a hollowware vessel decorated with Albany Slip on the interior and exterior. Additionally, one basal sherd came from the site, along with an associated body sherd of the same vessel, which was a buff-colored crock with an Albany Slip interior; it is unclear whether this vessel is the same as the buff-colored vessel indicated by the body sherds. The variation

in thickness of slip application makes it difficult to compare the color variations between the Albany Slip on body sherds with confidence. The same vessel may have darker and lighter brown on it, depending on how the potters applied the slip. Finally, the second surface collection revealed a lip sherd with an attached fragment of a handle, all of which was covered in Albany Slip. This sherd very likely came from a 19th century beehive jug, given the narrow curvature of the lip and its close proximity to the handle.

In total, the assemblage indicates that there were at least five hollowware vessels with Albany Slip on the site, including a beehive jug and a crock. The presence of Albany Slip decorated stonewares at 44SN0341 further confirms that there was an occupation on the site during the 19th and early 20th century.

Figure 24: Recovered Albany Slip sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	4	4
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	1	5	6
Basal sherds	0	1	1
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Lip sherds	0	1	1
Total Number of Vessels:			5

Bristol Glaze

Three sherds with Bristol Glaze came from 44SN0341; two fragments came from the initial surface collection and a third sherd came from a test unit. Bristol Glaze refers to a thick, shiny, lightcolored feldspathic slip glaze with zinc oxide in it. It generally is grayish white or yellowish white in appearance. The glaze gets its name from the fact that potters invented it in Bristol, England, in 1835; soon afterwards, American potters picked up the technique for use on their vessels; it soon replaced older forms of stoneware decoration because of its durability and the fact that it only required a single firing. This glaze appears most on bottles, as well as utilitarian vessels such as crocks and jars. Bristol Glaze usually does not appear archaeologically after 1900.

The two fragments from the initial surface collection are both rim sherds from a thinner, more refined vessel with a light gray fabric and a lighter gray Bristol Glaze. The final fragment, a body sherd is much thicker and has a buff fabric. In total, the sherds speak to the presence of at least two vessels with Bristol Glaze on them. They also indicate that the site was inhabited during the 19th century.

Figure 25: Recovered Bristol Glaze sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	1	1
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	2	0	2
Total Number of Vessels:			2

Albany Slip & Bristol Glaze

Three body sherds came from 44SN0341 which fall into both of the two categories above, because they are decorated with Albany Slip on the interior and Bristol Glaze on the exterior; all three came from the initial surface collection. Their presence confirms that there was at least one vessel with both decorative styles on it at the site. It also reaffirms the 19th century occupation of the site.

Figure 26: Recovered Albany Slip & Bristol Glaze sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	3	3
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels:			1

Unidentified Gray

Five gray salt-glazed stoneware fragments came from 44SN0341, which could not be identified further. Two fragments came from the initial surface collection and the remaining three pieces came from the second surface collection. Gray salt-glazed stonewares on North American archaeological sites date to the period between the late 1770s and 1900. This wide range makes it difficult to assign any tighter diagnostic utility to these stonewares without more specific decorations or maker's marks.

Figure 27: Recovered Unidentified Gray sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	2	2	4
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	1	1
Total Number of Vessels:			3

The fragments indicate that there were 3 vessels at the site: a wheel-thrown hollowware vessel with a brown, unglazed interior; a wheel-thrown hollowware vessel with a light brown / pinkish unglazed interior; and a wheel-thrown vessel with a light brown, unglazed interior and a layered gray and buff fabric, which is likely a crock, as indicated by the rim sherd recovered. This third vessel may be a Virginia-made stoneware, as it does not resemble the larger trends of 19th century gray salt-glazed vessels. While unidentified overall, these stoneware fragments do indicate an inhabitation at 44SN0341 at least during the 19th century

Westerwald

A single Westerwald fragment came from 44SN0341. Westerwald refers to a gray salt-glazed stoneware produced in the Rhine valley in Germany; the name refers to the region where production primarily took place, especially after the mid-16th century. Westerwald appears very early on sites in the Chesapeake, often corresponding to the beginning of English colonial settlement. Overall, Westerwald grew in popularity in the English import market during the second half of the 17th century and eventually dominated it during the

18th century; it remained popular until the end of the century. It should be noted that a revival in Westerwald production took place around 1860, with potters imitated old styles. The revival continued into the 20th century and still continues today to a lesser extent.

