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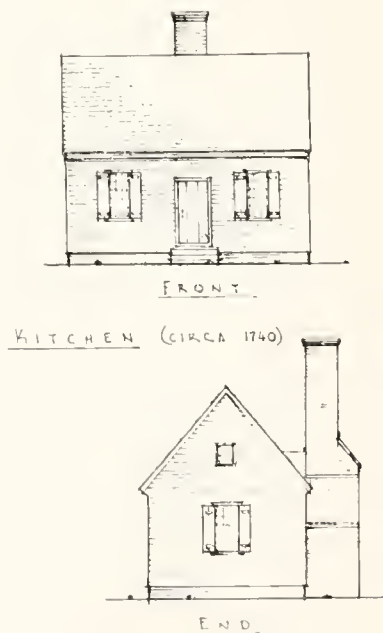
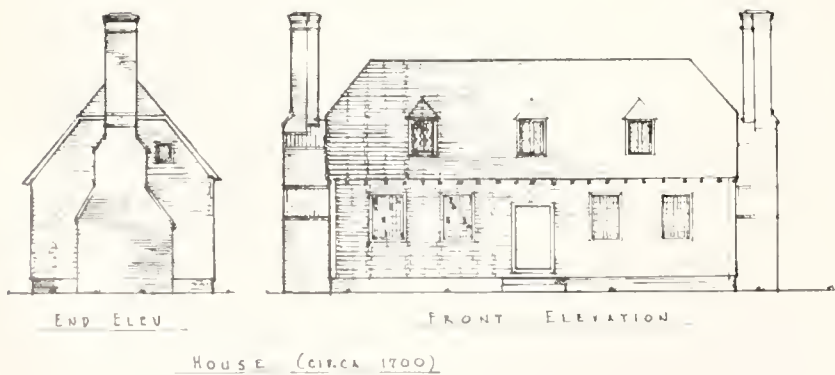
EXCAVATIONS AT TUTTER'S NECK
IN JAMES CITY COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1960-1961

Ivor Noël Hume

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FIGURE 1. *Top:* HYPOTHETICAL ELEVATIONS based on foundations discovered on Tutter's Neck site. *Bottom:* Conjectural reconstruction based on elevations of the Tutter's Neck site, about 1740. Elevations by E. M. Frank, director of architecture, Colonial Williamsburg; conjectural drawings by R. Stinley.



Excavations at

TUTTER'S NECK

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Land clearance for reforestation of property leased from Williamsburg Restoration, Inc., resulted in the exposure of numerous fragments of early 18th-century pottery and glass. Partial excavation of the site, known as Tutter's Neck, revealed foundations of a small colonial dwelling and outbuilding, both of which had ceased to exist by about 1750.

This paper describes and analyzes the artifacts recovered from refuse pits on the site. These artifacts, which have been given to the Smithsonian Institution, are closely dated by context and are valuable in the general study of domestic life in early 18th-century Virginia.

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IN THE SUMMER of 1959 the Chesapeake Corporation undertook land-clearance operations prior to reforestation on property leased from Williamsburg Restoration, Inc., lying to the east of College Creek, which runs into the James River below Jamestown Island (see fig. 2). In the course of this work the foundations of a small and hitherto unrecorded

colonial residence were bulldozed and largely destroyed. In the spring of 1960, Mr. Alden Eaton, director of landscape construction and maintenance for Colonial Williamsburg, while walking over the razed area, picked up numerous fragments of early 18th-century pottery and glass which he later brought to the writer for identification. As the result of this

find a survey of the site was undertaken, and two colonial foundations were located and partially excavated.¹

The area available for study was limited by the need to cause as little disturbance as possible to the newly planted seedlings, by a shortage of time and labor, and by the remarkable speed with which the ground became overgrown with locust trees and infested by mayflies and mosquitoes. The location of the excavation area, nearly a mile from the nearest road, and off a track pitted with mud-filled depressions, made access impossible during most of the winter months; consequently, work was possible only in the spring and fall of 1960. By the summer of 1961 both the approach and the site itself had become completely overgrown.

Regardless of these limitations it was possible to obtain full details of the surviving remains of both the dwelling and its associated kitchen, as well as recovering a number of informative groups of domestic artifacts from trash pits under and around the latter structure. Fortunately, the presence of seal-adorned wine bottles in two pits provided data that led to the identification of one of the owners of the property, and thence to a reconstruction of the history of the site in general.

It should be noted that whereas the colonial artifacts that have been excavated from Marlborough

¹ I am indebted to Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., for permitting the partial excavation of the site, for its generosity in offering to present the bulk of the artifact collection to the United States National Museum, and for its financial assistance in the preparation of this report. I am also much indebted to Audrey Noël Hume and John Dunton who represented the full extent of our field team, and to the latter for his work in the preservation of the iron and other small finds. My gratitude is also extended to A. E. Kendrew, senior vice president of Colonial Williamsburg, and to E. M. Frank, resident architect, the late S. P. Moorehead, architectural consultant, and Paul Buchanan, all of Colonial Williamsburg, for their help in the interpretation of the architectural remains. Further thanks are extended to Thaddeus Tate of the College of William and Mary for his valued council throughout the operation and for reading and commenting on the final report. I also greatly appreciate comments made by C. Malcolm Watkins, curator of cultural history at the Smithsonian Institution, in regard to the European artifacts; the help with the Indian material provided by Ben G. McCary, president of the Archeological Society of Virginia; and suggestions for historical sources made by H. G. [unclear] the archivist, North Carolina. Finally, my thanks are due to Alden Eaton who first found the site and without whose interest another relic of Virginia's colonial past would have been lost.

and Rosewell provide a useful range of household items of the middle and third quarters of the 18th century, respectively, the Tutter's Neck material belongs only to the first 40 years of that century, with the emphasis largely upon the first decade. This last is a phase of Tidewater archeology about which little is known, falling as it does after the end of the Jamestown era and at the beginning of the Williamsburg period. Although, of course, Williamsburg was already being built at the turn of the century, so intensive was the occupation in the following 75 years that few archeological deposits of the city's early days have remained undisturbed. The fact that the Tutter's Neck site was abandoned before 1750, and never again occupied, consequently enhances its archeological importance.

Location of the Site

The site lies on a steeply sloping promontory at the junction of Kingsmill and Tutter's Neck Creeks, which flow as Halfway Creek into College Creek approximately 1,050 yards to the west. The house stood on the crown of the slope facing west, some 260 yards from the junction of the creeks, and thus possessed a commanding position. Perhaps, at that time, there was a clear view of all vessels passing up College Creek—the main waterway to Williamsburg from the James River. As the crow flew, the house stood approximately three miles from Williamsburg, but by road the route was close to four miles to the eastern edge of the town.

While the largest ships generally unloaded their cargoes at landings on the James, the smaller vessels would often carry their cargoes up College Creek to College Landing, about a mile and a quarter from Williamsburg. It seems reasonable to suppose that Halfway Creek was also navigable for these vessels on the high tide. In view of the fact that the curve of the creek's main stream today touches the southern edge of Tutter's Neck, it is likely that a landing existed there in the 18th century. However, no traces of such a landing are now visible.

History of the Site

There was no known record of the existence of the houses when the Chesapeake Corporation stripped the site in 1959. The only colonial map of the area, the so-called Desandrouin map of 1781 (fig. 4), shows the neck covered by thick woodland, but indicates two or more buildings some distance to the

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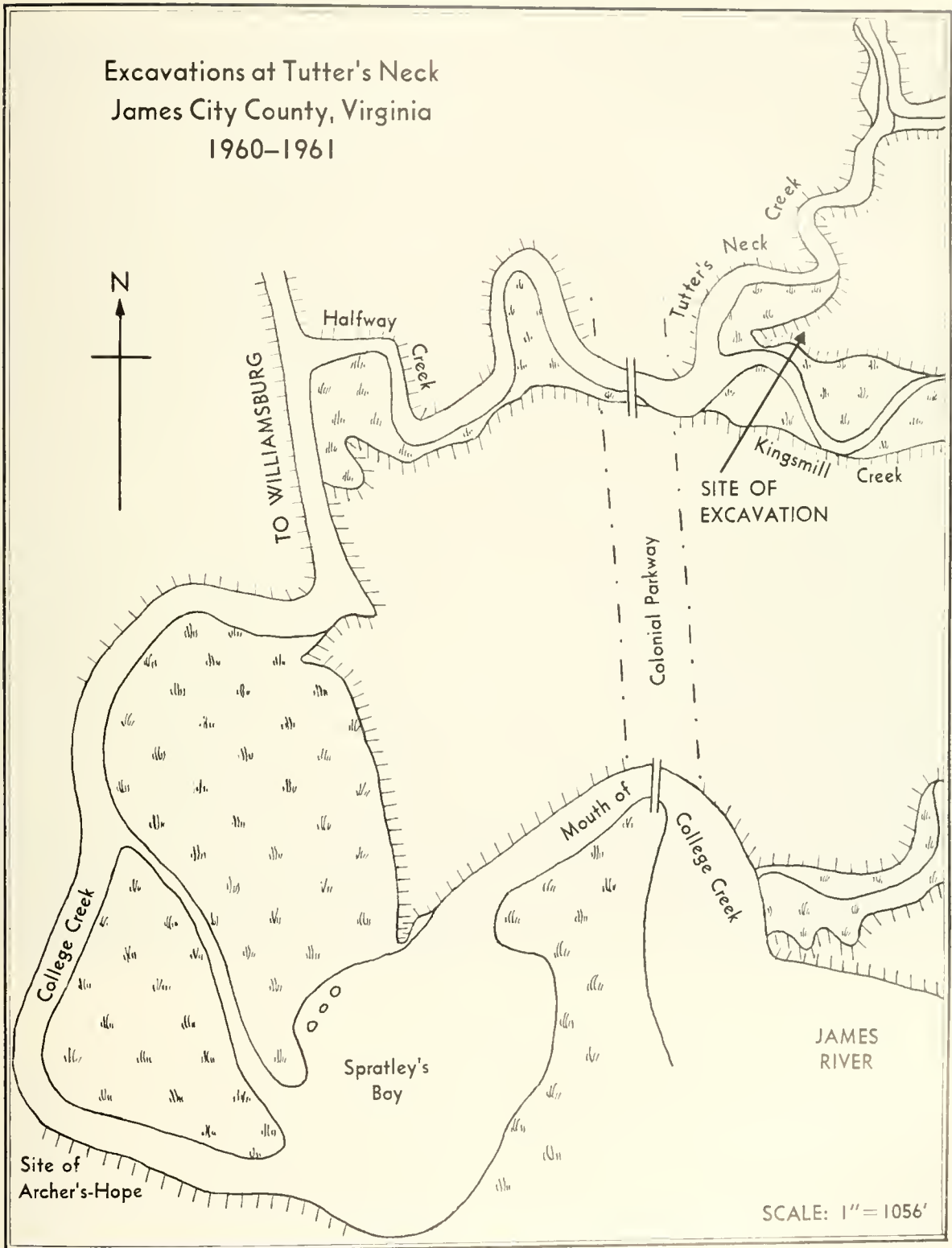


FIGURE 2.—THE TUTTER'S NECK SITE IN RELATION TO COLLEGE CREEK AND THE JAMES RIVER.



FIGURE 3. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH of Tutter's Neck taken soon after bulldozing and before the Jones site (arrow) was found. Photo courtesy City of Williamsburg.

east. These sites also lay within the bulldozed area, but, paradoxically, no traces of these have been found. Comparison of the Desandrouin map with the aerial photograph (fig. 3) will show that a small, marsh-flanked stream flowed across the back of the Neck in the 18th century and emptied into Kingsmill Creek. This stream has since silted up and has cut a new channel that causes it to open into Tutter's Neck Creek to the north of the house site.

