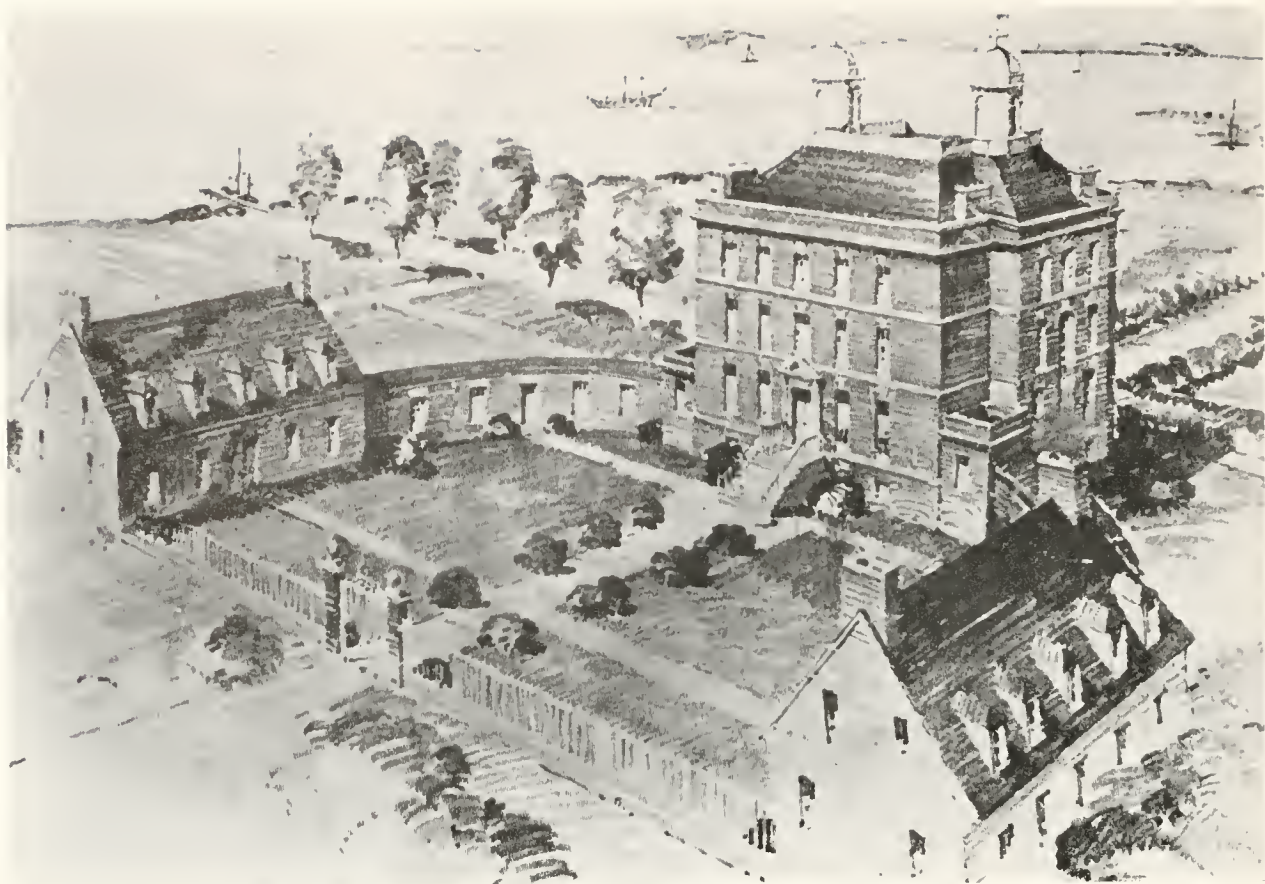


CONTRIBUTIONS FROM  
THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY  
PAPER 18

EXCAVATIONS AT ROSEWELL  
IN GLOUCESTER COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1957-1959

*Ivor Noël Hume*

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An artist's conjectural reconstruction of Rosewell as originally planned.  
From Thomas Waterman's *The Mansions of Virginia*. Chapel Hill, University  
of North Carolina Press, 1946, p. 106.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am vastly indebted to Miss Nellie Deans Greaves, Maj. Fielding Lewis Greaves and the late Col. G. A. Greaves for permission to excavate at Rosewell and for their generosity in agreeing to present the finds to the Smithsonian Institution.

My gratitude and commiserations go out to my wife Audrey Noël Hume and to John Van Ness Dunton, who suffered through snow, frost, rain, heat, and mosquitoes to help me with the excavation, an operation that was really too large for three people to handle. I am further indebted to them for their assistance in assembling the glass and ceramics, and particularly to Mr. Dunton for his work on the

chemical treatment and cleaning of the metals.

I am also indebted to the department of architecture of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., Williamsburg, Virginia, for its assistance in the construction of this report and for generously carrying the cost of preparing the illustrations.

Among the many persons who have given freely of their council and guidance are Frederick M. Bayer, associate curator of marine invertebrates, Smithsonian Institution; R. J. Charleston, assistant keeper in the department of ceramics, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Philip H. Dunbar, curatorial assistant at Colonial Williamsburg; John Gloag;

by Ivor Noël Hume

Excavations at

# ROSEWELL

in Gloucester County, Virginia, 1957-1959

*In the fall of 1957 excavations were undertaken in the vicinity of the ruins of Rosewell, an 18th-century mansion in Gloucester County, Virginia. The deposit, which was in a trash pit, yielded artifacts that should be of significant interest to archeologists and historians concerned with the excavation of colonial sites.*

*This article describes and analyzes the important Rosewell finds, which have been given to the Smithsonian Institution by the present owners of the mansion.*

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ment, Colonial Williamsburg; and C. Malcolm Watkins, curator of cultural history, Smithsonian Institution.

I am further indebted to Mr. Mann Page and Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Dabney of Gloucester County, Virginia, for their valued assistance in tracing the genealogy of the Page family and the history of Rosewell. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Kendrew for providing space in their home for the initial treatment of the artifacts, and to Ann D. Parish and J. Ricks Wilson for helping in the initial and supplementary surveys of the site.

FEBRUARY 1962.

I. N. H.

EXCAVATIONS IN THE VICINITY of the ruined mansion of Rosewell in Gloucester County were undertaken not to gain information concerning the plantation house and its dependencies but to recover stratified and closely dated groups of artifacts that would be of value as comparative material for archeologists and historians concerned with the excavation of colonial sites. This paper relates to a single trash deposit, the main filling of which is believed to have taken place between the approximate years 1763 and 1772. The deposit was found by Mr. J. V. N. Dunton while searching through the woods for the site of Rosewell's ice-house. Oyster shells and wine-bottle fragments had been thrown up from the pit by the burrowing of a groundhog that had made its home deep in the refuse. Although the discovery was made in October 1956, it was not until the autumn of 1957 that the writer sought permission of the owners of Rosewell for excavations to be carried out on the site.

### History of Rosewell

Rosewell stands on the west bank of Carter's Creek at the point where it enters the York River, thus its lands are bordered on the southwest by the river and on the southeast by the creek. The tract was said by some authorities to have been willed by John Page, the emigrant, to his son Mathew in 1692. But others claim that the land came into Page hands through Mary Mann whose family won the land in a game of push-pin.<sup>1</sup> Mary Mann was the wife of Mathew Page, of the King's Council, who built a frame house on the land in the late 17th century. After the death of Mathew Page in 1703 the land passed to his son Mann Page I, who, after the destruction of the Page home in 1721,<sup>2</sup> began to build himself a mansion of such grandeur that it rivaled the palace of the Royal Governor in Williamsburg, and has since been described as the finest example of domestic architecture in Colonial America.

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<sup>1</sup>A. Lawrence Kocker and Howard Dearstyne, *Shadows in Silver*, New York, 1954, p. 66. Miss Nellie Deans Greaves was kind enough to contribute the following information: "Mathew, son of John Page, married Mary Mann, sole heir and daughter of John Mann, and thus became master of the Rosewell tracts. John Mann had purchased the property on September 24, 1680, 'by virtue of an indenture of bargain and sale,' from Elizabeth Coggis and Mary Perry, heirs and granddaughters of George Minifree (sometimes spelled 'Menefee'). George Minifree had come into possession of the tract when he received an original grant in 1639."

<sup>2</sup>William Byrd, *The London Diary, 1717-1721*, edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinning, New York, 1958, entry for

In 1730, with Rosewell apparently still far from completed, Mann Page I died, leaving to his widow Judith "his dwelling house, with all out houses thereto belonging, where he then lived, and the mansion house then building, with all the land thereto adjoining . . ." <sup>3</sup> It is perhaps significant that his wife was the daughter of Robert "King" Carter, who had built Corotoman on the Rappahannock, then one of the wonders of Virginia. It was not impossible that Mann Page I embarked upon the building of Rosewell at the instigation of, or to keep pace with, his father-in-law.

The bulk of the Page estates passed to Mann Page II when his elder brother, Ralph, died intestate. Mann Page II continued to work towards the completion of Rosewell, but he soon found that he possessed insufficient funds to pay the immense debts incurred by his father that were compounded by his own efforts to finish the mansion. In 1743 Mann Page II married Alice Grymes, and in the following year he petitioned the Assembly to break the entail on 27,000 acres scattered over nine counties.<sup>4</sup> It has been assumed that until this land was sold Rosewell remained unfinished, but there is, in fact, no mention of the house in the plea to the Assembly, only a desire to pay existing debts. It is perhaps reasonable to suggest that the house was actually finished on credit before Page's marriage and that the necessity to pay the resulting bills occasioned the land sale in 1744. The history of the mansion throughout the remainder of the 18th century is one of gradual decline, the Page family having too little money to maintain it, to entertain in it, or to enjoy it as its opulence demanded.

April 1744 saw the birth of Mann Page II's son John, who was destined to become the most influential of his clan. Educated in England, he became master of Rosewell about 1765, by which time, for some uncertain reason, his father had moved out of the house. During the decade 1761-1770 the father built for himself another imposing residence, Mannsfield,

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March 12, 1721, p. 506: "After dinner I put some things in order and then took a walk to Mrs. Harrison's who told me Colonel Page's house was burnt to the ground, which I was much concerned to hear." Robert Carter, writing on March 8, 1721, reported that Colonel "Cage's" house and barn had burned to the ground (Louis B. Wright, ed., *Letters of Robert Carter 1720-1727*, San Marino, California, 1940, p. 90).

<sup>3</sup>William Waller Hening, *Statutes at Large . . . A Collection of all the Laws of Virginia . . .*, Richmond, 1819, vol. 5, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*



FIGURE 1.—Location of Rosewell, where Carter's Creek flows into the York River. From map made by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson in 1751 and revised, with place names, by J. Dalrymple in 1755. Photo courtesy Library of Congress.

in Spotsylvania County near Fredericksburg.<sup>5</sup> As a result of his father's departure, John Page, then a very young man, unexpectedly found himself the master if not the owner of Rosewell and faced with the unenviable tasks of running a plantation that had not shown a profit in years and of maintaining a house that was rapidly falling apart. Although the records are far from explicit, it would also seem likely that John Page had to contend with a father who did not entirely see eye-to-eye with him.

The relationship between John Page and his father, Mann Page II, is of prime importance in the consideration of the material excavated at Rosewell, for it all belongs to the period of transition when the son had taken the place of the father. The exact date of the departure of Mann Page II is uncertain,

<sup>5</sup> Thomas T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946, p. 418. Miss Nellie Deans Greaves explains the departure of Mann Page II by the fact that John Page was his eldest son by his first marriage and so would inherit Rosewell. His eldest son by his second marriage, Mann Page III, had no such inheritance, and therefore Mann Page II moved to Spotsylvania County and built Mannsfield for Mann Page III. Mr. Mann Page of Shelly has suggested that Mann Page II's departure from Rosewell may have been occasioned by his marriage to Anne Corbyn Tayloe, but this event took place in about 1748 according to Edmund Jennings Lee (*Lee of Virginia*, Philadelphia, 1895). In any case it would seem that the Pages never learned that mansion-building was an expensive undertaking. In 1796 Mann Page III was forced to sell Mannsfield because of financial difficulties. Mannsfield was destroyed during the War Between the States. The site was excavated by the National Park Service in 1934.

but in a letter of May 27, 1769, to John Norton from Rosewell. John Page makes the following excuse for delaying payment of his debts:

. . . no Body hates the Thoughts of being in Debt more than I do; but the Great Scarcity of Money here, the Shortness of my Crops for four Years past, & the necessary Expences of an encreasing Family joined to the Commencement of Housekeeping in a large House, have forced me to submit to it for a while . . . .<sup>6</sup>

It might therefore be construed that John Page had been farming the Rosewell lands for four years prior to 1769 and that he may have been master of Rosewell during much of that time.

In a letter to John Norton dated February 22, 1770, Mann Page requested that certain goods be shipped from England "to be landed where I live near Fredericksburg." It is apparent from the same letter that Mann Page was growing tobacco there and that he had been doing so for at least one year previously.<sup>7</sup> In a letter from London in 1773 John Norton mentions Mann Page's tobacco in the following terms:

. . . the quality of the Crop is amazingly inferior to what it us'd to be, the same may be said of Mr. Mann Page's, I delivd. a hhd of his M P aday or two ago that had a large part of the hhd dry rotten, perish'd and stunk like a dunghill and is not worth a farthing pr cwt if I think of it you shall have a sample of it with the mark and no. his Rappa. Tobo. is likewise Trash.<sup>8</sup>

This reference is important in that it indicates the nature of Mann Page's tobacco mark, the same mark that appears on a wine-bottle seal (fig. 16, no. 9) found during the excavations at Rosewell.

John Page's tribulations at Rosewell have become known to us only in scraps of evidence culled from the *Norton Papers*; unhappily, few records of Page life at Rosewell survive, and no contemporary descriptions or inventories of the house have come to light. It is known, however, that John Page had little success with his tobacco and was constantly forced to stave off his creditors. In a letter to John

<sup>6</sup> Francis Norton Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons: Merchants of London and Virginia*, Richmond, 1937, p. 94, hereinafter referred to as *Norton Papers*.

<sup>7</sup> Mann Page to John Norton, February 22, 1770, *Norton Papers*, pp. 123-124.

<sup>8</sup> John Norton to Hatley Norton, March 20, 1773, *Norton Papers*, p. 309. It is suggested in the *Norton Papers* that the Mann Page of this letter and the one cited in footnote 7 was not Mann Page II of Rosewell but the son of John Page of North End. However the accumulative evidence from other sources strongly suggests that the letters refer to Mann Page II, formerly of Rosewell but then of Mannsfield.

Norton written at Rosewell on October 11, 1771, he described a scheme to increase his tobacco yield:

. . . they [his friends] advised me to rent some Land in Frederick (where exceedingly fine Land may be rented on very good Terms) break up my Cheescake Quarter, lease it out, send the Hands to Frederick & draught about 10 or 12 from Rosewell (where there are 27 in the Crop) & send them up which would make up a Gang of 16 or 17, which Gang say they will produce you from 30 to 40 Hhds. pr Ann. & you make within 3 or 4 Hhds. as much Tobo. in Gloster as you do now; for I never made but 3 Hhds. at Cheescake nor more than 15 at Rosewell.

He goes on to express his hopes for the success of the plan and to excuse himself for not having sold some of his slaves to pay his debts, a course that he had previously promised to take:<sup>9</sup>

. . . I shall be better able to sell Negros a few years hence, if there should be Occasion for it then, when a great Number of young ones will be grown up. than I am now, I am determined to adopt this Plan.

Later in the same letter John Page gives some indication of Rosewell's appearance less than 30 years after it was completed:

As my House is very much out of Repair, I have engaged a Man to put it in a saving Condition next Spring. I shall therefore be much obliged to you if you will send me the articles mentioned in the inclosed Invoice early in the Spring . . .

100 lb of White Lead	2 lb of white Coperass
20 lb Yellow Ochre	A Glaziers Diamond of 20/
A Bar.l of Oyl	Value <sup>10</sup>
20 Lb of Venetian Red	10 M 8d Nails
2 Gallons of Spt. of Turpentine	10 M 10d Do
5 lb Red Lead	5 M 6d Do
3 lb Lamp Black	2 M 20d Do
	2 M 4d Do

Although John Page's financial affairs were never in the best of order, his status in the colony and subsequently in the State of Virginia rose steadily throughout his life. In 1774, as a member of Lord Dunmore's Council, he made his political position clear by

<sup>9</sup> *Norton Papers*, p. 199. It is not known how many slaves John Page owned at this time, but he is recorded as possessing 160 in Abingdon Parish in April 1786 and 27 in Petsworth Parish in October 1782. In Hening (*op. cit.* footnote 3, p. 283) Mann Page is shown to have applied, in September 1744, to the Assembly for the ownership of 76 slaves left by his father to his deceased brother Ralph. Of these, 17 were at the Scotland Quarter, 12 at Clements Quarter, 19 at Clay Bank, and 28 at Rosewell, all in Gloucester County.

<sup>10</sup> Many fragments of window glass were found in the excavation, and a number of the pieces bore evidence of having been cut with a diamond.

refusing to censure Patrick Henry for his verbal retaliation following the Governor's removal of the powder from Williamsburg's magazine. He subsequently became a member of the Committee of Safety, and a member of the First Council in 1776. During the Revolutionary War he saw active duty in the campaign against Benedict Arnold. In 1789 Page became a Member of Congress, retaining the seat until 1797, and in 1802 he became Governor of Virginia. He died in 1808 leaving a widow, Margaret (Lowther), whom he had married in 1789 and who had borne him eight children in addition to the twelve born to his first wife, Frances (Burwell), who had died in 1784 at the age of 37.

John Page was not only a plantation owner and a politician but a man of science. He was president of the Society for the Advancement of Useful Knowledge, an organization formed in Williamsburg in 1773 which, in the course of its life, had such illustrious members as George Wythe, Bishop Madison, Benjamin Franklin, and Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia. Page gained some fame as an astronomer after successfully calculating an eclipse of the sun. We know that he spent much time on the flat roof of Rosewell studying the heavens through a telescope. It would appear, by and large, that the roof of the great house made greater contributions to history than did the fine rooms beneath it. It was there that Page made the first American experiments in the recording of annual rainfall. In a letter to John Norton penned July 21, 1773, at Rosewell, Page gives a long account of his experiments and of an instrument he had devised that would measure 1/300 of an inch of rain.<sup>11</sup> He ends the letter by explaining his reasons for writing it, saying he believed the experiments were:

. . . the first that ever were made of this Kind in America, & I may say, with such an Instt in the World; & . . . I must beg the Favour of you to endeavour to procure me another, as I have unfortunately broke mine.

It was hoped that some evidence of John Page's scientific interests might be unearthed during the course of the excavations, but unfortunately all that was found was a single fragment of glass tubing (fig. 14, no. 9).

Rosewell's, and perhaps John Page's, principal claim to historic immortality lies in the fact that one day in June 1776 Page's close friend Thomas Jefferson

visited him and, in a cupola on the roof, read over and discussed the first draft of the Declaration of Independence.

After the death of John Page his widow continued to live at Rosewell until she too died, whereupon the mansion was sold in 1838 to one Thomas Booth, whose name, it has been said, "should rank high in the annals of vandalism."<sup>12</sup> No sooner had Booth bought Rosewell for the sum of \$12,000 than he began to tear it apart, ripping off the famous leaden roof, stripping the paneling from the walls, and removing the marble mantels as well as the marble that paved the magnificent entrance hall. Not content with this he went on to tear down and remove the bricks from the family graveyard walls and to cut down the stately avenue of cedars, all of which he sold as scrap for the princely sum of \$35,000. In 1855, having sold everything except the shell of the mansion he disposed of that to the Deans family of Gloucester for \$22,000, thus making a profit of \$45,000 for having destroyed one of the finest examples of American colonial craftsmanship then surviving.

The new owners did all they could to salvage what was left of the great house and to make it into a pleasant home. But some who still remember staying in it recall that it resembled a gigantic mausoleum, cold, bleak and forbidding.<sup>13</sup> In March 1916, nearly 200 years after the first Page home had been destroyed by fire, Rosewell burst into flames and was gutted before help could be summoned. The four walls, which survived more or less intact until the 1930's, have since fallen prey to hurricanes and vandalism. The south wall has collapsed, and the west wall is (in 1961) in danger of following it, an event that will inevitably herald Rosewell's final eclipse. The lawns and floral gardens have long since been lost beneath the jungle of fast-growing vegetation that now surrounds and climbs over the walls of the house like a shroud. It was amid this wilderness that the recent excavations were conducted.

<sup>12</sup> Kocher and Dearstynce, *op. cit.* (footnote 1), p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> Miss Greaves remarked that this opinion is not shared by all of those who remember the mansion as it was in the early years of the present century. However, Thomas Allen Glenn (*Some Colonial Mansions*, Philadelphia, 1899, p. 171) gives the following description: "Dismantled now and scarcely habitable, with a dismal 'flavor of mild decay' pervading its halls and passages, as if the sickly malarial damp creeping up from the river had bored to the very marrow of its wooden bones, this relic of Colonial Virginia, once the pride of its fair lords, shivers out the last years of the span of life allotted it, neglected and forgotten."

<sup>11</sup> John Page to John Norton, July 21, 1773, *Norton Papers*, p. 339.

## Rosewell's Architecture and Topography

The exact size of the Rosewell estate as inherited by the first Mann Page is uncertain, but we know that when he died his three sons inherited a total of 70,000 Virginia acres, most of which must have been in the vicinity of the home plantation. As mentioned earlier, the Page home was built on the western shore of Carter's Creek where it enters the York River, and it is supposed that the first house stood in this general area, although no traces of it have yet come to light.

It would appear that the huge number of bricks needed in the building of Rosewell were fired on the site from clay dug nearby. There is some indication that Mann Page II, who completed the house, also provided brick used in the building of Carter's Grove on the James.<sup>14</sup> The digging of clay could readily explain the existence of numerous trash-filled pits that exist on the Rosewell property—pits too large to be explained away merely as repositories for domestic refuse.

The bricks were laid in Flemish bond with random glazed headers, no attempt being made to use the glazed bricks in decorative patterns. Such a simple and common device was unnecessary in a building that boasted so many ornamental features. All the corners and window jambs were of rubbed bricks, their vermilion color carefully selected and matched, while gauged bricks were used for the belt courses, window arches, panels beneath the sills, and, most dramatically, for the great doorways in the centers of the north and south walls. The window sills, keystones, doorway caps, and pilaster bases were of Portland stone, with the latter carefully and elaborately fluted to match the remarkable brick pilasters above.

The house stood a full three stories above an English basement, the windows in each story being less tall than those of the floor beneath, and the windows above the main doors being of greater width to balance the breadth of the doors themselves. A parapet of uncertain form surrounded the flat roof, traces of which can still be seen in the stone cornices set into the chimneys at the height of the original parapet caps. This feature was removed during the Booth era in the mid-19th century, as also were the two cupolas. A fanciful engraving of Rosewell with the cupolas intact is to be found in Bishop Meade's

*Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*,<sup>15</sup> but it is obvious that the picture bears little resemblance to Rosewell as it was in the colonial or any other period. Lucy Burwell Page Saunders, who knew the place well, gave the following description of Rosewell in her story *Leonora and the Ghost*, published in 1876:

. . . a wall of bricks, surmounted by large flagstones, surrounded the top of the building. At each end was a turret, within which were small apartments and on the roof of each, large weather cocks whirled mournfully. Into one of the rooms you ascended from the winding staircase, leading from the basement to the roof. From the other, called the summerhouse, you beheld from its four fine windows beautiful views of the winding Carter's Creek, and the majestic York River.<sup>16</sup>

The 19th-century alterations saw the removal of the deck on hip roof and the construction of a low hip roof with pediments added at east and west, pediments which were constructed of brick laid in informal bond, contrasting unfavorably with the uniformity of the Flemish bond beneath.

The splendor of the ornamental brick doorways at north and south was rivaled by the great arched windows at east and west that cast cathedral-like shafts of light into the stair hall. The hall, which was entered from the north, was the mansion's principal room and, when occasion demanded, was used as a ballroom. It is probable that originally the hall was richly paneled in mahogany, but all that remained of the woodwork after Booth had departed were the balustrade and stringer of the great staircase. Photographs of the staircase taken in the 1890's and in the early years of the present century show that it was undoubtedly the finest in America, being wide enough for eight persons to ascend abreast. The principal features of the staircase were the immense newel and the fascia board around the well with its carved floral and foliate scrolls and baskets of fruit, a style so similar to that of surviving fascia at Tuckahoe that the two probably were made by the same hand. The treatment of the balusters is also paralleled at Tuckahoe as well as at Sabine Hall and Westover, although these are all lighter and more delicate.

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<sup>15</sup> William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, Philadelphia, 1857, opposite p. 332.

<sup>16</sup> Lucy Burwell Page Saunders, *Leonora and the Ghost*, Baltimore, 1876, p. 3. Mrs. Saunders was a daughter of Governor John Page.

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<sup>14</sup> Waterman, *op. cit.* (footnote 5), p. 112.



Little is known about the other rooms of Rosewell, said to have been no fewer than 40 in number. The principal source is again Mrs. Saunders, who states that "All the rooms were wainscoted with wood of different colors, and had marble mantels, the ceilings were also of great height."<sup>17</sup>

The description of the house given in the paragraphs above is by no means complete, but it perhaps indicates the splendor of the structure as originally conceived and draws attention to features that have some bearing on finds made during the recent excavations.<sup>18</sup>

Of great importance from an archeological point of view are the sites of the outbuildings, which played a major part in the life of the plantation if not of the mansion itself. Of these little or nothing remains above ground. A circular icehouse, with its shingled roof intact until the 1930's, stood at some distance to the southwest of the house. Today, however, the roof has fallen into the pit and only part of the wall still stands—a wall which probably dates from the 19th rather than from the 18th century. A colonial well encircled by thick underbrush remains open a few yards to the east of the mansion, but it is filled with rubble to within ten feet or so of the top. No attempt has yet been made to excavate the contents.

The principal outbuildings were the east and west dependencies, which flanked the north approach to the house and which were originally intended to be linked to it by brick-walled passages similar to those that survive at Mount Airy (1751). Although the walls of the house were carefully keyed so that the passage walls could be bonded into them, and regardless of the fact that doors actually opened into the places where the passages should be, it is doubtful whether such passages were ever actually built. Only careful archeological excavations can solve this problem, and the dangers of working so close to the crumbling ruin will prevent such an investigation until the walls finally collapse.

An insurance policy (fig. 5) issued by the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia in 1802 that related to five buildings—the mansion itself, its two dependen-

cies, a brick stable and a wooden barn—set the value of the property at \$9,900. A comparison between the sketches on the policy with the site plan (fig. 2) clearly shows that the former were not drawn with much regard for the relationships between the five buildings. The kitchen (c) and the dwelling (b) sketched on the policy represent the two dependencies of the same size that stood on a north-south axis. However, it does seem likely that buildings b, c, d would have been shown correctly to east and west of the main house. The positioning of the barn (e), on the other hand, may have been dictated only by the space remaining on the policy.

The presence of the well to the east of the house supports the belief fostered by the insurance policy that the kitchen was at the east. But the trash pit—with which this paper is principally concerned—is to the west of the house, and it contained large quantities of refuse that one would have expected to be associated with a kitchen. On the grounds that it would be unlikely that the kitchen trash pits would normally be dug where it would be necessary to carry the refuse across the front of the house, the present anomaly may be explained by the need to fill a large hole that was dug for another purpose.

Archeological evidence will later be used to indicate that the policy is correct in situating the massive (120 by 24 feet) brick stable (d) to the west of the mansion. A careful search through the jungle of vines and underbrush in the area revealed a short stretch of colonial brickwork northwest of the trash pit with a number of cobble stones and bricks around it, these perhaps having served as part of a roughly paved yard. Scattered about to the east of the wall fragment are a number of architectural items of Portland stone, including nosings and a large semicircular piece that may have formed part of the base of a column or, more probably, the newel from a balustraded flight of steps.

Probing and minor exploratory digging have revealed the site of the east dependency, which seems to have disappeared before the close of the 19th century. An area approximately 56 by 45 feet was littered with bricks, shell mortar, and huge quantities of oyster shells, amid which were a few fragments of crockery that could be attributed to the second half of the 19th century.

The west dependency was doubtless the twin of the kitchen, but its purpose is unknown. Photographs taken in the late 19th century show standing on this site a 1½-storied brick building with a wooden

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> For a commentary on the ground plan of Rosewell, see Marcus Whiffen, "Some Virginia House Plans Reconsidered," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 1957, vol. 16, no. 2, p. 17ff.

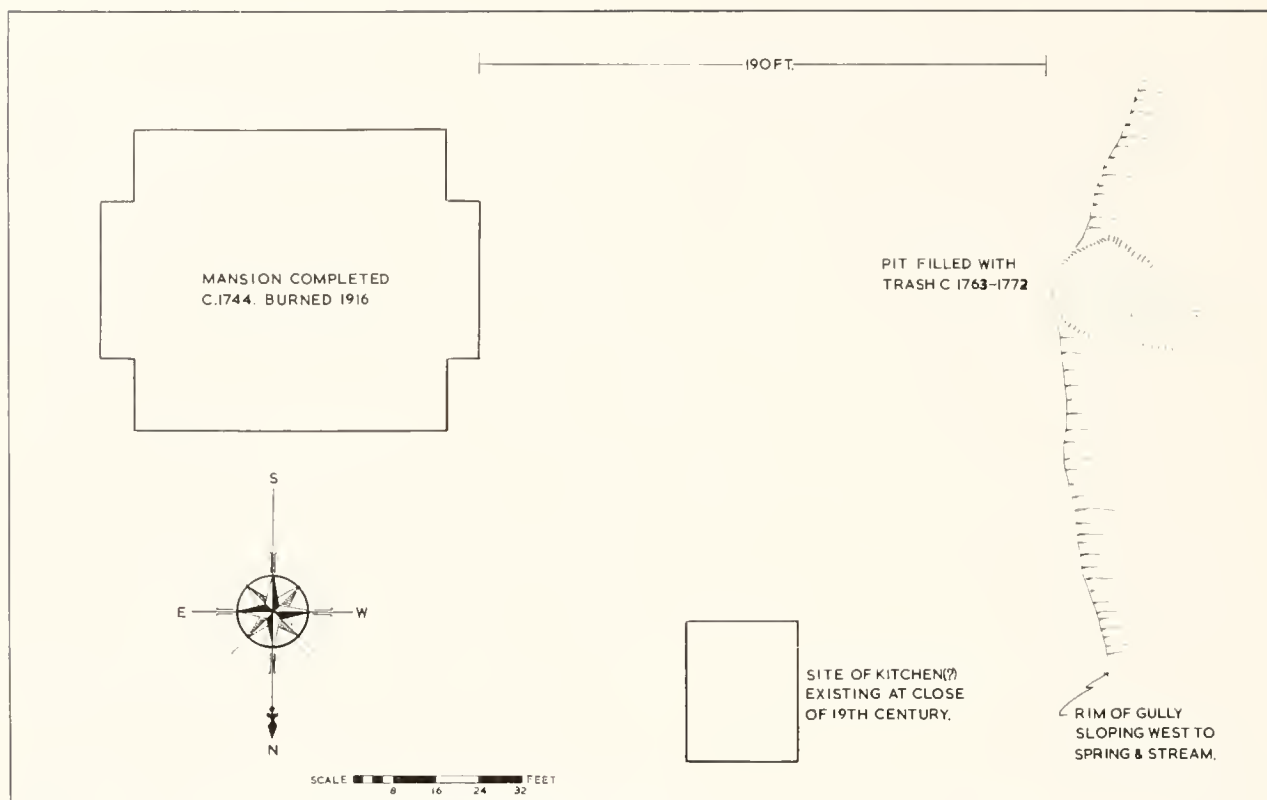


FIGURE 2.— Plan showing pit in relation to the mansion.

lean-to at the rear,<sup>19</sup> but it seems unlikely that this was the original colonial dependency. An examination of the surviving foundations revealed the use of large pieces of dressed stone, some with moldings; but whether these were used as repairs or were in the original construction of the building is not yet clear. No careful excavation has been undertaken in this area, but souvenir hunters have apparently dug holes here and there within the confines of the walls and have unearthed small quantities of domestic trash that appear to date to the late 19th century or early 20th century.

The site of the Page barn has not been identified, but it is possible that it stood to the northwest of the house and that its foundations spanned the track now leading to the ruined mansion. In the course of deep ploughing in 1958 and 1959 traces of shell-mortared colonial brick foundations were found running north and south. The same operations also revealed two large domestic trash deposits. The

contents of these deposits have not been investigated but they are known to be of colonial date.

There is no doubt that John Page possessed other structures in the vicinity of Rosewell that did not feature in the 1802 insurance policy—buildings such as smokehouse, dairy, lumber sheds, icehouse, and so forth. No reference is made to a slave quarter, and one can only wonder whether the slaves were housed in unsightly shacks unworthy of insurance or whether some were allowed to reside in the west dependency.

### The 1957–1959 Excavations

In the course of its own excavations of the trash pit, the burrowing ground hog had thrown out large quantities of oyster shells, brickbats, and bottle fragments. The site of the pit lies 190 feet west of the plantation house (see fig. 2) on the edge of a natural slope that runs into a small valley. Through the valley winds a stream fed by a spring popularly known as Pocahontas' Spring—a reminder that Powhatan is said to have had a settlement in the

<sup>19</sup> Kocher and Dearstyne, *op. cit.* (footnote 12), pl. 111.