The body sherd recovered likely came from a mug or jug and is decorated with an incised / engraved checkerboard motif, which is painted in cobalt blue under the salt-glaze. The fragment likely came from the initial importation of Westerwald to the region, rather than from the revival and makes the sherd one of the few pieces that indicates a presence at the site that predates the 19th century. The Westerwald fragment confirms that there was at least some form of occupation at the site in the 18th century.

Figure 28: Recovered Westerwald sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	1	1
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels:			1

Porcelains

Porcelains, the final ceramic class in this artifact report, are fired at the highest temperatures of any ceramic type: 1250 – 1400° C (2282 – 2552° F). At this temperature, porcelain is highly vitrified, or glass-like, with a glaze that usually fuses to the fabric (showing no difference between the two in crosssection). The resulting vessel is hard, impermeable to water (without the need for a glaze), white, and usually translucent.

Porcelain gets its name from the Italian word “porcellana,” which means cowrie shell; this is a reference to the smoothness and translucence of the ware, which resembled that of the shell. The Chinese first created porcelain roughly 2,000 years ago from a combination of white kaolin clay and feldspathic clays. While Chinese porcelain is traditionally hand painted, Europeans soon found ways to fire porcelain at lower temperatures and, as a result, use underglaze decorations. Most often, the potters added ground glass to the clay mixture to achieve such vitrification in lower-fired kilns. The term porcelain is difficult to define, as there were many attempts to copy the original Chinese ware, each of which has received its own name as the product of identification efforts by ceramic experts, archaeologists, and collectors.

By 1800, for example, English potters introduced a new type of porcelain, referred to as Soft Paste Porcelain or English Soft Paste Porcelain, which was whiter than the blue-tinged Chinese original. When this new porcelain type contained high proportions of bone ash, used for the calcium phosphate, it was referred to as Bone China and generally had a grayish tinge to it. The term China itself can be a misnomer as well. The first English advertisements for Chinese porcelain sometimes referred to the ware as China or Fine China. The term China later covered a wide range of ceramics from soft-paste porcelains to the earthenware China Ware mentioned above. The wide range of porcelain types and attempts to copy Chinese porcelain have resulted in the use of terms such as “porcellaneous” and “near-porcelain;” these wares generally resemble porcelain more than stoneware or earthenware, but they are often not truly white or translucent.

Porcelain has always been an expensive ware type, which is – in part – the reason for the many attempts to copy it and reproduce it. Manufacturers wanted part of the porcelain market's profits and buyers wanted cheaper options. While porcelain speaks to vessel cost and household consumer power, it does not always provide a strong diagnostic utility after 1850, due to the wide variety of English (and eventually American) porcelains. Porcelains, despite their place of manufacture, appear as tablewares, teawares, and figurines. By the 19th century, porcelains also serve industrial and technological functions, including use in electrical components.

Porcelains are the least represented group in the assemblage from 44SN0341, which is typical for archaeological sites, due to the generally higher cost associated with the ware. Eleven sherds of porcelain and porcellaneous ceramic came from the site, which is approximately 7.5% of the overall ceramic assemblage; these sherds added an additional seven vessels to the overall ceramic vessel count. This report discusses six main porcelain types: Parian Ware, English Porcelain, Japanese Porcelain, Other Porcelain, Unknown Porcelain, and Semi-Porcelain.

Parian Ware

One fragment of Parian Ware came from 44SN0341. Parian Ware is a glazeless, or bisque, porcelain created to mimic marble. Invented in 1845 in Staffordshire, England, Parian ware was used most for figurines and vases. Its original manufacturer, Mintons, named the ware after the Greek Island of Paros, from which Parian marble came; this marble was the material of choice for ancient Greek statues and reliefs. The classical theme embodied in Parian Ware's name carried over to its subject matter as well, as it sought to create Neo-Classical statues and vases on a mass-produced scale. Unlike carved marble, Parian Ware could be cast in a mold and reproduced again and again. By the 1850s, potters in England and the United States were manufacturing Parian Ware, which remained popular through the late 19th century.

The fragment of Parian Ware from the site came from the second surface collection and appears to have been from a vase, based on its curvature. It is molded with a laurel leaf-like motif. The presence of Parian Ware further indicates a presence on the site during the mid- to late 19th century.