The Desandrouin map suggests that the buildings on Tutter's Neck had ceased to exist by 1781, and this conjecture is supported by the artifacts from the site, none of which date later than mid-century. Considerable difficulty in establishing the lifespan of the house and outbuilding has resulted in part from the fact that any evidence for a terminus ante quem had been stripped away by the bulldozing and in part from the absence of any maps that identify this



FIGURE 4.—DETAIL OF COLONEL DESANDROUIN'S MAP OF 1781. Arrow indicates Jones site.

promontory as Tutter's Neck. Indeed the entire premise is built upon the discovery of wine-bottle seals in one refuse pit beneath the kitchen chimney and in another approximately 125 feet southeast of the house. These seals, bearing the initials "F F," were identified as having belonged to Frederick Jones, who later became Chief Justice of North Carolina. The identification was arrived at on the evidence of the will of David Bray, of James City County, that was contested in 1732. In the legal action, reference was made to ". . . one message,² plantation, piece or parcel of land," known as Tutties Neck, or "three hundred acres, more or less, lying and being in the

² "Message, in Common law, is used for a dwelling-house, with Garden, Courtilage, Orchard, and all other things belonging to it" (E. PHILLIPS, *The New World of Words*, London, 1671).

parish of Bruton." This land was stated to have been purchased by Bray's mother, Judith Bray, from Frederick Jones; it then was obtained by John Randolph and passed by him in exchange to Thomas Bray.³

Thus we know that Frederick Jones had owned a 300-acre tract known as Tutties Neck. Consequently, the discovery of bottle seals bearing the initials "F F" in the vicinity of a "message" at the mouth of Tutter's Neck Creek was not without significance. Further corroboration was provided by a letter of 1721 from Frederick Jones to his brother Thomas, in Williamsburg, regarding the incorrect marking of

³ WILLIAM WALLER HENING, *Statutes at Large . . . A Collection of All the Laws of Virginia . . .*, vol. 4 (Richmond, 1820), p. 371

merchandise on the former's account "marked by mistake F 4." ⁴ It was common practice for plantation owners to use the same shipping marks that they used for their wine-bottle seals, and therefore it may be assumed that Jones also owned bottles bearing the initials "F 4."

Having established with reasonable certainty that the site in question was the "Tutties Neck" that had been purchased by Judith Bray from Frederick Jones, the next step was to attempt to piece together the history of the site both before and after that transaction. Unfortunately, during the Civil War the James City County records were removed for safe-keeping to Richmond where they were destroyed. This loss makes any research into the early documentary history of the county extremely difficult, and in many cases well nigh impossible. Source material must be drawn from family papers and from passing references in the records of other counties. Although the history of Tutter's Neck has many significant facts missing, it is surprising that the record is as full as it is.

The first reference occurs in 1632 (or 1642) when mention is made of "great neck at the barren neck, next adjoining to Tutties neck, a branch of Archers hope creek." ⁵ Similar references to "Tutteys" neck and "lutteyes" neck occurred in 1637 ⁶ and in 1646. ⁷ Later, in 1679, a deed of sale from Edward

Gray to William South of Gloucester County refers to a parcel of land at "Tuttis Neck." ⁸ The same spelling was used in 1682 in the will of Otho Thorpe, of the Parish of All Hallows at the Wall in London, who left to his cousin John Grice and Grice's two elder children his plantation in Virginia called "Tuttis Neck." ⁹ John Grice is recorded as having been a justice in James City County in 1685 and 1694. ¹⁰

No further references to Tutter's Neck are to be found until 1711 when Frederick Jones obtained 100 acres commonly called "Lutties neck," ¹¹ escheated land, ¹² from one Mathew Brown. It is at this point that we run into trouble, for the contents of the pits in which the Jones bottles were found included many items of the late 17th century and none dating later than the first decade of the 18th century. The pit beneath the kitchen chimney also contained a bottle bearing the seal of Richard Burbydge and dated 1701. ¹³ The inference, therefore, was that Frederick Jones was on the site during the first years of the 18th century. Jones came from England in 1702, ¹⁴ having inherited considerable estates from his father, Capt. Roger Jones. In 1704 he is shown in the Virginia Quit Rent Rolls as possessing 300 acres in James City County, 500 acres in New Kent County, and 2,850 acres in King William

⁴ Papers of the Jones Family of Northumberland County, Virginia, 1649-1889 (MSS. Division, Library of Congress), vol. 1.

⁵ "Patents Issued During the Royal Government," *William and Mary College Quarterly* (January 1901), ser. 1, vol. 9, no. 3, p. 143. In the 17th century prior to the building of the College of William and Mary, College Creek was known as Archer's Hope Creek, after the settlement of Archer's Hope at its mouth.

⁶ There was a patent dated February 6, 1637, to "Humphry Higgenson" for 700 acres "called by the name of Tutteys neck, adj. to Harrop . . . E. S. E. upon a gr. swamp parting it from Harrop land, W. S. W. upon a br. of Archers hope Cr. parting it from Kingsmells neck, W. N. W. upon another br. of sd. Cr. parting it from land of Richard Brewsters called by the name of the great neck alias the barren neck & N. N. W into the maine woods." Richard Brewster's 500 acres were described as beginning "at the great Neck alias the barren neck, adj. to Tutteys Neck a br. of Archers hope Cr. parting the same, S. upon a br. of sd. Cr. parting it from Kingsmells Neck . . . Cavaliers and pioacers. *Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants 1623-1800*, abstracted and edited by Neil M. Nugent (Richmond: Dietz Printing Co., 1934), vol. 1, pp. 80, 81.

On July 19, 1646, a patent was granted to Richard Brewster 100 (75) acres, Land & Marsh, called the great Neck of Barren Neck next adjoining to lutteyes neck." "Patents Issued . . ." *William and Mary College Quarterly* (July 1901), ser. 1, vol. 10, no. 1, p. 57.

⁸ "Notes from Records of York County," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (July 1924), vol. 6, no. 1, p. 61.

⁹ "Virginia Gleanings in England," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (October 1904), vol. 12, no. 2, p. 179.

¹⁰ "List of Colonial Officers," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January 1901), vol. 8, no. 3, p. 328; and "Lightfoot Family," *William and Mary College Quarterly* (October 1894), ser. 1, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 104.

¹¹ "Patents Issued . . .," *William and Mary College Quarterly* (January 1904), ser. 1, vol. 12, no. 3, p. 186. For similar spelling see note 7, above.

¹² "Escheat, in Common-law, signifieth lands that fall to a Lord within his Manour, by forfeiture, or the death of his Tenant without Heirs; it cometh from the French word Escheire, to fall" (PHILLIPS, *New World of Words*).

¹³ On August 14, 1710, Richard Burbydge was among those who signed a report on the inspection of the vessel *Jamaica Merchant*, lying at anchor in the upper district of the James River, at the precept of Governor Spotswood. The inspectors were sworn by Capt. John Geddes, a justice of the peace for James County. (*Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts, 1652-1781*, edit. Wm. P. Palmer, M.D., Richmond, 1875, vol. 1, p. 141.) This is the only reference to Burbydge that has been found.

¹⁴ L. H. JONES, *Captain Robert Jones of London and Virginia* (Albany, 1891), p. 34.

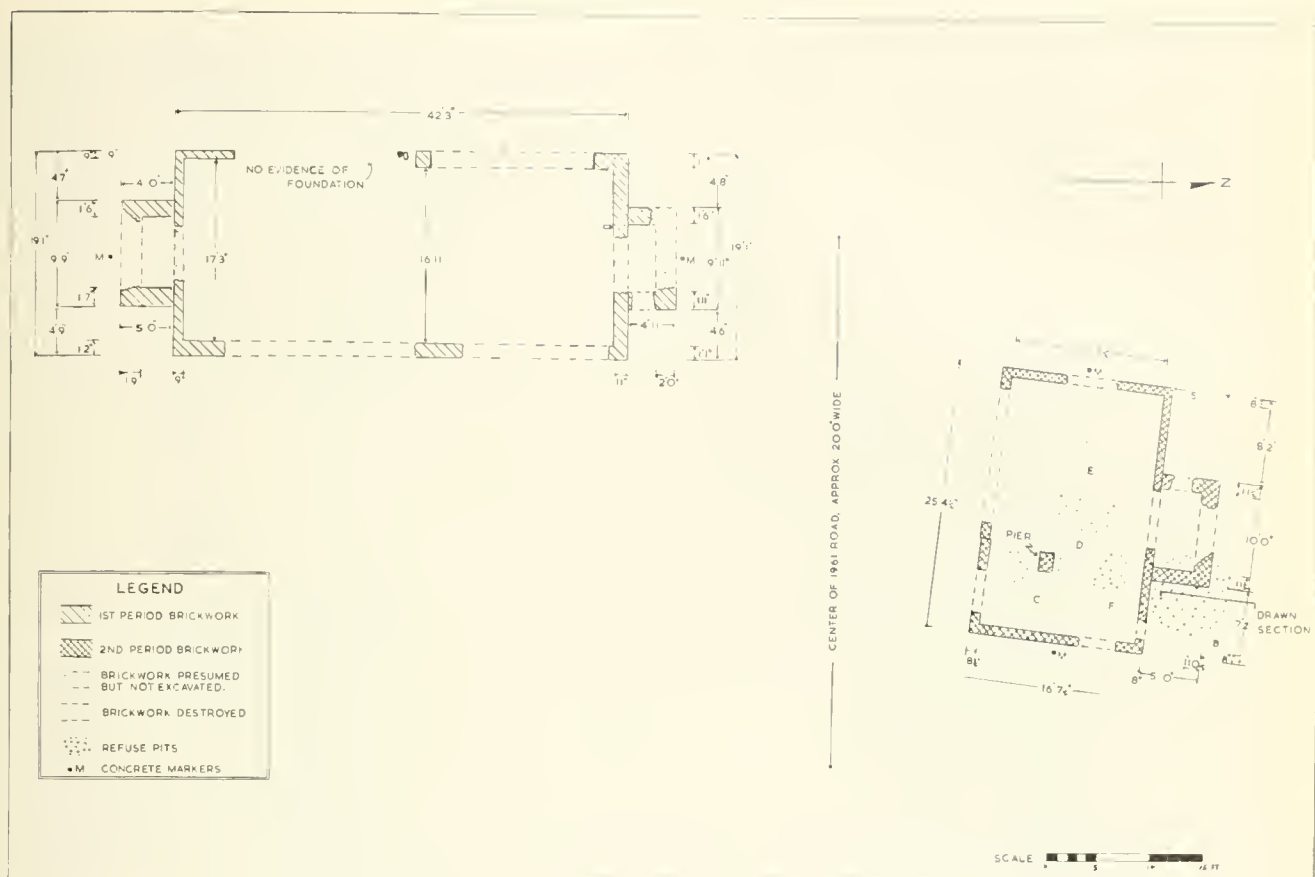


FIGURE 5.—PLAN of excavated features.

County.¹⁵ Were it not for the purchase of 1711, it would be reasonable to assume that the 300 acres in James City County were the same that Jones sold to Judith Bray at some unspecified date prior to 1722, the year of his death.

We know that as early as 1703 Frederick Jones had interests in North Carolina, because it was in that year that one Jeremiah Goodridg brought suit against him and he was then described as "late of London."¹⁶ In 1707 Jones received a grant of 4,565 acres in what are now Jones and Craven Counties in North Carolina.¹⁷ At that time he was living in or near Wil-

liamsburg—presumably on his 300 acres in James City County; in 1705 he was a vestryman of the Parish of Bruton with its church in Williamsburg,¹⁸ and in the same year both he and David Bray were listed as being among the directors for the building of Williamsburg.¹⁹ It would seem that he was a man of consequence in the county at that time.