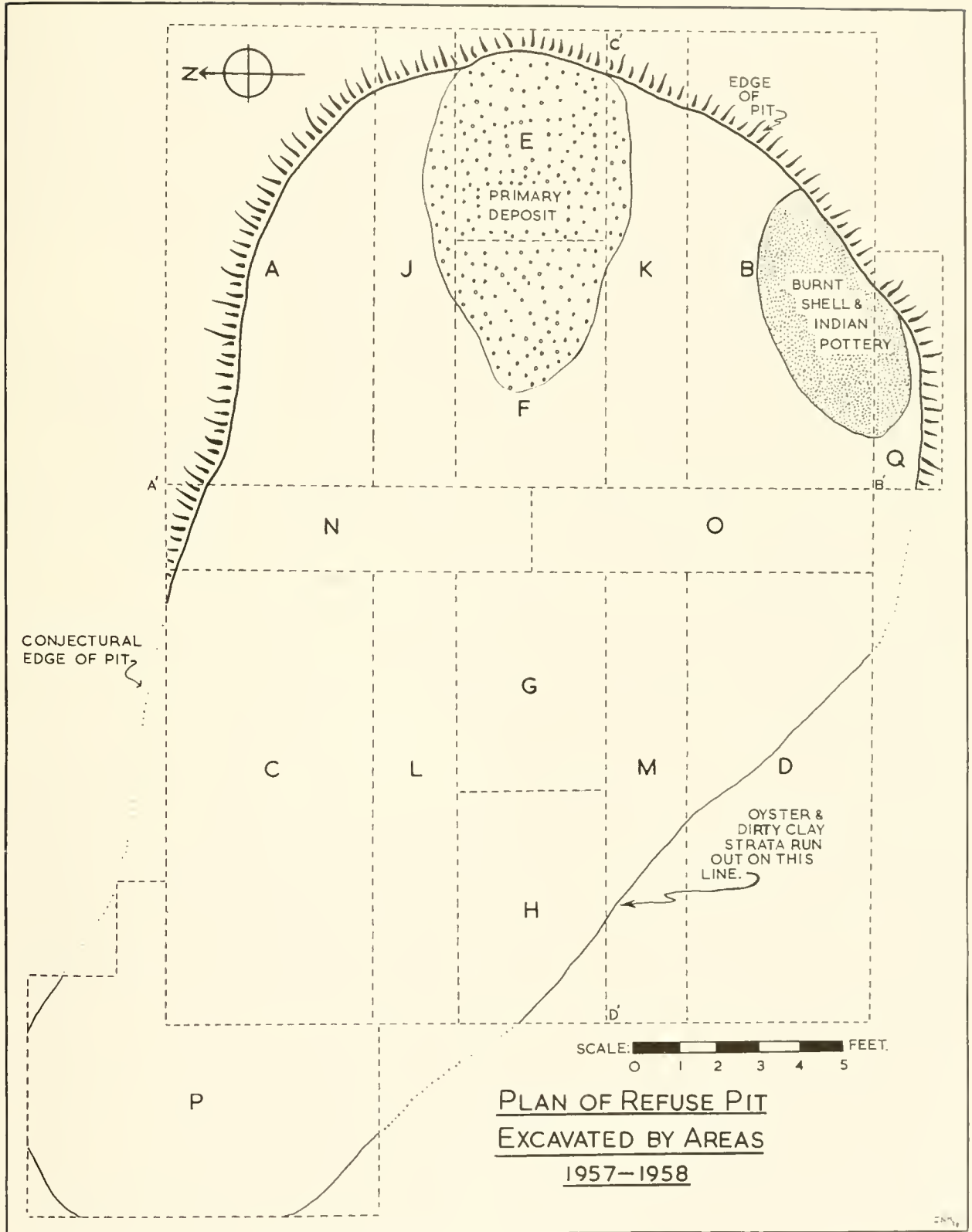


FIGURE 3.— Plan of refuse pit showing areas of excavation.

vicinity of Rosewell. The spring is also said to have inspired the name of the house, but for this information we have only the fanciful pages of *Leonora and the Ghost* to rely upon.

When marked on a plan, the ground hog's five entrances to his burrow create a circle some 12 feet in diameter. The majority of the artifacts were found in the westerly holes—those farthest down the slope towards the stream. The approach to the northerly segment of the circle was impeded by a large tree that the excavators did not remove because of an agreement with the owners that the excavations were not to do any permanent damage to the property.

To ensure that the excavation should include the entire trash deposit, an area 20 by 28 feet was hacked out of the undergrowth. After initial clearance of matted underbrush, many artifacts were recovered from the surface and from the top 6 inches of humus that had been disturbed by the removal of vines and other vegetation. All the artifacts from this part of the excavation are described as surface finds and cannot be used as dating evidence.

#### PLAN

Since the colonial deposit would in all probability measure between 5 and 10 feet in diameter and 4 or 5 feet in depth, it was estimated that the area would take less than a week to clear. In order to locate the pit an exploratory trench 3 feet wide was dug in an east-west direction from the top of the slope to the western edge of the cleared area, a total length of 28 feet.

The trench revealed that its eastern extremity was excellently placed on the eastern rim of the colonial pit but that its western end stopped short of extending through the pit. The original estimate of the depth was reasonably accurate for it was found that the deposit was 5 feet 3 inches in depth at its deepest point. The completed work revealed that the pit was pear-shaped, with its ends lying southeast to northwest, and was 34 feet long and 18 feet wide at its widest point. The excavation took some 360 man-hours to complete.

The first trench was divided into four sections (E-H in fig. 3) arranged so as to leave a 2-foot balk running north and south across the center of the pit (fig. 4). Subsequently four area excavations were laid out to cover the rest of the prepared area within the right angles created by the trial trench and the projected north-south balk. These area excavations (A-D in fig. 3) were dug so as to leave balks

flanking either side of the first trench, thus preserving north-south and east-west sections through the filling. Eventually the balks (lettered J-O) were removed. The final stage of the excavation was the extending of the excavated area to the north-west (P in fig. 3) in the hope of reaching a westerly edge. Unfortunately, this part of the work was completed in some haste as the presence of chiggers and swarms of mosquitoes that breed in the valley made it abundantly clear that the excavating season was over.

#### STRATIFICATION

The stratification of the pit (see fig. 4) was quite simple. The top layer, of brown soil, was only some 2 inches thick at the top of the slope but it increased to a depth of more than 2 feet at the west. This layer contained very few artifacts other than those left in the ground hog's burrow passages.

The second stratum, consisting almost entirely of oyster shells, bones, and artifacts, was the principal source of finds. It commenced close to the top of the slope but thickened rapidly towards the center of the pit; unlike the first stratum, it dwindled to practically nothing at the west, causing the first and third layers to merge together at that end.

The third stratum, of varying thickness, was created by water-eroded clay from the sides of the pit, into which many artifacts had sunk. It rested on natural clay at the west but became confused with a variety of intrusions at the east.

The fourth layer in area B was a localized deposit of wood ash, burnt oyster shells, and fragments of Indian pottery; it had been cut into the side of the pit at the southeast. Considerable reddening on the pit side as a result of fire suggests that Indians had built a cooking fire in the pit and probably had used the side as protection from the wind. The fact that the burning overlay washed clay containing colonial artifacts dating from the first half of the 18th century clearly indicates a terminus post quem for this occurrence.

The primary filling was confined to the central area of the pit, accumulating against the steep east bank and spreading out thinly towards balk N-O. This stratum contained fragments of early 18th-century wine bottles and three thin glass flasks (fig. 29, no. 6), tobacco-pipe fragments, and the stem of a wine glass (fig. 32, no. 7) of a type that could date no earlier than about 1740, which provides the earliest date for use of the pit as a repository for trash.

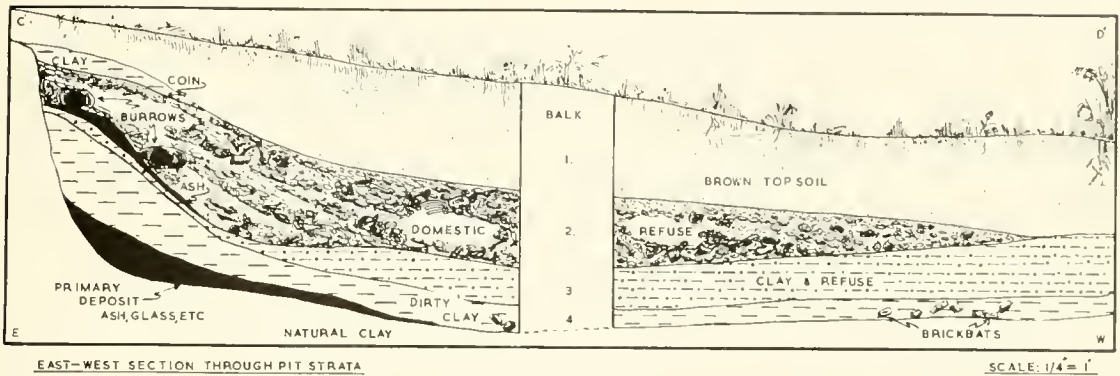
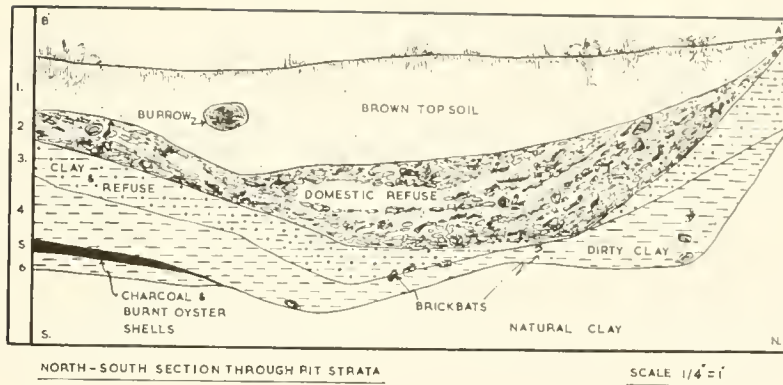


FIGURE 4.—North-south and east-west sections through the pit.

#### DATING EVIDENCE

The earliest possible date for the primary filling, 1740, does not necessarily indicate the date of the digging of the pit. The presence of numerous brickbats, with shell mortar attached, in the lower eroded clay stratum suggests that a brick structure had been altered or demolished at the same time or soon after the pit was dug. In view of the facts that the pit was much too large to have been dug solely as a trash repository and that it received very little refuse for some time after the digging (indicated by the clay silt), it is reasonable to suggest that it was dug as a borrow pit for clay needed in brickmaking.

If this theory can be accepted, it only remains to establish the dates at which building or alterations were in progress on the Rosewell Plantation to learn the date at which the pit was dug. The principal construction years, as stated previously, occurred between about 1720 and 1743 or 1744. The date of the pit's primary filling could conceivably indicate that it was

dug during the last spate of building when Mann Page II was completing the mansion. On the other hand, it seems extremely unlikely that the pit would have been left open until the late 1760's, when the bulk of the trash was deposited. Furthermore, after the archeological excavations had been completed it was found that the re-dug pit silted to a depth of 18 inches in the course of three winter months. It is reasonable, therefore, to infer that the pit was dug and filled with trash within one year.

On the evidence of the artifacts recovered from the various strata, it would be possible to create a slow progression from the 1740's to the late 1760's; however, the absence of later material in the lower levels provides only negative evidence that can be readily disputed. Since there were comparatively few items of late date in the upper layers, and there were many more items in those layers than in the lower ones, it is quite reasonable statistically for later items to be missing altogether, thus creating false dating evidence.

Under the circumstances, the dating of the digging of the pit must rely upon the evidence of nature (silting) and upon historical data. Since there are few surviving written records of Rosewell and there are no data relating to the building or maintenance of the house and no accounts of day-to-day life there,<sup>20</sup> we must fall back on elementary deductions—deductions that can very easily be wrong.

The presence of mortar-surfaced brickbats in the early silting of the pit indicates that there was a period of remodeling at Rosewell. It seems possible that such a change could have been occasioned by the advent of John Page as master of Rosewell in the mid-1760's. If, as has been suggested, the pit was dug to obtain clay for brickmaking, we have evidence of both construction and destruction side by side. On the other hand, we have John Page's own words to show that he had little money to spare for house repairs and that in 1770 he was forced to do something to Rosewell to put it in "a saving Condition." It could therefore be argued that the pit was dug at that time. The presence of fragments of cut window-glass and a bullion from a crown is clearly indicative of glazing and might coincide with the advent of the "Glaziers Diamond of 20/Value" ordered in October 1771.<sup>21</sup> Also to be taken into consideration is a small group of six English creamware sherds of good quality, one of them coming from the first layer and the others from the top of the second. Generally speaking, one does not expect to find much creamware—or "Queen's ware" as Josiah Wedgwood called it—in use in the colony before about 1770. Nevertheless, there is evidence to show that the Pages knew of creamware and owned some by that date. Mann Page II's order requesting that goods be shipped from England "to be landed where I live near Fredericksburg" included "1 Dozn. Tea Cups 1 Dozn. Saucers, 1 Dozn. Coffee Cups & 1 Dozn. Saucers, 1 Slop Bowl of Queen China."<sup>22</sup> Consequently, it need not be surprising to find creamware in use at Rosewell by 1770 or that sherds of such ware should be present. But if the ante quem and post quem dates for the pit are very close together, then the creamware fragments are strong evidence in favor of a date close to 1770 or even 1772 for its filling.

The principal post quem dating is provided by a pewter shoe buckle, found at the bottom of the

second layer, that is decorated with a pair of molded barrels at the middle and with the legend "NO EXCISE" at either end (fig. 7). This is almost certainly an English political memento produced in the 1760's, when the slogan was shouted by the same radicals who cried out so loudly for "Wilkes and Liberty." Use of the slogan can be traced back as far as 1733 when Walpole's Excise Bill was abandoned and the public took to wearing badges and cockades adorned with the words "Liberty, Property and No Excise." It reappeared in 1763 following the passing of the so-called Cyder Act, which became law in March of that year. Hartshorne's *Old English Glasses* shows an English cider glass with "NO EXCISE," a barrel, and a cluster of apples engraved on the bowl.<sup>23</sup> Discussing this and another glass of its type Hartshorne states that "These words are part of the old popular cry which had been revived by the conduct of Wilkes and the appearance in 1763 of No. 45 of the *North Briton*, and, as to cider, by the excise regulations of the same year touching it." The blending of the "Wilkes and Liberty" and the "No Excise" slogans is to be seen in a ledger entry of August 1763 from a Bristol glasshouse which reads: "To 6 Enamelled p<sup>t</sup> Canns wrote *Liberty and no Excise*."<sup>24</sup>

If, as Hartshorne and others have inferred, the "No Excise" slogan can be associated with Wilkes, then its presence on a shoe buckle found in Virginia makes sense. Cast in the rough-and-ready mold of Patrick Henry, John Wilkes was looked upon by many colonists as the wind of freedom blowing through the halls of Parliament. On April 23, 1763, Wilkes published the 45th edition of his radical newspaper, the *North Briton*, in which he attacked the King's speech to the House of Commons claiming that the recent Treaty of Paris had the full support of England's ally, the King of Prussia. Wilkes, contending that the Prussian monarch had, in fact, been sold up the river, condemned both the treaty and the government of the Earl of Bute. It was Lord Bute and his Scots colleagues who had instituted the levy on cider, a tax bitterly resented by the English on the grounds that their Scots cousins neither made nor drank cider. A broadside published in March 1763 contained a vicious cartoon lampooning both the King and Lord Bute and a sketch of a happy Scotsman crying "By the Laird, this is a brae sight: I sal be Commiſſioner of Exceese in Time."

<sup>20</sup> Other than the brief references previously quoted from the *Norton Papers*, *op. cit.* (footnote 6).

<sup>21</sup> *Norton Papers*, *op. cit.* (footnote 6), p. 199.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 125. The order was dated February 15, 1770.

<sup>23</sup> Albert Hartshorne, *Old English Glasses*, London, 1897, p. 312.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 311.

# Declaration for Assurance.

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I THE underwritten John Page residing at Rosewell in the county of Glover do hereby declare for Assurance in the Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings of the State of Virginia, established the 26th December, 1795, agreeable to the several acts of the General Assembly of this state, to wit:

My two buildings on my plantation called Rosewell now occupied by myself situated between the land of Mann Page and that of Confusus in the county of Glover their dimensions, situation, and contiguous to other buildings or wharves what the walls are built of, and what the buildings are covered with, are specified in the hereunto annexed description of the said buildings on the plat, signed by me and the appraisers, and each valued by them as appears by their certificate under the following

The	marked A as	Dollars, say	Dollars,
The <u>Daylight</u>	do B at	<u>9000</u>	<u>nine thousand</u>
The <u>Kitchen</u>	do C at	<u>600</u>	<u>six hundred</u>
The <u>Stable</u>	do D at	<u>600</u>	<u>six hundred</u>
The <u>House</u>	do E at	<u>600</u>	<u>six hundred</u>
The	do F at	<u>100</u>	<u>one hundred</u>
The	do G at		
The	do H at		

say \$9400 nine thousand four hundred Dollars in all.

I do hereby declare and affirm that I hold the above mentioned buildings with the land on which they stand, in fee-simple, and that they are not, nor shall be insured elsewhere, without giving notice thereof, agreeable to the policy that may issue in my name, upon the filing of this declaration, and provided the whole sum does not exceed four-fifths of the verified value, and that I will abide by, observe, and adhere to the Constitution, Rules and Regulations as are already established, or may hereafter be established by a majority of the insured, present in person, or by representatives, or by the majority of the property insured represented, either by the persons themselves, or their proxy duly authorized, or their deputy as established by law, at any general meeting to be held by the said Assurance Society. Witness my hand and seal at Rosewell Glover this 17 day of June 1802.

John Page 

WE the underwritten, being each of us house-owners, declare and affirm that we have examined the above-mentioned property of John Page and that we are of opinion that it would cost in cash twelve thousand nine hundred Dollars to build the same, and is now (after the deduction of two thousand Dollars for decay or bad repair) actually worth nine thousand four hundred Dollars in ready money, as above specified to the best of our knowledge and belief, and the said subscriber has acknowledged before us his above signature.

Residing in Glover  
Jacobus Thomas  
Valentine

A  
A Dwelling house 72 feet by 60 feet Three stories high built of brick and covered with Lead

B  
A brick Dwelling house 60 feet by 24 feet one story high and with wood

C  
A brick Kitchen 60 feet by 24 feet One story high and with wood

D  
A brick stable 100 feet by 20 feet one story high covered with wood

wooden barn 60 feet by 24 feet One story high

FIGURE 5. An 1802 insurance policy for Rosewell. Microfilm copy courtesy of Virginia State Library.

A disgruntled Englishman mutters "This Rascally Scotchman is going to pick the Nation's Pockets with his infamous Excise Scheme."

A week after his newspaper appeared, Wilkes was arrested and thrown into the Tower of London. In November 1764 he was outlawed, and he fled to the Continent where he remained for four years. Then, still an outlaw, he returned to England and campaigned for the Parliamentary seat of Middlesex, winning by a large majority. He then surrendered as an outlaw, but received a sentence of only one year in prison. After being expelled from Parliament on February 4, 1769, he was quickly re-elected by his constituents on February 16, and just as quickly was expelled again. On April 13 he stood again and soundly defeated his opponent, Col. H. L. Luttrell, but regardless of Wilkes' massive majority, the Commons insisted on seating Luttrell. It was at this time that the "Wilkes and Liberty" cries were loudest.

During the following decade Wilkes became an outspoken champion of the colonial cause. After he returned to Parliament in 1774 he gave no fewer than ten speeches urging the cessation of hostilities between Britain and her American colonies. It is not clear exactly when Wilkes became associated with the discontented colonials, but there is no doubt that his stormy Parliamentary career was being followed with interest in America at least by the time of his repeated expulsions from Parliament in 1768/9. Wilkes was a forthright if crude radical who became the champion of peoples' rights, and as such he had much to commend him among the more hot-headed colonials. The following extract from a letter written to a Londoner in July 1770 by Roger Atkinson of "Mansfield," near Petersburg, expresses the feelings of a typical colonial radical of that time:

. . . ye Britons are a corrupted—I am sorry to say it—a very corrupted People. I hope you will mend as you grow older—I trust you will—I think you are in a very fair way to be mended now. Follow Mr. Wilkes, he will show you.

Pray send me the Newspapers & Magazines & Political Registers regularly. Everything that relates to my old friend J. Wilkes, Esq're.—for I never desire to read anything else except an Almanack, a Prayer Book & a Bible.<sup>25</sup>

Although John Page's letters do not mention Wilkes by name, a letter to John Norton written at

Rosewell in August 1768 mentions with horror the news of the rioting (in favor of Wilkes) in London:

I hope long before this your terrible Riots are over. In what an unhappy situation was Great Britain! Unsteadiness in her Councils, Confusion, Riots & Tumults, little short of Rebellion in her very Metropolis; Discontent in all her colonies, each, & every one justly complaining of the Arbitrary Proceedings of Parliament; and many of them provoked at the Severe Restrictions on their Trade, are ready to give a Stab almost vital to the Trade of G-t B-n.<sup>26</sup>

Enthusiasm for Wilkes in Williamsburg is indicated in an engraving of 1775 in which a gathering of citizens on a Williamsburg street is busily signing a petition, using a makeshift table formed by hogsheads similar to those depicted on the Rosewell buckle. One of the hogsheads bears the inscription "TOBACCO A PRESENT For JOHN WILKES Esq. LORD MAYOR OF LONDON."<sup>27</sup>

The foregoing digression is relevant in regard to establishing a relationship between the "No Excise" slogan and the Pages so that the date span for the Rosewell pit might be narrowed. If it could be shown that the buckle bearing the slogan was made or came to Virginia not in 1763 but when Wilkes was at the height of his flamboyant career after his return from Europe in 1768, then it could be deduced that the relevant repairs to Rosewell took place after that date, as also did the deposition of the contents of the pit. Although there is every reason to believe that the pit was dug in the autumn of 1771, became silted during the winter, and was filled with trash while repairs were in progress at the mansion in the spring of 1772, the evidence of the buckle is not sufficiently clear to provide an incontrovertible terminus post quem of 1768. Consequently, the date brackets must embrace the years between the late winter of 1763 (Treaty of Paris and Cyder Act) and the spring of 1772.

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<sup>26</sup> John Page, Jr., to John Norton, August 26, 1768, *Norton Papers*, *op. cit.* (footnote 6), p. 64.

<sup>27</sup> Rutherford Goodwin, *A Brief and True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia*, Williamsburg, 1940, p. 65. Some measure of the popularity of Wilkes in America can be seen in Paul Revere's famous "Wilkes and Liberty" punch bowl of 1768 and in an advertisement for swords with hilts decorated "either with the heads of General Washington, General Lee, Lord Chatham, John Wilkes, Esq.; with shells pierced and ornamented with mottoes; for Pitt's head, Magna Charta and Freedom; for Wilke's head, Wilkes and Liberty . . ." (*New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, April 1, 1776, as reprinted in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 1929, vol. 37, no. 1, p. 60).

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<sup>25</sup> Roger Atkinson to Robert Bunn, July 30, 1770, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 1908, vol. 15, no. 4, p. 349.



## The Artifacts

It is not to be inferred that all the items represented by the artifacts, or finds, were made in the period 1763–1772, but merely that they were thrown away at that time. It can be assumed, however, that most of them were in use contemporaneously and thus, together, they represent an important insight into the possessions of a late colonial plantation owner. But in considering the finds in this light it is necessary to remember that the objects that were broken and thrown away were generally those that were in common use, not the items which were more decorative than useful and which would have been preserved with care. Consequently the absence of such objects does not necessarily indicate that they did not exist at Rosewell.

The finds fall into six main classes, (1) ceramics and glasswares, (2) personal and domestic possessions representing such things as buttons, pins, scissors, curtain rings, etc., (3) stable relics and metal tools such as spurs, harness buckles and fittings, horseshoes, locally made hinges, knives, and iron- and brass-working waste; (4) animal and bird bones, (5) marine specimens, and (6) architectural items comprising fragments of worked marble, Portland stone, bricks, iron nails, window glass and painted plaster.

### CERAMICS AND GLASSWARES

This is by far the largest group. In addition to tablewares it includes ceramic and glass items that were used in the kitchen and in the bedroom. In general, it may be said that the quality of the tablewares was good, that Chinese export porcelain was much used at Rosewell, and that the Pages owned at least one set of matching cups and saucers of varying sizes. Plates and bowls were numerous and of varying quality. The best of them, decorated in underglaze blue as well as in overglaze enamel, were on a par with the best examples from the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg.

English white saltglaze wares, also plentiful and generally of good quality, included tankards, teapots, cups, saucers, bowls, and plates. Only one small fragment was found to be ornamented with applied enamels. Of considerable interest is a small fragment of a molded teapot in the shape of a house with a shield of arms and lion and unicorn supporters over the doorway. Teapots made in the shape of early Georgian houses were not uncommon; it is popularly believed that they were presented by friends to people

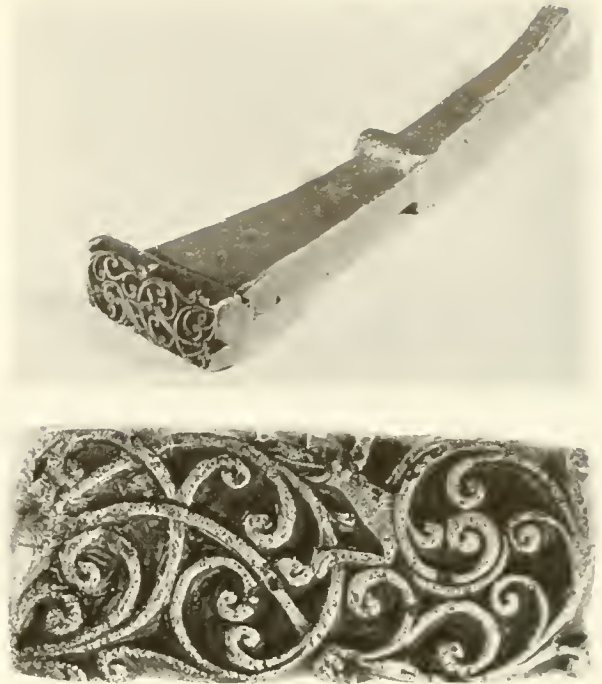


FIGURE 6.—Brass die, used in bookbinding, that was found near Rosewell graveyard subsequent to the dig. Face of die, enlarged in lower figure, is 1 inch wide.

who had recently moved into or built a new house. Although no evidence has been found to confirm or deny this story, it would be pleasant to be able to associate the Rosewell fragment with Mann Page II's completion of the mansion. (See fig. 8.)

There is a three-storied-house teapot in the Burnap Collection that is attributed to about 1740;<sup>28</sup> another appears in Griselda Lewis' *Picture History of English Pottery* and is given the same date.<sup>29</sup> However, Bernard Rackham, in his *Early Staffordshire Pottery*, indicates that molded wares of this and other types were not in production before about 1745.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless it does seem possible that the teapot could

<sup>28</sup> Frank P. and Harriet Burnap *Collection of English Pottery in the William Rockhill Nilson Gallery of Art*, Kansas City, 1953, hereinafter referred to as *Burnap*.

<sup>29</sup> Griselda Lewis, *Picture Book of English Pottery*, London, 1951, p. 24.

<sup>30</sup> Bernard Rackham, *Early Staffordshire Pottery*, London, 1951, p. 24.

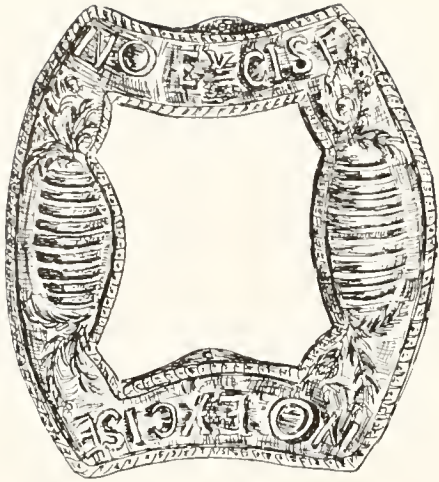


FIGURE 7.—Pewter shoe buckle with the inscription “no excise.” Enlarged.

have reached Rosewell soon after the mansion’s completion. An article in *The Antiquarian* has an illustration of a house teapot that looks remarkably like Rosewell, rising as it did three stories above an English basement and with the top-story windows being much smaller than those beneath.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately it has not been possible to discover the present whereabouts of this pot.

Since most authorities estimate that white saltglaze had almost ceased to be manufactured by about 1770,<sup>32</sup> the presence of saltglaze fragments and the absence of creamwares in an excavation encourages dating prior to that date. It is of interest, therefore, to note the request in Mann Page II’s invoice of that year for the purchase in England of “4 White quart stone Cans” and “4 pint . . . Do.” Bailey’s English dictionary of 1749 describes a can or cann as “a wooden Pot to drink out of.” It is reasonable therefore to assume that Mann Page was ordering white stoneware tankards. While this assumption in no way alters the accepted dating for the Rosewell pit, it indicates that some of the white saltglaze items need not be as early as one might think.

Descending the scale of domestic wares, we come

next to the English tin-glazed earthenwares or delft-wares, which by the mid-18th century had lost much of their appeal as tablewares, having been largely superseded by white saltglaze and imported porcelain. By 1770 English delftware was generally used only for chamber pots, closestool pans, wash basins, and ointment pots—the principal roles that it played at Rosewell. The Mann Page II invoice quoted earlier in this report requests the acquisition of “1 Dozn. white wash Basons” and “1 Dozn. white Chamber Pots” to be sent in 1770 to his home near Fredericksburg. The marked preponderance of these items over delft tablewares at Rosewell suggests that his son made similar purchases.

The use of German stonewares, which in the 16th and 17th centuries had been among the most impressive products of the potter’s art, declined in the 18th century, quantity being considered more important than quality, grace, or ingenuity. Gone were the Knutgens and the Emmens, the great masters of Siegburg and Raeren, gone the fine signed pieces still prized as the creations of individual potters and workshops. In their place we find the mass-produced tankards, jugs, and chamber pots so lacking in distinction that they can be attributed to no particular factory but only to the Westerwald district of the Rhineland where most of the factories were located. The finds from Rosewell do nothing to soften this sorry picture, being confined to jug, tankard, and chamber-pot fragments as might be expected. Pieces of two jugs ornamented with “G. R.” medallions serve only as reminders that Rhenish potters were among the first to appreciate the sales value of manufacturing specifically for foreign markets. But this was not something that they had learned in the 18th century. In the second half of the 16th century “Bellarmine” jugs had been decorated with the arms of Tudor England, and in the 17th century we find others adorned with arms and crests of patrons, towns, and wholesale exporters.

Although no such examples were found in the Rosewell pit, it may be here noted that many of the worst blue and gray tankards, jugs, and chamber pots found in the northern American colonies probably were the products of emigrant potters who set up their kilns in New York and New Jersey. These factories first produced only the accepted Rhenish forms; but when the results proved to be coarse, clumsy, and poorly colored, the potters began to develop new styles and so created the ubiquitous cobalt-decorated gray stonewares so characteristic of the American scene in the 19th century.

<sup>31</sup> Elma Allee Weil, “Salt-Glaze,” *The Antiquarian*, New York, February 1926, vol. 6, no. 1.

<sup>32</sup> W. B. Honey, *English Pottery and Porcelain*, London, 1952.



FIGURE 8.—Saltglaze “house” teapots. *a*, Fragment (enlarged) from the Rosewell refuse pit; *b*, teapot resembling the design of Rosewell.

The emigration to the colonies of potters from the Rhineland, the Netherlands, and England has added immeasurably to the archeologist's problems, for it is often extremely difficult to distinguish between wares produced by the same men before and after they moved to America. The arrival at Yorktown, Virginia, of an English potter who was almost certainly trained in London or Bristol has resulted in the utmost confusion in the identification of brown stonewares hitherto attributed to factories in or near London.

Although his kilns have not yet been located in Yorktown, there is little doubt that the English potter was in business there. Wasters and broken kiln furniture found on most Yorktown sites apparently were used as hard-core in the repairing of roads. This is in keeping with similar practices in England where kiln waste from stoneware and delftware kilns was used in the stabilizing of the foreshore of the Thames at Queenhithe and on the Bankside, as well as in the lining of drains and in filling around foundations.<sup>33</sup> Sagger fragments from Yorktown are identical in appearance to those used in London, and so too is the style of the tavern tankards, which were among the principal products of the English kilns. It would seem, however, that the Yorktown

potter was less successful in maintaining the correct kiln temperatures than were his English counterparts, for many of the Yorktown pieces are badly overfired, with the result that the brown slip became almost purple instead of ginger brown and the gray body became dark and greenish. These features are to be found on a high percentage of the Yorktown wasters as well as on products which were actually sold to the public.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, the thousands of wasters from the London kilns that have been examined rarely exhibit these characteristics.

The foregoing discussion serves to indicate that an element of doubt exists in the identification of brown stonewares from the Rosewell pit. Among such items found are two large pitchers—one of which is likely to be of English origin—a small tankard of unusual size and doubtful origin, a large storage jar probably from Yorktown, and another storage jar that may be English.

Coarse kitchen pottery is not strongly represented among the finds from the pit, the majority of these sherds coming from the ploughed top of a deposit to the east of the mansion that, as yet, is unexcavated. Recovered fragments of such items include sherds from simple lead-glazed cream pans probably imported from England and other utilitarian pans of

<sup>33</sup> Adrian Oswald, “A London Stoneware Pottery, Recent Excavations at Bankside,” *The Connoisseur*, London, January 1951, vol. 126, no. 519, pp. 183-185.

<sup>34</sup> J. Paul Hudson, “Early Yorktown Pottery,” *Antiques*, May 1958, vol. 73, no. 5, pp. 472-473.

smaller size, a rim sherd from a jar of Buckley ware<sup>35</sup> from North Wales, and a rim from a pan of a type made at Yorktown. The latter should not be confused with previous references to Yorktown brown stonewares. Although invariably present in the same contexts, it is uncertain whether both were products of the same factory. There is, however, no doubt that they were in production contemporaneously at Yorktown, probably between about 1730 and 1770.

The Indian wares can be divided into two groups—those made by Indians for Indians and those made by Indians for colonists. Reference has already been made (p. 162) to the legendary association between Rosewell and Pocahontas and Powhatan, and numerous fragments of so-called late Woodland and early Contact pottery have been found in ploughed fields to the east of the house. It is also possible that quantities of oyster shells found 6 inches below the surface on a promontory overlooking the creek to the southwest of the house might have Indian associations.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, the only stratified Indian artifacts yet found at Rosewell came from area B of the excavated pit, where they were found in a secondary deposit (described on p. 164) apparently representing the site of an Indian cooking fire built in the lee of the pit's southeast face. The sherds found therein are of considerable significance in view of the fact that they came from a strictly Indian deposit overlying 18th-century colonial refuse, yet are of a type normally attributed to the pre-Contact or early Contact eras. On this evidence it may be suggested that truly native forms continued in use throughout the colonial centuries and cannot, at this time, be readily pinned down to any particular phase of the period.

More readily identified are the Colono-Indian products that were made in pseudo-European shapes in the traditional manner—that is, hand-worked, shell-tempered, and stick- or pebble-burnished. Many fragments of these wares have been found in excavations at Williamsburg in dated contexts ranging between about 1740 and about 1770. Shapes copy English delftware porringers, bowls, and cups. Westerwald chamber pots, metal, triple-legged, and triangular-handled cooking pots, and flat-handled

skillets. Fragments of vessels of comparable shapes have been found in an 18th-century context at Jamestown, Yorktown, Tutter's Neck, and Greenspring Plantation. One leg of a cooking pot was found in the second layer of the Rosewell pit, and a large part of a bowl was recovered from layer B5. Small sherds from no fewer than five other vessels were also recovered, most coming from the second and third layers.

Fragments of these Colono-Indian wares have been found on the Pamunkey Reservation along with European sherds dating from the second half of the 18th century, and there is little doubt that the former were made there. It has been suggested that the wares were produced by the Pamunkey Indians for use among slaves,<sup>37</sup> for it is thought unlikely that any European, however poor, would be reduced to making use of such inferior wares. The slaves, on the other hand, would not be used to eating in European style and with European kitchen utensils and tablewares. There can be no denying that the presence of the Colono-Indian wares in Williamsburg, at Jamestown, and on the great plantation sites must be occasioned by a common denominator—and that can reasonably be represented by the presence of slaves on each and all of the sites.