Figure 29: Recovered Parian Ware sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	1	1
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels:			1

English Porcelain

Two sherds of English Porcelain came from 44SN0341, both from the second surface collection. The fragments of English porcelain recovered from the site were made of Bone China. Made to imitate Chinese (hard paste) porcelains, Bone China gets its name from the fact that it contains calcined bone ash. As described at the beginning of this section, Bone China has a slightly grayish tinge to it when compared to Chinese porcelains and generally is fired at a lower temperature. Bone China emerged in England in the 1790s although it did not receive its name until the beginning of the 19th century. The potter Josiah Spode

first created Bone China and others quickly followed him, including Davenport and Wedgwood. In 1821, a new variety of Bone China, called Felspar Porcelain, emerged – also created by Spode; the manufacturers used the word “felspar” instead of “feldspar,” although this term is now archaic. After this, all subsequent Bone China was Felspar Porcelain. Bone China is difficult to identify, as it is still produced today; maker’s marks and specific patterns generally provide the necessary diagnostic criteria.

Of the two fragments recovered, only one has enough of a design to be able to further tighten the site chronology, although both are fragments of teaware. The rim sherd recovered has a Flow Blue decoration on the interior and likely dates to sometime between 1840 and 1860. The second sherd is a basal sherd with a faint molded pattern, which cannot be further identified. As the rim sherd seems to be from a thinner vessel, there appear to have been at least two Bone China teaware vessels at the site.

Figure 30: Recovered English Porcelain sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	0	1	1
Rim sherds	0	1	1
Total Number of Vessels:			2

Japanese Porcelain

Two sherds of Japanese Porcelain came from 44SN0341, one from the second surface collection and one from a Test Unit. Japanese porcelain first emerged at the beginning of the 17th century and was traded to Europe through the Dutch and Portuguese. Japanese porcelains lost popularity by the middle of the 18th century. By the 1820s and 30s, Japanese potters were producing porcelain for social classes beyond the elite, making the wares cheaper and more widely available. In the 1850s, Japan produced wares for foreign trade once more, focusing especially on tableware for European and North American consumers.

Two sherds recovered, both body sherds, may have originally come from the same vessel, as they demonstrate similar decorative designs; the fragment from the surface collection has a more detailed design, depicting a tree motif and what appears to be a building and a bridge. The two fragments likely date to the late 19th century, further confirming an occupation at 44SN0341 during this period.

Figure 31: Recovered Japanese Porcelain sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic bodysherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic bodysherds	0	2	2
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels:			1

Other Porcelain and Unknown Porcelain

Two porcelain fragments recovered from the site do not fall into a specific category. One is a nearly complete doorknob from an STP and the other is the lid to a miniature teaset, which came from a Test Unit. It was not possible to identify the location of manufacture for the two objects, although they both appeared to come from the 19th century, which would be in keeping with the majority of the assemblage at 44SN0341. Two sherds of unknown porcelain came from the site, both recovered during the second surface collection. It was not possible to identify the location of manufacture for the two objects or their age.

Figure 32: Recovered Other Porcelain sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic bodysherds	0	0	0
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Other	0	2	2
Total Number of Vessels:			2

Figure 33: Recovered Unknown Porcelain sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	0	2	2
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels:			0

Semi-porcelain

Two sherds of semi-porcelain also came from the site, one of which came from the initial surface collection and one from the second surface collection. Semi-porcelain refers to ceramics that resemble porcelain but lack porcelain's translucency. Semi-porcelains often are high-fired earthenwares (especially ironstones) which have become vitrified enough that they resemble something in between earthenware and true porcelain and generally are considered to be 19th century ceramics. Both of the fragments recovered were non-diagnostic sherds, although one of them had a reddish tinge to it, which may have come from some decorative element that is now missing. The semi-porcelain vessel count stands at one vessel as it is unclear if the two fragments relate to one another.

Figure 34: Recovered Semi-porcelain sherd types

Sherd type	First Excavation (n=)	Second Excavation (n=)	Total (n=)
Non-diagnostic body sherds	1	1	2
Semi-diagnostic body sherds	0	0	0
Basal sherds	0	0	0
Rim sherds	0	0	0
Total Number of Vessels:			1

PLASTICS

Excavations at 44SN0341 yielded a total of six pieces of plastic, four of which came from the initial surface collection, while the other two pieces came from the second set of excavations. Three of the plastic pieces were broken fragments, one of which may have come from a picture frame. A fourth piece was part of a plastic ring molded into the head of a monkey and set with two red rhinestone eyes. One plastic object was rectangular with an iron, ring-shaped rivet at the center; iron staining on the reverse and small attached iron fragments indicate that this piece of plastic was likely once attached to a piece of iron. Its function is unknown. The final piece of plastic recovered is a complete, molded bead with a single hole and six points, which resemble raised fins. The plastic assemblage appears to date to the twentieth century, as there are no fragments of early plastics, such as Bakelite.