Among the papers of the Jones family are indentures dated 1708 transferring property in both King William and New Kent Counties from Frederick to his brother Thomas Jones,²⁰ and it may well be construed that this transfer occurred at the time that Frederick moved to North Carolina. In the same year his plantation in Chowan Precinct, North

¹⁵ "Virginia Quit Rent Rolls, 1704," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 31, no. 2 (April 1923), p. 157; vol. 31, no. 3 (July 1923), p. 222; vol. 32, no. 1 (January 1924), p. 72.

¹⁶ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, edit. William L. Saunders (Raleigh 1886), vol. 1, p. 590.

¹⁷ ALONZO T. DILL, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *North Carolina Historical Review* (January 1945), vol. 22, no. 1, p. 18.

¹⁸ "Bruton Church," *William and Mary College Quarterly* (January 1895), ser. 1, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 180.

¹⁹ HENING, *Saturday in Large*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia, 1823), p. 431.

²⁰ Papers of the Jones Family . . . , vol. 1.



FIGURE 6.—FREDERICK JONES' WINE-BOTTLE SEALS showing matrix variations: 1, initials from single matrix, with right side of "F" poorly formed (same die as fig. 7, left); 2, initials from separate matrices, with large serifs on "F" and small serifs on "J"; 3-5, initials from separate matrices, with small serifs on both letters; 6, 7, initials from separate matrices, with heavy serifs on both letters. Seal 5 came from Pit A; all others from Pit B. The use of single-letter matrices suggests a 17th-century date for the bottles' manufacture, while the presence of various die combinations makes it probable that the bottles were not all made at the same time. It is likely that the bottles were among Jones' possessions when he emigrated to Virginia in 1702.

Carolina, described as "land whereon the church now stands" was chosen as the site for a glebe.²¹ This is presumably the same Chowan County plantation on which Jones died in 1722.

²¹ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 1, p. 680.

In 1711 Frederick Jones and others residing in North Carolina appealed to Governor Spotswood of Virginia for help against the Indians.²² In the same year his name again occurs on an address to Spotswood

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 837, 838.



FIGURE 7.—WINE BOTTLES of Frederick Jones and Richard Burbydge, from Pit B. For scale see figure 19.

concerning Colonel Cary's rebellion.²³ Almost a year to the day later, he is recorded as applying at a council meeting for the return of salt carried from his house ostensibly for "Supporting y^e Garrisons."²⁴ In July 1712 Jones acquired an additional 490 acres in North Carolina.²⁵ All of this evidence points to his being well settled in his new home by 1712.

The colony of North Carolina developed more slowly than did Virginia. The first permanent English settlement in North Carolina was on the Chowan River in about 1653, with the population being drawn from Virginia. In 1663 the settled area north of Albemarle Sound became Albemarle County, when Charles II granted the territory to eight proprietors,

in whose families it remained until an act of Parliament in 1729 established an agreement with seven of them (the eighth refused to sell) and thus turned the territory into a royal colony. Consequently, when Jones moved south, North Carolina was still in its infancy, a haven for piracy and beset by private feuds and troublesome Indians. In the years 1711-1712 occurred an Indian uprising of proportions comparable to those that had threatened the life of the Virginia Colony 90 years before.²⁶ It was this massacre of 1712 and its effect on the Jones family that occasioned the foregoing apparent digression into the early history of North Carolina.

The war with the Tuscarora Indians had begun in

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 787.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 866.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 864.

²⁶ HUGH T. LEFLER AND ALBERT R. NEWSOME, *The History of a Southern State, North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), pp. 56-60.

1711 at about the time that Jones and his neighbors had appealed to Virginia for aid, and it was not to end until 1713 when the greater part of the defeated tribe moved north to New York to become the sixth part of the Iroquois Confederation. In October 1712 Jones' plantation was attacked; but in a letter from the president of the council, Pollock, to the Governor of South Carolina, it was stated that the attackers were "... beat off, none killed of our people."²⁷ Although there was no loss of life, it would appear that the effect on Jones' plantation was considerable.

In the Journal of the House of Burgesses at Williamsburg it was recorded that on November 5, 1712, "Frederick Jones, who some years ago removed two slaves out of this colony into North Carolina, his plantation having been totally ruined by the hostilities there; asks permission to bring his said negroes back again without paying duty."²⁸ Although the petition was granted, there is no indication that Jones did, in fact, return. The important phrase in this notice of petition is the "who some years ago," for it seems probable that this refers to the time when Jones left James City County to settle in North Carolina. Working on the assumption that "some years ago" would be unlikely to refer to a period of time short of three or four years, it can be construed that the date of removal fell in 1708 or 1709 at the latest.

However the evidence is interpreted, it still remains curious that Jones should have purchased the 100 acres of "Lutties Neck" in 1711 and that he should sell a 300-acre tract known as "Tutties Neck" to Judith Bray, when in fact he appears to have possessed a total of 400 acres in James City County, only one of which is known to bear a name resembling Tutter's or Tutties' Neck. The only reasonable construction must be that Mathew Brown's escheated acres adjoined 300 acres that already constituted Tutter's Neck. But even then there remains the problem of why only "by estimation, three hundred acres, more or less"²⁹ were sold to Mrs. Bray. No evidence has been found to show what became of the remaining 100 acres, and the only Virginia property mentioned in Frederick Jones' will of April 9, 1722, was described

as "lying in King William County in Virginia, commonly called Horns Quarter."³⁰

It is unfortunate that the direst gap in the documentary evidence spans much the same period as does the archeological data. However, the genealogy of the Bray family is of some assistance, providing clues even if it cannot offer direct answers. When Thomas Bray died on August 2, 1751, he was described as "Col. Thomas Bray, of 'Little Town,' next to 'Kingsmill,' on James River."³¹ That property, lying to the east of the Kingsmill tract, can be traced back as far as 1636, and it is known to have been owned by the Pettus family in the latter part of the 17th century.³² In about 1697 James Bray, son of James Bray, Sr., of Middle Plantation (later Williamsburg) married Mourning, widow of Thomas Pettus, Jr., and so acquired the "Little Town," or "Littletown," tract.³³ This James Bray had three children, of whom Thomas was the eldest and thus became heir to his father's estate.

James Bray, Jr., had two brothers (as well as a sister). The eldest son, Thomas, died intestate. David, the youngest of the three, married Judith (b. 1679, d. Oct. 26, 1720), by whom he had one son, David, Jr.,³⁴ who married Elizabeth Page (b. 1702, d. 1734) and had no heir. The previously discussed transaction of 1732 following the death of David Bray, Jr., whereby Thomas Bray obtained the "Tuttie's Neck" acres that had been purchased at an unspecified date by Judith Bray,³⁵ would suggest that Frederick Jones retained the title until 1717. This may be deduced on the grounds that Mrs. Bray would have been unlikely to have purchased land while her husband, David Bray, Sr., was still alive. Thus Jones would seem to have sold Tutter's Neck between 1717 and 1720 when Judith Bray died.

Thomas Bray, as stated above, lived at Littletown, and there is no likelihood that he ever resided at

³⁰ Papers of the Jones Family . . . , vol. 1.

³¹ "Diary of John Blair. Copied from an Almanac for 1751, Preserved in Virginia Historical Society," *William and Mary College Quarterly* (January 1899), ser. 1, vol. 7, no. 3, p. 151, note 2.

³² CONWAY ROBINSON, "Notes from Council and General Court Records," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (October 1906), vol. 14, no. 2, p. 188, note 3.

³³ "Bray Family," *William and Mary College Quarterly* (April 1905), ser. 1, vol. 13, no. 4, p. 266.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ HENING, *Statutes at Large*, vol. 4 (Richmond, 1820), p. 371.

Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 1, p. 864.

²⁷ Notes from the Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1712-1713, *William and Mary College Quarterly* (April 1913), ser. 1, vol. 11, no. 4, p. 249.

²⁸ *Statutes at Large*, vol. 4 (Richmond, 1820), p. 371.

Tutter's Neck. He married Elizabeth Meriwether and by her had one child, a daughter named Elizabeth who married Col. Philip Johnson.³⁶ The daughter died in 1765, and when her husband followed her in 1769 "six hundred acres, with the appurtenances, called and known by the name of Tutty's neck" were offered at auction.³⁷ It was presumably at this time that the Tutter's Neck land was added to the neighboring Kingsmill plantation of Lewis Burwell. William Allen, of Surry County, purchased Littleton in 1796, and in 1801 he added Kingsmill to his holdings along, one supposes, with Tutter's Neck; for in the inventory made at Allen's death in 1832 the latter property was listed as comprising 923 acres and valued at \$2,330.00.³⁸

As the archeological site under consideration was not occupied beyond the colonial period, there is no need to pursue its history through the 19th century. It is enough to note that Tutter's Neck is included in parcel no. 4 of the Kingsmill Tract now owned by Williamsburg Restoration, Inc. Part of this parcel is leased to the Chesapeake Corporation through whose courtesy excavation was made possible.

CAPTAIN ROGER JONES AND FREDERICK JONES

The discovery of the Tutter's Neck site and its artifacts associated with Frederick Jones arouses interest in the man himself and his place in colonial America. While those facets of his career directly relating to Tutter's Neck have been outlined above, a few additional facts may serve to round out our picture of the man.

In 1680 Capt. Roger Jones of London came to Virginia with Lord Culpeper and was given the task of suppressing piracy in Chesapeake Bay. His efforts in this direction resulted in considerable personal gain and he was able to amass extensive Virginia property. Eventually Roger Jones' activities caused so many complaints that he relinquished his office and returned to London. In 1692 a letter of petition from the Council of Virginia to the Earl of Nottingham, King William's principal Secretary of State,

complained bitterly about the ravages by pirates to ships carrying supplies to the colony and in particular about the conduct of Roger Jones. This petition, signed by Francis Nicholson and others of the Council, contained the following enlightening passage:

... Capt Roger Jones, some time an Inhabitant of this Country, but at present residing in London. A man that, from noething, pretends in a few years to have gained a great Estate, & since he has declared his disaffection to y^e Ma^{ty} before his leaving this Country, by refusing to serve in any office, or take the usuall Oaths we pray yo^r Lord^{ty} leave to give you his true character. He came into this Country a souldier under the L. Culpeper; was by his Ld^{ty} made Captaine of a small sloop^e w^h was to have been furnished with twelve men, & was ordered to cruise in our great Bay, to look out for & seize all unlawfull Trad^{rs}, &c. But y^e Captaine having learnt to cheate y^e King very early, never had above 8 men, altho he constantly received pay for 12 men, for w^h y^e Lord Culpeper endeavoured to call him to Acct., as well as for his adviseing, trading with & sheltering severall Pyrates & unlawfull Traders, instead of doeing his duty in seizing them. By which means ye sd. Jones laid ye foundation of his p'sent great Estate, as he gives out he is master of."³⁹

In 1701 Roger Jones died in Stepney, London, and was buried at Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, the home of his wife Dorothy (née Walker) by whom he had two sons. The elder son, Frederick, inherited the larger share of the estate,⁴⁰ and both he and his brother Thomas arrived in Virginia in 1702. Thomas remained in the colony throughout his life, but, as already shown, Frederick decided that North Carolina was more to his liking. In about 1708 Frederick disposed of most of his Virginia holdings and moved south, taking with him at least two Negro slaves and his wife Jane, whom he had married while in Williamsburg.⁴¹

There is no doubt that Frederick Jones prospered in North Carolina, and in 1717 he was appointed Chief Justice for the colony,⁴² replacing the previous Secretary and Chief Justice, Tobias Knight, who had resigned in disgrace. The latter had made the mistake of being too open an accomplice of Edward "Blackbeard" Teach, the pirate. There is reason to

³⁶ "Bray Family," pp. 266-267.