The presence of true Indian wares in the Rosewell pit can hardly be accounted for in the same way. There is evidence that in the 17th and 18th centuries Indians were used as servants and hired to act as hunters and to rid plantations of unwelcome beasts of prey. It is possible, though not proved, that John Page hired them for some such purpose and that they camped in the vicinity of the pit.

Glass from the Rosewell pit can be divided into three unequal groups: beverage bottles jars, and pharmaceutical phials; fine glass wares such as wine glasses, decanters, mirror plate, and cupping glasses; and window glass.

Glass wine bottles represented approximately two-thirds of all the artifacts found in the pit and ranged in date from around 1700 into the 1760's. Although it was not possible to divide up the thousands of body fragments into their respective bottles, a count of the bases and necks showed (at a conservative estimate) that no fewer than 351 were represented and that the

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<sup>35</sup> K. J. Barton. "The Buckley Potteries II, Excavations at Prescott's Pottery 1954," *Flintshire Miscellany*, 1956, no. 1, reprinted from *Flintshire Historical Journal*, vol. 16.

<sup>36</sup> A minute fragment of brick found with the shells in the only trial hole dug does not support this possibility.

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<sup>37</sup> In a paper prepared by the present author and delivered by C. Malcolm Watkins at the Ethno-Historic Conference on the American Indian, Washington, D.C., 1958.

majority belonged to the years between about 1725 and 1750. Most of the bottles had the appearance of being of English manufacture, although there is as yet no method of identifying unmarked 18th-century bottles of American colonial manufacture. A small number of the bottles are of French origin, notably the three ovoid flasks found in the primary deposit, and others may be of Dutch or Rhenish manufacture. Well represented were the bottles made specifically as containers for Pymont mineral waters; five seals were found bearing this information.

Only one personal seal was found in the pit; it bears the initials "M. P." (Mann Page II) on a bottle fragment of the 1760's. This seal is surprisingly simple. Most gentlemen of the 18th century possessed carefully executed bottle seals that often bore their full names, dates, crests, and shields of arms or rebus. It might therefore be expected that the Pages would have possessed wine bottles bearing expensively engraved seals befitting the cellars of so opulent a mansion as Rosewell. That they did not has consequently been construed as evidence of their penury. However, the scarcity of sealed bottles is perhaps a clearer indication of this than is the simplicity of the seal, for there is ample precedent to show that many colonial gentlemen used their tobacco marks on their bottles, and we know that Mann Page's mark comprised only his initials.<sup>38</sup>

Of greater interest in its own right is a seal (fig. 16, no. 1) that was uncovered by ploughing in the field east of the mansion. This seal bears the initials  $\begin{matrix} O \\ T \\ A \end{matrix}$  and is clearly of the late 17th century. The arrangement of initials in the pyramidal form was generally used to indicate a husband and wife combination, the initials of first names of the husband and wife being capped by their surname initial. This arrangement was accepted practice in England as early as the 16th century, and it appears on thousands of English wool bale seals in the 17th century; in the second half of the same century it appears on many beverage bottles made for taverns, indicating the initials of both the licensee and his wife. In the 18th century Virginia planters and merchants often used the triple initials as shipping marks. However, some confusion creeps in when it is realized that these men sometimes varied the long-established arrangement by putting the initial of their middle name at the apex

of the triangle. Thus, on the same page of a tea account of 1769 we find the shipping marks  $\begin{matrix} N \\ R \\ A \end{matrix}$  for

Robert and Ann Nicholas and  $\begin{matrix} L \\ N \\ S \end{matrix}$  for Nathaniel L. Savage.<sup>39</sup> Further confusion resulted when some men used different marks for the produce being sent from or to different plantations, the individual properties being indicated by a symbol such as a diamond or a mullet above two initials, or even an additional identifying letter above them—thus creating again the apparent triple initial triangle.<sup>40</sup>

The practice of making cheap bottle seals by employing stock letters and setting them up in pairs to order was common in the second half of the 17th century but seems to have been rarely used in any other period. Until the Rosewell seal was discovered no example of the triple initial had ever been found to have been set up in this way. For want of evidence to the contrary, this seemingly unique seal is read in the conventional manner, indicating perhaps some such names as Thomas and Ann Osborne.

Other glass items from the Rosewell pit included fragments of square-sectioned bottles of the type frequently identified as gin or case bottles. The illustrated section through one of the examples from the pit shows that, in the absence of their necks, such bottles could just as easily be called pickle jars (fig. 31, no. 13). Also present were fragments of large, globular, thick-necked bottles: some of these fragments probably came from wicker-encased carboys. Of value as dating evidence were fragments from two octagonal wine bottles (not illustrated) whose shapes are comparable to examples bearing the name of John Greenhow and dated 1770 that have been found in Williamsburg excavations.

The table glasswares from the pit are predominantly of good quality and speak for themselves. However, the straight-stemmed and trumpet-bowled example from the primary filling (fig. 32, no. 7) is valuable as dating evidence: it is of a type not in use prior to about 1740, but this item probably dates somewhat later. Other finds of table glassware included fragments of an early lead glass decanter and pieces of two rare bag-shaped cupping glasses.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, opposite p. 81.

<sup>40</sup> C. Malcolm Watkins, "The Three-Initial Cypher: Exceptions to the Rule," *Antiques*, June 1958, vol. 73, no. 6, pp. 564-565.

<sup>38</sup> *Norton Papers, op. cit.* (footnote 6), p. 309.

This category embraces all small items of a personal nature that do not fit into a specialized category. As a collection, these objects might be expected to contribute something to the portrait of life at Rosewell as revealed by the contents of the pit; unfortunately, however, they serve only to raise more questions.

The first small find to be recovered from the excavation was a Louis XV silver half-écu (fig. 18). It was found on the first day of digging in the first trial trench (E) and in the top of the principal artifact-bearing layer (2). The coin was minted at La Rochelle (H mint mark) during the period that John Law was handling French finances and when the Mississippi Company was the object of substantial investment both by the government and by private individuals. Much French coin came to America to promote the development of the Mississippi Valley, and as a result French silver coins were not uncommon in the British colonies in America. Spanish-Colonial was the most prevalent silver coin in the colonies; French coin was in second place and was far more common than English silver coin.

A series of proclamations and laws regulated the value at which silver coins should circulate in the American colonies. A proclamation of Queen Anne on June 18, 1704, provided that French écus should pass at 4s. 6d. each, and fractional coins in proportion. This ruling was disobeyed and avoided from time to time but was the law after 1709 and remained in effect until the Revolution. There is no doubt that French écus were in circulation in Virginia in 1750 and 1760. Such specie was much more likely to be obtained when tobacco markets were prosperous, than when times were financially dull.<sup>41</sup>

The coin found at Rosewell was in excellent condition, and the team of excavators became excited at the prospect of unearthing a hoard of silver treasure. While such thoughts are generally quickly suppressed by professional archeologists, there is no denying that the recovery of such a fine specimen at the top might lead one to hope that it was but a sample of a hoard lying deeper in the ground; however, this was the only coin recovered. Furthermore, its early date

had absolutely no bearing on the dating of the rest of the finds in the pit.

The recovery of the coin raised the rather obvious question of how it came to be in the Rosewell pit. With an exchange value of an English half-crown (a higher denomination than any coin found in the excavation of the whole city of Williamsburg) and on the site of a plantation known to have had a large slave population, it is inconceivable that the coin could have been carried to the pit along with refuse. It can only be suggested that it was lost by someone who had been tipping trash into the pit.

The coin was not the only silver item found in the pit. Also uncovered was one pair of a set of silver sleeve buttons (fig. 19, no. 4) of a type common in the mid-18th century. Here again, one is left to wonder why such an item was in the pit. Had a servant seen the buttons they would certainly have been salvaged and sold for their silver value. But one of the curious features of the pit was that it contained a number of unbroken objects that could have seen further service. Even if they were no longer needed at Rosewell, there would surely have been many hands ready to salvage them for barter or sale. Among such items are the miniature padlock and key (fig. 19, no. 11), brass buttons (in fig. 19), brass weight (fig. 20, no. 4), and the line harness buckle and silvered brass harness ornaments (in fig. 22).

A number of relics relating to firearms were found in the first exploratory trench, but here again the early promise was not fulfilled as the excavations progressed. Indeed, it was later shown that the first trench (areas E-H) had cut through the heart of the pit and that most of the artifacts were scattered on that line but became less frequent towards the west, indicating that the contents of the pit had been tipped from the east. Among the firearm fragments and associated items were an iron pistol barrel (fig. 36, no. 1), a brass ramrod thimble (fig. 20, no. 5), two gun flints (fig. 20, nos. 8, 9), and two strips of lead waste from shot and bullet molds, one of which had manufactured at least six balls at a time (fig. 20, nos. 11, 12). Of particular interest was part of a bullet mold made from the local, shell-tempered, Colonial-Indian pottery (fig. 21, no. 19).

Relics of children's items were surprisingly lacking, being confined to two pottery marbles, part of a slate pencil (fig. 20, no. 14), and a roughly made brass "buzz" (fig. 20, no. 3). The last two items, however, were not necessarily associated with children. Buzzes have been found on British military camp sites in the

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<sup>41</sup> Information supplied by Mr. Eric P. Newman of St. Louis, Missouri.

New York area;<sup>42</sup> apparently they were a common source of amusement in the 18th century.

#### STABLE RELICS AND METAL TOOLS

Among the metal finds, items grouped under this heading are the most numerous. The presence of so many objects of an equestrian nature leads one to believe that the stables were situated in the vicinity of the pit, that is, west of the mansion. The indications of iron-working can reasonably point to the existence of a smithy in the same area. If the stables were there it would seem a natural corollary that the forge should be there too. It seems probable that the Rosewell forge undertook repairs to carriages and farm tools, shod horses, and may even have made simple tools and hinges. The evidence for the last activity is derived from three crudely made knives (fig. 23, no. 10; fig. 36, nos. 2–4) and two apparently home-made hinges (fig. 38, nos. 1, 2). But in accepting these items as local products, one must bear in mind the fact that John Page is known to have ordered his nails from England. However, this can, perhaps, be explained by the size of the order, a quantity that would be as cheap to import from England as it would be to try to make on the plantation. The belief that there was a forge there at all is based only on the evidence of the many fragments of waste iron (examples in fig. 23) that were found in the pit.

It has often been suggested that the absence of paved streets and of hard, rocky roads in the Tidewater area made it unnecessary for horses to be shod. Archeological evidence is scant. The majority of the horseshoes found in Williamsburg excavations are unstratified and could easily be of 19th-century date. Nevertheless, in recent years a few shoes have been found in dated contexts, the earliest belonging to the decade 1740–1750. Research in this direction in England has resulted in the identification of certain trends: for example, the absence of toe-caps before the 19th century, the presence of more than four nail holes per side on shoes from the 18th century onward. Unfortunately, the number of horseshoes found so far in Virginia has been insufficient either to support or disprove these rules, but the presence of only four holes on either side of the Rosewell shoe does nothing to promote confidence in them.

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<sup>42</sup> W. L. Calver and R. P. Bolton, *History Written with Pick and Shovel*, New York, New York Historical Society, 1950, p. 80, pl. 4.

There are no written records to indicate whether the Pages possessed a carriage, although it might reasonably be assumed that they did. Here archeological evidence is more helpful, for the recovery of the handsome brass harness buckle (fig. 22, no. 1) and the harness ornaments (nos. 6–8) clearly indicate that there was at least some coach harness at Rosewell. Another ornament (no. 3) and a fragment from a decorative brass mounting (no. 9) point to the same conclusion. Also, the base of a brass terret (no. 2) is more likely to have been associated with a coach or carriage saddle rather than with a vehicle of lesser stature. A purely utilitarian farm harness would normally have had fittings of iron, and relics of such fittings include four iron buckles (fig. 38, nos. 9–12) and fragments from two iron hub sleeves (one is shown in fig. 38, no. 7). No bits or stirrups survived as relics of the horseman at Rosewell, but two broken spurs—one of iron (fig. 38, no. 8) and the other of brass (fig. 22, no. 12)—were found.

The number of brass and copper items recovered proved to be surprisingly large compared to the small quantities found in the average trash deposit in nearby Williamsburg.<sup>43</sup> Many of the items were nothing more than scraps of waste metal, trimmings from objects whose identity cannot be deduced (fig. 24, nos. 1–3, 5, 8). However, these trimmings are of considerable interest because they definitely indicate that the Rosewell workshop or shops could handle metals other than iron. Perhaps the most significant of all the finds with such associations was a lump of unshaped stone streaked with veins of copper ore, a combination of malachite and hematite. The recovery of this item caused a good deal of speculation. It certainly was not indigenous to the area, and it seemed highly unlikely that the Pages would have transported or imported ore simply to obtain enough metal to supply their needs at Rosewell, needs which could well have been met by the purchase of scrap.

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<sup>43</sup> In the summer of 1960 after this report had been completed, an important brass bookbinder's tool was found by a student in the vicinity of the Page graveyard. The object was used to impress into leather bindings a foliate device incorporating the head of a fox. The shape of the tool, with its T form and long cast tang, was comparable to a number of such objects found on the printing office site of the 18th-century *Virginia Gazette* on Duke of Gloucester Street in Williamsburg. There is no doubt that this new find is of colonial date, and it may be assumed that bookbinding (or at least leather decorating) was among the crafts practiced at Rosewell. (See fig. 6.)

In this connection the following information from the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is pertinent:

In 1728 "King" Carter, his sons Robin and Charles, and his son-in-law, Mann Page of Rosewell, organized the Frying Pan Company to mine copper in the cupreous sandstone formation on the present boundary of Fairfax and Loudoun.<sup>44</sup>

Also, a notice in the *Virginia Gazette* stated that the ship *Sally* was cleared on January 13, 1767, bound for London with a cargo that included, among other items, five casks of copper ore.<sup>45</sup> It is not intended to imply that ore was taken to Rosewell for smelting. Such a major undertaking would require very much more evidence, either archeological or historical, before it could be established as so much as a likelihood. In the absence of this evidence, one lump of ore must be explained away as a sample sent down or perhaps brought from the mines by John Page, possibly as part of some experiment or even as an exhibit presented before members of the Society for the Advancement of Useful Knowledge.

From areas and levels B4, O3 and Q3 came fragments representing five crucibles of small and medium size, all save one of the fragments bearing traces of copper on the insides. Since the crucibles are of a coarse, sandy pottery—a ware favored for this purpose certainly as early as the 15th century—and their shapes (small circular bases and triangular mouths) are of similar antiquity, they are extremely difficult to date. However, the Rosewell crucibles are of sizes comparable to numerous examples recovered from the cellar floor of a house in Williamsburg occupied by the goldsmith John Coke from about 1740 until his death in 1767.

It may be significant that most of the waste brass and copper that was uncovered came from the north side of the pit, suggesting that metalworking may have been carried out in the vicinity of the foundations north of the deposit.

#### ANIMAL BONES

As might be expected in a pit containing a pre-dominance of domestic trash, animal bones were plentiful but generally so splintered and broken that

it was impossible to identify all of them.<sup>46</sup> In bulk the bones weighed 70 pounds, but this, of course, gives no indication of the number of animals represented. Beef bones were plentiful, but only one ox skull was included, this represented by a single horn core. Pig bones also were common, and the mandibles and disassociated canines were readily identified. Deer were also identified by mandibles, but in neither pig nor deer did skulls survive intact.

Among the smaller bones were the mandible of a squirrel, the skull and incomplete skeleton of a cat (E primary), part of the plastron from a Carolina box tortoise, vertebrae and ribs from a small fish (attached to the copper pan, fig. 24, no. 9), numerous chicken bones, and a few bones that came from either turkey or goose.

#### MARINE SPECIMENS

Under this heading must be grouped the huge quantity of oyster shells of all sizes that comprised the bulk of the finds from the second stratum. These shells were clearly kitchen debris and were not retained. Of greater interest were a single cowrie shell and a small number of coral fragments, most of the latter in an extremely worn condition. Sample pieces of the coral were submitted to Frederick M. Bayer, associate curator of marine invertebrates at the Smithsonian, who provided the following information:

Specimen from stratum O2. *Diploria strigosa* (Dana). A reef coral widely distributed in the West Indies, including the Bahamas and Florida Keys north to Miami; also Bermuda.

Specimens from strata C2, D2. Too worn for accurate identification, but both probably West Indian.

#### ARCHITECTURAL ITEMS

The architectural finds included fragments of worked stone, builders' hardware, plaster, and window glass. Had all such pieces been found in the ruins of the mansion itself, one would be on reasonably safe ground in associating them with the building and in using them—as was done at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg—as the basis for the reconstruction of

<sup>44</sup> "The Will of Charles Carter of Cleve," annotated by Fairfax Harrison. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 1923, vol. 31, no. 1, p. 48, note 18. See also "Carter Papers," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 1898, vol. 6, no. 1, p. 18.

<sup>45</sup> *Norton Papers, op. cit.* (footnote 6), p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> For a study of the identification and significance of excavated animal bones, see J. W. Cornwall, *Bones for the Archaeologist*, London, 1956.



individual features. The Rosewell finds, however, do not come from the building but from a hole in the ground 190 feet away from it, closer to various out-buildings than to the mansion itself. Having made this reservation it may seem contradictory to immediately proceed on the assumption that most of the stone fragments *did* come from the house. However, the quality of the stone and of the workmanship thereon indicates that they belonged to a more imposing structure than a kitchen, office, or stable.

Fragments of two marble flooring slabs—one white Purbeck measuring  $10\frac{3}{4}$  by  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches and the other black Belgian measuring  $10\frac{3}{4}$  inches square—almost certainly came from Rosewell's main hall. These slabs immediately remind one of the entrance or Middle Room at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg where similar black and white slabs were used. No pictures of the Rosewell floor exist, and it is generally assumed that the marble was removed during the Booth occupancy in the mid-19th century. However, it is now apparent that repairs to the floor or the replacement of the floor became necessary as early as the period 1763–1772. Any possibility that these slabs were left over after the laying of the marble floor is removed by the evidence of shell mortar clinging to the sides and backs.

Among the other finds are a piece of white marble that may well have come from the base of a fireplace mantel, a fragment from the base of a Portland stone column, and numerous pieces of Portland nosings of various sizes. Builders' hardware was surprisingly poorly represented, comprising only a vast collection of old nails ranging in length from  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches to 5+ inches and a brass keeper (fig. 21, no. 1) from a rim lock of medium size. It could be construed from the latter find that brass locks were used on some of Rosewell's smaller doors as well, presumably, as on the large ones.

Window glass was plentiful in the Rosewell pit, and its presence can reasonably be used to add weight to the belief that the pit was open at a time when extensive repairs were in progress either at the mansion or at its dependencies.

Window glass was manufactured by two separate methods, the results of which were known as "broad" glass and "crown" glass. Broad glass, also known as Lorraine glass, was made by blowing a long bubble, opening the ends to create a cylinder, cutting the cylinder down one side, and opening out the resulting sheet onto an iron plate covered with sand. The final product was frequently marred by distortion, varying

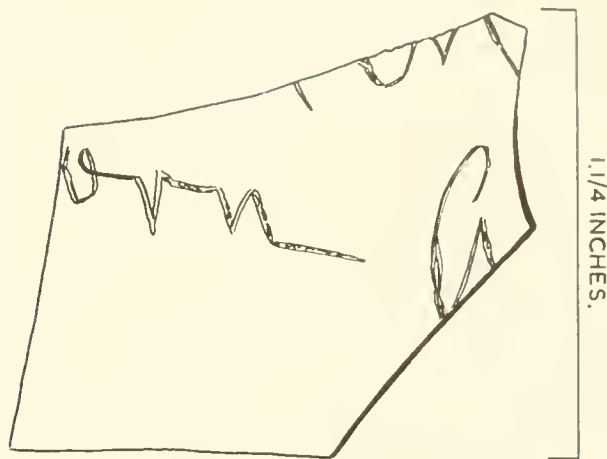


FIGURE 9.—Inscription scratched on fragment of window glass. For possible interpretation see page 178.

thickness, and rough surface, and was limited to sheets that rarely exceeded 4 square feet in area. The crown glass, often termed Normandy glass, was created by transferring a bubble to a pontil iron and rotating it so that the open mouth left by the removal of the blowing iron opened out to create a disk which, as the pontil iron rotated, grew larger and larger. This type of window glass offered much greater brilliance than the older broad glass, but the size of panes derived from each crown was limited because of the thickening towards the central "bull's-eye" or "bullion" to which the pontil iron had been attached. The outer edges also were of little value as they were too curved to be useful.<sup>47</sup> An edge fragment and a bullion (fig. 17) from the Rosewell pit show that John or Mann Page had purchased glass by the crown as well as, or instead of, by previously cut panes, the more normal practice. It is not difficult to envisage the possible relationship between this discovery and the "Glaziers Diamond of 20 Value" purchased by John Page in 1771.<sup>48</sup>

The need to produce a glass of even thickness and extreme brilliance was constantly in the minds of 18th-century glassmakers. In the late 17th century English makers were producing what they called "blown-plate," which was simply broad glass made

<sup>47</sup> H. J. Powell, *Glassmaking in England*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1923, p. 105.

<sup>48</sup> *Norton Papers*, *op. cit.* (footnote 6), p. 199.

sufficiently thick so that it could be ground and polished on both sides. This glass was used primarily for mirrors. Whereas the English continued throughout the 18th century to improve their crown glass, the French and Germans devoted their researches to making finer broad glass, which was known as German glass or sheet glass.

The fragments from Rosewell vary considerably in thickness and would seem to be predominantly of crown type. There are, however, a small number of thicker pieces that can be identified as plate. But the most important fragments are molded with raised diamond and lozenge patterns, and are of a type for which no records have been found and which no glass historian has yet been able to identify. The glass varies in thickness, is a pale straw in color, and presumably was made initially in the broad glass manner and then rolled and impressed into a mold. The purpose of the glass is uncertain, for it is only semitransparent and is reminiscent of the molded and frosted panes used in bathroom windows and the like in the 19th century and in the early years of the present century. However, it is possible that it was used in a decorative manner, for sunlight striking the raised patterns causes them to sparkle and glow. It is conceivable that such glass was used in one or both of the great stairhall windows on the east and west sides of the mansion.

The only dating evidence yet found for glass of this type was provided by fragments found in a trash pit excavated by the writer on property owned by Messrs. Price Waterhouse & Co. in Frederick's Place and Old Jewry in the City of London. The pit, containing a quantity of tin-glazed wall tiles and clay tobacco pipes, was considered to have been filled in the period between about 1725 and 1750.<sup>49</sup> Also, a fragment of molded glass, purple in color, was picked up on the site of an early 17th-century glasshouse at Sydney Wood in Surrey, England, but there is no proof, or even likelihood, that the piece is of that date. Nevertheless, on the Old Jewry evidence it may be suggested that the molded glass found in the Rosewell pit was installed when the mansion was under construction in the second quarter of the 18th century and that the recovered fragments were removed during repairs to the house in the 1760's or early 1770's.

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<sup>49</sup> Contents of this pit are in the collection of Guildhall Museum, London.

In conclusion, notice should be taken of a small fragment of conventional window glass (fig. 9) on which had been scratched an inscription, most of which is missing. Beneath a line of which nothing can be made are the letters "orn A." Four letters hardly make either sense or a sentence, but it is recalled that John Page was [b]orn A[pril] 1744.

## Conclusions

The preceding summaries of the history of Rosewell, its architecture, the methods of excavation, and of the most significant finds appear to support the following conclusions:

- (1) The pit may have been dug to obtain clay required for brickmaking.
- (2) The digging and filling of the pit were probably no more than a winter apart.
- (3) The filling was thrown into the pit sometime between about 1763 and 1772, with the latter as the most probable date.
- (4) The finds include relics of repairs or alterations to the mansion as well as domestic trash thrown away by the Page family.
- (5) The finds are to be associated with John Page and his family and not with Mann Page II, who had moved to Mannsfield near Fredericksburg in the mid-1760's.
- (6) Rosewell possessed a blacksmith's shop as well as the 120-foot brick stable described in the 1802 insurance policy, and both were situated to the west of the house.

## Illustrations

The objects illustrated in figures 10-38 are representative of the principal artifact types found in the Rosewell excavations. They do not, by any means, show all the finds that were recovered.

### LOCATIONS

The presence of a capital letter and arabic numeral after the description of each stratified find indicates the area and stratum from which the item comes. Where two or more sets of letters and figures occur, fragments of the object were found scattered over the areas and through the strata listed. Where more than one fragment was recovered from a single location, no additional letter or figure is included. For the identification of areas and strata see figures 3 and 4, respectively.

## DATING

Where available, published parallels are quoted as dating evidence. In addition, unpublished evidence derived from Colonial Williamsburg excavations is used. Unfortunately, however, the majority of the finds are without support in either of these directions: in such cases the stated dates are only the writer's opinion based on his own experience. However, the accepted sealing date for the filling of the Rosewell pit provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1772 for all strata other than the top (no. 1 in fig. 4), which was considered slightly disturbed and may have included items dating as late as about 1800.

Some of the more common items are described as "18th century" or "second half of 18th century," indicating that they represent *types* of relics that cannot be closely dated on stylistic grounds. However, providing the items were found below the pit's top level, these particular examples must date before 1772. It should be remembered that all other quoted dates are those of manufacture and do not indicate the length of time during which the objects would or could have been in use.

## SCALE

Unless otherwise stated, all photographed items are depicted against a 1-inch-square grid and can be scaled accordingly. Scales for the drawn items are indicated on the drawing or in the legend. Where the illustrations do not indicate the object's thickness, internal diameter, or any other pertinent feature, this data is included in the description.

## UNSTRATIFIED ITEMS

Included in this report are a number of objects considered to be of interest but which were not found in the vicinity of the pit. These come predominantly from the large trash-strewn area revealed by deep ploughing south of the Page graveyard and east of the mansion. Most of the material from this area belongs to the first half of the 18th century, but this time span is made worthless by the presence of a small number of items of the late-18th and 19th centuries that, as a result of the ploughing, became mixed with the earlier material. Two iron items from other ploughed areas are also included—an iron ice skate found to the northwest of the Page graveyard (an area that yielded more 19th-century

than 18th-century refuse) and an 18th-century hoe found in the vicinity of the foundations of the colonial barn (?) close to the path northwest of the mansion (see p. 162). These items appear as nos. 7 and 4, respectively, in figure 37.

## Figure 10

1. Plate, Chinese porcelain. Base slightly raised; underglaze floral decoration in cobalt; no footring. Second half of 18th century. C2. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 3.
2. Plate, Chinese porcelain. Rim sherd only; decoration in roughly painted underglaze blue. Style is reminiscent of the Canton willow-patterns of the early 19th century, and for this reason is thought to date no earlier than the 1760's. E2.
3. Plate, Chinese porcelain. Base slightly raised; floral decoration in underglaze blue, good quality; no footring. Fragments much scattered over the northeast area of the pit. 18th century. A2, J1, J2, E2. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 1.
4. Plate, Chinese porcelain. Wide, somewhat sloping rim; small incurving footring; elaborate floral ornament in underglaze blue. Second half of 18th century. L2. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 2.
5. Soup plate, Chinese porcelain. Narrow rim; heavy footring; celadon edge to rim; decoration in underglaze blue; ornament of rim is somewhat Imari in style, that of the center is floral with *ju-i* border. Second half of 18th century. D2, F2, G1, G2, N2, O2. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 5.
6. Plate, Chinese porcelain. Rim sherd only; decoration in underglaze blue. Probably third quarter of 18th century. E2.
7. Plate, Chinese porcelain. Rim sherd only; decoration in underglaze blue, in technique similar to no. 2. Third quarter of 18th century. D2.
8. Plate, Chinese porcelain. Rim sherd only; willow tree decoration in underglaze blue. 18th century. Surface.
9. Small soup plate, Chinese porcelain. Rim and wall sherd only; decoration in underglaze blue, the lattice pattern rather similar to that of no. 5. Third quarter of 18th century. C2.
10. Plate, Chinese porcelain. Rim sherd only; edge with iron oxide wash; carefully painted floral decoration in underglaze blue. 18th century. I3.

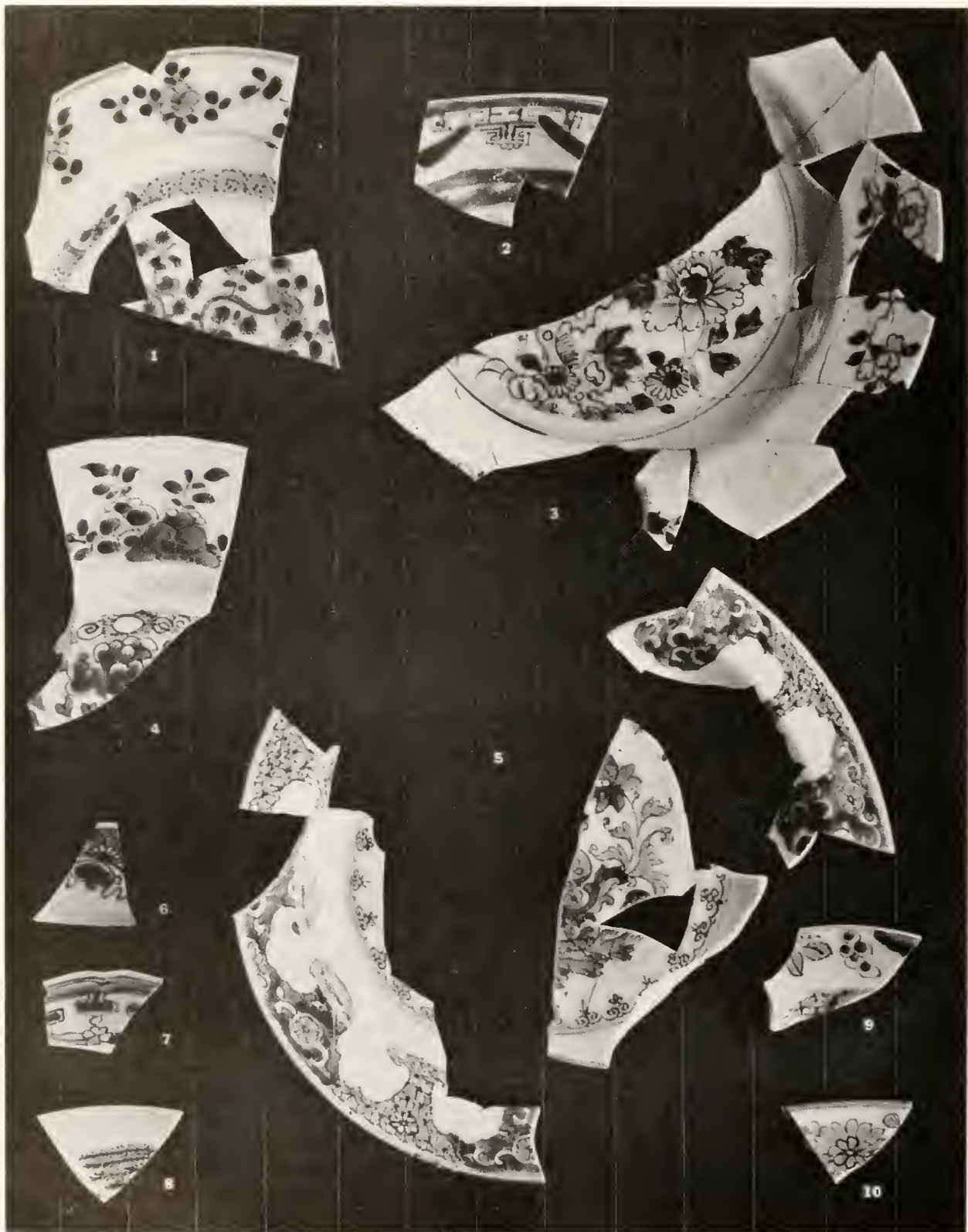


FIGURE 10. — Chinese porcelain.



FIGURE 11. Chinese and English porcelain.

## Figure 11

1. Group of cup and saucer fragments, Chinese porcelain. All fragments appear to be from the same set. Stylized lotus design in underglaze blue. Interior of cup is decorated with an unidentifiable flower on the bottom surrounded by a single ring and with another ring slightly below the lip. 18th century. E3, K2, D1, D2. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 7.
2. Saucer, Chinese porcelain. Has small, slightly incurving footring; decoration as in no. 1. 18th century. E3, K2. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 8.
3. Saucer, Chinese porcelain. Slightly flaring rim; small footring; elaborate floral decoration of medium quality in underglaze blue. 18th century (?). C2, L2. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 10.
4. Saucer, Chinese porcelain. Slightly flaring rim and small footring as in no. 3; loose floral decoration and paneled scenes in underglaze blue. E2 and surface. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 11. The treatment of the flowers and the use of dividing panels are paralleled in a Chinese porcelain saucer found in excavations at St. Benedict's Gate, Norwich, England, where it was attributed to the period 1650–1700.<sup>50</sup>
5. Cup, Chinese porcelain. Small cylindrical; iron oxide on rim; decoration in underglaze blue with deep blue band below rim and elaborate floral ornament in pale blue on the body. Second half of 18th century. O1.
6. Cup handle, Chinese porcelain. Oval-sectioned; spiral floral decoration in underglaze blue. Second half of 18th century. J2, P3. These locations provide a good example of the degree of scattering.
7. Cup, Chinese porcelain. Small, cylindrical, body very white; decoration in underglaze blue. The hatched zone below the rim may be compared to a similar device surrounding the central ornament in fig. 10, no. 1. Second half of 18th century. B1. Dating for nos. 5–7 is based on the fact that cylindrical coffee cups were made in China to conform to a European fashion not appearing before second half of the 18th century. It will be noticed that two of the pieces come from layer 1, and therefore need not be as early as the finds recovered from the sealed strata of the pit.
8. Saucer, Chinese porcelain. Gently curving wall; small footring; decoration in underglaze blue with a butterfly-and-lotus motif as the central ornament. The open-weave borders may be compared to the less carefully executed varieties that appear on the soup plate in fig. 10, no. 5, and to the smaller example in fig. 10, no. 9. E3, K3. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 9. A very close parallel, illustrated by Jenyns,<sup>51</sup> is stated to have been in the famous collection, now in Dresden, that was formed by Augustus the Strong, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. The collection was built up principally during the short period from 1694 to 1705. The piece comes from one of the Ching-tê Chên factories, and there is little doubt that the Rosewell example comes from the same source, though perhaps a little later.
9. Plate or shallow bowl, Chinese porcelain. Wall markedly curved; small footring orange at the bottom; rim with iron oxide beneath gilding. The body of this fine quality piece is decorated on the wall with floral motifs in pale blue underglaze, but most of the ornamentation is created in overglaze enamels. The zone below the rim is decorated in red with scrolls and petals filled with gold and with leaves in green outlined in black. Traces of the latter technique are visible in the center of the piece, which is framed in a ring of *ju-i* heads outlined in red and filled with gold. This border motif is less common than the simpler spearhead form seen on so much overglaze-decorated Chinese export porcelain.<sup>52</sup> Third quarter of 18th century. E3, F2, J2, and surface. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 4.
10. Vase or bottle fragments, Chinese porcelain. Interior markedly ribbed; exterior decorated in underglaze blue; design a typical boat with lake and willow motif from which the willow pattern was later derived. 18th century. G2, M2.
11. Teapot stand(?), Chinese porcelain. Corner sherd only. Unglazed on the back; tile slightly raised within a collar whose upper edge shows traces of iron oxide. Decoration in underglaze blue; design of individual lotus blossoms within the lattice border—seen also in fig. 10, nos. 5, 9, and fig. 11,

<sup>50</sup> See J. G. Hurst and J. Golson, "Excavations at St. Benedict's Gates, Norwich, 1951 and 1953," *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 31, pt. 1, 1955, p. 85, pl. 156.