OTHER

Eighteen artifacts from the excavations fall into the Other category, due to their small overall representation in the assemblage. Two fragments of oyster shell came from the excavations, one from the initial surface collection and one from the second surface collection. Neither fragment is very large. These two fragments represent the only organics found on the site, although they provide no other diagnostic utility. Three pieces of charcoal came from three different STPs, but they also provide no substantive diagnostic utility. One piece of burned coal, referred to as clinker, came from an STP; this confirms a presence on the site dating from the end of the 18th century through the mid-20th century, when coal was the main source of heating. The first surface collection also yielded a small fragment of coated fabric, which is likely wallpaper and speaks to the presence of a domestic assemblage at the site. Six pieces of sand-tempered mortar also were recovered; one of them came from an STP, while the other five pieces came from the same test unit. This mortar indicates an inhabitation at the site that dates to the 19th or early 20th century, as this was when sand-tempered mortar was used.

The remaining five pieces in the Other assemblage are rubber derivatives. A piece of vulcanized rubber came from the first surface collection. The other four pieces came from the second excavations at the site. One rubber fragment was a purplish piece of a shoe molded with “331;” it had holes around the edge where nails would have held it onto the sole of a shoe. The sole fragment came from the second surface collection, as did an Ebonite fragment molded in a right angle with a raised floral / laurel leaf pattern. A second Ebonite fragment came from an STP and also resembles a right angle, although it is undecorated. The final fragment, recovered from an STP, is likely rubber, although this could not be determined definitively. The fragment is molded with parallel lines. The function of all of these rubber pieces is unknown. Charles Goodyear invented vulcanized rubber in 1839; as such, these rubber fragments can be no older than that; they also point to an inhabitation at 44SN0341 that extends at least to the mid-19th century. Goodyear patented Ebonite as the name for very hard leather in 1844. Although this hardened rubber is still used today, during the Victorian Era it appeared in the form of household items such as combs, picture frames, and beads.

LITHICS

The lithic assemblage recovered from the excavations pertain to two different sites: 44SN0341, the historic site, and 44SN0069, the prehistoric site. The only lithics pertaining to the historic site came from the initial surface collection. One piece is a fragment of roofing slate and the other is a carved piece of what appears to be marble; this object is likely a pestle.

In total, 79 lithic fragments pertain to the prehistoric site, 44SN0069; most of these (n=72) came from the initial surface collection. A total of 34 pieces of fire-cracked rock, FCR, were recovered, most of which were quartz. Additionally, four pieces of quartz source material came from the initial surface collection, with one piece river-turned. The first surface collection also recovered seven primary flakes, ten retouched flakes (two of which are possible preforms), three biface preforms, and nine pieces of debitage, all of which come from quartz or quartzite source material. The initial surface collection also recovered one complete Piscataway projectile point, which dates to the Late Archaic / Early Woodland period. The final pieces from the first surface collection consist of one possibly modified stone with striations which may be man-made and three pieces of unknown stone; these unknown stone fragments do not appear to have any evidence of work on them.

The second set of excavations at the site recovered a lithic assemblage of seven pieces. The second surface collection yielded a cobble with possible use-wear on one surface and a quartzite flake. The STPs yielded a broken, bifacial, quartzite scraping tool and a quartzite flake. Finally, the Test Units recovered a third quartzite flake and two flakes made from a whitish chert with gray and brown speckling.

While the lithics associated with 44SN0341 do not possess any diagnostic utility, the 79 fragments associated with 44SN0069 speak to a definitive prehistoric occupation on the site, reaffirmed by the presence of debitage, flakes, retouched flakes, bifaces, and a complete point. There is also evidence of tool making, which is especially evident in the debitage, flakes, and preforms.

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the assemblage from 44SN0341 indicates strong evidence for an inhabitation on the site from the mid-19th century through the 1950s. The site assemblage is characterized largely by domestic and household items, which can be seen especially in the glass, ceramic, and metal components. The lithic assemblage recovered from the two sets of archaeological excavations indicates that there was also a prehistoric settlement at this location where tool-making appears to have taken place.

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