³⁷ HENING, *Statutes at Large*, vol. 8 (Richmond, 1821), pp. 460-464.

³⁸ Inventory of William Allen, in Surry County Wills, no. 6. 1830-1834, pp. 341-344.

³⁹ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. 1, p. 39.

⁴⁰ The will of Roger Jones is preserved in the Public Records Office in London, but it is published in full in L. H. JONES, *Captain Robert Jones*, pp. 196-200.

⁴¹ L. H. JONES, *Captain Robert Jones*, p. 34.

⁴² DILL, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," p. 18.

suppose that even if Governor Eden did not personally profit from Teach's activities, he was fully aware that the pirate made his winter quarters in a North Carolina inlet. Teach was not finally cornered until November 22, 1718, in the famous exploit of Lieutenant Maynard off Ocracoke Inlet.⁴³ Jones had by then been in office for at least a year and he was doubtless aware of the Governor's sympathies. Indeed, with his own father's example to guide him, Jones was clearly an excellent choice for Chief Justice if leniency towards piracy was a prerequisite for the job. Although there is no evidence that Jones profited from Blackbeard's operations, the records show that he was quite prepared to turn the trust of his office to his own advantage. In the end it was a comparatively small manipulation that proved his undoing.

In 1721 one Daniel Mack Daniel murdered, by drowning, a certain Ebanazar Taylor and carried off his goods and money to a total of £290.0.0d. When Mack Daniel was apprehended the money was passed for safekeeping to Frederick Jones, who apparently pocketed it. On April 4, 1722, the following entry appeared in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*:⁴⁴

It's the Opinion of this Board that the money lodged in the said Coll^o ffred^k Jones hands late Chief Justice for the appearance of Robert Atkins and Daniel Mackdaniel at the Gen^l Court ought to have been deliver^d to the present Chief Justice with the Gen^l Court Papers & Records.

Order^d that the said Coll^o ffredrick Jones late Chief Justice doe immediately pay to Christopher Gale Chief Justice or his Order whatever moneys he has in his hands lodged as aforesaid . . . in case of failure hereof the Attorney Gen^l is hereby Order^d to take proper measures for the recovery thereof.

At the session of July 31 to August 4, 1722, Jones was due to appear to answer the charge that he had failed to relinquish the money. But when the session opened, it was reported that Colonel Jones was dead.⁴⁵ He had made his will only five days after the initial order of April 4 had been issued.⁴⁶

Frederick Jones was in many respects a worthy and upright member of the North Carolina Council, or so one would gather from the opinion of Hugh Jones

(no relation), who wrote: "Col. Frederick Jones, one of the Council, and in a good post, and of a good estate in North Carolina, before his death applied to me, desiring me to communicate the deplorable state of their Church to the late Bishop of London."⁴⁷ Frederick Jones presumably thought no better of the state of education in the colony, for we know that in the period 1719-1721 two of his sons were at school in Williamsburg.⁴⁸

The Excavation

As stated in the introduction, the area and intensity of the excavations were limited by time and prevailing local conditions. Being aware of these restrictions from the outset, no attempt was made to undertake the total clearance of either the residence or kitchen. Instead, carefully restricted cuttings were made across the foundations to obtain the maximum information with the minimum effort, at the same time retaining sufficiently large undisturbed areas to merit total clearance of the site at some future date. As the area is now covered by fast-growing trees it is unlikely that such an operation would be feasible within the next 15 or 20 years. In the meantime, however, Colonial Williamsburg has erected concrete markers (see fig. 5) to record the positions of both buildings.⁴⁹ No excavation of any sort would have been undertaken at this time had not the foundations been so extensively and irreparably mutilated by the 1959 bulldozing. The loss of all the topsoil and the scooping of the upper courses of the foundations into banks to serve as windbreaks had done such damage that it was essential that something be done before the new growth took hold.⁵⁰ The operation should

⁴⁷ HUGH JONES, *The Present State of Virginia* [1724], edit Richard L. Morton (Virginia Historical Society, 1956), p. 104

⁴⁸ "The Cocke Family of Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (October 1897), vol. 5, no. 2, p. 192.

⁴⁹ Two concrete fenceposts have been set up on the north-south axis of the residence, the posts being driven immediately beyond the respective chimney foundations. Two additional posts have been erected on the east-west axis of the kitchen.

⁵⁰ As the work progressed, access to the site became increasingly difficult, necessitating the abandoning of transport farther and farther from the scene of operations. However, in the winter of 1960-1961, after all save the last trench had been dug, the Chesapeake Corporation crew drove a new road through the neck, a road which in fact cut right through the middle of the archeological area. By great good fortune the road passed between the two buildings without doing much more damage than had already been done by the earlier bulldozing.

⁴³ SAMUEL A. ASHLE, *History of North Carolina* (Greensboro: C. L. Van Noppen, 1908), vol. 1, pp. 200-204; and LEFLER and NEWSOME, *History of a Southern State*, pp. 63-64.

⁴⁴ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 472.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

⁴⁶ Text of the will is given in L. H. JONES, *Captain Robert Jones*, pp. 200-205.

be correctly described, therefore, as a rescue project rather than an archeological excavation in the classic manner.

Initial work on the site was confined to a survey of the area and the recovery of artifacts such as ceramics, glass, and brickbats scattered on the top of the disturbed clay. The principal concentration of artifacts was encountered in the brick-strewn vicinity of the residence and kitchen, though neither feature was immediately discernible. This scatter was flanked on the west by a windbreak of humus, clay, and fallen trees, and had run out before reaching a parallel windbreak to the east. Finds extending in the direction of the latter break included English white salt-glazed sherds as well as bottle fragments of the second quarter of the 18th century. A similar scatter of later artifacts was found extending down the southern slope of the neck at that extremity of the two breaks. In no instance were any fragments of white salt glaze found in stratified deposits, and it must be assumed that they emanated from the disturbed topsoil.

To the southeast of the eastern windbreak on ground sloping towards the secondary stream was found a scatter of brick dust extending over an area approximately 12 ft. by 14 ft., in the center of which was a concentration of large overburnt brick fragments with reddened clay beneath. No evidence of any laid bricks was encountered, and it is possible that this was the site of brickmaking rather than of a structure. The only datable artifact found in the vicinity was the base of a wine bottle of the first quarter of the 18th century that was lying in the silted bottom of a nearby rainwashed gully running towards the stream.

Close to the southern extremity of the east windbreak was found a refuse pit (Pit A) containing a quantity of late 17th-century or early 18th-century wine-bottle fragments, among them one with the seal "F I." Some 70 feet northwest of this pit was located an area of laid brickbats that measured 4 ft. 6 in. by 4 ft. 6 in.; around the edges of this area were found a few fragments of early 18th-century wine bottles and one bottle base of the mid-century. This last was the latest fragment found on the site. No explanation for the presence of the brickbats was forthcoming, and no further brick deposits were encountered in the vicinity.

Beyond the west windbreak and in line with the residence were found numerous glass and pottery fragments of the first and second quarters of the 18th

century, none of them in situ. It was presumed that they stemmed from the vicinity of the residence and were spread about by the bulldozing before the windbreaks were pushed up. Over and above the artifacts and features listed above, no other evidence of colonial occupation was discovered except in the immediate vicinity of the two buildings.

The location of the structures was at once apparent on the evidence of large quantities of disturbed bricks and mortar scooped into east-west furrows by the bulldozers. Careful probing in the two largest concentrations of brickbats soon located sections of the foundations of both buildings. It was then a simple matter to trace out the plans of each building before any digging was undertaken. This done, test cuttings were made at the corners and across the chimney foundations. Subsequently, additional cuttings were made within each building to determine whether or not either possessed a cellar. In the course of this work on the smaller of the two structures, numerous refuse pits were located that helped to provide a terminus post quem for its construction. Each of these pits was treated as an individual feature and will be discussed in detail in its proper place.

The Residence

The house, as previously stated, was built on a north-south axis with its west face looking toward College Creek. It looked eastward along the track that led to the road linking Williamsburg with Burwell's Ferry (Kingsmill) on the James River. The residence possessed exterior measurements of 42 ft. 3 in. by 19 ft. 1 in. with a chimney foundation at the south measuring 9 ft. 9 in. by 5 ft. and another, at the north, measuring 9 ft. 11 in. by 4 ft. 11 in. These chimneys had sides of varying thicknesses: 1 ft. 7 in., 1 ft. 9 in., 1 ft. 6 in., 1 ft. 11 in., 2 ft., and 1 ft. 6 in. The east and north foundations of the house itself were a brick and a half (1 ft. 1 in.) in thickness, but the south wall was only one brick thick (9 in.), although the two foundations were bonded into one another at the southeast corner. An even more curious situation was provided by the west wall which extended south from the northwest corner at a thickness of 1 ft. 1 in. and for a distance of 24 ft. 3 in., whereupon it stopped. At this point the three surviving courses were stepped back, indicating that although there was no flush end, the bond had not been intended to continue. At a point 9 in. farther

south, one brick and two bats were found continuing on the same line. No further trace of a west wall was found until a point was reached 8 ft. from the southwest corner. Here, stepping down as did the northern section, the foundation continued to the corner, rising to a height of four courses, but only one brick in thickness.⁵¹ Neither the break in the west foundation nor the curious variation in the thickness of the foundations has been explained.

It was suspected that the building might have possessed a porch chamber extending to the west, but no westerly projecting foundations abutted against the stepped ends of the west wall. The presence of the west windbreak made any further excavation in that direction impossible, and it could be argued that a porch chamber might not have had foundations as deep as those of the house proper. If this were so, then it is conceivable that they were dismantled along with the rest of the building in the mid-18th century and that any remaining traces have been destroyed by the bulldozing.

A single fragment of a polychrome Bristol delftware charger, with nails and window-glass fragments, was found in the builder's trench at the southern extremity of the northern section of the west foundation (deposit T.N. 27).⁵² The sherd is attributed to the period about 1680-1700, and it is the only clue as to the construction date of the residence. In loose fill inside the foundation in the same general area as the above find were located part of a lead-glass tumbler and the front of an iron padlock. The tumbler fragment could not date before the first quarter of the 18th century, and might be later.

Two test cuttings were made inside the building in the hope of locating a cellar, but none was found. However, a neck of a wine bottle dating no earlier than about 1740 was discovered amid the debris of the house (T.N. 28). It should be noted that this debris showed no indication of burning.

It was apparent that the house had been of frame construction resting on brick foundations laid in English bond. It was a little over twice as long as it was broad, and appeared even longer when seen

with its massive exterior chimneys at either end. Such a house would probably have been a story and a half in height, having an A roof with dormers probably facing both east and west.⁵³ Fragments of small panes and lead window came found in the excavations suggest that the windows were leaded and therefore of casement type. On the first floor there probably were two rooms—a hall and chamber—perhaps divided by a central passage with exterior doors at either end. Prior to the building of the separate kitchen, the hall may have been used for cooking. Above, there were probably two rooms approached by a staircase leading from the passage. This reconstruction assumes, of course, that no porch chamber existed on the west side.

Since no evidence of a dirt or brick floor was encountered, it is assumed that the floors were of wood. Beyond establishing, from foundation widths, that the building was of frame construction, it must be noted that no archeological evidence of the above-grade appearance of the building was forthcoming. Mr. E. M. Frank, director of architecture for Colonial Williamsburg, whose conjectural elevation provides the frontispiece to this paper, points out that the roof may have been made from lapping oak strips some four feet in length, as were found at the Brush-Everard House in Williamsburg. He further suggests that the weatherboards could also have taken the form of similar split-oak strips, precedent for which survives in the west wall of the John Blair House, also in Williamsburg.