<sup>51</sup> Soame Jenyns, *Later Chinese Porcelain*, London, 1953, pl. 12, fig. 1.

<sup>52</sup> John G. Phillips, *China-Trade Porcelain*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, p. 58.

- no. 8—was created by confining diamonds of decreasing size within squares or, as in this case, within ovals and circles. The identification of this item as a teapot stand is merely a tentative suggestion, for no parallels have yet been found. 18th century. P2.
12. Cup, Chinese porcelain, European style. Thin-walled with the lip slightly everted; floral pattern in underglaze blue on the exterior, a wide band in herringbone style below the lip on the inside. Second half of 18th century. D1, F2. Drawn, fig. 25, no. 16.
13. Cup, Chinese porcelain. Similar to above; exterior floral decoration in underglaze blue, but with curious “flowing-blue” foliate ornament below the lip on the inside. Second half of 18th century. E3, K1. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 15.
14. Cup, Chinese porcelain. Presumably hemispherical, in Oriental style; decoration in underglaze blue. 18th century. E primary.
15. Saucer, Chinese porcelain. Gently sloping wall; small footring; decoration in polychrome overglaze decoration with bamboo motif on wall, the leaves in red and the stems green outlined in black. The green has become covered and partially destroyed by a brown incrustation, a phenomenon invariably associated with overglaze green after long contact with the soil. The central floral decoration makes use of the aforementioned colors and is surrounded by a belt of red “basket” ornament. The underside of the base bears a double ring in a rich underglaze blue and part of an unidentifiable mark in a deeper blue. Probably mid-18th century. E2, F2. Drawn, fig. 25, no. 13.
16. Cup, Chinese porcelain. From same set as the above saucer; wall fragments only; overglaze bamboo ornament on the exterior and red basket zone below the lip on the inside similar to that on the saucer. Probably mid-18th century. A2. Drawn, fig. 25, no. 14.
17. Cup, Chinese porcelain. Same type and decoration as no. 16 but with the brushwork neater, the lines wider apart, and the hatched zone on the interior wider. Probably mid-18th century. C2.
18. Cup, Chinese porcelain. Wall fragment only, underglaze blue ring above the foot and base both inside and out; elaborate exterior decoration in overglaze polychrome enamels with flowers in red and gold and in white and gold outlined in red, and the leaves green, outlined in black. Mid-18th century. J3.
19. Saucer, English Bow porcelain. Small footring; the body pale straw in color with underglaze blue decoration of uncertain design. Third quarter of 18th century. N2.
20. Cup, English Bow porcelain. Lip and wall fragments only; pale straw-colored body; underglaze blue decoration in Chinese manner with bamboo and huntsman(?) motif and a narrow ring of blue on the interior below the lip matching that on the exterior. Third quarter of 18th century. F1, J2, and surface.
21. Bowl or slop-basin, English Worcester porcelain. Molded foliate ornament below the rim and molded cartouche surrounding underglaze blue ornament of uncertain form; a hatched zone below the rim and another, slightly wider, on the interior. Early Doctor Wall period. About 1751-1765. F2.

### Figure 12

1. Plate, Chinese porcelain. Base and wall fragments only, the former curving and the latter with footring unglazed on the bottom; pastoral(?) decoration in underglaze blue. 18th century. C2, L2, N2.
2. Bowl, Chinese porcelain. Rim sherds only; elaborate underglaze decoration in blue and with iron oxide on rim; two narrow rings of blue below the rim on the inside; a wide ornamented band on the outside above a floral motif. The wall of the bowl is thin but the surface is somewhat pitted. First half of 18th century. E2, F2, J2, G2.
3. Soup plate, small, Chinese porcelain. Rim slightly flaring; small footring with the base raised within; iron oxide around rim; decoration in underglaze blue with central floral motif of uncertain form. Second to third quarter of 18th century. F1, F2, N2. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 6.
4. Bowl, Chinese porcelain. Basal fragment only; tall footring slightly incurving; foliate decoration on exterior in underglaze blue; single line around base on interior. 18th century. J3.
5. Bowl, large, Chinese porcelain. Rim and body sherds only; elaborate floral decoration in underglaze blue. 18th century. F2, J2. See also nos. 6, 7. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 17.
6. Bowl, large, Chinese porcelain. Rim sherd only, probably part of same bowl as nos. 5, 7. 18th century. F2.

7. Bowl, large, Chinese porcelain. Body sherd only, probably part of same bowl as nos. 5, 6. 18th century. N2.
8. Saucer, Chinese porcelain. Curving wall; small footring; poor quality ornamentation in underglaze blue and overglaze red, with landscape motifs spreading from base onto the wall and ceasing below the rim in a pale blue line. The two fragments have the appearance of being part of the same saucer, but their positions in the pit make this unlikely. Probably third quarter of 18th century. E primary; C2.
9. Saucer, Chinese porcelain, rather similar in style to no. 8. Rim slightly everted; small footring with base raised within; decoration in underglaze blue and overglaze red; floral motif with blue stems and flowers and some red leaves; similar decoration on exterior of wall. Probably third quarter of 18th century. J2, O1. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 12.
10. Cup, Chinese porcelain. Rim sherd only; landscape decoration in underglaze blue and overglaze red in style similar to that of no. 8 with a thin blue line around interior below rim. Probably third quarter of 18th century. E3.
11. Saucer, Chinese porcelain. Wall fragment only; human figure in underglaze blue; vigorous painting of pleasing quality. 18th century. A3.
12. Bowl, Chinese porcelain. Body fragment only; floral decoration in pale finely-drawn underglaze blue. 18th century. K1.
13. Bowl, Chinese porcelain. Upper body sherd only; underglaze lily-pad decoration on interior below the rim in underglaze blue and with butterfly in flight on exterior. 18th century. N2.
14. Blanc de chine figurine. Back of head and fragment of ear only.<sup>53</sup> 17th or 18th century. H1.
15. Bowl, London or Bristol delftware. Floral ornament in cobalt. Second to third quarter of 18th century. Surface.
16. Bowl, Bristol delftware. Hemispherical, stylized foliate ornament in cobalt; ring of same color  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches below rim on interior. Second to third quarter of 18th century. F2, K2.
17. Bowl, similar to or perhaps part of no. 15. Second to third quarter of 18th century. Surface.
18. Bowl, probably Bristol delftware. Decorated in Chinese style; exterior decoration in cobalt with red rim. Second to third quarter of 18th century. G3.
19. Bowl, probably Bristol delftware. Foliate pattern on exterior in cobalt; red-edged rim; single broad line below rim, double line above foot, and double line around interior  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch below rim. Second to third quarter of 18th century. K2.
20. Basin, London or Bristol delftware. Everted rim with cobalt decoration on upper surface. Probably second quarter of 18th century. E primary.
21. Bowl, probably Liverpool delftware. Body sherd only; floral decoration in pale, somewhat speckled cobalt with black highlighting, gray interior surface, probably a second. Second to third quarter of 18th century. Surface.
22. Bowl, London or Bristol delftware. Cobalt decoration of uncertain form. Second to third quarter of 18th century. S1.
23. Bowl, London or Bristol delftware. Small rim sherd only; rich blue cobalt decoration of uncertain form. First to second quarter of 18th century. Surface.
24. Bowl, Bristol delftware. Lower body fragment only; foliate ornament in deep blue cobalt, leaves created in "spade" brushwork; single line around base on interior. Second quarter of 18th century. B3.
25. Plate, Bristol delftware. Base fragment and rim fragments, damaged by fire; cobalt decoration with "spade" brushwork as in no. 24. Second quarter of 18th century. Q2.
26. Cup or small bowl, probably Bristol delftware. Foliate decoration in deep cobalt neatly applied; thin body. First half of 18th century, perhaps first quarter. A2, N1.
27. Bowl or porringer, English delftware. Everted rim and plain white tin-glaze; belongs to same class as the many chamber-pot and wash-basin fragments found in the pit. Third quarter of 18th century. C2. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 24.
28. Ointment pot, English delftware. Everted rim and somewhat bulbous body; white tin-glaze.<sup>54</sup> 18th century. Surface.
29. Ointment pot, English delftware. Thin-walled; rim slightly everted and wider than base (a characteristic that became more pronounced as the 18th

<sup>53</sup> See Jenyns, *op. cit.* (footnote 51), pl. 120, no. 2.

<sup>54</sup> F. H. Garner, *English Delftware*. London, 1948, pl. 11a, right.





FIGURE 12.—Chinese porcelain and decorated delftware.

century progressed); base thick and slightly concave within the foot; white tin-glaze. Second to third quarter of 18th century. C2, N2. Drawn, fig. 25, no. 21.

30. Drug jar, English delftware. Body sherd only; decorated in cobalt. 18th century. M2.

31. Drug jar, English delftware. Base thin and somewhat concave; exterior glaze almost lost, but traces of cobalt bands remain. 18th century. A2. Drawn, fig. 25, no. 23.

32. Drug jar, English delftware. Small body sherd only. Chain ornament in deep cobalt. 18th century. Surface.

33. Handle fragment, tin-glazed earthenware. Probably continental European; body somewhat pink. Presumably 18th century. A2.

35 Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware. Probably continental European; decoration in cobalt overlaid with antimony with a narrow cobalt band around the interior; pink body. Presumably 18th century. A2.

35. Ointment pot, English delftware. Small, slightly everted rim; body slightly bulbous and constricted above base, which has a diameter approximately the same as that of the rim; base thin and slightly concave. First half of 18th century. J3. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 22.

### Figure 13

1. Westerwald chamber pot, gray saltglazed stoneware. Rim thickened, flattened, and everted; cordoning beneath rim ornamented with single band of cobalt, similar cordoning and cobalt band above slightly concave base; typical body ornament in form of applied, molded lions, rampant and crowned, alternating with impressed rosettes; all ornamentation highlighted and surrounded with cobalt. Because a template was used in making it, the body shows evidence of chattering, a characteristic that generally appears on chamber pots and storage jars, but not as often on other German gray stoneware forms. Handle incomplete but characteristically heavy and markedly reeded. Chamber pots of this type were in production by around 1720 and seem to have remained popular until about 1760; however, like pots of other wares, they became slightly taller and less pleasingly shaped towards the end of the period. It may be significant that in 1770 Mann Page ordered white

chamber pots for use at Mannsfield,<sup>55</sup> but makes no mention of the German blue and gray. This example seems to belong to the second quarter of the 18th century. C2, C3, P2, P3. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 26, no. 7.

2. Westerwald tankard, gray saltglazed stoneware. Rim and upper body sherds only; rim somewhat V-sectioned with heavy cordoning beneath it highlighted with two bands of cobalt; body apparently decorated with hatched diamond motif, alternate diamonds being filled with cobalt. Mid-18th century. J2, K1. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 26, no. 8.

3. Rhenish, possibly Grenzhausen, jug, gray saltglazed stoneware. Neck fragment only; rim V-shaped with broad band of cordoning offset beneath with two bands of cobalt; body bulbous and decorated with cobalt, no evidence of design. Jugs of this type were popular during the last decade of the 17th century and the first of the 18th. The pieces were generally ornamented with the cypher of William III or Queen Anne. The poor quality of this specimen suggests that it belongs to the latter reign or perhaps a little later.<sup>56</sup> First quarter of 18th century. G3. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 26, no. 9.

4. Westerwald jug, gray saltglazed stoneware with cobalt decoration. Neck fragment and part of handle. Probably second quarter of 18th century. F3.

5. Westerwald jug, gray saltglazed stoneware. Body sherds only; ware thinly potted and pale brown on interior; stylized foliate decoration on exterior incised and filled with cobalt surrounding a central medallion molded with a wreath around the "G. R." cypher of King George of England with a crown flanked by two birds above and a winged angel beneath. The initials of the moldmaker, "S. W.," beside the right wing and beneath the tail of the R. Another example of this maker's work has been found in excavations in Williamsburg.<sup>57</sup> The "G. R." cypher was made for export to England during the reigns of George I and George II, and it is uncertain to which reign this jug belongs. Probably second quarter of 18th century. B2, F2.

<sup>55</sup> Norton Papers, *op. cit.* (footnote 6), p. 125.

<sup>56</sup> See *Catalogue of the Guildhall Museum*, London, 1908, pl. 72, no. 4.

<sup>57</sup> Adalbert Klein, *Rheinisches Steinzeug Des 15. Bis 18 Jahrhunderts*, Darmstadt, 1955, pl. 22.



FIGURE 13.--Rhenish stonewares.

6. Westerwald jug, gray saltglazed stoneware. Thin body sherds only; decoration includes girth zone of incised checker-pattern with alternate squares cobalt filled. A jug with similar ornamentation was found on the site of the Printing Office in Williamsburg but was unfortunately unstratified. Probably second quarter of 18th century. A2, N2.
7. Westerwald jug, gray saltglazed stoneware. Body fragment with tail of handle only; incised foliate decoration filled with deep cobalt. Probably mid-18th century. C2.
8. Westerwald jug, gray saltglazed stoneware. Neck fragment only; decoration in form of multiple horizontal grooving, the whole coated with manganese; probably comes from a jug of the same type as nos. 5-7. Probably mid-18th century. C2.
9. Westerwald jug, gray saltglazed stoneware. Lower body fragments only; pale brown ware with pronounced potting rings on interior; exterior decoration stylized foliate ornament surrounding "G. R." medallion of quality inferior to that of medallion in no. 5; handle fragment, no. 7, may be part of same vessel. Probably second quarter of 18th century. B1, B2, C2, C3, E2, F1, F2, K1, K2, and surface.
4. Dish, Staffordshire slipware. Small, circular, bat-molded with raised bird design; notched rim; slightly pink ware with yellow glaze over white slip. Mid-18th century. B2. Drawn, fig. 25, no. 20.
5. Coffeepot (?), Whieldon pineapple ware. Cream colored earthenware; green molded leaf with yellow fruit on either side. About 1760-1770. F2.
6. Teapot or teapoy, English white saltglaze. Molded in shape of house with shield of arms and lion and unicorn supporters above door (recovered fragment shows only head of lion and edge of shield).<sup>58</sup> About 1745. J2.
7. Body fragment from vessel of uncertain form, English white saltglaze. Ornamented with dots of overglaze enamels in red, green, pink, and yellow. Third quarter of 18th century. G2.
8. Wine glass, English lead glass. Fragment of bowl of bell or waisted type; engraved with tall-stalked flowers with narrow leaves, their heads hanging on either side of a central stem (possibly bluebells).<sup>59</sup> Third quarter of 18th century. B surface.
9. Short length of thin, lead glass tubing with internal bore of 3.5 millimeters. 18th century. E primary.
10. Tobacco pipe, clay. Mouthpiece only; coated with red wax; stem-hole diameter  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch. 18th century. E3.
11. Tobacco pipe, clay. Stem section close to mouthpiece; mouthpiece coated with black slip; stem-hole diameter  $\frac{5}{64}$  inch. 18th century. N2.

#### Figure 14

1. Dish, Staffordshire slipware. Bat-molded; pale yellow body; notched rim; swirled marbled slip decoration in yellow and light and dark brown; back unglazed. Two dishes of this type have been found in Williamsburg excavations. Second to third quarter of 18th century. B2, F2, K2. Drawn, fig. 25, no. 19.
2. Posset cup, Staffordshire or Bristol slipware. Pale yellow body; somewhat flaring rim; body bulbous and incurving to a foot unglazed on exterior; small looped handle, oval in section; yellow glaze with brown dots around rim, brown combing on body. First half of 18th century. C2, E2, H2, L2. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 18.
3. Posset cup, ware as above. Basal fragment only; pale yellow glaze on interior, no glaze on exterior; small foot spreading below the incurving body and base thinning towards center. First half of 18th century. F1, F2, and surface. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 25, no. 18.

#### Figure 15

1. Bag-shaped vessel, native Indian pottery. Rim sherd only; wall has average thickness of  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch and narrows to V-shaped rim; finger smoothed on interior; cord-marked exterior; shell-tempered ware fired in a reducing atmosphere to gray-brown. Had this sherd been found elsewhere, it might be attributed to the late Woodland or early

<sup>58</sup> For further details see p. 169 and fig. 8. See also *Bunnap, op. cit.* (footnote 28), p. 34, no. 93; Rackham, *op. cit.* (footnote 30), p. 24.

<sup>59</sup> For possible shape parallel see E. Barrington Haynes, *Glass through the Ages*, London, 1948, pl. 55c.



FIGURE 14. -Slipwares, Whieldon ware, white saltglaze, and engraved glass.

Contact period,<sup>60</sup> but it (and nos. 2-5, 8) came from the secondary deposit in the Rosewell pit and was undoubtedly deposited after about 1730 and probably as late as 1771 (see p. 164). B4.

2. Body sherd, native Indian pottery. Wall thickness  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch; heavily shell-tempered; no obvious decoration; fired in reducing atmosphere to black interior and gray-brown exterior. B4.

3. Body sherd, native Indian pottery. Wall thickness  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch; shell-tempered; fired in reducing atmosphere to black interior and gray-brown exterior. B4.
4. Body sherd, native Indian pottery. Wall thickness  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch; shell-tempered; scraped outer surface; fired in reducing atmosphere to gray or gray-brown. B4.
5. Rim sherd, native Indian pottery. Roughly flattened along rim; wall thickness  $\frac{5}{16}$  inch; clay containing small flecks of red ochre; fired in oxidizing atmosphere; faint purple on interior, sandy brown on exterior. B4.
6. Rim sherd, native Indian pottery. Wall thickness  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch, narrowing to slightly flaring V-shaped rim; shell tempered; scraped interior; exterior ornamented with overlapping crisscross design stamped with thong or root-wrapped paddle; fired in reducing atmosphere to gray interior and gray-brown exterior. The decoration is described by Evans as the "Roanoke Simple Stamped" style and attrib-

<sup>60</sup>The following dated cultural sequence was prepared by Dr. Ben C. McCary and printed in his book, *Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia*, Williamsburg, Virginia, 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957, p. 90.

Period	Probable Time
Paleo-Indian . . . . .	8000 B.C.-3500 B.C.
Archaic . . . . .	3500 B.C.-500 B.C.
Early Woodland . . . . .	500 B.C.-A.D. 500
Middle Woodland . . . . .	A.D. 500-A.D. 1000
Late Woodland . . . . .	A.D. 1000-A.D. 1600
Historic (Contact) . . . . .	A.D. 1600-Present

uted to the Chickahominy Series; dating late Woodland to early Contact eras.<sup>61</sup> O2.

7. Body sherd, native Indian pottery. Wall thickness  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch; shell tempered; scraped interior; exterior fabric impressed and ornamented with hatched incised lines (slight shell tempering); fired in reducing atmosphere to gray-brown. K1.
8. Body sherd native Indian pottery. Wall thickness  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch; shell tempering shows only on interior; stamped decoration (see no. 6); fired in reducing atmosphere to gray interior and gray-brown exterior. B4.
9. Body sherd, native Indian pottery. Broken on coil line; wall thickness  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch; coarsely shell-tempered; exterior fabric impressed; fired in oxidizing atmosphere to pale orange. Surface.
10. Body sherd, native Indian pottery. Broken on coil line; wall thickness  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch; coarsely shell-tempered; scraped interior; exterior fabric impressed; fired in oxidizing atmosphere to pale orange, same type as no. 9. Surface.
11. Body sherd, native Indian pottery. Wall thickness  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch; shell-tempered; exterior fabric impressed; fired in poorly controlled oxidizing atmosphere, pale gray-brown interior, brown to pink exterior. Chickahominy Series.<sup>62</sup> E1 (top 6 inches).
12. Body sherd, native Indian pottery. Wall thickness  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch; temper leached out; some scraping internally; fabric-impressed exterior; fired in reducing atmosphere to an even gray. 01.
13. Bowl or dish, Colono-Indian pottery. Rim sherd; wall thickness,  $\frac{3}{16}$  to  $\frac{4}{16}$  inch; rim everted and tooled up from beneath; flattened on top; wall sharply sloping; characteristic buff; shell-tempered ware with gray core; stick or pebble burnishing inside and out. See p. 172. J2.
14. Cooking pot leg, Colono-Indian pottery. Diameter  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch; leg made in separate roll to be luted to pot with smeared clay; stick or pebble burnished; foot flat at bottom; ware buff to pink over gray core; slight shell-temper. See p. 172. A2.
15. Bowl, Colono-Indian pottery. Rim sherd; rim flattened on top and slightly everted; body somewhat bulbous; wall thickness  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch; shell-tempered; buff with slightly darker core; some burnishing inside and out. See p. 172. B2.

## Figure 16

1. Beverage bottle seal with initials "T.A.O." Impressed from separate matrices. For further details see p. 173.<sup>63</sup> From field surface south of graveyard, unstratified.
2. Bottle seal in olive-green glass. Bears the legend "PYRMONT WATER"<sup>64</sup> around a crowned shield of arms. "Quarterly of nine. Overall, in the 5th or an eight-pointed Star, sa. (Waldeck). In the 1st and 9th ar. a Cross ancrée gu. (Pyrmont). In the 2nd and 8th ar. three Shields gu. (Rappolstein). In the 3rd and 7th ar. three Crows Heads sa. tongued gu. crowned or (Hoheneck). In the 4th and 6th ar. semy of Billets couchées az. a Lion gu. crowned or."<sup>65</sup> Second to third quarter of 18th century. J2.
3. Bottle seal, olive-green glass. Bears incomplete legend ". . . E PYRMONT WATE[R]" around crowned shield of arms as in no. 2; seal attached to a shoulder fragment indicating bottle is of same shape as sealed example shown in fig. 31, no. 6. Second to third quarter of 18th century. Surface.
4. Bottle seal, glass much decayed. Bears legend "\*PIERMONT [W]ATER" around an eight-pointed star. This is an early form of the Pyrmont water seal. Two examples of this seal were found in a coffee-house trash pit in London that has been dated to the second quarter of the 18th century. From field surface south of graveyard, unstratified.
5. Neck of Pyrmont water bottle, pale amber glass. Round-sectioned string-rim trailed around neck and pressed to it with same tool used to apply "Piermont" seal; letter "N" impressed into string-rim. Use of seal matrix for this purpose is not uncommon and encourages belief that matrix was mounted close to furnace mouth and that bottles were pressed against it and not it against them. An identical

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<sup>63</sup> See also Ivor Noël Hume, "A Century of London Glass Bowles," *The Connoisseur Year Book 1956*, London, 1955, p. 103.

<sup>64</sup> Pyrmont was the capital of Waldeck, in Germany; it was noted for its mineral springs, the waters of which were widely exported.

<sup>65</sup> The heraldic description of the arms is quoted from the late Lady Ruggles Brise's book *Scaled Bottles*, London, 1949, p. 78.

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<sup>61</sup> Clifford Evans, *A Ceramic Study of Virginia Archeology*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 160, Washington, 1955, p. 47.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 7, example "h" for closest parallel.

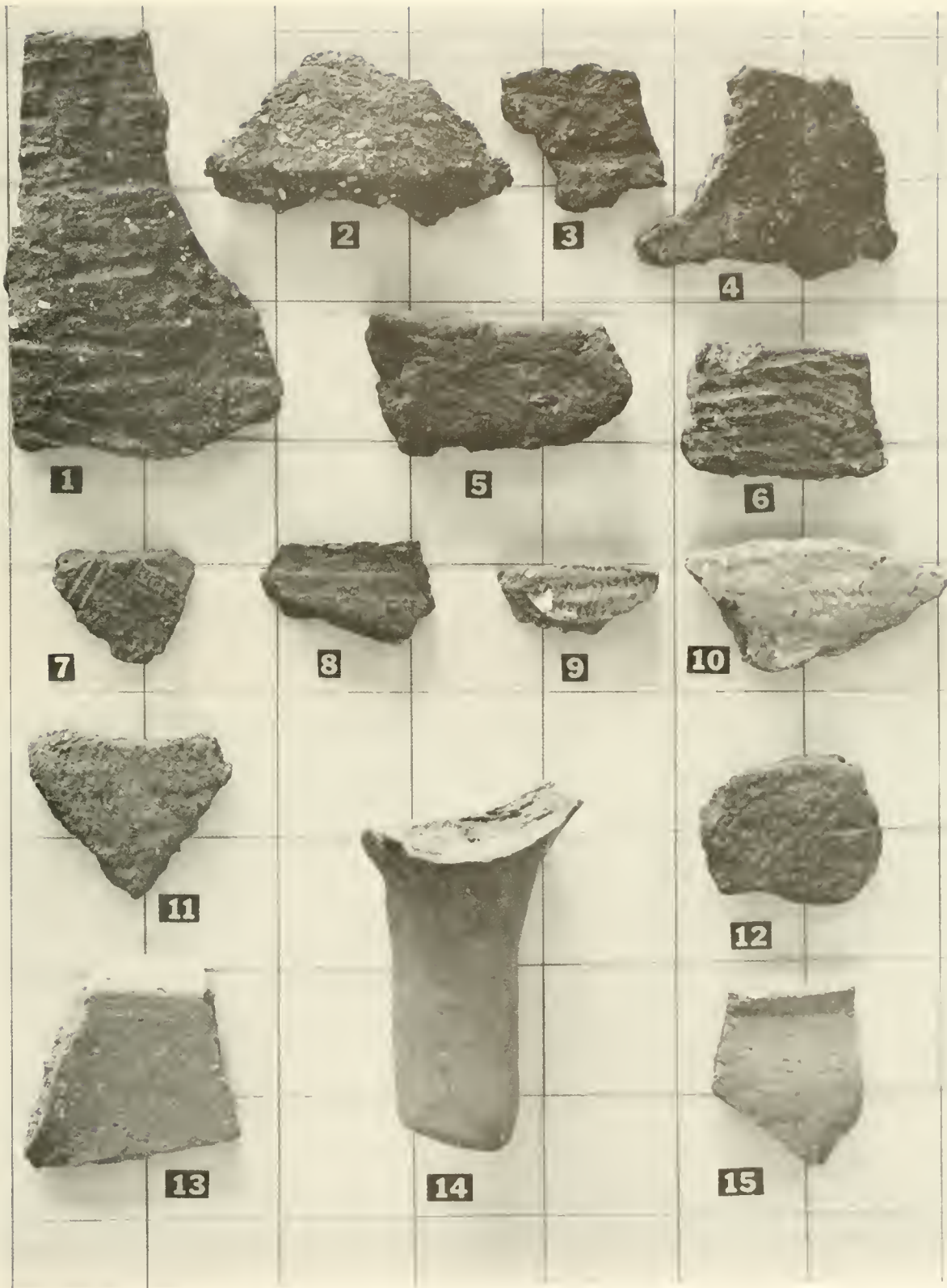


FIGURE 15.—Indian and Colono-Indian pottery.



FIGURE 16.—Bottle seals and neck of Pyrmont water bottle.

neck found on Dr. Gilmer's lot in Williamsburg<sup>66</sup> is limited in date by Gilmer's span of ownership to

<sup>66</sup> Colonial Williamsburg, cat. no. 163 29.A2.

the decade 1735–1745. The same use of the seal matrix is apparent. There is a clear impression of the letter "P" preceded by a large period and by what is believed to be the point from a star en-

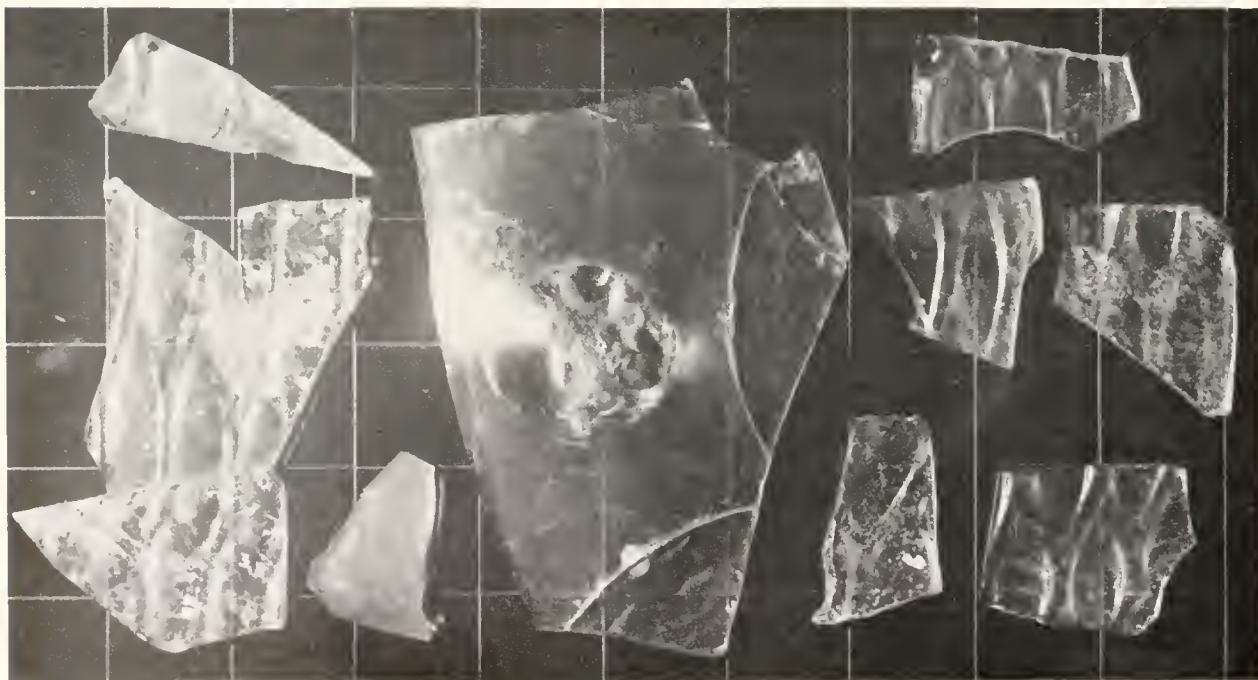


FIGURE 17.—Window glass.





FIGURE 18.- Reverse and obverse of Louis XV silver half-écu. Enlarged.

closed within a raised circle. There is little doubt that this impression is part of a seal comparable to that in no. 7. Probably second quarter of 18th century. J3. Drawn, fig. 31, no. 4.

6. Bottle seal, decayed olive-green glass. Bears legend "PYRMONT WATER" around a crowned shield of arms as in no. 2; lettering somewhat smaller than on preceding examples. Second to third quarter of 18th century. A2.
7. Bottle seal, pale olive-green glass. Bears legend "PIERMONT WATER" followed by a large period surrounding an eight-pointed star. Second quarter of 18th century. C2.
8. Bottle seal, glass blackened and soapy with decay. Bears conjectured legend "PIERMONT WATER" surrounding sharply molded, eight-pointed star; probably from unusual squat bottle illustrated in fig. 30, no. 4. First quarter of 18th century. C3.
9. Bottle seal, olive-green glass gilded by iridescence. Bears initials "M:P" (for Mann Page). This seal was attached to a cylindrical-bodied bottle of a type unlikely to date before about 1760; this fact, and the context, precludes it from belonging to any member of the Page family other than Mann Page II. About 1760-1770. L2.

### Figure 17

Center: Bullion or bull's-eye from a crown of window glass, the metal a pale blue-green becoming more pronounced towards the center. Thickness  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch at left edge close to center, narrowing to  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch at the farthest measurable distance from center. Probably second half of 18th century. D1. To the left of the bullion is an edge fragment from another crown: metal is pale green; the edge thickening on both sides and rounded; thickness is  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch at the outer edge, and  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch at about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in from the outer edge (see p. 177). Probably second half of 18th century. C1.

Left and right: Fragments of molded window glass. Clear to straw metal; all decorated with embossed lozenge patterns. Lozenges vary in length from pane to pane, the shortest measuring  $1\frac{1}{4}$  by  $\frac{3}{8}$  inches and the longest  $1\frac{3}{4}$  by  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The thickness and height of the molded lines vary considerably, those at the bottom left being the lightest and those at the bottom right being the heaviest. Of the joined fragments at the left, only the upper pair belong together; the lower fragment has been attached merely to illustrate the shape of the com-

plete lozenges. Glass of this type appears to be unique in Virginia but is paralleled by fragments found in a trash pit on the site of a tenement that stood on the corner of Old Jewry and Frederick's Place in London. These date from the second quarter of the 18th century and are now in the Guildhall Museum in London (see p. 178). Surface, B1, D1, E2, E3, K2, O1.

### Figure 18

Silver half-écu. Reverse: Bourbon shield of arms beneath crown and legend "SIT. NOMEN. DOMINI. H. (mint mark) BENEDICTVM" (Blessed be the Name of the Lord) followed by the date 1719. Obverse: Lauriate head of Louis XV in right profile with legend reading "LVD. XV. D.G. FR. ET. NAV. REX"; edge inscription, "DOMINE\*\*\*\* SALVVM FAC\*\*\*\* REGEM." (See p. 174.) E2.

### Figure 19

1. Shoe buckle, pewter. Surface molded in relief with two barrels flanked by flowers and the words "NO EXCISE" at either end (see p. 166). 1763-1770. A2. Enlarged drawing, fig. 7.
2. Shoe buckle fragment, and tongue and tines. The buckle is silver-plated brass with ridged and notched ornamentation. The iron tongue and tines came from the same pit area as the buckle fragment but they are not necessarily from the same buckle. 18th century. H2.
3. Button, silver-plated brass. Back slightly conical with a U-shaped brass wire thrust into the apex; diameter  $1\frac{5}{16}$  inch. Second half of 18th century. K2.
4. Sleeve buttons or links, silver. Octagonal; engraved with stylized flower within a diamond; small, somewhat flattened loops with single oval link; small oval on back of one button may be an illegible maker's mark.<sup>67</sup> Probably second quarter of 18th century. E3.
5. Button, gilded brass. Shell type; embossed with rosette in thread style; originally possessed bone back similar to no. 10. 18th century. F2.

<sup>67</sup> See Faith Russell-Smith, "Sleeve-Buttons of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *The Connoisseur*, London, 1957, vol. 139, no. 559, p. 36ff; and Ivor Noël Hume, "Sleeve Buttons: Diminutive Relics of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Antiques*, April 1961, vol. 79, no. 4, pp. 380-383.

6. Boss or large button, brass with iron nail or shank mounted within small collar on the hollow reverse. Diameter  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inches. Size and shape suggest that it may have been a harness ornament. 18th century. J2.
7. Button, pewter. Back missing; front decorated with molded rose; probably a British naval button; diameter  $1\frac{5}{16}$  inch. First half of 18th century. L2.
8. Button, brass. Hollow-cast type; small brass shank, the wire rectangular in section; casting hole on either side of shank; diameter  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch. Buttons of this type found in the Revolutionary cemetery at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg have been described as French military buttons.<sup>68</sup> 18th century. F2.
9. Button, silver-plated brass. Flat with round-sectioned wire loop; front surface somewhat scratched, which might indicate a rough attempt at decoration; diameter  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inch. Second half of 18th century. Surface.
10. Bone back for button of type illustrated by no. 5. Carefully made; somewhat convex with edge tooled to take rim of brass front; central hole drilled to take a wire shank; diameter  $\frac{9}{16}$  inch. 18th century. C2.
11. Miniature padlock with brass key. Iron mechanism and brass casing; probably from a jewel box. The height is  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch and the thickness 5 mm. The key protrudes  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch. Because the mechanism was so rusted, no attempt was made to extract the key. 18th century. E3.

### Figure 20

1. Curtain ring, brass. Rolled metal, a method of manufacture considered to be later in date than that used in making no. 2. 18th century. Surface.
2. Curtain ring, hammered brass with filed edge. 18th century. F2.
3. Buzz or whirligig, brass or copper. Roughly serrated edge; two holes through center. 18th century. (See p. 174.) N2.
4. Ounce weight, bronze. On opposite sides of a small collared lug in the center of the upper surface are the mark "V<sup>68</sup>" and the figure "16"; thickness of disk 5.5 mm. 18th century. F2.
5. Ramrod thimble, ribbed brass. Made from strip of brass curved to form circular tube  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch in diameter; ends of strip flattened together and pressed

<sup>68</sup> Calver and Bolton, *op. cit.* (footnote 42), p. 228.

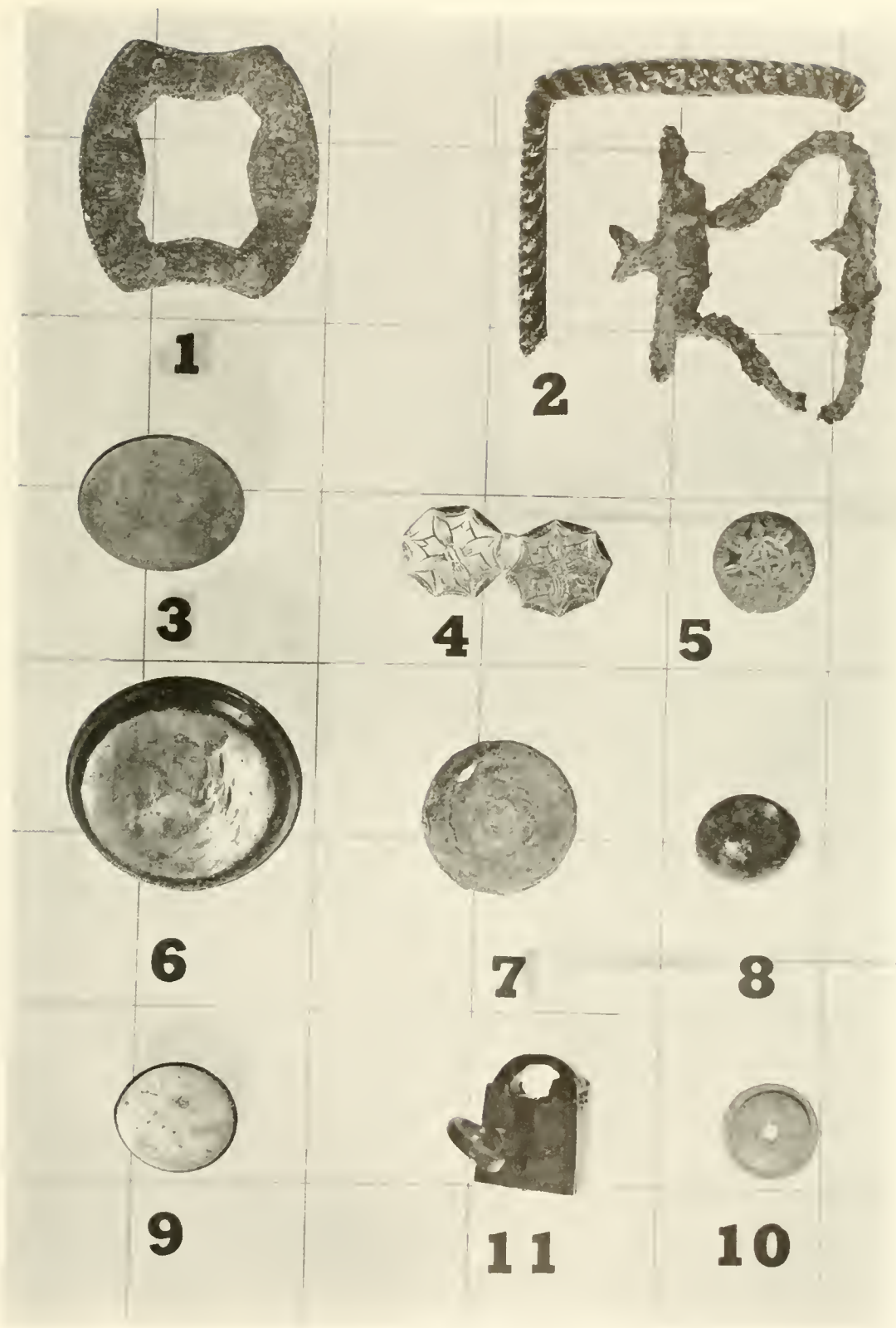


FIGURE 19.—Buckles, buttons, etc.

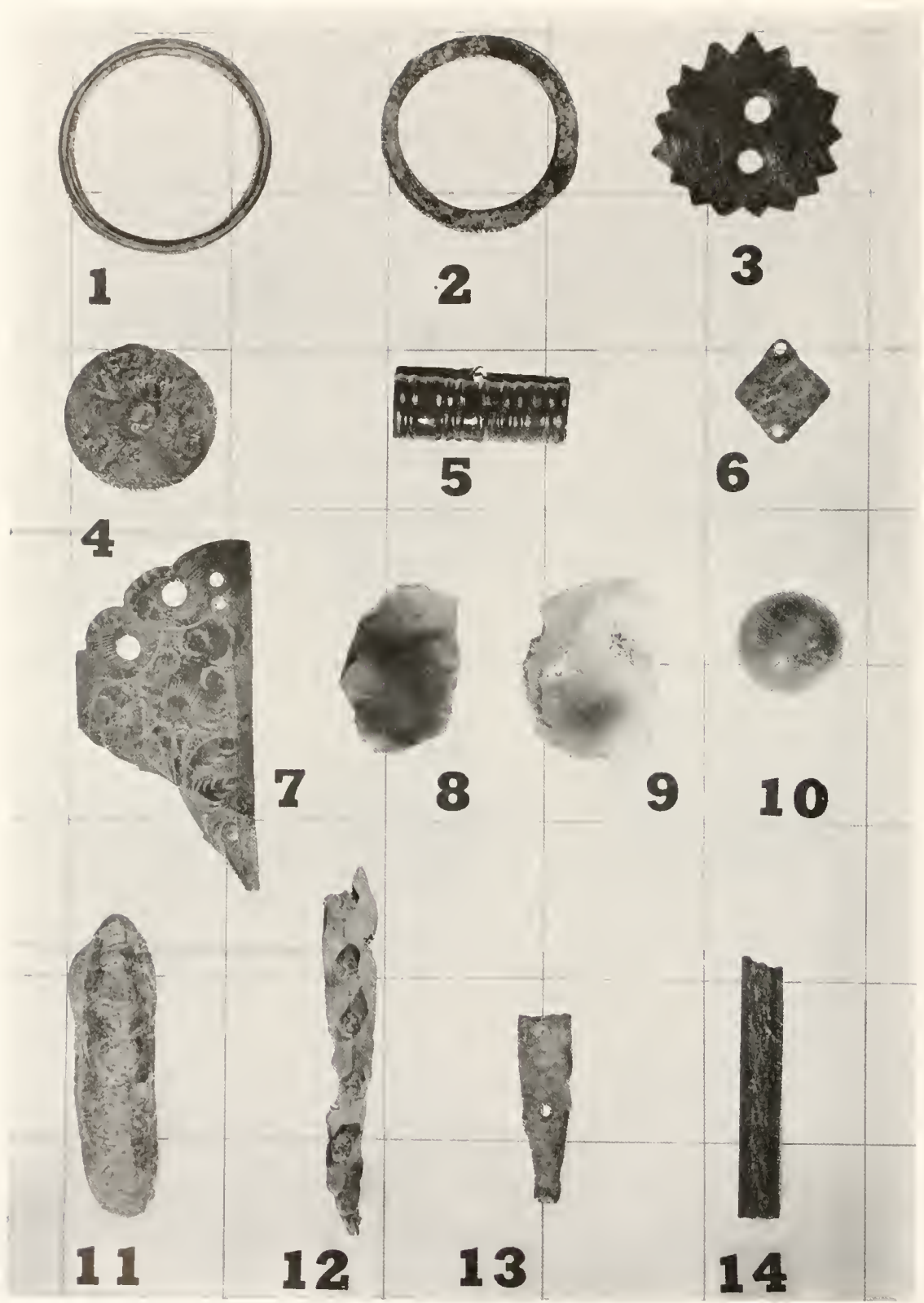


FIGURE 20.—Curtain rings, gun flints, brass weight, etc.

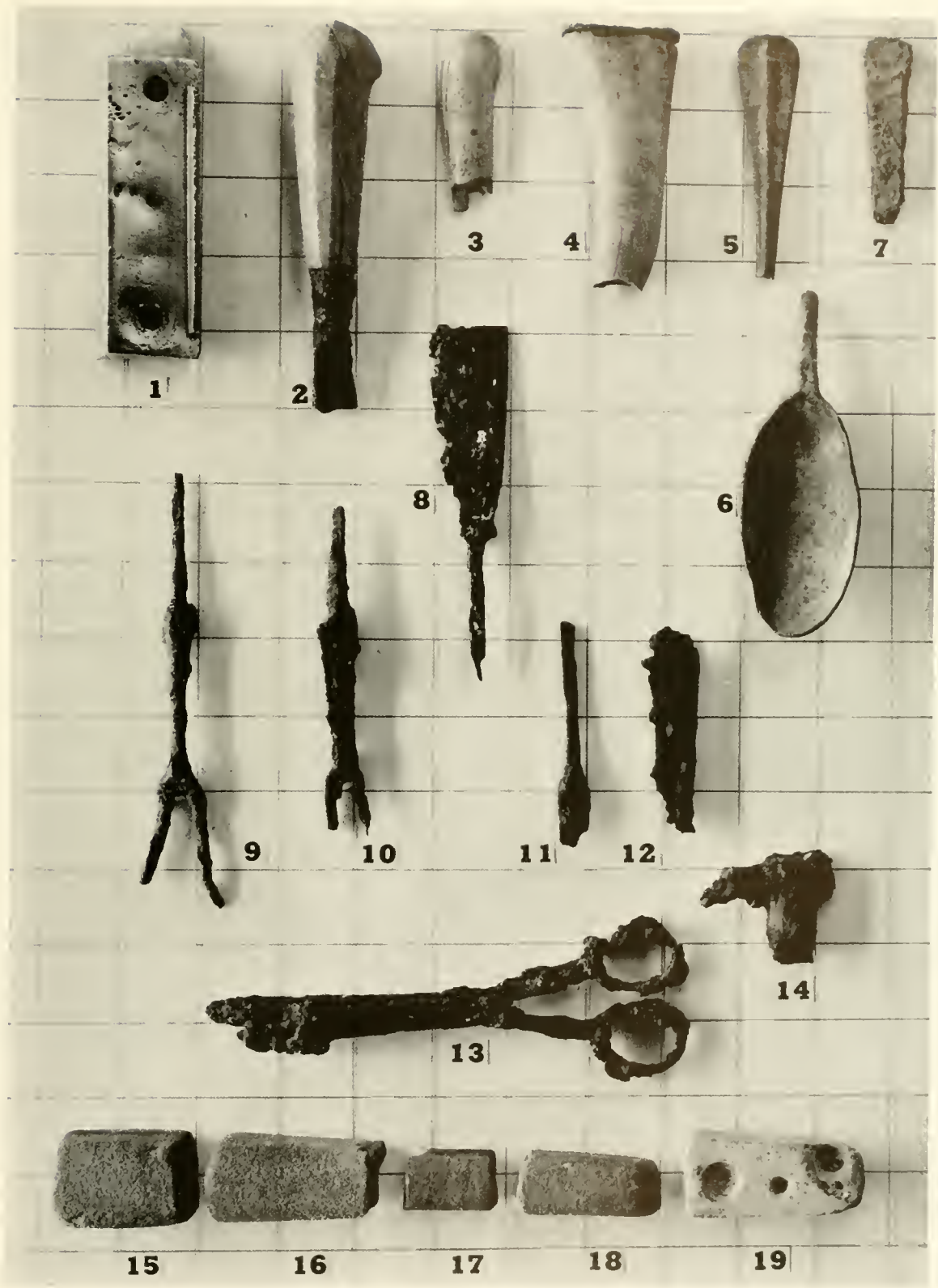


FIGURE 21.—Cutlery, hones, bullet mold, etc.

- into a slot in woodwork of weapon and held in place by single nail or rivet. 18th century. F2.
6. Brass plate. Diamond-shaped; very thin with small hole at base and apex; possibly harness ornament. 18th century. E2.
  7. Fragment of brass with engraved foliate ornament. Three round holes stamped in the making of the piece and a fourth hole (at lower right) hammered through at a later date. It has been suggested that this piece may have come from the face of an ornamental clock; however, at the time it was thrown away it probably was waste metal, for it had been roughly cut at the lower lefthand side. 18th century. O2.
  8. Gun flint showing bulb of percussion. Thin, brown; trimmed along striking edge. 18th century. C2.
  9. Gun flint. Thick; white; trimming on three sides. 18th century. N2.
  10. Toy marble of polished brown clay. 18th century. E3.
  11. Waste fragment from bullet mold, lead. Pouring shanks from four balls partially filed off. 18th century. J2.
  12. Waste fragment from shot mold, lead. Pouring shanks from six shot attached. 18th century. K3.
  13. Fragment of shaped lead pierced by small hole. Uncertain purpose. Surface.
  14. Slate pencil. Filed to an oval section; greatest width  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. 18th century. J2.
- within bowl may have been mark of identification but are no longer legible. This spoon originally possessed handle similar to no. 5, and it is possible that the two fragments are parts of the same spoon. Mid-18th century. Q2.
7. Handle of pewter spoon. Much decayed; spreads slightly at top; probably square-ended; thickness, 4 mm. It is possible that handle was stamped with initials "M.P.," but metal too decayed to be certain. 18th century. L2.
  8. Kitchen knife, steel. Good-quality metal; short, hipped shoulder, square-sectioned tang; blade back measures 3 mm. at greatest thickness; cutler's mark "R" on left side of blade  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches below shank. 18th century. K2.
  9. Fork, iron. Two-tined; thin shoulder spreads and becomes octagonal (?) at junction with handle; rectangular-sectioned tang. 18th century. Surface.
  10. Fork, iron. Two-tined; unusually flat-sectioned; octagonal shank; incomplete. 18th century. C1.
  11. Table knife. Tang and squat-hipped shoulder only. 18th century. B1.
  12. Folding handle from small pocket knife, iron. Originally bone-plated on either side, incomplete. 18th century. J2.
  13. Scissors, iron. Loops centrally set above baluster-shaped handles; junction of loop and stem ornamented with quadruple horizontal ribbing; narrow blades, one possibly pointed, other rounded at end. Much decayed, but a reasonable reconstruction was made possible by fragments that were revealed, though destroyed, in the course of cleaning. 18th century. A3. Reconstructed drawing, fig. 37, no. 6.
  14. Quillon sleeve from small sword, iron. Pas d'anes curve downward towards missing shell guard. A single quillon extends to the rear while part of the knuckle bow shows at the front. Probably third quarter of 18th century. N2. A slightly larger example of the same type was found in an unstratified Williamsburg deposit and was used in reconstruction (fig. 38, no. 15).
  15. Hone, sandstone. Fragment only; section approximately  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches square. 18th century. J2.
  16. Hone, sandstone. Fragment only; section approximately 1 inch square. 18th century. N2.
  17. Hone, sandstone. Fragment only; section approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch square. 18th century. A2.
  18. Hone, sandstone. Fragment only; section approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch square. 18th century. E2.
  19. Bullet mold, shell-tempered Colono-Indian pot-

## Figure 21

1. Brass striking plate for rim lock. Two holes for retaining bolts or screws; depth  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch; metal thickness  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch. 18th century. J2.
2. Table knife. Bone pistol-grip handle octagonal in section; solid iron shoulder much corroded but probably also octagonal. Shank length 1 inch. 18th century. G2.
3. Cutlery handle. Bone; pistol-grip type; incomplete. 18th century. F1.
4. Knife handle. Made from antler; oval iron cap at top; remains of iron tang within. 18th century. O2.
5. Handle of pewter spoon. Flaring terminal; spinal ridge; diameter at broken section  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. This type of spoon was common in Virginia in contexts of the mid-18th century (see also no. 6). C2.
6. Bowl of pewter spoon. Rat-tail from handle extends onto back of bowl; faint, rouletted scratches

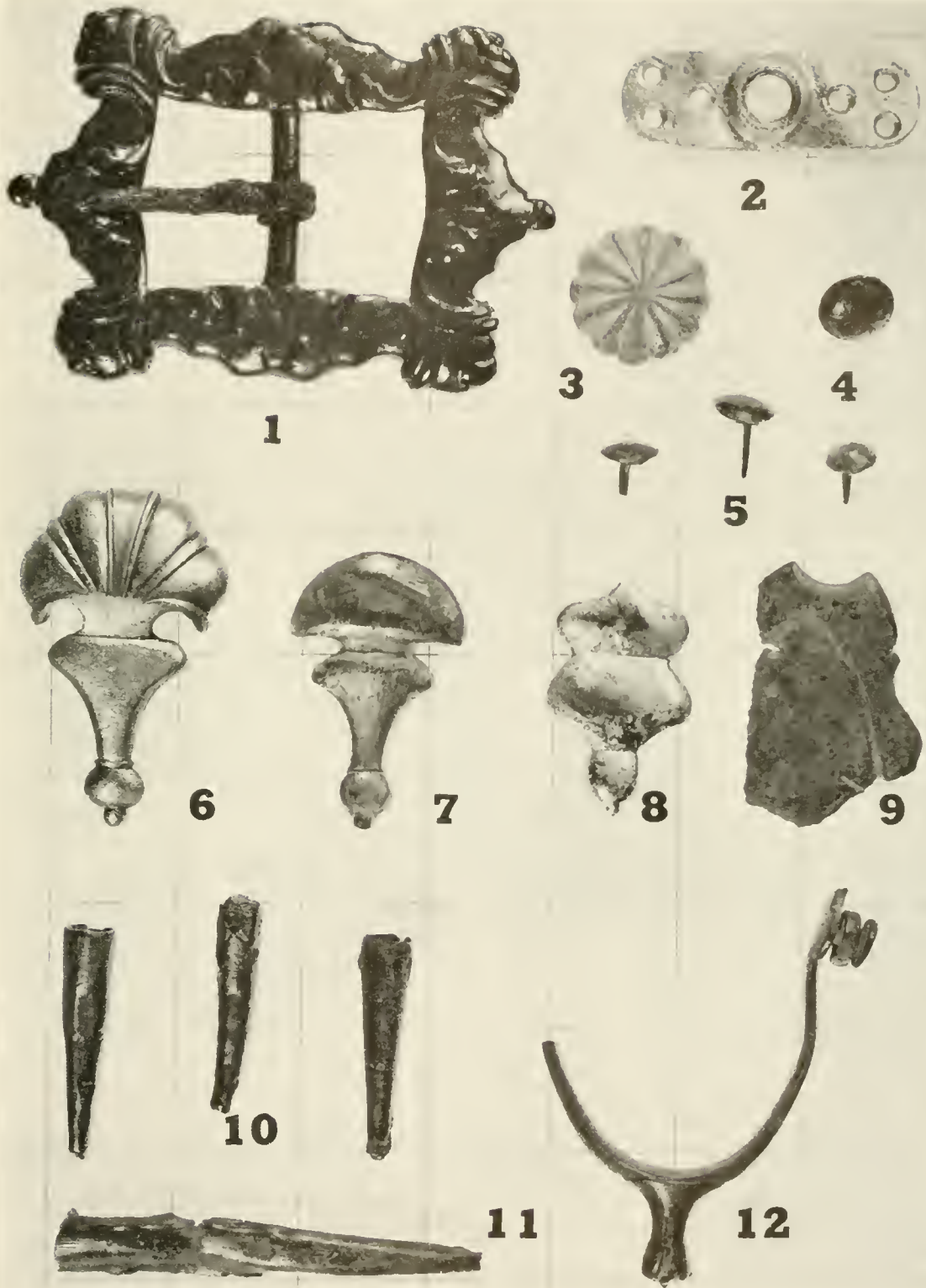


FIGURE 22.- Harness buckle, ornaments, spur, etc.

tery. Probably made by the Pamunkey. Half of mold only; greatest thickness 22 mm.; width narrows from 1 to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch; curved; stick or pebble burnished on back; single groove runs up midway along one side but does not continue across back or up other side; two similar grooves  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch apart up broad end, and three small drilled holes of uncertain purpose; pouring slot runs into circular mold; conical drilled hole in center of upper surface presumably intended to key the two halves of mold. There is a larger, slightly conical hole, of uncertain purpose, towards left edge at narrow end; the drilling of this hole seems to have broken through the side mold, causing upper surface to flake away in that area. 18th century. B2.

## Figure 22

1. Harness buckle, brass with iron tang. Molded foliate decoration on face; reverse somewhat concave and rough-surfaced; over-all length  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, suggesting that piece came from carriage harness.<sup>69</sup> The pale, olive-green patina on this item was found to be stable and was not removed, which accounts for the dark appearance of the item in the photograph. 18th century. B2.
2. Mounting for harness terret, brass. Central collar with internal screw thread; three nail or screw holes at either end; evidence of filing on back.<sup>70</sup> 18th century. B2.
3. Ornamental boss, silvered brass. Small collar in center of concave back supports remains of iron nail or shank. 18th century. P2.
4. Stud, brass, with two tangs bent over and hammered together after passing through the leather or wood to which stud was attached. Tangs approximately  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch thick. 18th century. B2.
5. Three tacks or studs, brass. Used for ornamenting saddles and upholstery. 18th century. J2, K2.
6. Harness ornament, silver-plated cast brass. Scallop shell terminal; back concave with four tangs for attaching object to leather;<sup>71</sup> three tangs around shell and fourth tang at bottom.<sup>72</sup> 18th century. E2.

<sup>69</sup> Colonel Paul H. Downing in his "Carriage Report" of 1957 (MS, Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, vol. 12, p. 538a) describes buckles smaller than though somewhat similar in shape to the Rosewell example as "Believed to be sword baldric or belt buckles."

<sup>70</sup> For parallel see Downing, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, no. 4.

<sup>71</sup> A scrap of leather *in situ* when found.

<sup>72</sup> See Downing, *op. cit.* (footnote 69), pl. 1, nos. 9 and 10.

7. Harness ornament, silver-plated cast brass. Similar to no. 6 but slightly smaller and without the scalloped shell. 18th century. K (in lining of ground hog's nest).
8. Harness ornament, cast brass. Three tangs in a row down slightly concave back.<sup>73</sup> 18th century. H2.
9. Harness ornament, cast brass. Fragment cut from larger ornament for scrap; probably once used on blinkers or winkers. 18th century. A2.
10. Three ferrules, brass. Left example crudely made with no provision for retaining nail; center specimen has two nail holes and wood still in position; right item still has iron nail; diameter of each, approximately 8 mm. 18th century. C3, H3, N2.
11. Ferrule, brass. Similar to no. 10 but much longer; either unfinished or deliberately opened along most of length; original diameter uncertain. 18th century. N2.
12. Spur, brass, with iron rowel. Heel width approximately 2 inches; rowel apparently small five-pointed star. 18th century. C1.

## Figure 23

1. Scrap-iron fragment. Slightly waisted; tapers to sharp edge at either end; greatest thickness  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch. D1.
2. Bar of scrap iron. Greatest thickness  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch. P3.
3. Scrap-iron, wedge-shaped item. Possibly rear leg from crude andiron; measures approximately  $1\frac{1}{2}$  by  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches at bottom, narrowing to  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch at top; weight, 3 pounds. J2.
4. Scrap-iron fragment. Roughly hammered; tapers to sharp edge at either end; greatest thickness  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. L1.
5. Scrap-iron fragment. Possibly rim of bowl; incurving at top, thickening to  $\frac{9}{16}$  inch; much beaten and split at lower, broken end, which is almost paper-thin. N2.
6. Scrap-iron fragment. Deliberately cut along right edge; sharp edges all around. B2.
7. Poll of axe, presumably discarded as scrap iron. Thickness  $\frac{7}{16}$  inch, tapering towards walls of eye. E2.
8. Fireback, cast iron. Fragment only; probably intended as scrap iron; molded foliate (?) decoration along right side; thickness, approximately  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch. Surface. Drawn, fig. 37, no. 2.

<sup>73</sup> For massive example in same shape, see Downing, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, no. 1.



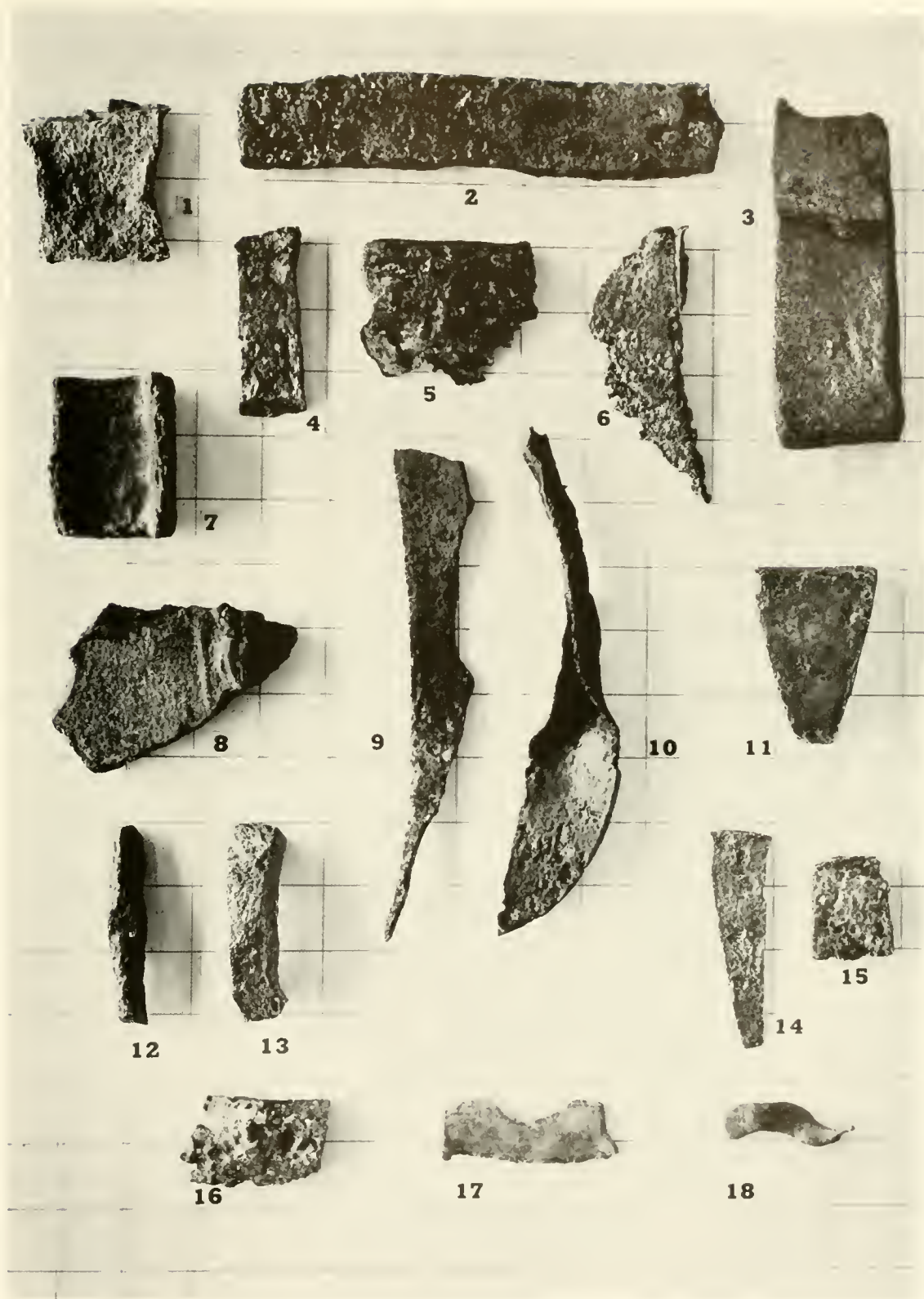


FIGURE 23. Samples of iron and lead waste.

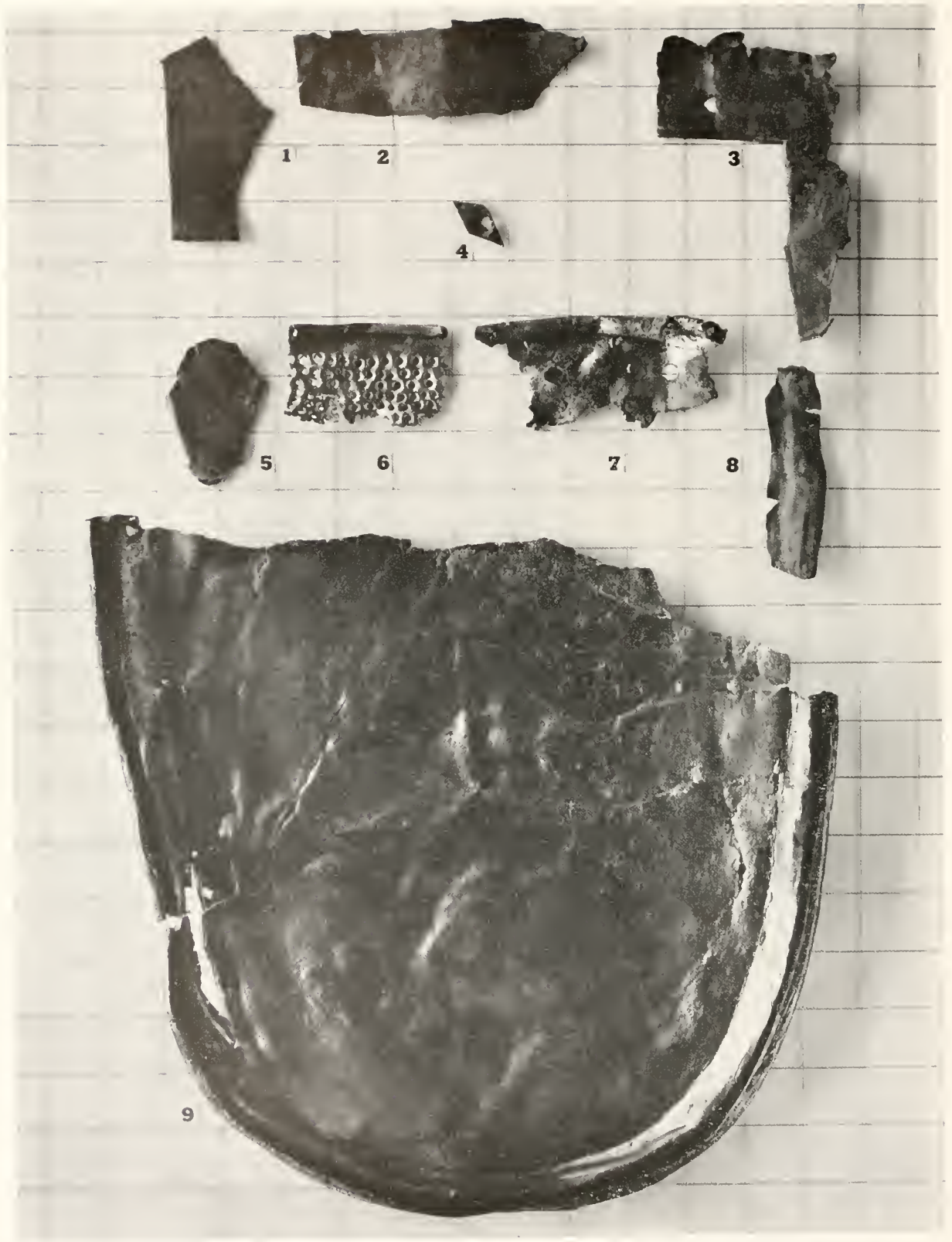


FIGURE 24. Copper pan or tray, strainer fragments, copper and brass waste.

9. Scrap-iron fragment. Trimmed on all sides; possibly tang and part of blade from unfinished knife or sickle. M2. Drawing of rather similar item, fig. 36, no. 3.
10. Iron tool of uncertain purpose. Made from flattened piece of iron; handle fashioned by turning up sides at one end, heating them, then beating and rolling them together; thickness of blade approximately  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch; no cutting edge on blade. There is little doubt that this object was made on the plantation. L2. Drawn, fig. 36, no. 2.
11. Block of scrap iron shaped like miniature smoothing iron. Possibly heater for small box iron; thickness  $\frac{11}{16}$  inch; weight, 10 ounces. E2.
12. Rod of scrap iron. Thickens in middle where sides are flat; diameter at ends  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch; thickness at center  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch; possibly an unfinished small hammer of type used by brass-workers and silver-smiths. A2.
13. Scrap-iron bar. Slightly curved; measures  $\frac{3}{4}$  by  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch at one end and  $\frac{9}{16}$  by  $\frac{9}{16}$  inch at the other. F2.
14. Iron wedge. Possibly used to split and hold handle of axe within eye. L2.
15. Scrap-iron fragment. Thickness  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch. G2.
16. Strip of iron slag. Much bubbled. B1.
17. Scrap of waste lead. Trimmed along three edges. J2.
18. Run of waste lead. Apparently ran along or down a flat surface. E2.

#### Figure 24

1. Scrap of waste brass. Deliberately cut along left and right edges; smooth upper surface; rough at back. N2.
2. Scrap of waste copper. Roughly trimmed on all sides. G2.
3. Scrap of waste brass. Very thin; has deliberate right-angled cut at left; other edges roughly broken. N2.
4. Washer, brass. Diamond-shaped; roughly made; hole diameter  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch. K1.
5. Scrap of waste copper. No obvious shaping. J2.
6. Colander, copper. Rim fragment only; rim rolled inwards over iron wire; holes for straining hammered through with nails from inside; rough exterior surface caused by breaking of metal around holes suggests that fragment may have come from a grater rather than from a strainer. H2.