A house of the above proportions and character was a little better than many a yeoman's home in England, although it owed its origins to those same homes. It was larger than the smaller houses of Jamestown, but only just as large as the smaller houses of Williamsburg, whose sizes were regulated by an Act of Assembly in 1705. The Tutter's Neck residence differed from most of the Williamsburg houses in that it had no cellar. While it was a perfectly adequate house for a Williamsburg citizen of average means and status, one might be tempted to assume that it would not long have sullied as the home of Col. Frederick

⁵¹ The builders had made use of oystershell mortar. Specimen bricks ranging in color from pale salmon to a purplish red have the following measurements: 87½ in. by 41¼ in. by 2¼ in. and 87 in. by 41 in. by 2½ in.

⁵² The "T.N." number in parentheses represents the field number of the Tutter's Neck deposit.

⁵³ A house of similar character was photographed at Yorktown in 1862; see A. LAWRENCE KOCHER and HOWARD DEARSTYNE, *Shadows in Silver* (New York: Scribner, 1954), p. 82, fig. 3, no. 17. The Bracken House in Williamsburg also is similar; see MARCUS WHIFFEN, *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1960), p. 57, and figs. 5, 6.

Jones who, in North Carolina, aspired to 6 children and 42 slaves.⁵⁴

On the other hand, it may be noted that the Carters of "Corotoman" on the Rappahannock, one of the wealthiest families in Virginia at the beginning of the 18th century, had lived in a rather similar house prior to the building of an imposing and larger brick mansion. The latter burned in 1729, whereupon Robert "King" Carter moved back into the old 17th-century house. Carter's inventory made at the time of his death in 1732, and now in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, identifies the rooms in the "Old House" as comprising a dining room, chamber over the dining room, lower chamber, chamber over the lower chamber, and a porch chamber. This last strongly suggests that the "Old House" was of 17th-century date. As other buildings named in the inventory are noted as being of brick (probably advance buildings for the burnt mansion), it may be assumed that the "Old House" was of frame construction and so might well have been of the same class as the Tutter's Neck residence. A further similarity is to be found in the fact that the Carter inventory lists no cellars beneath the "Old House."

The Kitchen

Like the residence, this subsidiary building was not without its unusual features, the most obvious being the position of the massive chimney standing against the main east-west axis of the building instead of at one of the ends, the normal position. Thus, instead of being supported by the A of the roof, the chimney was freestanding above the first floor with the pitch of the roof running away from it.

The building possessed external measurements of 25 ft. 4½ in. by 16 ft. 7½ in.; the foundations, laid in English bond, were one brick (9 in.) thick. The chimney abutted against the north wall, measured 10 ft. by 5½ ft.; its sides were 11 ft., 1 ft. 9 in., and 11 in. thick.⁵⁵ Such a building would have stood to a height of a story and a half with one room on the first floor and a rude attic above, probably approached from a ladder.

Cuttings across the foundations showed that the

⁵⁴ Negroes belonging to the estate of Frederick Jones are listed in Papers of the Jones Family, vol. 1, November 29, 1723.

⁵⁵ Oystershell mortar was used. Sample bricks are pale salmon to overfired red and measure 8 in. by 3¾ in. by 2½ in. and 8¾ in. by 3¾ in. by 2½ in.

bricks were unevenly laid. At one point in the south wall the bricks jogged out to a distance of two inches, as though the foundation had been laid from both ends and failed to meet correctly in the middle. There was no possibility that this unevenness could have been caused by settling or root action after building, for the builder's trench was filled with clearly defined burnt clay that also followed the jog.

The same red clay was picked in the builder's trench all around the kitchen building. It was also used to span soft depressions resulting from refuse pits dug and filled with trash before the building was erected. For some unexplained reason the kitchen was constructed over an area that previously had been set aside for the burying of domestic refuse. The largest and earliest of the five pits excavated was situated partially beneath the massive kitchen chimney, whose foundation, not surprisingly, had settled into the pit. Another rectangular pit in the middle of the building was not only topped with a pad of red clay but was partially covered by a cap or pier of laid brickbats that perhaps served as a support for floor joists.

The presence of the pits sealed beneath the kitchen provided two pieces of information: that the site had been occupied for some time before its construction, and that it was not built before about 1730 or 1740—this on the evidence of a wine bottle found at the bottom of Pit D. If this was the first separate kitchen building erected on the site, it must be assumed that the cooking was originally carried on in one of the first-floor rooms of the residence. However, the fact that the archeological excavations were so limited makes any conjecture of that kind of dubious value.

The unusual construction of the kitchen and its situation in the trash area at a skew with the residence might prompt the conclusion that it was built without much consideration for the beauty of the whole. It is probable that the kitchen was erected after the house had ceased to be the residence of the owner or a tenant of the Tutter's Neck acres, and that the dwelling was then a slave quarter. Such a conclusion is supported by the presence in Pits D-F, of numerous fragments of Colono-Indian pottery, a ware produced by Tidewater Indians in pseudo-European forms and probably intended for the use of the slave population. The construction date of the kitchen in the decade 1731-1740 would place it in the ownership of Col. Thomas Bray, who resided at Littleton (see p. 40). Thus the Tutter's Neck residence is at best unlikely

to have been any more than the quarters of an overseer, or, at worst, communal housing for slaves working in that area.

Such a conclusion would help to explain the fact that the majority of artifacts found in the site's later deposits were of dates much earlier than their contexts would suggest. Many items of pottery and cutlery were of late 17th-century date, though found in refuse pits of about 1730-1740. This would not be so surprising were it not for the fact that few, if any, such items have been found in excavations at Williamsburg, a town that was firmly established throughout the period covered by the Tutter's Neck occupancy as determined by the excavations. But if the kitchen site was used as a slave quarter, it would be logical to expect that such things as pottery and cutlery would have been old before being relegated to that location. A graphic example is provided by the latten spoon from Pit D that dates from the period about 1660-1690 (fig. 15, no. 13) and which had seen such service that it had been worn down to half its bowl size before being discarded.

The Refuse Pits

A total of six refuse pits were excavated, five of them entirely or partially sealed beneath the foundations of the kitchen. All five consequently predated that structure, though Pit B (see fig. 5) was probably 20 years earlier than the others. Pits C-F, on the other hand, were probably all dug within a short time of each other. They were approximately the same size and depth and were situated within a few inches of one another, although none overlapped its neighbor. It may be deduced, therefore, that the pits were dug in such close succession that the outlines of the preceding pits were still visible to the digger. It is possible that they may have been privy pits. Concrete evidence indicating the close relationships between these pits was provided by fragments of the same Colono-Indian bowl found in both Pit D and Pit E.

PIT A

This deposit (T.N. 31) was located farthest from the buildings, being situated, as previously noted, about 125 feet southeast of the residence on the south slope of the neck. As elsewhere on the site, the topsoil over the pit had been removed, leaving only the lower portions of the dirty yellow clay of the pit intact. This pit measured 8 ft. by 5 ft. and extended to a depth of only 1 ft. 2 in. into the sur-

rounding natural yellow clay. A tree stump obscured a small part of this oval pit, but it is believed that its presence prevented few, if any, artifacts from avoiding recovery. The finds comprised two or three sherds of coarse pottery of no identifiable form, part of the base of an English delftware mug ornamented with sponged manganese, one clay pipe of about 1700, and fragments of at least 18 wine bottles of the period about 1690-1710. One of these fragments bore an "F F" seal from the same matrix as another found in Pit B.

The location of Pit A so far from the house and in a totally different area from the only other pit of the same date (Pit B) suggests that there was little consistency in the deposition of trash in the early years of the century. It is possible that the pits were created when tree stumps were removed and were filled with trash no matter where they happened to be. The fact that modern tree roots invariably sought the richer soil of the pits' contents makes it quite probable that there are numerous other pits on the site that are still hidden beneath standing trees or cut stumps.

Dating: There is little doubt that Pit A was filled during the first decade of the 18th century.

PIT B

This pit (T.N. 30) was approximately circular, with a diameter of 9 ft. 4 in. and a maximum depth of 2 ft. 8 in. It was covered by part of the kitchen's north wall and by the whole of the east side of the kitchen chimney. It was apparent that the builders knew that the pit was there, for a considerable number of brickbats were laid under the foundation of the chimney's northeast corner in an entirely abortive attempt to prevent it from settling. It is probable that the pit was initially a stump hole, there being a large quantity of dirty, greenish-gray clay at the bottom from which no artifacts were recovered (see fig. 8.) It is probable that this clay was redeposited when the stump and attached roots were dug out. Subsequently, the remaining cavity served as a rubbish pit into which more than 120 broken wine bottles were thrown. All these bottles belonged to the same period (1690-1710) as those in Pit A, and among them were five seals marked "F F" and one seal bearing the legend "Richard Burbydge 1701."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ IVOR NOËL HUME, "The Glass Wine Bottle in Colonial Virginia," *Journal of Glass Studies* (Corning Museum, 1961), vol. 3, p. 99, fig. 3, type 6.

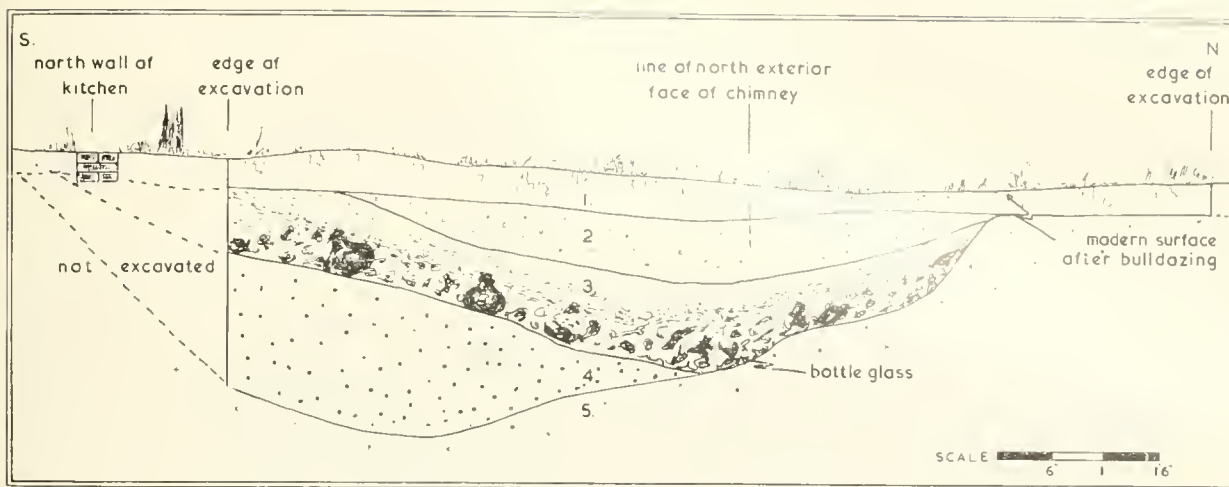


FIGURE 8.—SECTION through the filling of Pit B.

Other finds included fragments of English delftware, among them a very large polychrome charger that had been intended as a wall or dresser ornament, and a most unusual saucer-shaped vessel, ornamented with splashes of blue, that resembles a reversed form of the London copies of Nevers faïence.⁵⁷ Additional finds included North Devon⁵⁸ and other coarse earthenwares, a millefiori bead, and an English wine-glass in the Hawley Bishop style dating about 1690.