7. Colander, copper alloy with high percentage of lead. Metal apparently was in a fire, causing lead to melt out; rim rolled inwards but no evidence of an iron wire; holes are from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch apart and stamped out; diameter of holes  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. N2.
8. Scrap of waste brass. No obvious shaping.
9. Pan, tray or billy lid, copper. Wall shelves to a depth of  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch below internally rolled rim, which embraces a thick iron wire; crudely made, may be of local manufacture. 18th century. J2.

#### Figure 25

1. Chinese porcelain plate. See fig. 10, no. 3.
2. Chinese porcelain plate. See fig. 10, no. 4.
3. Chinese porcelain plate. See fig. 10, no. 1.
4. Chinese porcelain bowl. See fig. 11, no. 9.
5. Chinese porcelain soup plate. See fig. 10, no. 5.
6. Small Chinese porcelain soup plate. See fig. 12, no. 3.
7. Chinese porcelain cup. Reconstructed from fragments from same set. See fig. 11, no. 1.
8. Chinese porcelain saucer. From same set as no. 7. See fig. 11, no. 2.
9. Chinese porcelain saucer. See fig. 11, no. 8.
10. Chinese porcelain saucer. See fig. 11, no. 3.
11. Chinese porcelain saucer. See fig. 11, no. 4.
12. Chinese porcelain saucer. See fig. 12, no. 9.
13. Chinese porcelain saucer. See fig. 11, no. 15.
14. Chinese porcelain cup. See fig. 11, no. 16.
15. Chinese porcelain cup. See fig. 11, no. 13.
16. Chinese porcelain cup. See fig. 11, no. 12.
17. Chinese porcelain bowl. See fig. 12, no. 5.
18. Pisset cup, English Staffordshire slipware. See fig. 14, nos. 2, 3.
19. Dish, English Staffordshire slipware. See fig. 14, no. 1.
20. Dish, English Staffordshire slipware. See fig. 14, no. 4.
21. Ointment pot, English delftware. See fig. 12, no. 29.
22. Ointment pot, English delftware. See fig. 12, no. 35.
23. Drug jar, English delftware. See fig. 12, no. 31.
24. Bowl or porringer, English delftware. See fig. 12, no. 27.

#### Figure 26

1. Basin, English delftware. Rim everted and slightly downbent; slightly flaring footring, base flat within

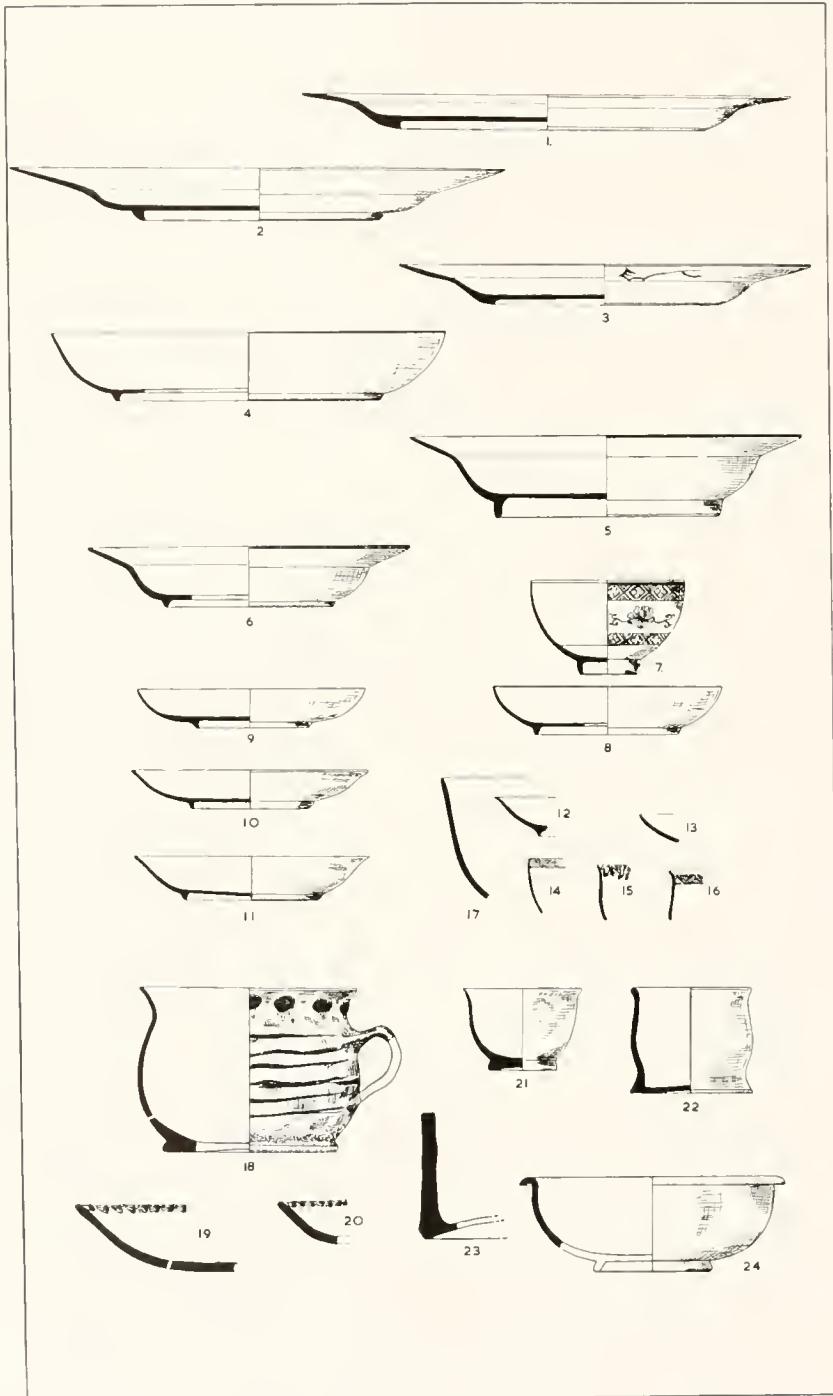


FIGURE 25.— Chinese porcelain, slip, and delftware. One-fourth.

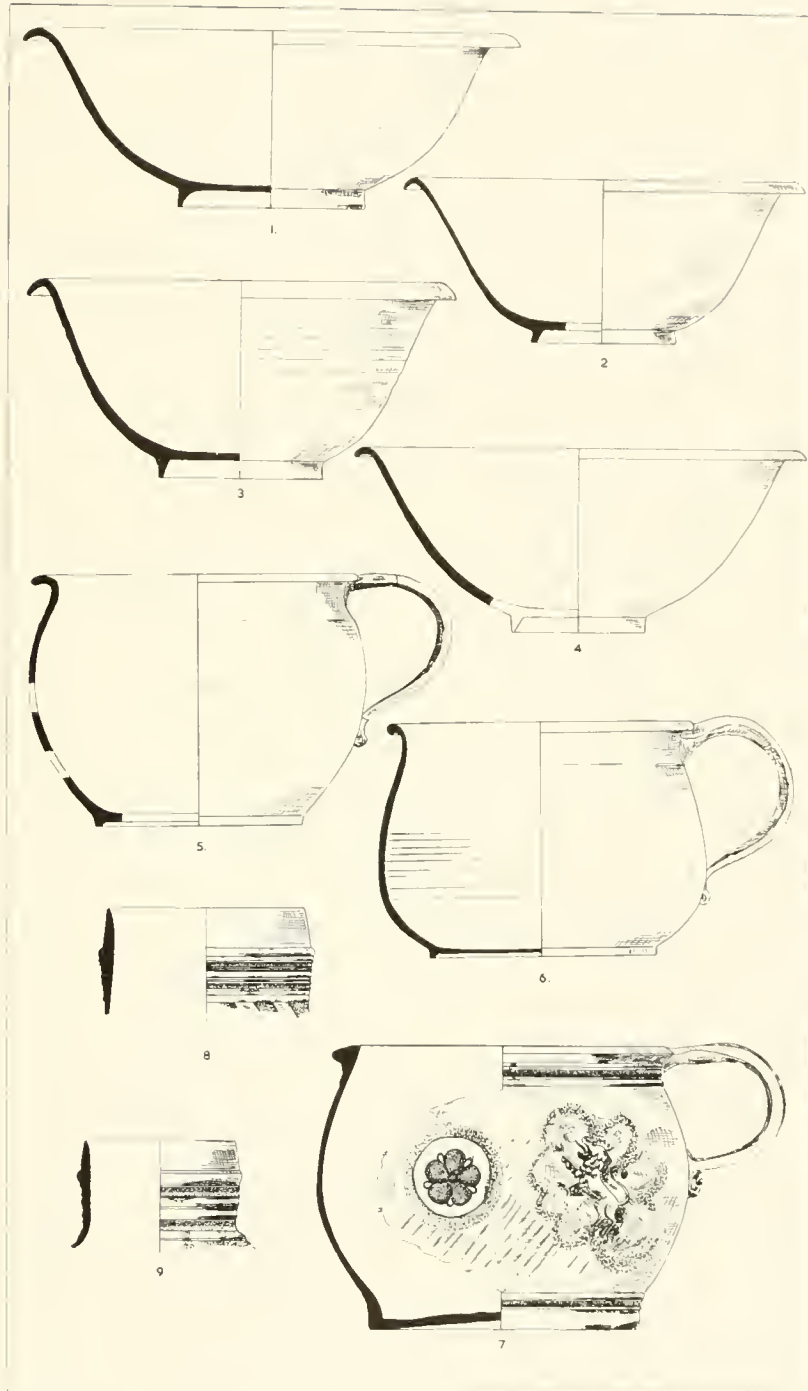


FIGURE 26.—Delftware and Rhenish stoneware. One-fourth.

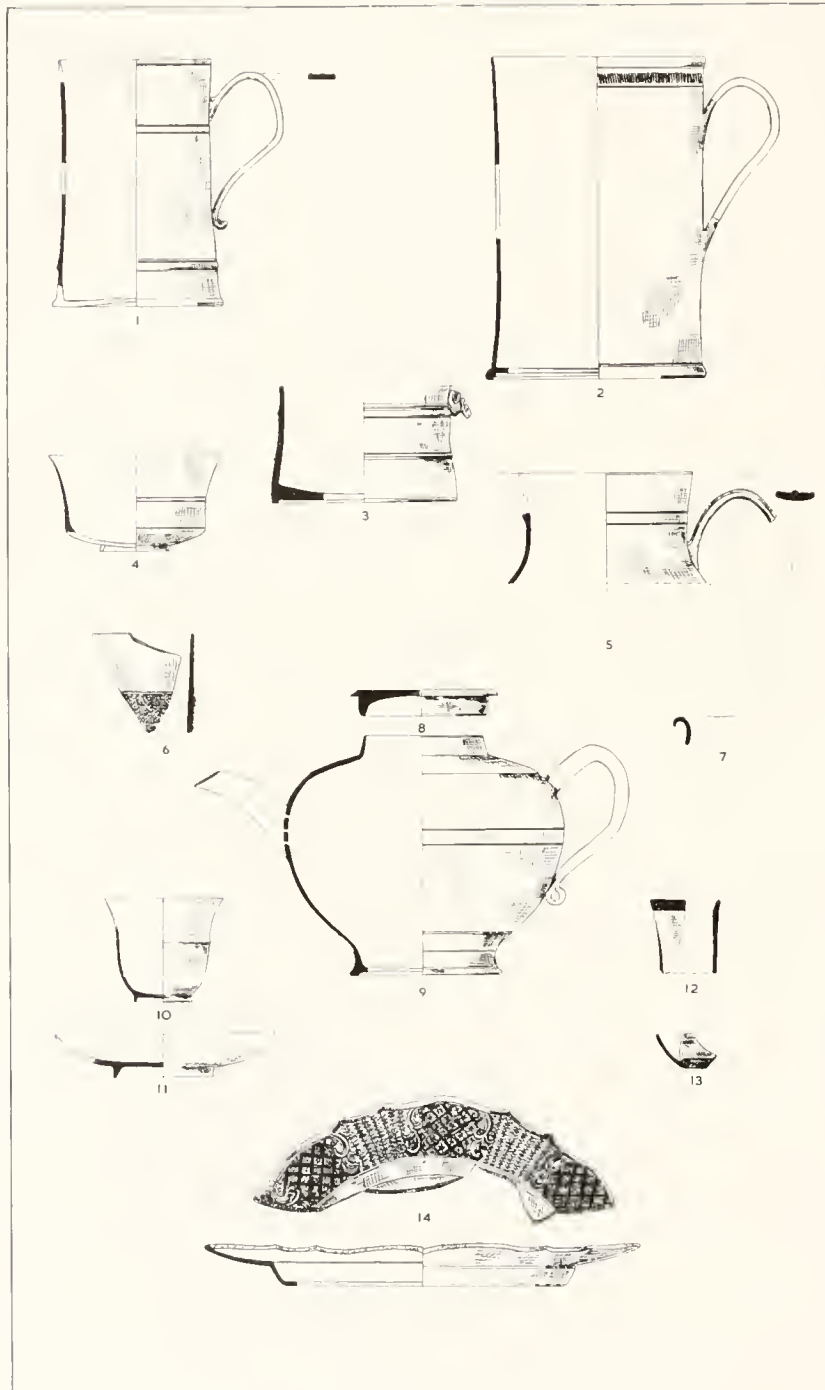


FIGURE 27.—English white saltglaze. One-fourth.

- it; white glaze with hint of blue.<sup>74</sup> Third quarter of 18th century. F2, N2.
2. Basin, English delftware. Smaller than no. 1; rim small and rolled outwards; V-shaped footring; base much thicker than walls; white glaze with hint of green. Third quarter of 18th century. J2, J3.
  3. Basin, English delftware. Walls taller than either no. 1 or no. 2; rim everted and downbent; pronounced potting rings on body; angular footring that is rather light for weight of body; thick white glaze with slightly pink appearance along crests of potting rings. About 1740–1770. E2, F3, K3.
  4. Basin, English delftware. Rim and body sherds only; rim everted and slightly downbent; wall slopes at slightly wider angle than no. 3; same glaze as no. 3.<sup>75</sup> About 1740–1770. E3.
  5. Chamber pot, English delftware. Perhaps from Bristol. Disassociated fragments only; rim everted and slightly downbent; vestigial footring with base slightly raised within; strap handle slightly concave on outer surface; rolled lower terminal thickly glazed; pale blue glaze; no glaze on bottom of foot. Second to third quarter of 18th century. K2, O2.
  6. Chamber pot, English delftware. Rim everted and rolled; pronounced potting rings on body which spreads towards vestigial footring; base thin and slightly raised within foot; good white glaze appearing slightly pink where thin; accidental cobalt spots on interior of base; no glaze on bottom of footring; no joining handle found. This is an earlier shape than the uniformly bulbous-profiled no. 5. Probably second quarter of 18th century. G3. Reconstruction based on example, now in the Guildhall Museum, London, found in a refuse pit at the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street, London, and dating about 1720–1730.
  7. Chamber pot, gray Westerwald stoneware. Impressed and molded ornamentation highlighted in cobalt. Surviving body fragments do not join to handle, which has been added only to show its relationship to the body form and not to the positioning of decoration. Ornament normally comprises three stamped rosettes—one opposite handle flanked by single sprigged lions facing towards it, the others to the left and right of lions. See fig. 13, no. 1.
  8. Tankard, gray Westerwald stoneware. Rim sherds only; cobalt decoration. See fig. 13, no. 2.
  9. Rhenish jug, possibly from Grenzhausen. Rim sherd only; cobalt decoration. See fig. 13, no. 3.

### Figure 27

1. Tankard, English white saltglazed stoneware. Handle and body fragments only; incised lines around upper body which pass beneath upper handle terminal. Above the slightly spreading base there is a pronounced ridge beneath two grooves.<sup>76</sup> About 1740–1760. C2, N2.
2. Tankard, English white saltglazed stoneware. Rim, handle terminal, and base fragments only; simple cylindrical form, rouletted zone below rim; rolled foot with base slightly raised. Mid-18th century. B2, C2, J2, K1, K2.
3. Tankard, English white saltglazed stoneware. Base and lower terminal of handle only; body somewhat constricted above base; narrow groove close to lower edge with pronounced ridge 2 centimeters above it; base slightly raised; reeded handle with characteristic pad terminal at bottom; smooth, glossy surface in contrast to pebbly surfaces of nos. 1 and 2. Mid-18th century. B1, F2, K2, and surface.
4. Carinated bowl, English white saltglazed stoneware. Wall and rim sherd only; extremely thin ware, flaring at rim; double girth groove around body. The base has been reconstructed from an example found in the pit (E2, F2), but it is uncertain that it is part of the same bowl, so the base is shown only in outline. About 1740–1760. G1.
5. Pitcher, English white saltglazed stoneware. Neck and handle fragments only; sharply molded spout; two pairs of grooves around neck on line of spout base; multiple-reeded handle; neck flares to bulbous body. About 1750–1770. C2, E2, F2, K1, K2, N2.
6. Tankard, English white saltglazed stoneware. Rim sherd only; matt surface; double groove 1¼ inches below rim; body rusticated with applied chips of white clay. Probably about 1730–1750. C2.
7. Chamber pot, English white saltglazed stoneware. Everted rim sherd only. Mid-18th century. B2.
8. Teapot lid, English white saltglazed stoneware. No indication of knob; body thick and coarse. Third quarter of 18th century. K2.
9. Teapot, English white saltglazed stoneware. Thin ware of good quality; glossy surface; rim is straight-

<sup>74</sup> See Graham Webster and K. Barton, "An Eighteenth Century Rubbish Pit, Trinity Street, 1953," *Chester and District Archaeological Society Journal*, 1957, vol. 44, fig. 2, no. 14, where basins of this type are recorded in a context apparently dating prior to about 1730. It is considered unlikely, however, that the Rosewell examples are as early (see p.170 of this report).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> See Rackham, *op. cit.* (footnote 30), pl. 36.

- walled collar inclining slightly inwards at top; flat shoulder ridged at outer end; bulbous body with double girth grooves incurves to ridge matching that below shoulder; rolled and flaring foot with raised bottom; traces of round-sectioned handle remain, but no evidence for spout; spout has been reconstructed from examples in Colonial Williamsburg's archeological collections. It is not to be inferred that lid no. 8 belongs to this teapot. Second quarter of 18th century. A2, E2, J2, K1, K2, and surface.
10. Cup, English white saltglazed stoneware. Conjectural reconstruction; small footring with raised base; girth ridge around body with wall flaring somewhat above it (see fig. 28, no. 14). Two cups of this type were found in excavations in a cellar of Robert "King" Carter's mansion, Corotoman, which burned in 1729. About 1720-1740. A2, E2.
  11. Saucer (?), English white saltglazed stoneware. Base only; V-shaped footring; thick bottom. Probably third quarter of 18th century. E3.
  12. Tankard, English gray-cored and white-slipped saltglazed stoneware. Rim sherd only; lip slightly everted and coated on outside with band of iron oxide. This coating, generally found on early examples, was a device to cover a falling away of the slip that tended to mar the appearance of the rim—an imperfection that is said to have been overcome by about 1720.<sup>77</sup> About 1710-1720. J2.
  13. Saucer, English white saltglazed stoneware. Rim sherd only; body ornamented with molded basket motif. About 1745-1765. J2.
  14. Plate, English white saltglazed stoneware. Rim molded with dot, diaper, and basket pattern; wall sharply angled inside and out; no footring; good quality molding. About 1745-1760. B2, D2, and surface.
2. Handle and body fragment from large brown stoneware storage jar, unevenly fired gray core and the interior surface pink. The handle is of the inverted cup type and roughly luted to the body, the exterior points of contact having been punched into the body with a flat-ended stick or some comparable tool. While this may have been intended as a decorative feature, it also served to bind the body and handle together. Probably Yorktown. Second to third quarter of 18th century. B1 and surface.
  3. Large storage jar of brown stoneware. The rim thickened, outbent and shelved on the inside to take a lid, the walls thick and scored with decorative grooves at the shoulder and girth, the base thick and slightly rising. The exterior is coated with a thick, treacly and mottled green-brown glaze while the interior possesses an overall chocolate brown glaze. On the evidence of the paralleling of the exterior glaze among the Yorktown kiln refuse, it is considered that the Rosewell jar comes from that source. Second or third quarter of 18th century with the emphasis towards the latter. F3 and surface.
  4. Bulbous storage jar of brown stoneware in the Lambeth or Fulham style. The outbent rim shelved on the inside to take a lid, the walls thin and scored with decorative grooves around the shoulder and girth, the base slightly rising. Mottled purplish glazing on the upper body but marred by yellow streaks running down from rim to base. A lump of excess clay (perhaps from touching an adjacent pot in the kiln), thickly vitrified, is attached to the body above the base, indicating that this vessel was probably a second. The ware is a tightly grained gray and the interior surface a pale brown (see also fig. 29, no. 1). Probably second or third quarter of 18th century. C2, C3, F3, J3, P3.
  5. Rim of large lead-glazed earthenware storage jar of a type generally described as Iberian, examples of which were recovered from wrecks of vessels sunk in 1781 at Yorktown. The rim of the Rosewell example is much decayed but has been reconstructed for the drawing from examples in the Colonial Williamsburg collection. The rim is thickened and channeled around the inner edge to take a lid. The ware is pale pink and has a purplish brown glaze on the interior only. It should be noted that the glaze was clear but acquired its color from contact with the pink body. H2. Jars of this type possessed two vestigial lug handles luted to the

## Figure 28

1. Cylindrical mug or small tankard, brown stoneware—probably English. Strap handle; small groove below slightly everted rim; body ornamented above base with double ridge, cordon, and single ridge; foot flares slightly to resemble lip; base slightly rising; tight-grained ware; exterior gray, interior pale brown. Probably mid-18th century.<sup>78</sup> D1, F2, G2, J2, and surface.

<sup>77</sup> For parallel see Webster and Barton, *op. cit.* (footnote 74), fig. 2, no. 2.

<sup>78</sup> Were it not for the evidence of brown saltglazed stoneware manufacture at Yorktown (see p. 171), there would be no hesitation in claiming an English origin for all the Rosewell stonewares of this type.



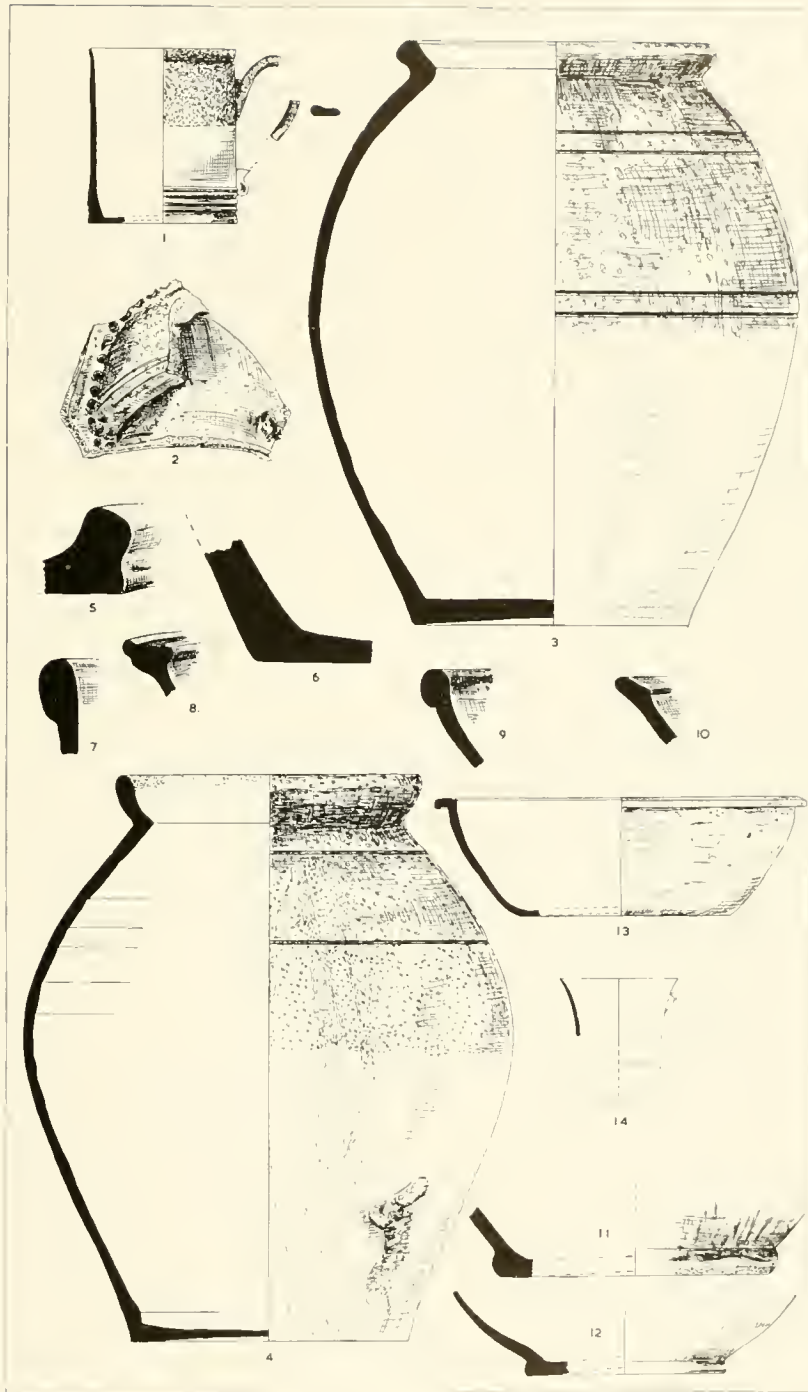


FIGURE 28.—Brown stonewares, coarse earthenwares, Colono-Indian bowl, and fragment of early white saltglaze cup. One-fourth.

wall above the girth, had an interior rim diameter of approximately 8 inches, and stood some 2 feet 9 inches. For a basal fragment see no. 6. A photograph taken in the hall at Rosewell in the late 19th century shows one such jar standing beside the fireplace.<sup>79</sup> There is a single restored example in the Colonial Williamsburg archaeological collections; another, privately owned, is in Captain Orr's Dwelling in Williamsburg; two restored examples are exhibited in the National Park Service ship exhibit at the Yorktown Visitor Center, and yet another is displayed at Mount Vernon. This last is believed to be one of "8 Soap Jars (\$) 25" in the inventory of George Washington prepared by his executors after his death. The earliest date for these jars yet located by the writer is 1757, where an example appears in a painting of London's Custom House Quay, painted by Samuel Scott in that year. The painting is in the possession of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers in London, but a reproduction can be seen in *The American Heritage Book of the Revolution*.<sup>80</sup>

6. Basal fragment from storage jar similar to the above. Thick pink body, leadglazed on the interior only. J1.
7. Folded rim from vessel of large flowerpot type. The surface much decayed, the ware yellow to pinkish orange slightly flecked with quartz, the surface a bright orange. Possibly Yorktown. Second or third quarter of 18th century. J3.
8. Wide-rimmed cooking bowl of Buckley ware from North Wales, United Kingdom. A pink body flecked with small intrusions of yellow clay, a thick black glaze on the interior, the body burnt to a light purple on the outside. The rim is thickened and outswept, markedly shelved below, the upper surface slightly reeded and on the inside incurving above the wall of the bowl a characteristic Buckley technique.<sup>81</sup> Second or third quarter of 18th century. G3.
9. Rolled rim from cream pan or wide mixing bowl. Yellow to orange pink body slightly flecked with fine quartz, orange-brown glaze on the interior and in a stripe on the exterior at the junction of rim and wall. Provenance and dating as no. 7. F2, F3.
10. Upswept and everted rim from cream pan or wide mixing bowl. A small ridge on the interior at

the junction of rim and wall. Ware, glaze, provenance and dating as nos. 7 and 9. E3.

11. Basal fragment from lead tortoise-shell-glazed bowl or chamber pot. The body yellow with traces of pink on the surface showing on the worn foot below the glaze, and with slight traces of quartz in the clay. This might also be from Yorktown, although no parallels for glaze have yet been found. 18th century. N2.
12. Lower body and basal fragments from wide bowl or chamber pot. Highly fired pink to purplish body with a treacly brown glaze both inside and out. The glaze possesses innumerable small yellow flecks, a characteristic often found at Buckley. However, none of the fragments from the Buckley kilns in the writer's possession are as highly fired. 18th century. M2 and surface.
13. Bowl of Colono-Indian pottery (see p. 172). Shell-tempered and stick- or pebble-burnished, the ware largely pink but unevenly fired at one side, producing colors from yellow to blue-black. The rim is flat and undercut beneath. This incomplete bowl was found in a thin burnt stratum in association with no. 14, a white saltglazed sherd. Probably third quarter of 18th century. B5.
14. Rim sherd from small white saltglazed cup or possibly from a capuchine, a late-17th-century form that was first produced in brown stoneware. See James Morley's Nottingham trade card of around 1690, also the well known Place Cup made about 1680-1690 by Francis Place of York and which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>82</sup> For further details see description of figure 27, no. 10 (p. 208). About 1720-1740. B5.

## Figure 29

1. Jug of brown stoneware. Bulbous body above small foot, base thin and slightly rising. Reeded cylindrical neck pinched and drawn out at the fore-edge to form a spout. Strapped handle with single deep spinal groove terminating at the base in a thumb-impressed rat-tail. The ware gray and tight-grained, the interior surface pale brown. The exterior above the girth a mottled purplish brown in the Fulham and Lambeth style.<sup>83</sup> Although it cannot be proved that this jug comes from one of the above sources, there is little doubt that it is a product of the same factory as no. 4

<sup>79</sup> Kocher and Dearstyne, *op. cit.* (footnote 1), p. 76, pl. 6.

<sup>80</sup> *The American Heritage Book of the Revolution*, New York, 1958, p. 33. (Narrative by Bruce Lancaster.)

<sup>81</sup> Barton, *op. cit.* (footnote 35).

<sup>82</sup> See Lewis, *op. cit.* (footnote 29), p. 85; and *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, London, 1951, vol. 3, pt. 1, pl. 24, p. 65.

<sup>83</sup> Oswald, *op. cit.* (footnote 33).

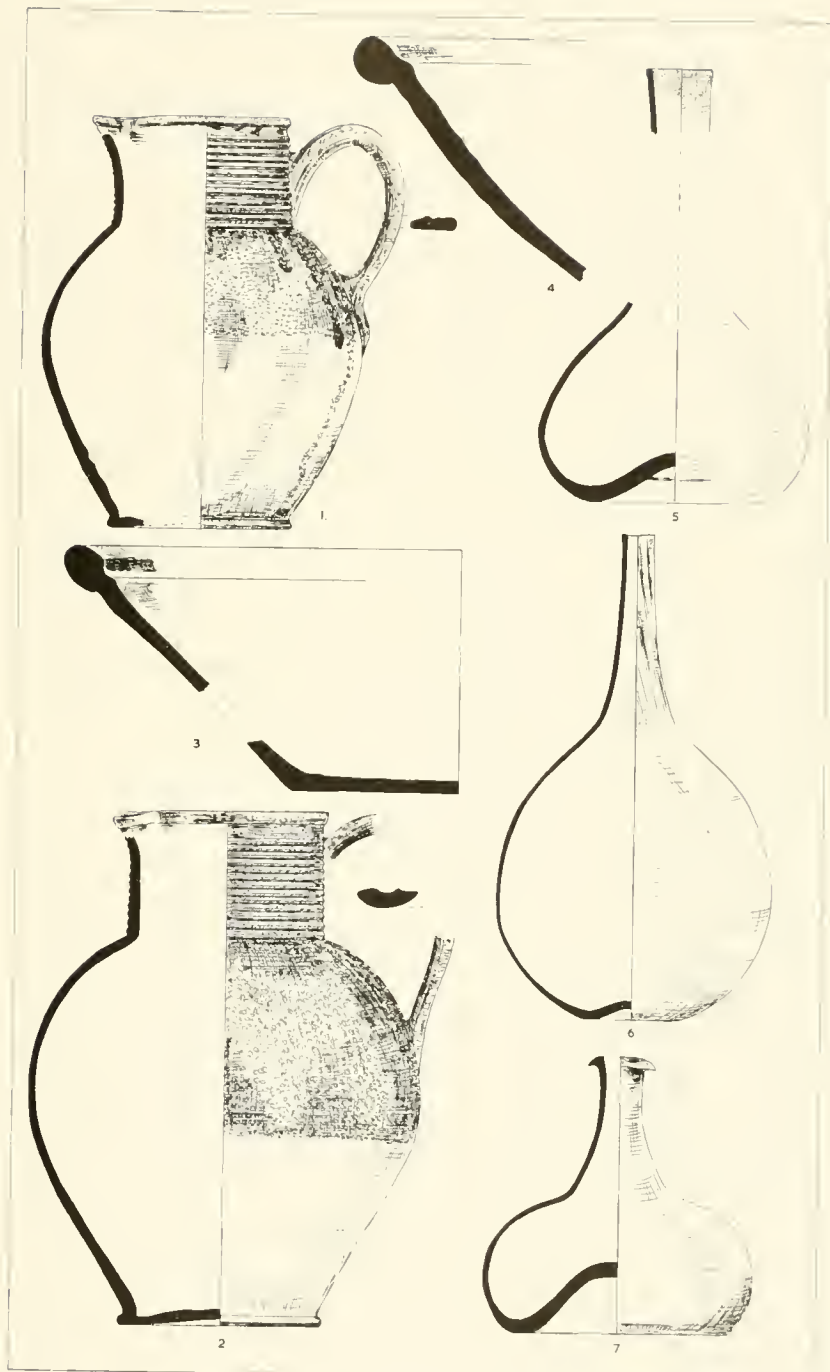


FIGURE 29.—Brown stonewares, coarse earthenwares, and glass bottles.  
One-fourth.

- in figure 28. Probably second or third quarter of the 18th century. E2, E3, F2, F3, J2, and surface.
2. Jug of brown stoneware. Bulbous body above small foot, base slightly rising. The reeded neck is represented by a pinched spout and a small number of other fragments too few to indicate the exact shape of the opening. However, there is reason to believe that the fore-edge was somewhat flattened, thus creating a sharp angle to the rim midway between spout and handle. The handle is strapped and has a deep and wide spinal groove terminating in a finger impression. The clay at the junction of handle and body is smeared down and not tooled into the rat-tail form of no. 1. The ware a hard gray and the interior surface the same color; the exterior above the girth a dappled ginger-brown, becoming yellow in localized patches. This jug is certainly in the same style as no. 1, but lacks the refinement of workmanship and differs in coloring. Second or third quarter of 18th century. D1, F2, G2, G3, L2, M2, N2, O2.
  3. Cream pan of coarse earthenware. Rim seemingly thickened and folded with a deep groove above the interior wall; the base flat. Red ware with ginger-brown glaze on the interior only.<sup>84</sup> There is no joining section through this pan, and the reconstructed height is based on examples in the Colonial Williamsburg archeological collections. To conserve space the full pan has not been drawn, but it is estimated to have had a rim diameter of 1 foot 4½ inches and a base diameter of 7¼ inches. Pans of this type were common throughout the 17th and 18th centuries and are consequently almost impossible to date with accuracy. A2, E2, K1, O2.
  4. Large cream pan of coarse earthenware. The rim thickened and rolled with a deep groove or trough above the interior wall. A curious feature of this pan is a group of three-scored grooves running around the rim on the exterior face. Red ware with greenish brown lead glaze worn thin through use on the potting ridges of the interior, the exterior unglazed. Although the shape of the pan demands the same dating reservations noted for no. 3, the greenish brown glaze is more often found on pottery of the 17th than of the 18th century. A2 and surface.
  5. Decanter of lead glass, base and body fragments only. The principal characteristics are the extremely weak shoulder and the conical basal kick.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup> See p. 208, fig. 28, no. 5 for comment on glaze.