Dating: The evidence of the bottles indicates a filling date in the first decade of the 18th century.

PIT C

Covering the top of this pit was a layer of reddish clay, the same type of clay that was used in the backfilling of the builders' trench around the kitchen foundations. The clay was directly covered by brick rubble from the building's destruction stratum. From between the clay and rubble (T.N. 15) came fragments of an iron saw some 17 in. long and a brass harness fitting of unusual form. Set into the clay level was the base of a brick pier made from brickbats and intended to provide added support over the soft filling of a pit measuring approximately 6 ft. by 4 ft. 3 in. and having a total depth of 2 ft.

⁵⁷ See F. H. GARNER, *English Delftware* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), p. 15 and fig. 30a.

⁵⁸ See C. MALCOLM WATKINS, "North Devon Pottery and Its Export to America in the 17th Century" (paper 13 in *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology: Papers 12-18*, U.S. National Museum Bulletin 225, by various authors; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1963).

6 in. The walls were carefully trimmed and the bottom was flat, leaving no doubt that this cavity was dug as a refuse pit and was not a converted stump hole.

The red clay described above gave way to a yellow clay beneath the brick pier from which level (T.N. 16) came a few unimportant pottery fragments, a shoulder fragment from a wide-mouthed jar, and an iron harness buckle. Beneath this stratum was encountered the main pit filling, comprising a thick stratum of wood ash (T.N. 17) which blended towards the corners of the pit into pale clay (T.N. 18) that has probably silted in from the sides. From the ash deposit came part of a sickle, the bowl of a much-decayed pewter spoon, objects of turned bone, tobacco pipes, and a silvered-brass harness ornament. Somewhat surprisingly, the stratum also contained part of a plate comparable to the delftware charger from Pit B, though the date of the deposit was probably 20 or more years later.

The silted clay at the bottom of the pit included numerous clay-pipe fragments whose stem holes, following the Harrington theory, pointed to a date in the period about 1735-1750. Other finds included coarse earthenwares from Yorktown, delftware, and part of a pewter spoon handle.

Dating: About 1740.

PIT D

This was a rectangular rubbish pit measuring approximately 5 ft. 10 in. by 4 ft. and having a maximum depth of 2 ft. 8 in.—measurements closely



FIGURE 9.—BOWL OF BUFF-COLORED EARTHENWARE with a brown lead glaze and with "ELIZABETH GOODALL 1721" inscribed in slip. Probably Staffordshire. Height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. This bowl parallels one of similar ware found at Tutter's Neck (fig. 19, no. 9). Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, no. 1960-430.

resembling those of Pit C, which was situated only one foot to the east. Stratigraphy also followed much the same sequence: Four inches of brick rubble on the top (T.N. 26), then 6 inches of red clay (T.N. 22) overlying the main fill of wood ash and becoming mixed with silted clay at the bottom (T.N. 23). The red clay had mixed with the top of the pit fill and a number of artifacts spanned the division of the strata, among them a rim sherd from a polychrome delftware charger (about 1670–1690) and part of an inverted baluster wineglass stem of the beginning of the 18th century.

The primary ash deposit, which proved to be the richest on the site, included delft drug-jar fragments, porringers and bowls, Westerwald tankard sherds, brown stoneware, Yorktown coarse wares, and much Colono-Indian pottery. Small finds included pewter spoons, scissors, part of a sword guard, iron dividers, and a sickle and table knives of late 17th-century character. Tobacco-pipe fragments pointed to a dating in the third decade of the 18th century, as also did a single wine bottle found at the bottom of the pit.

Dating: About 1730–1740, on the above evidence.

PIT E

This deposit lay some 3 feet to the west of Pit D, and it was found on the last day of excavation. Consequently time only permitted a test hole (measuring 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 9 in.) to be made into the pit at its northwest corner, from which point horizontal probing indicated that the pit measured 4 ft. by 2 ft. 8 in. and was shown by the test cut to be 2 ft. 9 in. deep. Unlike the other pits in this series, the contents consisted of a single brown-soil deposit (T.N. 24) containing brickbats, oystershells, and a small quantity of ceramics, notably the base of an ornamental delftware cup and a large part of a Yorktown earthenware bowl. Of significance was a fragment of Colono-Indian pottery that joined onto a bowl found in Pit D, indicating that both deposits were of the same date. Additional finds included pipe fragments and an iron horseshoe.

Dating: About 1730–1740, principally on evidence of matching sherds of Indian pottery.

PIT F

This was an oval pit situated 2 feet north of Pit C. Being only partially within the area of excavation and owing to its close proximity to the poorly preserved

north foundation of the kitchen, this deposit was only partially excavated, i.e., an area 4 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 9 in. The pit had a depth of 1 ft. 10 in. and contained a deposit of ash mixed with dirty clay (T.N. 19). From this filling came several pieces of Colono-Indian pottery, polychrome delftware, Yorktown earthenwares, Chinese porcelain, part of a heavy wineglass knob, and one minute sherd of white salt glaze on which the pit's terminal dating is based.

Dating: About 1730–1740.

OTHER DEPOSITS YIELDING ARTIFACTS

ILLUSTRATED

Deposits T.N. 1, T.N. 2.—Deposit T.N. 1 was in a 6-inch stratum of rich black soil outside the northwest corner of the kitchen and partially covered by a large tree stump. While some of the black dirt overlies the corner foundation, its looseness suggests that it was pushed there during the bulldozing. No traces of the stratum extended inside the kitchen, and the artifacts were consistently of dates prior to the construction of the building. Finds included a pewter spoon handle, brown stoneware with a rare white interior, a tobacco-pipe bowl with maker's initials "H S," a wineglass stem comparable to that from pit B, and panes of window glass measuring $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{7}{16}$ in.

Deposit T.N. 2 was a 2-inch layer of burnt clay flecked with wood ash. It lay beneath the black soil level and probably was deposited when the kitchen was built. Consequently, the upper level can only have been laid down after that time. Finds included one sherd of Spanish majolica and a fragment of a tobacco-pipe bowl bearing the name of Tippet, a family of Bristol pipemakers in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.⁵⁹

Dating: It is assumed that the clay (T.N. 2) was contemporary with the construction date of the kitchen (about 1730–1740) and that the black fill (T.N. 1) was deposited soon afterward.

Deposit T.N. 3.—A continuation of the red clay inside the kitchen chimney. Finds include one Rhenish "Bellarmine"⁶⁰ sherd and a pewter spoon handle.

⁵⁹ ADRIAN OSWALD, "A Case of Transatlantic Deduction," *Antiques* (July 1959), vol. 76, no. 1, pp. 59–61.

⁶⁰ For an example of comparable shape and date, see figure 6 of IVOR NOËL HUME, "German Stoneware Bellarmines—An Introduction," *Antiques* (November 1958), vol. 74, no. 5, pp. 439–441.



FIGURE 10.—FRAGMENTS OF SIMILARLY ORNAMENTED 17TH-CENTURY DELFTWARE from Tutter's Neck, London, and Holland: 1, with blue and orange decoration, from Tutter's Neck, Pit B; 2, with blue decoration, from Tutter's Neck, Pit D; 3, bowl waster with blue, orange, and green decoration, from Toolley Street kiln site, London; 4, plate with blue decoration from Toolley Street site; 5, plate decorated in blue, orange, and green, from Dutch Limburg. The Netherlands dish, earlier than the English examples, clearly indicates the source of the border design.



FIGURE 11.—INTERIOR BASES OF DELFTWARE SALTS with identical Carolian profiles. *Left*, from Tutter's Neck, Pit D; *right*, from the Thames at London. Diameter of each base is $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Dating: Same as T.N. 2, about 1730–1740.

Deposit T.N. 4.—A stratum of black soil overlying the red clay outside the southwest corner of the kitchen foundation. Finds include wine-bottle fragments dating about 1690–1710, brown stoneware, Yorktown coarse earthenware, and English delftware sherds.

Dating: After kitchen construction, probably in the same decade, about 1730–1740.

Deposit T.N. 10.—Black humus mixed with plaster and brickbats outside the west wall of the residence's north chimney. The only find of importance is a well-preserved, two-tined, iron table fork.

Dating: The stratum represents the destruction level of the residence, and the scant dating evidence recovered from T.N. 18, etc., suggests that the building had ceased to exist by 1750, or possibly a few years earlier.

Deposit T.N. 27.—The field number covers two deposits that blended together in their upper levels. They comprise the back filling of the builder's trench against the residence's west foundation (see p. 44)—from which came a single delftware charger sherd of about 1680–1700—and a stratum of black humus mixed with mortar and plaster representing the destruction layer of the house. The bulldozing had caused considerable disturbance to both layers, but

it can be safely accepted that the delft sherd belonged to the construction date of the residence and that a lead-glass tumbler base and an iron-padlock fragment came from the destruction stratum.

Dating: The construction date for the house relies on the insufficient evidence of the single delftware sherd mentioned above, i.e., after about 1680. The destruction dating comes not from the items noted here but from the bottle neck discussed under T.N. 28, after about 1740.

Deposit T.N. 28.—A test cutting inside the residence on the line of the supposed central hallway that revealed 9 inches of humus mixed with mortar and plaster resting on natural clay. From the above level came one bottle neck of about 1740. On this evidence and on the evidence of unstratified seeds found in the occupation area, it is assumed that the complex had been abandoned by the middle of the 18th century.

Dating: After about 1740.

Animal Remains

Animal bones and marine items were largely confined to the refuse pits previously discussed, although



FIGURE 12.--COLONO-INDIAN CUP excavated at Williamsburg which is comparable to a fragment from Tutter's Neck (fig. 18, no. 17). Height, $3\frac{7}{8}$ in.

a few garbage bones and oystershells had been spread around the site in the course of the bulldozing. Bones from the pits comprised the usual range of ox, pig, and deer remains that are to be found amid the garbage of most colonial sites. A group of the less readily identifiable bones were submitted to the Smithsonian Institution for examination and the following identifications were provided:

Left humerus, wild duck, (white-winged scoter, *Melanitta deglandi*). From T.N. 17.

Fibula of pig (*Sus scrofa*), domestic. From T.N. 17.

Shaft of humerus, domestic goose. From T.N. 22.

Mandible of possum (*Didelphis* sp. *masupialis*, subsp. *virginiana*), edible. From T.N. 22.

Mandible of "marine gar," or needlefish, of the Belontiidae family, probably *Strongylura marina* (Walbaum), a very common sea fish in this area, which runs in fresh water, and is frequently eaten. From T.N. 24.

Also submitted for examination were specimens from a number of scallop shells, which were plentiful in Pits C and D, and examples of mussel and clam shells from Pit C. The identifications were as follows:

Fresh water mussel of a type eaten by the Indians, *Elliptio complanatus*. From T.N. 18.

Fossil clam, *Glycymeris* sp. From T.N. 18.

Fossil scallop of a variety no longer living in this area. From T.N. 22.

The identification of the scallop as being fossil was somewhat surprising in view of the prevalence of such shells in Pits C and D. However, it should be noted that Pit E (T.N. 24) contained a fragment of fossil whale rib. Such bones are plentiful in the Tidewater marl beds and are frequently found on the shores of the James and York Rivers.

The Artifacts

TOBACCO PIPES

Pipes (fig. 14) were not plentiful, no more than 100 fragments being found in any one deposit. The datable bowls and fragments of pipes closely followed the site's two periods as indicated by the various refuse pits; that is, examples from Pits A and B date from around 1700-1720, and those from the rest of the pits are of types loosely attributed to the period

of about 1710-1780. On the evidence of association and by the use of the Harrington system of stem-hole dating, there is no reason to date any of the pipes later than the first half of the 18th century.