<sup>85</sup> A close parallel for this shape is to be found in *The Connoisseur*. London, April 1929, p. 202, no. 7(a), where it is

It will be seen that the reconstructed drawing of the Rosewell decanter incorporates a ground rim fragment (B1) that might perhaps have come from the same vessel. However, when using this decanter for comparative purposes it should be remembered that it may have been without grinding at the mouth and could have possessed a string-rim. E3, F2, J2, and surface.

6. French wine bottle. Originally wicker-encased, walls of extreme thinness turned black by decay, the body oval in plan with diminutive basal kick, the neck tubular and roughly broken from the blowing iron.<sup>86</sup> Found in the primary deposit of area E along with the wine glass (fig. 32, no. 7) and fragments of two other bottles of the same type, one of them with a shorter neck (3¾ inches).
7. Wine bottle of much-decayed olive-green glass. Possesses a remarkably domed basal kick, an unusually waisted neck, and a roughly applied string-rim flush with the mouth. This bottle is an anomaly but apparently belongs to the period about 1700–1720. The example comes from the primary deposit in area E along with fragments of no fewer than eight other wine bottles, none dating later than around 1730 and at least four of them belonging to the period about 1690–1720.

### Figure 30

1. Wine bottle.<sup>87</sup> Olive-green glass; squat form with short neck and shallow basal kick; a V-sectioned string-rim close to the lip. N3. This form is generally attributed to the first two decades of the 18th

attributed by W. A. Thorpe to about 1730. This early decanter had only recently graduated from the handled serving-bottle, still retained the old string-rim, and was made without a glass stopper. Consequently, the interior of the mouth was not ground. Thorpe was of the opinion that this form was in vogue during the decade about 1730–1740 and that during the second half of this decade the ground glass stopper made its appearance, although the balloon decanter with glass stopper and no string-rim did not reach its full prominence until about 1745. (See also *Apollo*, November 1947, p. 113ff.)

<sup>86</sup> Several examples of this bottle form are illustrated in William Hogarth's *Midnight Modern Conversation* (engraved 1733) and in *The Orgy* (engraved 1735). Other varieties of this basic "wanded" bottle shape have a shorter neck and a rigaree trail below the lip to form a string-rim. For a discussion regarding these wicker-encased bottles, see *Country Life*, June 16, 1955, p. 1575f; also Raymond Chambon, *L'Histoire de la Verrierie en Belgique*, Brussels, 1955, pl. T, no. 11.

<sup>87</sup> The accepted term "wine bottle" is used in preference to the more clumsy though more accurate "beverage bottle." But it is not to be inferred that all these bottles contained wine.

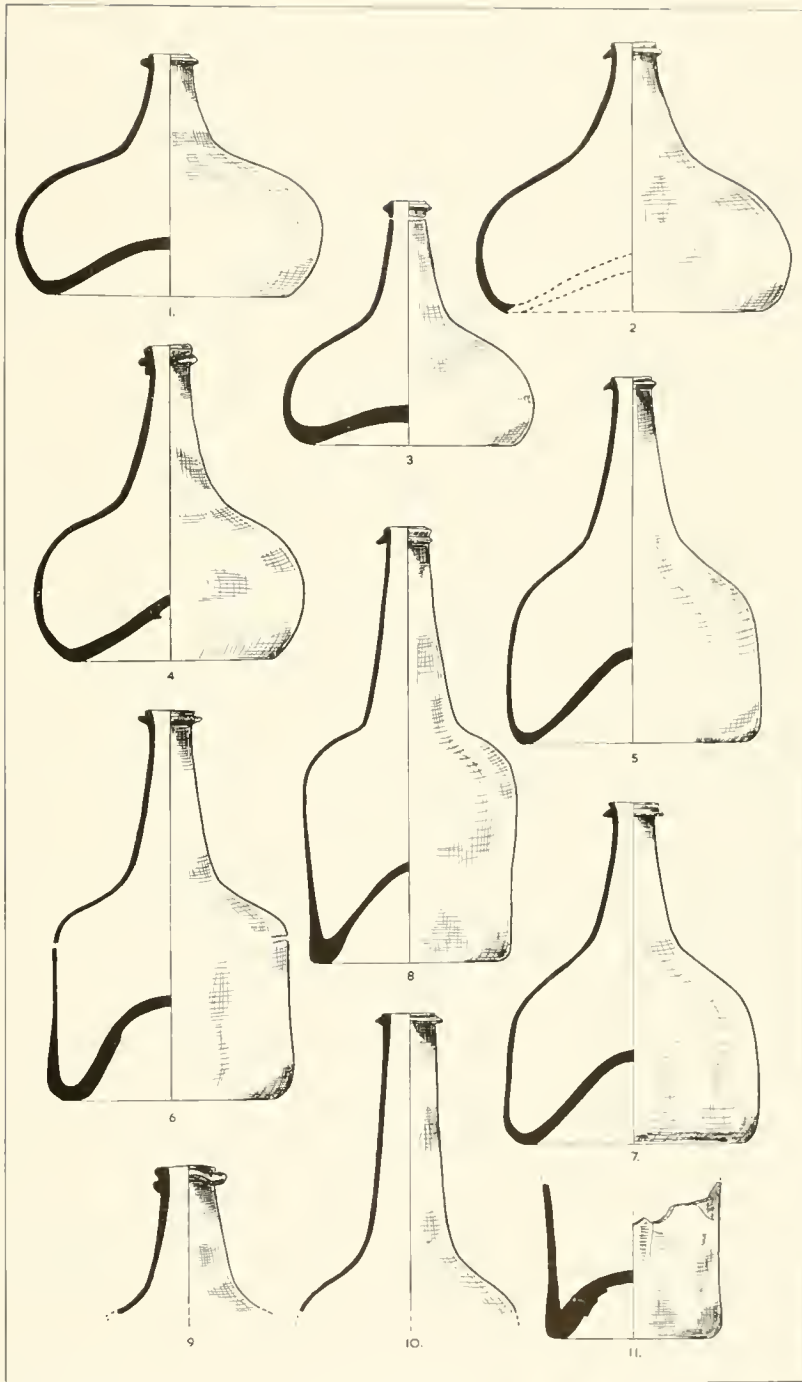


FIGURE 30.—Glass beverage bottles. One-fourth.

- century, but a close parallel was provided by a bottle recovered from the wreck of the Dutch vessel *Huiste Craigenstem* that foundered off the Cape of Good Hope on May 27, 1698.<sup>88</sup> However, it is not suggested that this is a Dutch bottle.
2. Wine bottle. Olive-green glass; squat form with neck rather taller than that of no. 1 and the body slightly thinner in the wall; V-shaped string-rim; base missing. About 1700-1720. E3.
  3. Wine bottle. Half-bottle size; olive-green glass appearing black in reflected light; weak shoulder and shallow basal kick; neck missing. About 1700-1725. Neck conjectured on the basis of another of characteristic form from deposit J2; body from K3.
  4. Pyrmont water bottle. Early continental European form: the glass much decayed, soapy to the touch, and a matt black in color; tall tapering neck with a roughly trailed string-rim V-shaped in section; a conical basal kick with rough pontil mark. The "PIERMONT WATER" seal illustrated as no. 8 in fig. 16 is probably from this bottle. First quarter of 18th century? F2, L2.
  5. Wine bottle. Deep olive-green glass appearing black in reflected light; weak shoulder; deep, domed basal kick; V-shaped string-rim  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch below the lip. C2. This is a transitional form between the squat varieties and the early cylindrical shapes. Examples of this type were plentiful in the cellars of Robert "King" Carter's mansion, Corotoman, which burned in 1729.
  6. Wine bottle. Olive-green glass turned brown by decay; substantial neck crudely cut at the lip with a flat string-rim approximately  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch below it; angular shoulder; body almost cylindrical; pronounced, domed basal kick. This bottle is reconstructed from fragments that do not represent a section through it. J2. The type may be attributed to the years 1730-1745 with the emphasis on the latter years.
  7. Wine bottle. Olive-green glass much iridesced; weak shoulder; V-shaped string-rim approximately  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch below the lip; pronounced domed basal kick. This bottle is comparable to no. 5. Date range about 1725-1735. F3.
  8. Wine bottle. Olive-green glass turned brown by decay; short cylindrical body but slightly waisted; the shoulder spreading and angular; the neck substantial with a thin and flat string-rim with the

mouth tooled outwards above it; a high conical basal kick. 1750-1765. B2.

9. Bottle neck. Olive-green glass turned brown by decay; angular shoulder; crudely trailed string-rim wrapped around the neck at the same level as the very roughly snapped mouth. No parallel has been found for this unusual neck, but the color of the glass and the nature of the decay might suggest that it is a contemporary of no. 8. N2.
10. Wine bottle neck. Amber-green glass appearing black in reflected light and extremely well preserved; neck unusually tall with a small V-shaped string-rim close to the evenly cut mouth; shoulder angular and apparently was attached to a cylindrical body. The bottle might be compared with no.1 of fig. 31. It is unlikely to date any earlier than about 1760; it could date as late as the 1790's, but in the present context it cannot, of course, do so. J2.
11. Bottle base. Rich emerald-green glass, thick walls; shallow domed basal kick with rough pontil mark on the base. This is almost certainly of French origin and must presumably date somewhere between about 1750 and 1772. C2.

### Figure 31

1. Wine bottle. Olive-green glass appearing black in reflected light; cylindrical body with pronounced shoulder; tall neck and V-shaped string-rim close to the smoothly trimmed lip; shallow domed basal kick. This type could have been made at any date between about 1760 and the 1790's, but in the present context is limited to the bracket between about 1760 and 1772. O2.
2. Wine bottle. Rich olive to emerald-green iridescent glass; broad cylindrical body; angular shoulder; V-shaped string-rim approximately  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch below the lip; lip tooled outwards above the constricting string-rim; shallow basal kick, which, having been thrust upwards, stuck to the pontil iron and was drawn down again when the tool was removed. Third quarter of 18th century. O2.
3. Wine bottle neck. Olive-green glass appearing black in reflected light; string-rim applied as a thick trail and tooled upwards toward the lip; lip tooled outwards so that it and rim together blend into a single collar; neck somewhat constricted below the string-rim. Examples of this type have been recovered from wrecks of vessels sunk off Yorktown in 1781. The form is late and would be surprising in any context prior to about 1770.

<sup>88</sup> See Ivor Noël Hume, "Bottles from beneath the Sea," *Wine and Spirit Trade Record*, June 1956, pl. 2.

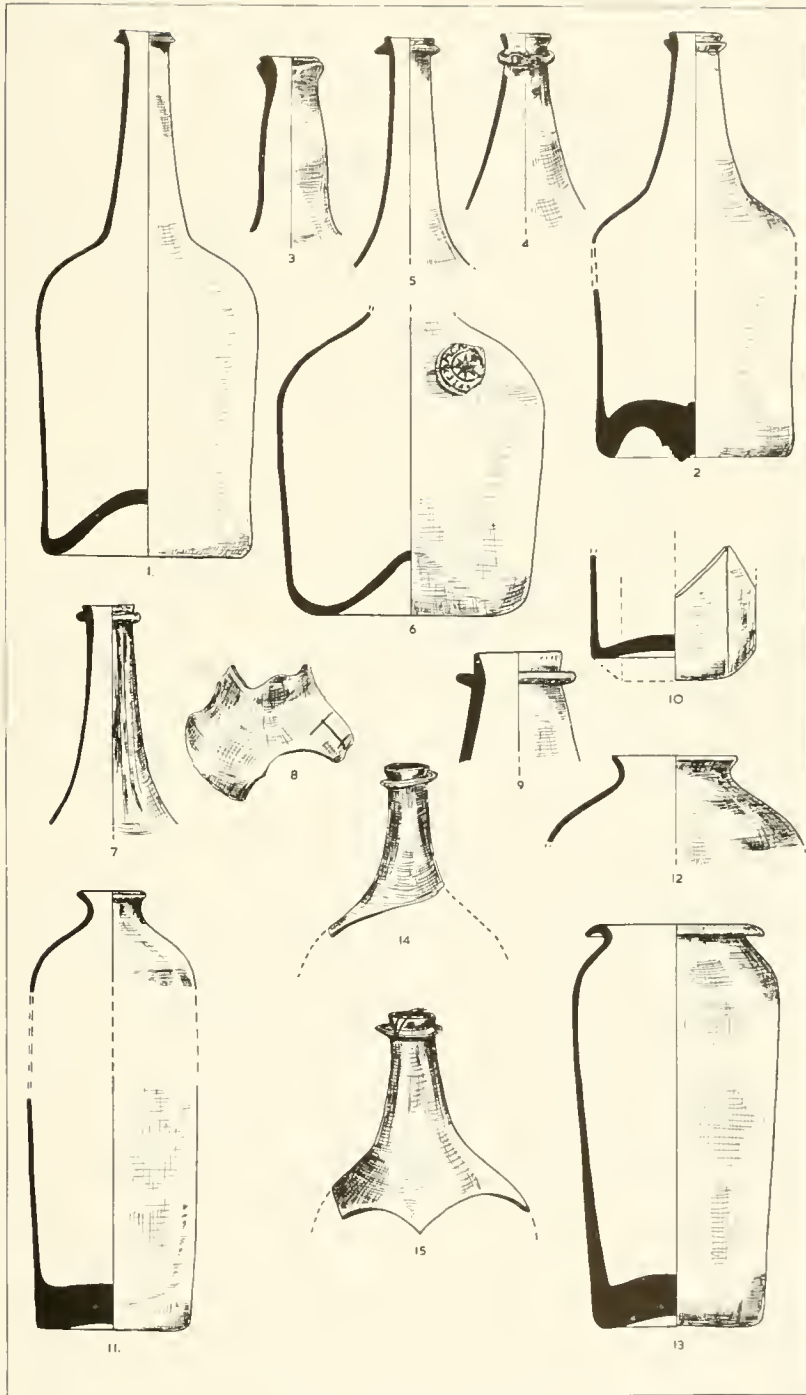


FIGURE 31. Glass beverage bottles. One-fourth.

- Coming as it does from stratum D1 it might be construed that the fragment does not belong to the pit.
4. Neck of "Piermont" water bottle. Impression of seal matrix on the string-rim. J3. For details see p. 190 (fig. 16, no. 5).
  5. Bottle neck. Olive-green glass turned brown by decay; neck markedly tapering towards a flat string-rim approximately  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch below the lip; lip tooled outwards above rim. This is a continental European shape and may well come from a Pymont water bottle with a body shaped like no. 6. Mid-18th century. A3.
  6. Body of Pymont water bottle. Pale olive-green glass; butt-shaped with weak shoulder wider than the base; base with pronounced conical kick and rough pontil mark. The seal on the shoulder has an eight-pointed star in the center surrounded by the legend PIERMON[T WATER]. Mid-18th century. B3.
  7. Neck of wine bottle or spa water bottle. Deep olive-green glass turned brown by decay; thick-walled; vertical stress grooves up the neck; roughly trailed round-sectioned string-rim approximately  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch below the flat lip. Probably French. Third quarter of 18th century(?) K2.
  8. Shoulder of wine bottle. Olive to amber-green glass turned brown by decay; possible graffito "E" or crossed "I" scratched on glass. Around 1740-1760. K1.
  9. Neck fragment of large storage bottle or carboy. Olive-green iridescent glass; much decayed; oval string-rim  $\frac{7}{16}$  inch below tapering lip. It is possible that the thinness of the lip was unintentional and resulted from chipping while in use. First half of 18th century. C3.
  10. Base of snuff or blacking bottle. Olive-green glass turned brown by decay; octagonally molded; the base slightly rising. An intact bottle of this type was recovered from the wreck of a vessel that sank at Yorktown in 1781; others have been found in dated deposits in Williamsburg dating from the period about 1760-1770. B2, K2.
  11. Case bottle. Pale olive-green glass much marred by decay; square body section; weak shoulder; short neck; everted lip; base thick, slightly rising, and with traces of a pontil mark. The bottle is reconstructed from fragments, though there is no section through it; the height was conjectured on the basis of intact examples in the collection of Colonial Williamsburg and elsewhere. Probably second or

third quarter of 18th century. Neck from C2, rest from J2.

12. Jar neck. Olive-green glass much decayed; probably from square-bodied vessel; shoulder broad and weak; rim everted. A jar of this type was found in a context attributed to the period 1740-1750 to the northeast of the Public Gaol in Williamsburg. C2.
13. Pickle jar(?). Olive-green glass much decayed; square-sectioned body broader at shoulder than at base; shoulder weak; mouth wide and with a sharply everted and down-tooled rim; base extremely thick and slightly rising. Second or third quarter of 18th century. F2, F3, G2, N2.
14. Wine bottle neck. Glass almost entirely destroyed by decay; large flat string-rim unevenly applied below the roughly out-tooled mouth. About 1720-1730. This fragment is of importance in that it was found in clay sealed by the secondary Indian deposit in B4.
15. Wine bottle neck. Olive-green glass turned brown by decay; similar in form to no. 14. Although many such necks were recovered, this example is of interest in that it still retains its original brass wire. Bottles with this shoulder form are known with dated seals from 1722 to 1727, indicating an over-all range of around 1720-1730 with the emphasis on the later years. K2.

### Figure 32<sup>89</sup>

1. Wine glass, lead metal.<sup>90</sup> Three-piece construction; waisted bowl with solid base; cushioned, inverted baluster stem; domed foot; a circular bubble in base of bowl; a squat, inverted tear in the baluster;<sup>91</sup> rough pontil mark in center of basal dome. The lip of the glass is missing and has been

<sup>89</sup> Dating and nomenclature used in these descriptions of wine glasses are derived from E. Barrington Haynes, *Glass through the Ages*, London, 1948.

<sup>90</sup> When discussing wine and other glasses, archeologists use the word "metal" to refer to the substance from which the vessel is made, thus avoiding confusion between "glass" as a shape and "glass" as (in the present instance) a mixture of silica, alkali, and lead oxide.

<sup>91</sup> All tears shown in this and the following drawings are drawn to indicate their exterior appearance. It is realized that the actual cavity is very much smaller than it appears. However, as the exact measurements could not be determined without breaking open the stems, and as any attempt to indicate the true size in the section would give an imperfect impression of the tear's appearance, the cavity is incorrectly drawn to the same size in both section and profile.



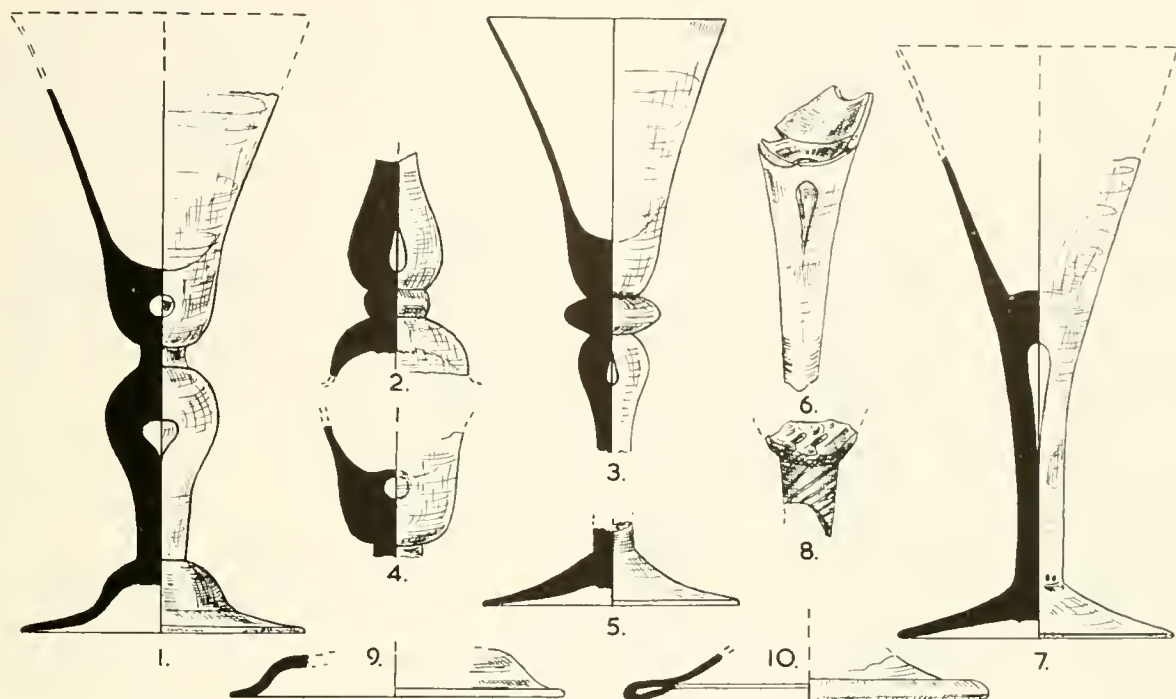


FIGURE 32.—Wine glasses. One-half.

- conjecturally reconstructed in the drawing. About 1720-1730. P3.
2. Baluster stem, lead metal. Cushion knob; thick-domed foot with traces of pontil mark in center; a single tear in the stem. About 1715. Surface.
  3. Wine glass, lead metal. Apparently three-piece construction; bell bowl welded above an angular knob that surmounts a light, inverted baluster containing a small tear; foot missing. After 1750. J3.
  4. Solid base of waisted wine glass bowl, lead metal. Single tear; apparently with plain straight stem. After about 1740. J2.
  5. Wine glass foot, lead metal. Plain conical form with base of light stem attached; pontil mark on base. Probably mid-18th century. G3.
  6. Wine glass stem, lead metal. Two-piece construction; trumpet bowl; plain stem with elongated tear; foot and upper bowl wall missing. After about 1740. C3, D3.
  7. Wine glass, lead metal. Two-piece construction; trumpet bowl; plain stem with elongated tear; plain

conical foot with pontil mark on base. After about 1740. This glass is important to the dating of the Rosewell pit in that it comes from the primary deposit in area E.

8. Straight stem fragment, lead metal. With air twist ornament, single multiple spiral (nine tubes), and apparently with heavy shoulder knob below the bowl. Around 1750. J2.
9. Domed foot fragment from large goblet, lead metal. 18th century. A2.
10. Folded conical foot from large goblet no less than 8 inches high; lead metal. Probably first half of 18th century. N2, N3.

### Figure 33

1. Pharmaceutical bottle. Pale blue-green glass; short tubular neck with everted and flattened rim; conical base with rough pontil mark. Since there is no join between the neck and body fragments, the elevation has been conjectured on the basis of examples in the writer's collection. 18th century. E2, E3, F2, J2, J3. K2.



FIGURE 33.—Pharmaceutical bottles, cupping glass, and other glass items. One-half.

2. Cupping glass, lead metal. Folded rim; bulbous body; probably traces of a pontil mark on base. The drawing is reconstructed from fragments of two examples found together in the same stratum.<sup>92</sup> 18th century. A4.
3. Pharmaceutical phial. Pale green glass; neck and upper body fragment only; short tubular neck; angular shoulder; lip only slightly everted. Probably mid-18th century. A2.
4. Pharmaceutical phial. Pale blue-green glass; neck and upper body fragment only; short tubular neck; angular shoulder; rim everted. Probably of the same period as no. 3, although the wider lip often is indicative of an earlier date. F2.
5. Tumbler base, heavy lead glass. Base slightly rising with an unground pontil mark; interior wall sloping sharply inwards towards the bottom. Perhaps first half of 18th century. Surface. The bases of two other tumblers were among the finds from the pit, but neither is illustrated. These differ
- from the base shown in that they are much lighter, the interior walls do not slope inwards towards the bottom, and the glass is more transparent. Perhaps third quarter of 18th century. A2, J2.
6. Lead glass handle from vessel of uncertain form. 18th century. H2.
7. Lead glass fragment from object of uncertain purpose. A double collar or perhaps an annulated knob above a flat piece of glass, more scratched on the underside than on the upper; metal transparent and of good quality. It has been suggested that the fragment may be from a lid or, if inverted, might be part of a pedestal-based dish. P3.
8. Wine glass bowl, lead metal. Possibly from glass of trumpet form (see fig. 32, no. 7). A group of three scored lines creating a wavy pattern around the bowl was caused by decay in stress marks created during manufacture. Probably after about 1740. J3.
9. Fragment of lead plate glass. Scalloped edge, and the same motif ground onto the upper surface. Mr. John Gloag, the English furniture expert, has ex-

<sup>92</sup> For parallels see *Country Life*, August 12, 1954.

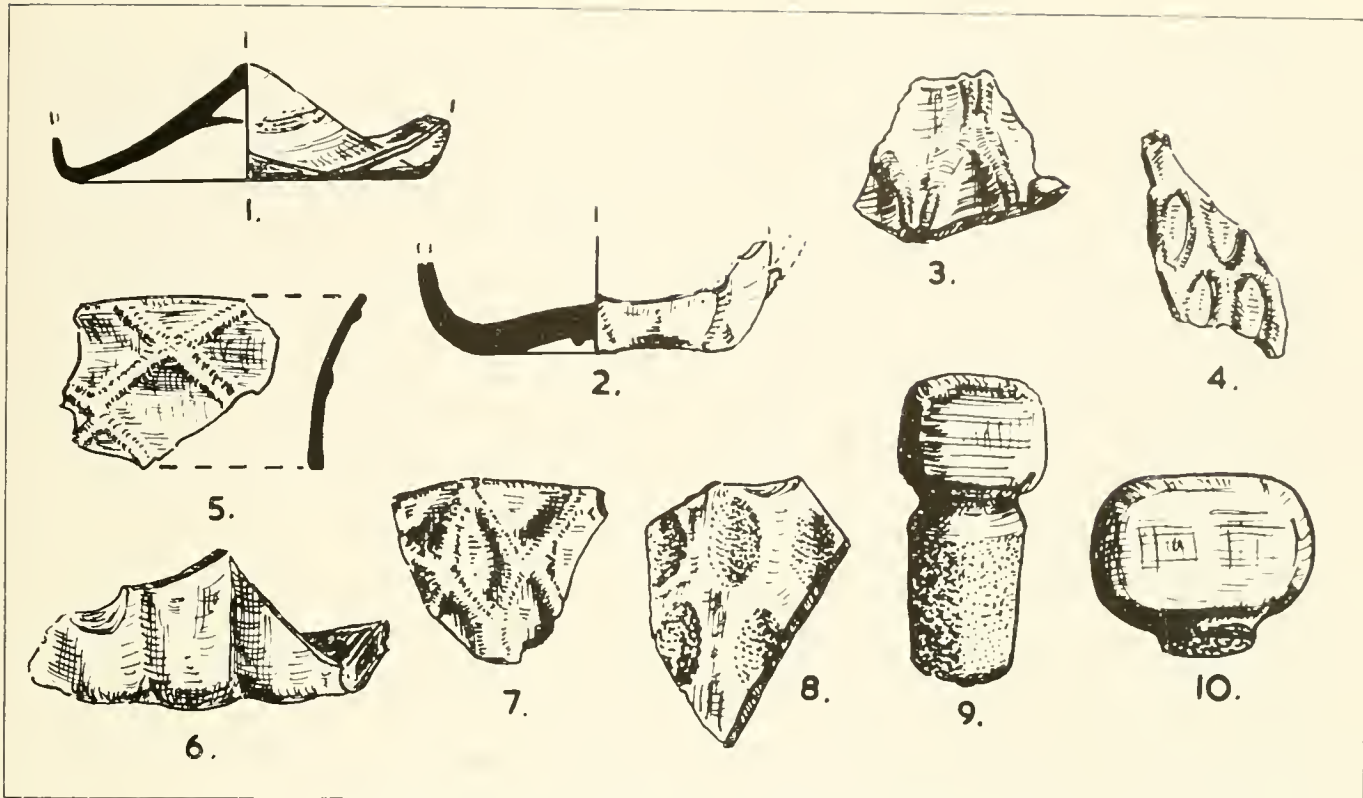


FIGURE 34.—Fragments from molded jelly glasses, perfume flask, and glass stoppers. Same size.

amined this fragment and has suggested that it comes from a mirror of the period 1690-1720. A2.  
 10. Neck fragment from wine bottle. Glass apparently calcined, possibly through having been inadvertently included in the burning of oyster-shell mortar. The presence of shell mortar attached to all the sides and broken edges of the fragment tend to support such a conjecture. Third quarter of 18th century. D2.

11. Neck fragment from perfume (?) bottle. Pale blue-green glass; lip slightly thickened but not everted. A series of striations towards the lower edge of the fragment are comparable to those on the neck of a bottle of similar glass found in a sealed deposit in Williamsburg. The latter bottle (E.R. 140.27B) has an oval body and conical base, both decorated with molded vertical ribbing; the neck possesses the same striations at the top of the ribs but is tooled outwards at the mouth to provide a flaring lip. It is suggested that the mouth of the Rosewell item would have been the same had it been tooled, thus expanding and, at the same time, thinning the

wall. In consequence a conjectural reconstruction has been indicated, using this neck atop the Williamsburg body, which comes from a sealed deposit with a terminal date of about 1745. A2.

12. Base of pharmaceutical bottle. Clear lead glass; conical kick with traces of pontil mark. Clear bottles of this type gradually took the place of the green and blue-green forms during the second half of the 18th century. F2.

### Figure 34

1. Base of pharmaceutical bottle. Clear lead glass; conical kick with rough pontil mark (see fig. 33, no. 12). B2.
2. Base of small handled cup. Clear lead glass; base slightly rising with rough pontil mark; wall ornamented with widely spaced molded vertical ribbing. 18th century. C2, F1.
3. Bowl fragment. Clear lead metal; possibly from spirit glass; wall ornamented with raised ribbing in

- lozenge patterns. This pattern would appear to be in the "Nipt diamond waies" tradition of the late 17th century.<sup>93</sup> F1.
4. Bowl fragment close to flaring rim. Perhaps from dwarf ale or jelly glass; clear lead metal;<sup>94</sup> molded decoration of small, highly ridged lozenges. No earlier than about 1730. B2.
  5. Rim fragment, possibly from wide-mouthed jelly glass, lead metal, molded diamond decoration. No earlier than about 1730. O2.
  6. Basal fragment from tumbler or cup, clear lead glass, the wall decorated with molded fluting or ribbing. 18th century. D1.
  7. Rim fragment. Probably from jelly glass; brilliant lead metal; molded diamond decoration; rim slightly angled where the molded lines touch it. No earlier than about 1730. O2.
  8. Fragment. Probably from body of perfume flask; pale blue-green glass with some lead content; ornamented with molded lozenges. Possibly from a bottle in the same class as no. 11 in fig. 33. Surface.
  9. Bottle or decanter stopper. Solid lead glass; rectangular knob; the body ground below the shoulder; bottom diameter  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. 18th century. E2.
  10. Knob from bottle or decanter stopper. Solid lead glass; oval form. 18th century. K2.

### Figure 35

1. Tobacco-pipe bowl. Clay; of English manufacture; cylindrical bowl terminating at the base in a flat heel; stem-hole diameter  $\frac{7}{64}$  inch. This item may be compared to Adrian Oswald's Type 7a,<sup>95</sup> although it lacks the slight in-curve above the fore-edge of the heel. Oswald dates the type to the period about 1670-1710; however, this writer has found numerous examples in debris from the Great Fire of London in 1666, but few in contexts dating much later than about 1680. Whatever the true date of the Rosewell specimen, there is no doubt
2. Tobacco-pipe bowl. Clay; of English manufacture; thin-walled; small heel; stem-hole diameter  $\frac{5}{64}$  inch. First half of 18th century. K3.
3. Tobacco-pipe bowl. Clay; of English manufacture; small heel; walls thicker than in no. 2 and the bowl with slightly more thrust on the fore-edge of the rim; stem-hole diameter  $\frac{5}{64}$  inch. Second or third quarter of 18th century. F2.
4. Tobacco-pipe bowl. Clay; of English manufacture; wall 3 mm. thick; pronounced heel with maker's initials "I.D." (the "I" is considerably smaller than the "D" and could perhaps be read as "T"); stem-hole diameter  $\frac{5}{64}$  inch. Two examples from this mold were recovered, both from the primary filling in area E. Second or third quarter of 18th century.
5. Tobacco-pipe bowl. Clay; of English manufacture; wall approximately 2 mm. thick at rear but appreciably thinner at the fore-edge; somewhat squat heel with maker's large initials "A.S."; stem-hole diameter  $\frac{5}{64}$  inch. Second or third quarter of 18th century. E4 (another example from C2).
6. Tobacco-pipe heel and stem fragment. Clay; of Irish manufacture (?); narrow heel with crowned harp molded on either side in place of the more common maker's initials; stem-hole diameter  $\frac{4}{64}$  inch. Probably third quarter of 18th century. K2 (another example from J1).
7. Tobacco-pipe bowl and section of stem. Clay; of English manufacture; bowl wall 2.5 mm. thick; the heel long and of small diameter; maker's initials "R.M.," molded on either side, are thick and cleanly cut, though weak in the first stroke of the "M"; stem-hole diameter  $\frac{4}{64}$  inch. Probably third quarter of the 18th century. E2, G2.
8. Tobacco-pipe bowl. Clay; of English manufacture; neither heel nor spur;<sup>96</sup> wall of somewhat un-

<sup>93</sup> A possible parallel for the style of the Rosewell fragment appears in *Country Life*, January 25, 1946, p. 169, no. 7. This fragment is attributed to about 1685; however, it is unlikely that the Rosewell fragment is as early.

<sup>94</sup> Haynes (*op. cit.*, footnote 89) stated that some examples of mold-ornamented jelly glasses are of soda metal. All the Rosewell fragments were tested for lead and gave positive results.

<sup>95</sup> *Archaeological News Letter*, April 1951, vol. 3, no. 10.

<sup>96</sup> It has been suggested that these pipes were specially manufactured for the American colonies, for examples without heel or spur are extremely rare in England but are common on American sites. However, the explanation that pipes with these plain bowls were less liable to be damaged in shipping does not bear scrutiny, for a pipe rarely breaks at the heel. It might, however, be suggested that pipes were made in this style to parallel the forms made and used by the Indians. A painting (in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) by Gustavus Hesselius in 1735 of the Indian chief Tishcohan (He-who-never-blackens-himself) shows one of these pipes

even thickness but measuring 2 mm. at thickest point. Probably third quarter of 18th century. N2. [Four other slightly smaller bowls of this same basic type were recovered from the pit, two of them with stem-hole diameters of  $\frac{5}{64}$  inch and the others without measurable stems surviving. All second or third quarter of 18th century. E4, F1, K2, N2.]

9. Tobacco-pipe bowl. Clay; of English manufacture; neither heel nor spur; larger than no. 8; stem-hole diameter  $\frac{5}{64}$  inch. Probably third quarter of 18th century. Surface.

10. Tobacco-pipe. Clay; of English manufacture; end of stem missing; wall thickness 2 mm.; heel with maker's initials "H.S." on the sides, the "H" smaller than the "S"; stem-hole diameter approximately  $\frac{5}{64}$  inch. Most pipes of this type seem to have a stem length of a little under 13 inches (measured from behind the heel). However, the diameter of the fractured stem of this example could suggest a missing section of as much as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, giving a total length of approximately 1 foot  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Second or third quarter of 18th century. E3.

NOTE: While most of the mouth-piece fragments recovered from the Rosewell pit were without glazing or coating of any kind, a few possessed one or other of these characteristics. Examples illustrated as nos. 10, 11, in fig. 14 are coated with a post cocturam

red wax and with an ante cocturam black slip, respectively. Other specimens have a treacly brown glaze or a bluish green glaze flecked with light brown or orange.

For students of Mr. J. C. Harrington's stem-hole theory the following statistics will be useful:

Stratum	4'64"	5'64"	6'64"	7'64"
2.	(124)26%	(327)67%	(32)6.5%	(2)0.5%
3	.....	(15)83%	(3)17%	.....
Primary <sup>97</sup> .	.....	(3)50%	(3)50%	.....

It should, however, be remembered that it is believed that all three strata were deposited within a few months. For this reason, and in view of the small number of fragments from the two lower levels, only stratum 2 is of any statistical value.

Mr. Harrington was kind enough to examine the above statistics and to make the following observations:

*Stratum 3:* (485 fragments): Based upon my charts <sup>98</sup> (which I still insist are not intended for such use, but only to illustrate a suggested technique), I would have to date this collection 1740-1760, and call the 2 with  $\frac{7}{64}$  holes family heirlooms.

*Stratum 2:* Too small a sample, but if forced, I would say 1730.

*Primary:* Ditto: 1710.

## Figure 36

1. Pistol barrel. Iron; tang with screw-hole in top for attaching barrel to stock; a small loop beneath the barrel for pinning to the lower housing; barrel octagonal at rear and tapering towards muzzle; two ornamental grooves  $3\frac{13}{16}$  inches from rear; priming hole on right side  $\frac{7}{16}$  inch from rear; total length

hung around the subject's neck. Excavations beside the colonial gaol in Williamsburg (Excavation Register 140) resulted in the recovery of 16 pipes of this type from a context attributed to the decade 1740-1750. Each of these pipes had a stem-hole diameter of  $\frac{5}{64}$  inch but none was marked with the maker's initials. Such marks are rare, but the most common is that of R. Tippet, whose name appears in a cartouche on the right wall and with the initials "R. T." impressed on the wall above the stem. The name is generally written in three lines R/TIP/PET, but in some cases only the initials "R. T." are molded in the cartouche. One example from Williamsburg was found in a post-1770 context, and another came from a group dating from between 1720 and 1740 (Colonial Williamsburg site no. 28F4, Excavation Register 150D). The stem hole of this last example measures  $\frac{5}{64}$  inch. Tippet also made pipes with heels. Adrian Oswald in his article "A Case of Transatlantic Deduction" (*Antiques*, July 1959, vol. 76, no. 1, pp. 59-61) shows that the Tippet pipes were manufactured in Bristol, England, and that members of the Tippet family were working there as early as 1660. An earlier form of the heelless-spurless pipe is occasionally found in Tidewater Virginia with the maker's initials molded on the base. If read from left side to right from above (as the heeled varieties are), the initials are "S. A." On the other hand it is possible to turn these pipes bottom up and read the letters as "A. S." An example from

Skimino Plantation, south of the York River, was found in a ploughed field with other artifacts of the period around 1680-1710 (Colonial Williamsburg Collection, cat. no. 195). Such an early date for the marked pipe is supported by the  $\frac{6}{64}$ -inch diameter of the stem hole. As noted above, the Rosewell example (no. 8) has a stem-hole diameter of only  $\frac{4}{64}$  inch.

<sup>97</sup> Additional items subsequently recovered from this deposit would make the  $\frac{5}{64}$ " column read "(16) 76.2%" and the  $\frac{6}{64}$ " column read "(5) 23.8%."

<sup>98</sup> J. C. Harrington, "Dating Stem Fragments of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Clay Tobacco Pipes," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia*, September 1954, vol. 1, no. 9.

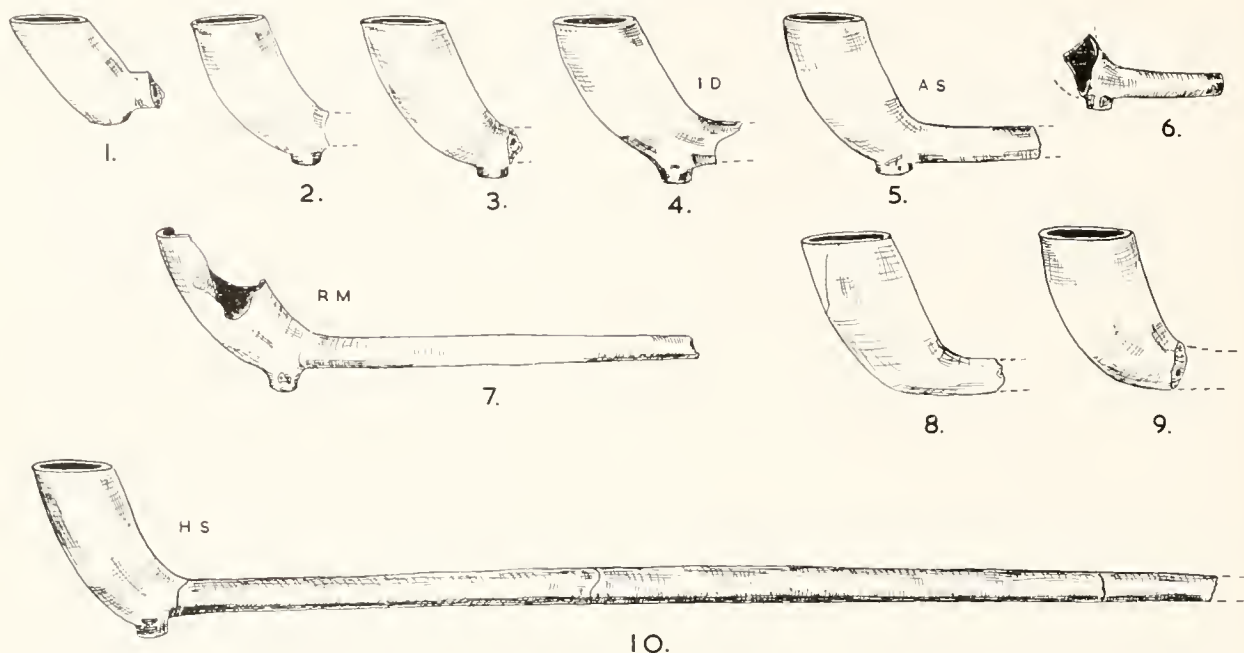


FIGURE 35. Clay tobacco pipes. One-half.

- of barrel  $8\frac{3}{8}$  inches; .60 caliber. Possible traces of an armorer's touch mark, a cross within a square, are to be seen on the lower left facet, 1 inch from rear. The barrel is too short for this pistol to have been a standard military weapon. 18th century. E3.
2. Tool, locally made, of uncertain purpose. See fig. 23, no. 10.
3. Sickle (?). Roughly made and probably unfinished; square-sectioned tang; blade broken; traces of a cutting edge close to the break on the lower edge; rectangular impression,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch by  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch, on the reverse side of the blade  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches below the tang might be the remains of crude mark of maker. P2.
4. Knife. Iron; single edge; flat tang pierced by three holes for riveting bone or wooden plates to it to provide the handle; extremely crudely made, the tang being roughly folded and beaten into shape without any effort having been made to remove surplus metal; likely to have been of local manufacture. G2.
5. Axe blade. Narrow, thickening to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch below

- socket; socket broken and appears to be unfinished, suggesting that this item is another product of the nearby forge. B2.
6. Wedge-shaped item of uncertain purpose. Iron; somewhat bowed in section with greatest thickness of  $\frac{5}{16}$  inch narrowing to approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch at either end; a rectangular hole at one end; the other end blade-shaped. J2.
7. Chisel. Iron; hollow octagonal socket for wooden handle; interior diameter  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch; blade slightly waisted above the cutting edge; sides of blade crudely beaten and spreading to form ridges along the edges; end of socket has been beaten until it has spread, split and curled, indicating that the chisel was used without the intended wooden handle. This tool, probably a forming chisel or firmer,<sup>99</sup> was perhaps a product of the local forge. J2.

<sup>99</sup> The closest parallel encountered is to be found in Henry C. Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*, Dovlestown, Pennsylvania. The Bucks County Historical Society, 1951, fig. 148, no. 20633.

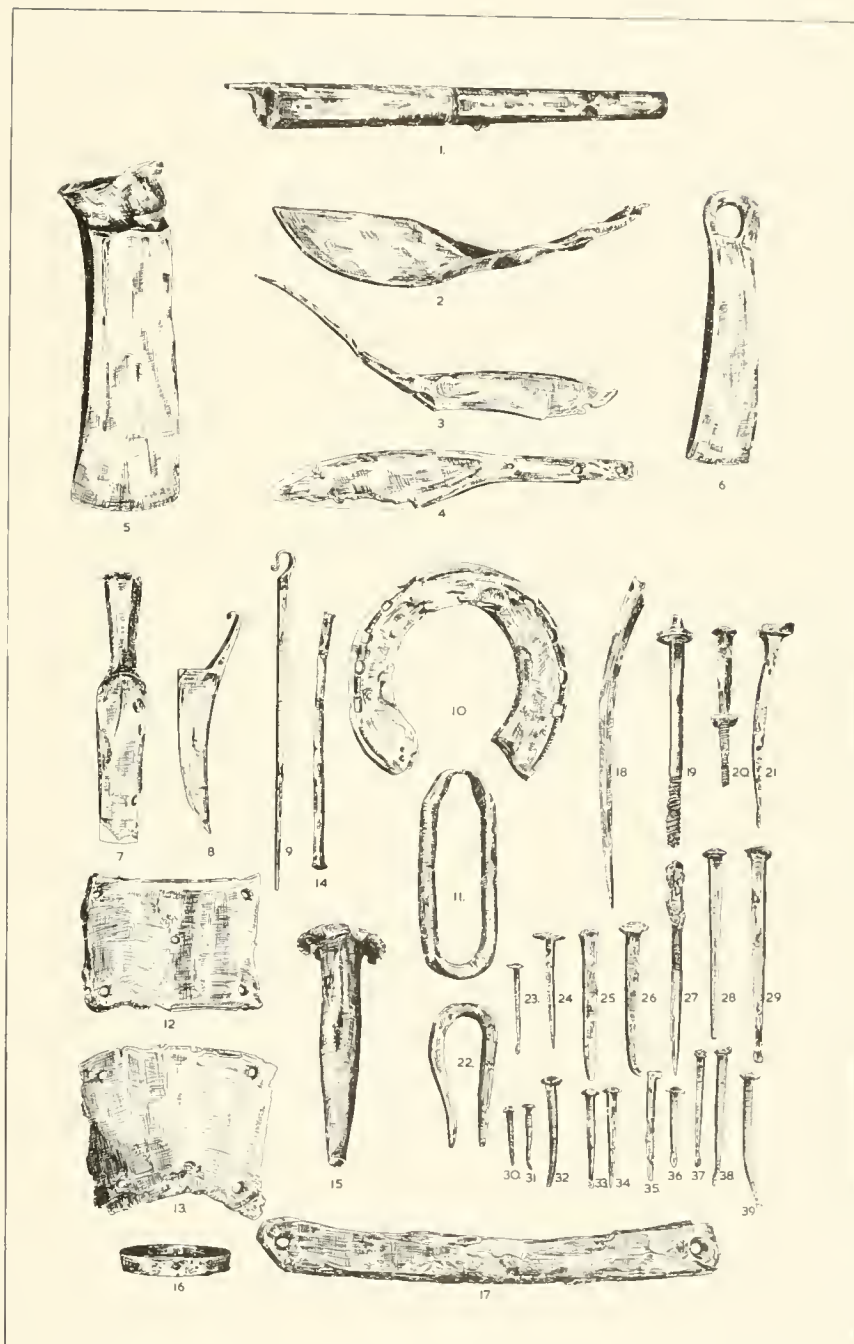


FIGURE 36. Iron pistol barrel, tools, horseshoe, nails, etc. One-fourth.

8. Tool of uncertain purpose. Iron; small, slightly curved blade with no cutting edge, flat on one side and slightly convex on the other; rectangular-sectioned handle or tang extending from one corner and narrowing to a thin strip that is bent over into an angular hook.<sup>100</sup> It has been suggested that this tool may have been used by bricklayers for scoring the mortar between the bricks. N3.
9. Skewer. Iron; rectangular-sectioned,  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch thick; drawn out at top and shaped into a scroll-like hook. J2. Skewers of this type were common in the 18th century, and were sold in sets, suspended from an ornamental, wrought-iron hanger.
10. Horseshoe. Iron; keyhole type; the heels slightly rising; four nail holes on either side, fullered. N3. The presence of this shoe in the Rosewell pit is of interest in that it fails to support the often heard contention that in Tidewater Virginia it was unnecessary for horses to be shod because there were no stony or paved roads to damage their hooves.<sup>101</sup> It should be noted that the keyhole form of the Rosewell shoe was not the only shape favored in the 18th century and was, in fact, less common than the more narrow conventional type. A shoe of this form was found in a refuse pit of about 1740 at Tutter's Neck near Williamsburg during excavations in 1960.
11. Link from large chain. Carefully worked lap-joint at one end; the other end so worn by friction from the next link that the iron is practically worn through; diameter  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch at widest point. C1.
12. Plate. Iron; rectangular; roughly trimmed at the edges and pierced by five nail holes, one at each corner and the fifth in the center; measures  $3\frac{3}{4}$  by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches; slightly down-curved at the shorter sides; of uncertain use.<sup>102</sup> The workmanship on this item closely allies it with the fragments of iron waste illustrated in fig. 23 and indicates that it, too, comes from the local forge. C2.
13. Plate. Iron; rectangular; roughly trimmed at the edges and pierced by four nail holes, one at each corner; measures  $4\frac{1}{4}$  by  $3\frac{3}{8}$  inches; markedly curved at its shorter sides, suggesting that it may have been some kind of protective plate, perhaps from an axle hub. Comparable to the smaller example (no. 12). A2.
14. Rod. Iron; probably a curb from a Pelham or curb bit. 18th century. Surface.
15. Punch. Iron; the head spread and curling from constant use; the shaft round-sectioned at the top, tapering and four-sided towards the end; the point of percussion somewhat concave; weight 1 pound 7 ounces. This is almost certainly a farrier's punch.<sup>103</sup> B2.
16. Band. Iron; circular;  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in width and slightly tapering; pierced by three small nail holes, two opposite each other and the third midway between them. The object presumably was used to encircle the end of a tapering pole. N2.
17. Bar. Iron; with countersunk nail or rivet holes at either end; slightly bowed; metal much decayed, but original thickness probably about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch; of uncertain purpose. E2.
18. Tine from agricultural fork. Rectangular-sectioned towards the top;  $\frac{3}{8}$  by  $\frac{5}{16}$  inch; tapering and becoming round-sectioned towards the point. The curvature at the top is inherent in the object, suggesting that the fork was of the dished variety. K2.
19. Bolt. Iron; a washer welded to the shaft  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch below the top to form the head; shaft square-sectioned beneath the head, quickly becoming round-sectioned; threaded length  $1\frac{9}{16}$  inches; diameter approximately  $\frac{5}{16}$  inch. F2.

<sup>100</sup> Another example was found by this writer in the destruction of a house on Duke of Gloucester Street, Williamsburg, that burned in February 1776. Until shortly before the fire the building had been the house or shop of Peter Scott, a cabinet-maker. Three further specimens have since been found—one at Tutter's Neck, James City County, in a context of about 1725-1735, and two others at Clay Bank, Gloucester County, in a deposit of about 1700.

<sup>101</sup> There is, however, literary evidence that such was the case in the early 18th century. Hugh Jones in *The Present State of Virginia*, London, 1724 (edited by Richard L. Morton, Chapel Hill, 1956), p. 14, when describing Governor Spotwood's celebrated ride over the Appalachians, made the following statement: "For this Expedition they were obliged to provide a great Quantity of Horse-shoes (Things seldom used in the lower Parts of the Country, where there are few Stones:) Upon which Account the Governor upon their Return presented each of his Companions with a golden Horse-Shoe."

<sup>102</sup> A vague parallel is illustrated by Kenneth E. Kidd (*The Excavation of St. Marie I*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1949, p. 100 and pl. 37, top). That piece measured  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches and may have been a part of a box or cupboard. It came from the site of a Jesuit mission, in Canada, that existed only during the years 1639-1649. An almost exact parallel was found in Williamsburg excavations in 1961 (Excavation Register 384C.15A) in a context of 1750-1765.

<sup>103</sup> See tool illustrated in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1769), pl. 4, fig. 19.



20. Bolt. Iron; smooth and convex head forged from the shaft; shaft square-sectioned and tapering; threaded length  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches; diameter approximately  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch; nut, still in position, measures  $\frac{5}{16}$  by  $\frac{5}{16}$  by  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch. K2.
21. Spike. Iron; four-sided; tapering to flat blade point; heavy square head approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick. C1.
22. Staple. Iron; round-sectioned at top, showing evidence of hammering; becoming rectangular-sectioned at the tapering sides, which bend towards each other above the blade-shaped points. Surface.
23. Nail. Iron; flat head, rectangular-sectioned; flattened point. This nail and all the following examples come from stratum 2, but are not identified by area.
24. Nail. Iron; rose head (?), rectangular-sectioned; normal point.
25. Spike. Iron; rectangular sectioned; vestigial round head; point lost.
26. Planching nail. Iron; round head flattened on either side to form T-shape, rectangular-sectioned; chisel point. Such nails were generally used for flooring and were punched below the surface.
27. Nail. Iron; head missing; round shank becoming "four square," that is, equi-sided; sharp and narrow point.
28. Spike. Iron; rose head; rectangular sectioned; blunt end.
29. Spike. Iron; rose head (?), rectangular-sectioned; flattened point.
30. Lath nail. Iron; rectangular head, shank "four square" and tapering to a point.
31. Lath nail. Iron; small round head; rectangular-sectioned; flattened point.
32. Planching nail. Iron; T-shaped head; rectangular-sectioned; blunt end. See no. 26.
33. Nail. Iron; rose head; rectangular-sectioned; flattened point.
34. Nail. Iron; rose head; rectangular-sectioned; tapering to point. This type is sometimes described as "Rose-sharp," while the flat-pointed variety can be called "Flat-point-rose."
35. Nail. Iron; L-shaped head; rectangular-sectioned; blunt point.
36. Nail. Iron; T-shaped head, possibly broken; rectangular-sectioned; spear point.<sup>104</sup>
37. Nail. Iron; vestigial rectangular head; rectangular-sectioned and the point flattened.
38. Nail. Iron; possibly with L-shaped head; rectangular-sectioned, tapering to point.
39. Nail. Iron; roughly square rose head; rectangular-sectioned; flattened point.

All the foregoing nails are hand wrought and are illustrated as representative of the sizes and types included among the hundreds recovered from the Rosewell deposit. For a list of nails ordered by John Page in 1771 see page 158.

The first machine for making "cut-nails" was patented by Ezekial Reed of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, in 1786, and by about 1800 cut nails were rapidly taking the place of the old wrought varieties. Cut nails were made from sheets of iron cut to appropriate lengths, the heads being beaten in a vice by hand. Such nails can be identified by the fact that the shank tapers only on the two cut sides, the front and back being parallel as was the sheet from which they were cut. The first English patent for a machine to manufacture cut nails was granted to John Clifford in 1790. In the first half of the 19th century the French manufactured wire nails by hand and developed a machine for producing them in the second quarter of the century. Sample machines were imported into America soon afterwards. The first handmade wire nails with round-sectioned shanks and heads were made by William Hensel of New York City in 1850.

### Figure 37

1. Cauldron. Iron; body fragment only; decorated with two encircling ridges; the beginning of one of the triangular, ear-type handles appears at the upper edge; wall thickness  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch. Such vessels had tripod legs and a pair of handles; they owed their origins to the bronze cooking vessels of the 14th and 15th centuries. P2.
2. Fireback. Iron; ornamented fragment only. See fig. 23, no. 8.
3. Hoe. Iron; large size; D-shaped blade; socket thicker at base than at top. Diameter  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches; height  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches. The form is typical of the 18th century. E3. This example was found in wet clay, an environment unsuited for the preservation of iron: in consequence, the blade is too decayed for it to undergo chemical cleaning without drastic loss of shape. Without cleaning it is impossible to tell whether the hoe possesses a maker's mark—a feature generally stamped on the V-shaped spine. A comparable, unstratified example found in Williamsburg

<sup>104</sup> See Mercer, *op. cit.* (footnote 99), fig. 201, B3.

- is stamped three times with the initials "W.D."<sup>105</sup> The socket and spine of another hoe of similar type was also recovered. The spine bears traces of illegible maker's stamps. The socket is somewhat unusual in that it had been flattened at the back and differed from the illustrated example by a wider angle between the socket and the rear edge of the blade. It was too decayed to merit illustration. J2;
4. Warren hoe. Iron; heavy socket; V-shaped spine extending along most of blade; blade convex on upper surface and concave behind; maker's stamp "IM" stamped on blade on either side of the spine; socket tall and narrowing towards the top, thickness at base approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch; diameter approximately  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches; height  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches; forge welded down the back. It has been suggested that hoes of this type were used for cutting drainage gullies. This example was found after ploughing in the field north of the mansion in the vicinity of the barn(?) foundations. But the character of the workmanship and the style of the lettering in the maker's stamp leave no doubt that this is a colonial instrument. Unstratified.
  5. Grub hoe. Iron; flat blade with narrow V-shaped spine triple-stamped with maker's mark "W.M."; socket tapers slightly towards the top, is  $\frac{3}{8}$  to  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch thick at base, approximately  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches in diameter, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. Examples of this type have been found in Williamsburg excavations and in a cache of agricultural tools at Greenspring Plantation near Jamestown.<sup>106</sup>
  6. Scissors. Iron (see fig. 21, no. 13, p. 198).
  7. Ice skate. Iron; fluted blade; the toe flattening and curving gracefully upwards; screw fitting beneath heel for mounting into wooden patten, and a notched lug close to the ball of the foot for a similar purpose. From field north of Page Graveyard. The skate was tied to the sole of the wearer's shoe by leather thongs or with ribbons. In 1709 William Byrd records that he took a group of house guests for a walk and "slid on skates, notwithstanding there was a thaw."<sup>107</sup> In 1769 the shop of Sarah Pitt in Williamsburg was offering fluted and plain

skates, with or without leather.<sup>108</sup> Skates of the Rosewell type are to be seen in numerous pictures of the late 18th century, notably the engraving *Winter Amusement*, 1782, printed and sold by Carington Bowles of London, and in a mezzotint from a painting by John Collet entitled *The Pleasures of Skating—or, a View in Winter*, 1780, also published by Bowles.<sup>109</sup>

### Figure 38

1. Hinge or hasp. Iron; crudely made; with butterfly terminal; a rivet punched through the broken arm; the other arm without any holes for nailing or riveting; metal approximately 1 mm. thick. See no. 2. 18th century. J2.
2. Hinge or hasp. Crudely made; with butterfly terminal at one end and no evidence of nail holes; the other arm broken and much decayed. In the course of cleaning it was found that the broken arm was riveted to a fragment of iron of the same thickness as itself. Unfortunately, there was insufficient metal surviving for chemical cleaning to be possible. 18th century. J2.<sup>110</sup>
3. Hinge (?). Scroll terminal at bulbous end and nail attached  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch from it; part of another nail hole at the break; metal slightly convex and 1 to 2 mm. thick. 18th century. C3.
4. Hinge. Iron; one arm almost entirely missing; end of other arm lost;<sup>111</sup> latter arm pierced by two nail holes, one with diameter of 3 mm.; metal 1 mm. thick; length of surviving arm 2 inches. 18th century. A2.
5. Hinge or ornamental strap. Iron; blade-shaped with two rivets attached and a hole for a third rivet at the broken end; metal 1 to 2 mm. thick. 18th century. L2.
6. Plate from interior of rim lock. Iron; shaped to enable key to pass beneath it; metal 1 to 1.5 mm. thick; heavily brazed; probably comes from a brass lock. Surface.

<sup>105</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, October 26, 1769, p. 2.

<sup>109</sup> For further details concerning skating in the 18th century, see Jane Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play* (multilithed research report), Research Department, Colonial Williamsburg, 1958, pp. 190-192.

<sup>110</sup> A fragment of a third hinge of this type was found in stratum M2.

<sup>111</sup> When found, this hinge appeared to spread at the end into the butterfly form of nos. 1 and 2. Unfortunately the end disintegrated during cleaning.

<sup>106</sup> Colonial Williamsburg archeological collection. No. 2 287-OC.

<sup>107</sup> See Louis R. Caywood, *Green Spring Plantation*, archeological report, Washington, D.C., U.S. National Park Service, 1955, pl. 9.

<sup>108</sup> William Byrd, *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712* (edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tilling Richmond, 1941), entry for December 29, 1709.

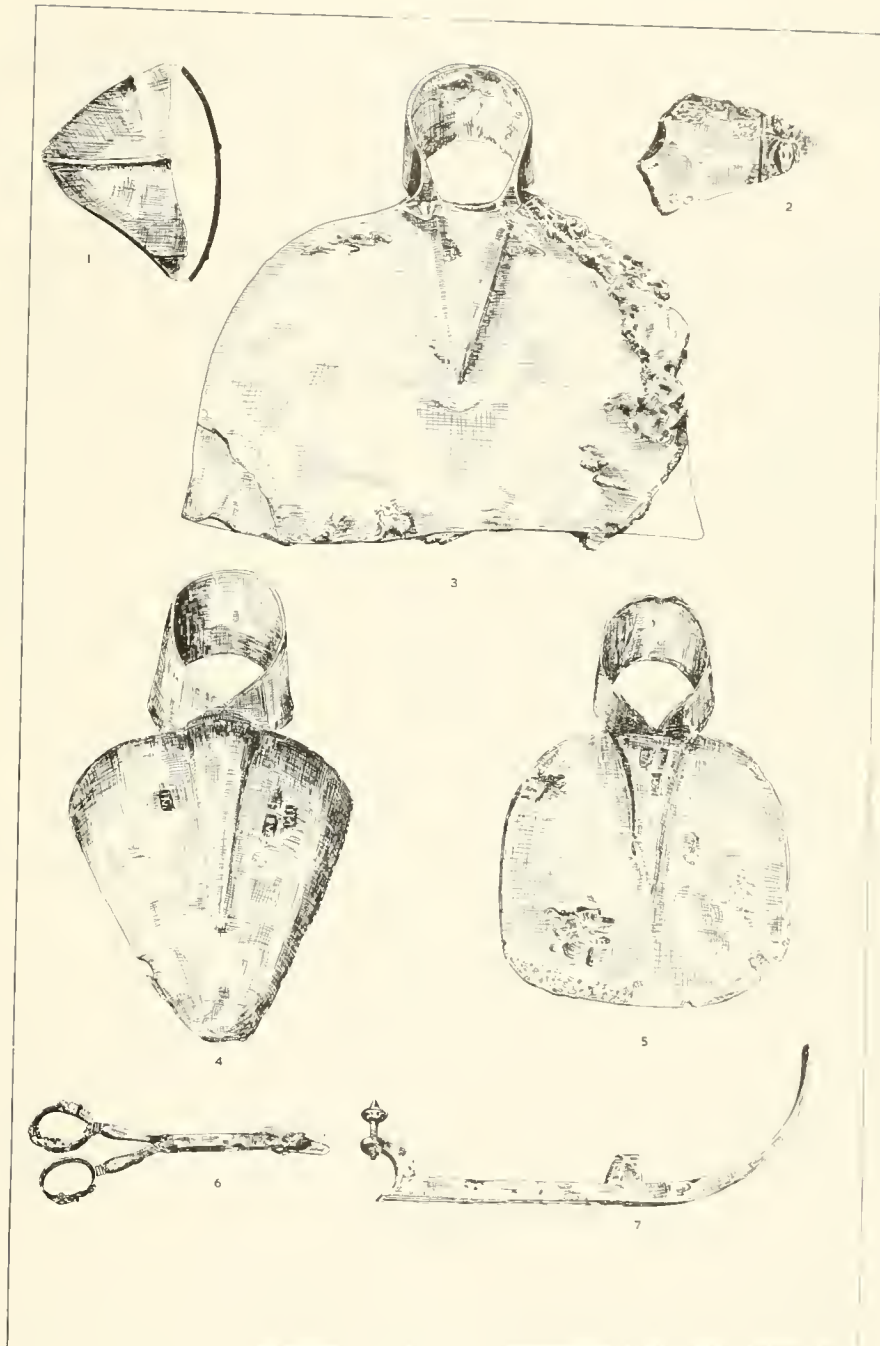


FIGURE 37.- Hoes, scissors, iron ice skate, etc. One-fourth.

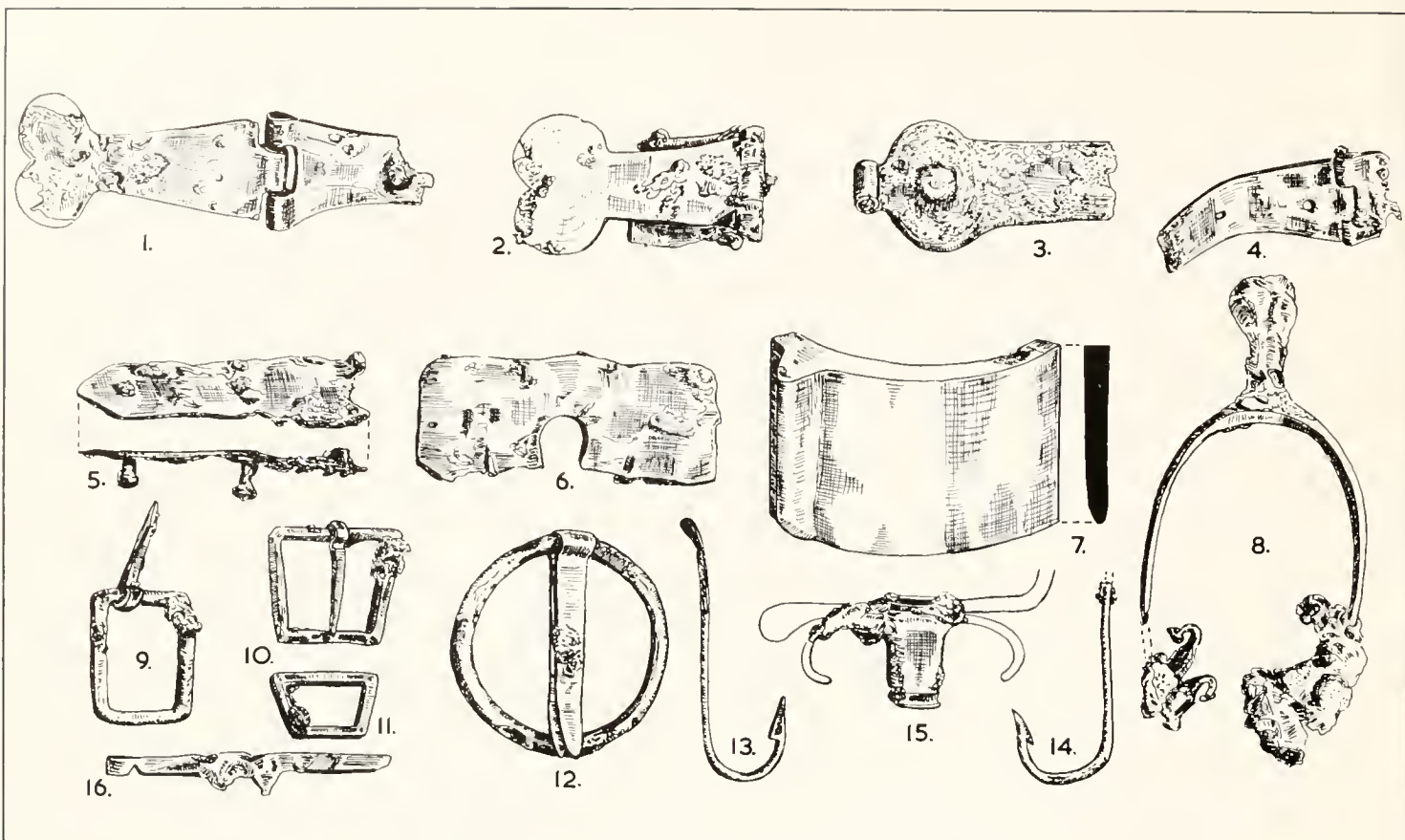


FIGURE 38.—Iron hinges, buckles, fish hooks, etc. One-half.

7. Nave-sleeve from wheel. Iron; fragment only; internal diameter 3 inches; wall  $\frac{5}{16}$  inch thick at one end, tapering to a weak V at the other; retaining lug flush with the thick end and curving before reaching the tapered end. 18th century. C1. Another example, without the tapering wall, had an internal diameter of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches. 18th century. G2.

8. Spur. Iron; rowel and T-shaped fastenings much decayed; the sides flat on the inside and convex on the outside; width of heel approximately  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches. 18th century. E4.

9. Harness buckle. Iron; square-sectioned; the pointed tang flattened at the junction end and wrapped round the frame; frame thickness approximately  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch. 18th century. P2.

10. Harness buckle. Iron; the frame round-sectioned at the tang side, the other sides of frame flattened and slightly angled; the tang pointed, flattened at the junction end, and wrapped round the frame. Surface.

11. Harness buckle or leather junction. Iron; four-sided; one side round-sectioned and the others square. Surface.

12. Harness buckle. Iron; the ring round-sectioned; tang fashioned from a strip of iron pinched round the frame with its ends of equal length and both cut to a point, the two ends springing apart after passing through the hole in the leather. Surface.

13. Fish hook. Iron; single barb at the point; end of shank flattened and spreading but without any pierced hole; much decayed, but the shank probably was about 3 to 4 mm. thick. 18th century. L2.

14. Fish hook. Iron; similar to the above, but the point and barb more gracefully curved; top of the shank missing; surviving portion approximately 4 mm. thick. 18th century. L2.

15. Quillon sleeve from small sword. See fig. 21, no. 14.

16. Bolt from light cabinet lock. Iron; 2 mm. thick. 18th century. N2.