A few deposits yielded a sufficient number of stem fragments to provide tentative dating, as follows:

Deposit	No. of fragments	Stem diameters				Date
		$\frac{1}{64}$ "	$\frac{5}{64}$ "	$\frac{6}{64}$ "	$\frac{7}{64}$ "	
Pit B (T.N. 30)	91		29%	60%	11%	1700-1720
Pit C (T.N. 17, 18)	82	17%	78%	5%		1730-1750
Pit D (T.N. 23)	49	16%	63%	21%		1730-1740
Kitchen (T.N. 1)	55		57%	43%		1720-1740

It should be noted that in all cases the samplings are too small for accuracy and that they are based on Mr. Harrington's elementary chart which he, himself, claims to be no more than a point of departure for a new approach to the dating of tobacco-pipe fragments. Nevertheless, the above results do follow fairly closely the dating of the groups arrived at on the evidence of stratigraphy and on the study of associated artifacts of all types.

Since this report was first written, Lewis Binford of the University of Chicago has developed a mathematical formula based on Harrington's chart which enables one to arrive at a mean date for the deposition of a group of pipes. Audrey Noël Hume has subsequently demonstrated that a sampling of approximately 900 fragments is needed to maintain consistent results, and that the degree of accuracy rapidly falls off when dealing with groups of pipes dating earlier than 1670 and later than 1760.⁶¹ Fortunately, the Tutter's Neck pipes, though few in number, do fall within the period of greatest accu-

⁶¹ J. C. HARRINGTON, "Dating Stem Fragments of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Clay Tobacco Pipes," *Quarterly Bulletin Archeological Society of Virginia* (September 1954), vol. 9, no. 1, no pagination. AUDREY NOËL HUME, "Clay Tobacco Pipe Dating in the Light of Recent Excavations," *ibid.* (December 1963), vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 22-25. LEWIS H. BINFORD, "A New Method of Calculating Dates from Kaolin Pipe Stem Samples," *Southeastern Archeological Newsletter* (June 1962), vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 19-21.

racy. The following table illustrates the relationships between dates arrived at on the basis of all artifactual and documentary evidence (I), by the use of the Harrington chart (II), and by the Binford formula (III).

Deposit	I	II	III
Pit B (T.N. 30)	1702-1710	1700-1720	1709
Pit C (T.N. 17, 18)	ca. 1740	1735-1750	1745
Pit D (T.N. 23)	1730-1740	1730-1740	1739
Stratum (T.N. 1)	ca. 1740	1720-1740	1724

The discrepancy in the dating of layer T.N. 1 must be explained by the fact that the soil and its contents were dug from somewhere else and redeposited outside the kitchen building. Had this stratum predated the building, it would undoubtedly have been found on both sides of the foundation and would not have overlaid the red clay level (T.N. 2) which was similar and probably identical to that sealing pits C and D, the latter containing a wine bottle of about 1740 (fig. 19, no. 18).

The following maker's marks were found on pipes:

- R M One initial on either side of the heel. Two examples (see fig. 14, no. 3). The initials are not uncommon on pipes of the same shape found at Williamsburg and Rosewell Plantation.⁶² There were at least seven pipemakers with these initials working in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.⁶³ T.N. 30, Pit B.
- H S One initial on either side of the heel. One example (fig. 14, no. 5). Other pipes with these initials have been found at Williamsburg and Rosewell Plantation. Maker not known. T.N. 1.
- I S One initial on either side of the heel. One example (fig. 14, no. 6). The mark is not recorded among previous finds from either Jamestown or Williamsburg. At least five

⁶² See IVOR NOËL HUME, "Excavations at Rosewell, Gloucester County, Virginia, 1957-1959" (paper 18 in *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology: Papers 12-18*, U.S. National Museum Bulletin 225, by various authors; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1963), p. 222, fig. 35, no. 7, and p. 220.

⁶³ ADRIAN OSWALD, "The Archaeology and Economic History of English Clay Tobacco Pipes," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (London, 1960), 3d series, vol. 23, p. 83.



FIGURE 13.—1, IRON SAW FRAGMENTS found under the Tutter's Neck kitchen (T.N. 15); 2-5, iron sickle, padlock, scissors, and dividers, respectively, from various deposits on the site (see figs. 15, 16).

makers with these initials were working in Bristol in the appropriate period. T.N. 17, Pit C.

RICHA RDS AYER Richard Sayer. Two examples had the name stamped on bases of flat heels; five others had the stamp on the upper sides of stems (see fig. 14, no. 1). All seven stamps occur on glazed pipes of good quality. No previous examples of his pipes have been found at either Jamestown or Williamsburg. Possibly Richard Sayers who is recorded by Oswald as having been working at Newbury in about 1700. T.N. 30, Pit B.

IP This fragmentary stamp on a molded cartouche on the side of a bowl came from a context of about 1730-1740 (T.N. 2) and was presumably made by the Robert Tippet of Bristol who became a freeman in 1713 and whose pipes have been found in Williamsburg contexts dating as late as the mid-18th century.⁶⁴

RICHI TYLER Presumably Richard Tyler, but the last two letters of the surname are unclear. The stamp appears on a stem fragment within an oval of impressed square dots. Oswald lists a Richard Tyler who was working at Bath in about 1700. Stem-hole diameter, $\frac{5}{64}$ in. Unstratified.

W Fragment from base of bowl of pipe with neither heel nor spur, probably similar in shape to no. 4 of figure 14. The first of a pair of initials molded on either side of the base.⁶⁵ Stem-hole diameter, $\frac{7}{64}$ in. Unstratified.

METAL OBJECTS

Metal items (figs. 15-17) from the site provide a valuable series of common domestic and agricultural objects of a period that has as yet received little study. The majority of the principal items came from a single refuse pit beneath the kitchen (Pit D, T.N. 23)

⁶⁴ Ibid. (footnote 59).

⁶⁵ NOËL HUME, "Excavations at Rosewell," p. 220, footnote 96.

and although deposited in the second quarter of the 18th century they are generally of earlier date. The surprising preponderance of late 17th-century items in this and other contexts tends to support the theory that the house served as a quarter toward the end of its life and that the furnishings, tools, and utensils consequently were already worn and old-fashioned when provided for use by the slaves.

CERAMICS

Like the metal items, the ceramics are predominantly of the late 17th and early 18th century, though frequently found in contexts of the second quarter of the latter century. The quality and variety of the wares is somewhat surprising, the finds including some items that are today of considerable rarity. Notable among them is the saucer in a reversed "Nevers" style that is seemingly without parallel (fig. 18, no. 8), a London delftware "charger" of massive proportions and uncommon design (fig. 18, no. 10), a lead-glazed Staffordshire bowl fragment (see fig. 19, no. 9), and part of a brown-surfaced white stoneware jug that may have come from the factory of John Dwight of Fulham near London.⁶⁶

The majority of the delftwares have the appearance of London manufacture, rather than that of Bristol or Liverpool. As a broad generalization it may be claimed that the former trend in Virginia was characteristic of the 17th century but was reversed in the 18th.

An unusually large percentage of Colono-Indian pottery was present, predominantly in pits dating from the second quarter of the 18th century. The same contexts also yielded a high proportion of lead-glazed earthenware cream pans manufactured at Yorktown, presumably at the factory of William Rogers that may have been operating as early as 1725.⁶⁷

Although all the items found on the Tutter's Neck site emanate from contexts of 18th-century date, most of the delftwares and some of the stoneware items are without parallel in nearby Williamsburg, the 18th-

⁶⁶ See: J. F. BLACKER, *The ABC of English Salt-Glaze Stoneware from Dwight to Doulton* (London: S. Paul & Co., 1922), p. 34ff.; and IVOR NOËL HUME, "Bellarmines and Mr. Dwight," *Wine and Spirit Trade Record* (December 17, 1956), pp. 1628-1632.

⁶⁷ C. MALCOLM WATKINS and IVOR NOËL HUME, "The 'Poor Potter' of Yorktown" (paper 54 in *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology*, U.S. National Museum Bulletin 249, by various authors), Washington: Smithsonian Institution, in press.

century cultural and economic center of Virginia that lay only three miles away. Once again, therefore, the artifacts point to a 17th-century survival and perhaps, by projection, to a low standard of living.

An indication of a terminal date for the life of the site is provided by the total absence of English white salt-glazed stoneware from all except one stratified deposit (Pit I), a ware that does not seem to have reached the colonies before the third decade of the 18th century,⁶⁸ most of it arriving after about 1740. It must be recorded, however, that fragments of this later period were found scattered on the surface, but it was impossible to determine whence they came.

GLASS BOTTLES

Wine bottles⁶⁹ provided the key to the entire excavation, first by possessing seals (fig. 6) that identified the owner of the property and secondly by providing dating evidence for the construction of the kitchen; thus there was avoided an error of dating that would otherwise have been inevitable. In addition, the group of bottles from Pit B (T.N. 30) provided a valuable series of specimens of varying shapes, all of which were in use together at the beginning of the 18th century. (See fig. 19, nos. 11-20.)

A few small fragments of green pharmaceutical phials were also recovered, but none was sufficiently large to merit illustration.

TABLE GLASS

Although wine-bottle glass was plentiful, table glass was comparatively scarce. It was confined to the three wineglasses illustrated as nos. 16-18 of figure 17, a 17th-century wineglass-stem fragment similar to no. 17 of figure 17 (see footnote 94), heavy tumbler-base fragments of typical 18th-century type (from T.N. 24, 27), and a fragment from a fine gadrooned Romer of late 17th-century date (fig. 20, no. 8).

Conclusions

The Tutter's Neck excavations represented the partial exploration of a small colonial dwelling and outbuilding, both of which ceased to exist by about

⁶⁸ The earliest known importation is indicated in *Boston News-Letter* of January 17, 1724 (G. F. Dow, *The Arts and Crafts in New England, 1701-1775*, Topsfield, Massachusetts: The Wayside Press, 1927, p. 82).

⁶⁹ The common term "wine bottle" is used here for the sake of convenience, though it should be realized that bottles were not specifically shaped to contain wine but were used for any and all liquids from beer to oil.

1750. On the basis of the excavated artifacts the intensity of occupation seems to fall into two periods, the decade of about 1701-1710 and within the years about 1730-1740. Documentary evidence indicates that these periods relate to the respective ownerships of Frederick Jones and Thomas Bray.

While the groups of artifacts from refuse pits are closely dated by context and are consequently valuable in the general study of domestic life in early 18th-century Virginia, the history of the site is less well served. The limited nature of the excavation, the loss of the overburden through bulldozing, and the destruction of the James City County court records during the Civil War serve to leave a number of important gaps in the chronology. It is to be hoped that at such time as the new trees have grown up and have been cut there will be archeologists ready and waiting to complete the excavation of this small but historically interesting site.

Illustrations

The illustrated items are confined to those that are sufficiently complete or readily identifiable as to be of value to archeologists, curators, and historians who may find comparable items elsewhere. In the interest of brevity, repetitive or unstratified objects have been omitted, although occasional exceptions have been made in the latter category where it is considered that the objects are of significance to the study of the structures or the possessions of Tutter's Neck residents, whether or not they can be closely dated.

The drawn objects are divided by type and are arranged in chronological order within each group where variations of date are apparent. In most instances the archeological evidence of the date at which the artifacts were deposited in the ground is more accurate than is the overall date range of individual items. Thus the fact that a delftware form that was developed about 1700 continued to be manufactured until about 1740 would give us, in the absence of archeological evidence, a manufacture date of about 1700-1740, but there would be no indication of the length of the object's actual life. On the other hand, the archeological evidence tells us only when the object was discarded, and not when it was made. To avoid confusion, the descriptions of the artifacts only indicate the periods in which the objects were first made and/or were most popular, and only when such dates are clearly at variance

with the archeological termini. Each description ends with the Tutter's Neck field number that indicates the source of the item and provides the terminus post quem for its context. Table 1 provides a summary of the foregoing report for use in conjunction with the artifact illustrations.

TABLE 1.—Location and terminal dates of deposits.

Field Number (T.N.)	Deposit	Terminal Date
1	Kitchen	c. 1740
2	"	c. 1730-1740
3	"	c. 1730-1740
4	"	c. 1740
8	kitchen vicinity	Unstratified
10	residence	c. 1740-1750
15	kitchen	c. 1740
16	"	c. 1730-1740
17	Pit C	c. 1725-1735
18	" "	c. 1725-1735
19	Pit F	c. 1730-1740
22	kitchen	c. 1730-1740
23	Pit D	c. 1730-1740
24	Pit E	c. 1730-1740
27	residence	c. 1740/1750
28	"	c. 1740-1750
29	slope south of residence	c. 1750-1760
30	Pit B	c. 1702-1710
31	Pit A	c. 1702-1710
32	residence vicinity	Unstratified

FIGURE 14. TOBACCO-PIPE PROFILES

1. Pipe with bowl shape reminiscent of the 17th century but with the lip horizontal instead of sloping away from the stem as characteristic of the earlier forms. Mouth somewhat oval; spur small; the clay very white and glazed. Marked on the stem with the name Richard Sayer. Stem-hole diameter $\frac{5}{64}$ in. Oswald Type 9d.⁷⁰ T.N. 30.
2. Fragmentary bowl of cylindrical form, having a shallow heel from which the fore-edge of the bowl springs forward. This is a late 17th-century form. No mark. Stem-hole diameter $\frac{5}{64}$ in. T.N. 30.
3. Bowl of basic 18th-century form, but the narrow profile is indicative of an early date within the

⁷⁰ ADRIAN OSWALD, "English Clay Tobacco Pipes," *Archaeological News Letter* (April 1951), vol. 3, no. 10, p. 158. The type is attributed to the period about 1700-1750, with the distribution mainly in the southwest of England.

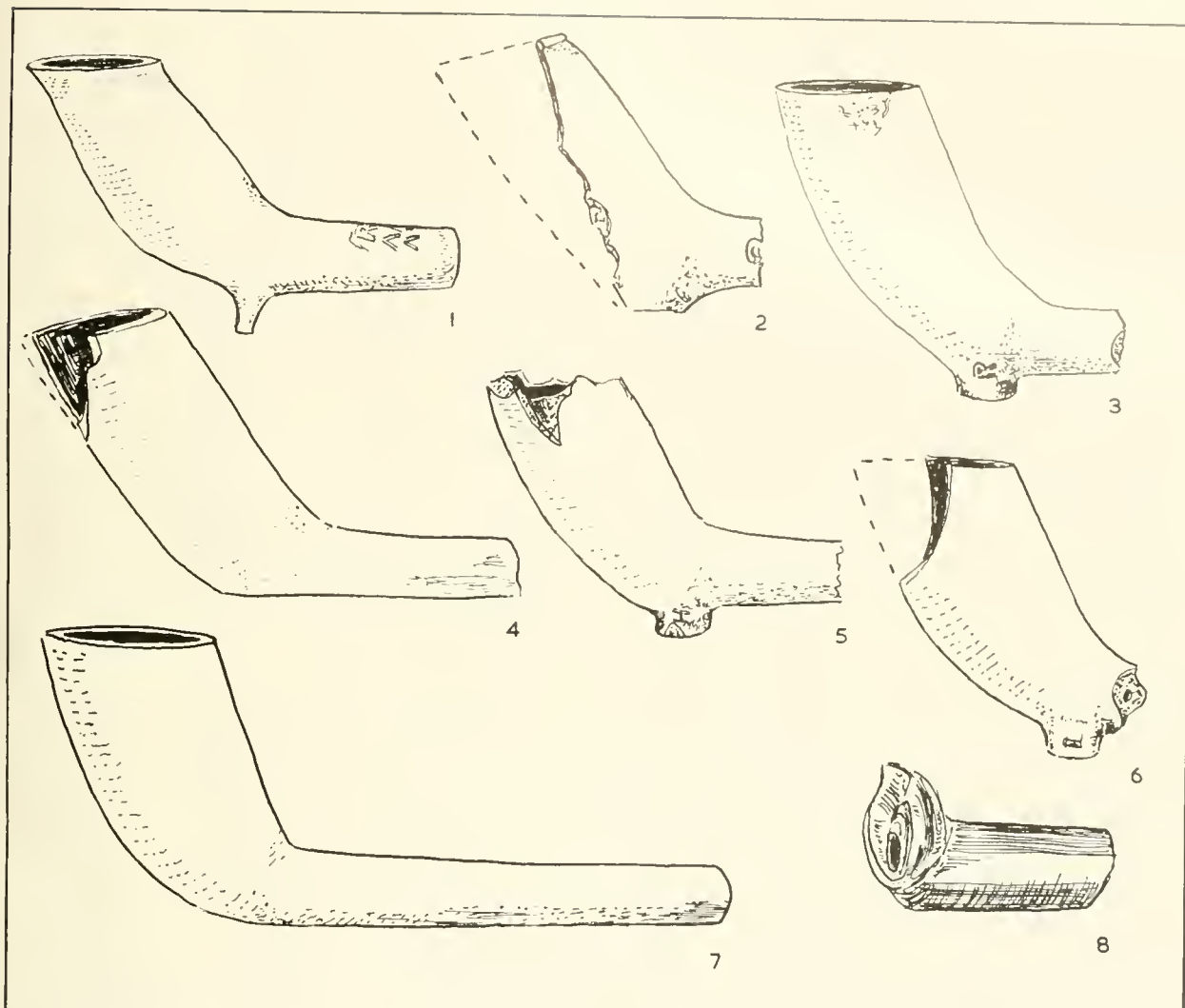


FIGURE 14.—TOBACCO-PIPE PROFILES. Same size.

- period. Letters "RM" molded on either side of the heel. Stem-hole diameter $\frac{5}{64}$ in. T.N. 30.
4. Bowl with neither heel nor spur, but the angle of the bowl comparable to that of no. 2. No mark. Stem-hole diameter $\frac{5}{64}$ in. T.N. 31.
5. Bowl apparently similar to no. 3, but with the lip missing; smaller heel with molded initials "HS." but the letters poorly formed and almost illegible. Stem-hole diameter $\frac{5}{64}$ in. T.N. 17.
6. Bowl slightly fatter than the above, initials "IS" clearly molded on the small heel, the "I" very thick. Stem-hole diameter $\frac{1}{64}$ in. T.N. 17.
7. Bowl with neither heel nor spur, an evolved 18th-

- century form in the style of no. 6 but somewhat larger. This is clearly a later variation of no. 4.⁷¹ Stem-hole diameter $\frac{5}{64}$ in. T.N. 19.
8. Base of bowl and stem fragment, of red clay and of local Virginia manufacture.⁷² Apparently a 17th-century form, but found here in an 18th-century context. Stem-hole diameter $\frac{10}{64}$ in. T.N. 18.

⁷¹ See NOËL HUME, "Excavations at Rosewell," p. 220, footnote 96.

⁷² See J. C. HARRINGTON, "Tobacco Pipes from Jamestown," *Quarterly Bulletin Archeological Society of Virginia* (June 1951), vol. 5, no. 4, no pagination.



FIGURE 15.— CUTLERY and other small finds. One-half.

FIGURE 15. CUTLERY AND OTHER SMALL FINDS

1. Table knife, iron, with sway-backed and rounded blade, thin, winglike shoulders, the tang slightly turned over at the end but originally $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length. A late 17th-century to early 18th-century blade form.⁷³ T.N. 23.
2. Table knife, iron, smaller but similar form to no. 1, but with the blade end less rounded. The tang is bent at right angles at approximately its mid-section, a presumably fortuitous feature that has been omitted from the drawing. T.N. 23.
3. Table knife, iron, with incomplete blade and broken tang; the blade narrow and somewhat sway-backed, the shoulders extending into a double collar below a somewhat heavy tang. The closest parallel is believed to have been made around 1700.⁷⁴ T.N. 23.
4. Table knife, iron, with the blade much worn and the tip missing, long and heavy shoulders, possibly of octagonal form. This knife is of a form typical of the 17th century.⁷⁵ T.N. 23.
5. Table fork, iron, two-tined, with the long octagonal shank common in the 17th century,⁷⁶ terminating in a rectangular-sectioned tang. T.N. 10.
6. Table knife, iron, with incomplete blade originally with upswept and rounded end, but seemingly used after the end was lost. Back of blade hipped and terminating in octagonal shoulders and rectangular-sectioned tang. Early 18th century. T.N. 28.
7. Terminal of pewter spoon handle, a weak form of the "split end" or "trifid" terminal of the late 17th century.⁷⁷ Scratches on the upper surface can be read as the initials "I.H." Early 18th century. T.N. 1.

⁷³ See J. F. HAYWARD, *English Cutlery* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum handbook, 1956), pp. 15-16, pl. 13b.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16, pl. 17c.

⁷⁵ For a similar example, see J. PAUL HUDSON, *New Discoveries at Jamestown* (Washington: National Park Service, 1957), p. 34, second knife from bottom.

⁷⁶ The 18th-century shanks tend to be bulbous either below the shoulder or at the midsection.

⁷⁷ A complete spoon with this type terminal was found in excavations at Green Spring Plantation near Jamestown; see LOUIS R. CAYWOOD, *Excavations at Green Spring Plantation* (Yorktown, Virginia: Colonial National Historical Park, 1955), pl. 11, "G.S. 153." For a Scottish silver spoon with this type terminal see *The Connoisseur* (April 1910), vol. 26, no. 104, and *Catalogue of the Guildhall Museum* (London, 1908), pl. 81, no. 16.

8. Terminal of pewter spoon handle, spatula form, the handle broad and thin. A broad arrow mark (perhaps a rough, merchant's mark) is rouletted onto the upper surface. On the reverse, an Arabic figure 2, marked in a multiplicity of small scratched arcs, is sufficiently large as to make use of the entire area of the terminal. T.N. 18.
9. Pewter spoon handle, with spatula terminal, in an advanced stage of decay and broken off at the junction with the bowl; probably rat-tailed. T.N. 3.
10. Bowl and broken handle of pewter rat-tail spoon, the rat-tail being unusually long and thin after sharply constricting at the heel of the bowl. The handle is narrow and oval in section and could very well have ended in a terminal section of the same type and length as no. 9. T.N. 23.
11. Pewter spoon, normal rat-tail bowl, apparently with spatula handle terminal. This spoon was intact when found, but was in so advanced a state of decay that the weaker sections at both ends lay powdered in the ground and could not be restored. T.N. 23.
12. Pewter spoon bowl and section of straight handle. Bowl is of oval form with rudimentary rat-tail; the handle is rectangular in section. The handle form is characteristic of the 17th century.⁷⁸ The spoon is in an advanced stage of decay but appears to have been crudely formed, the bowl being very shallow. T.N. 17.
13. Latten or brass spoon bowl and section of handle, tinned; the bowl oval but worn away by long use. Maker's mark in the bowl: a spoon flanked by the initials "RS" within two rings between which is the legend "DOVBLE WHITED."⁷⁹ The form is typical of the second half of the 17th century. T.N. 23.
14. Blade sections of iron scissors. T.N. 23.
15. Blade and incomplete handle from pair of scissors. The blade terminates at an angle of 30° in the manner of modern tailors' scissors, a shape that was common in the 17th century and less so in the 18th. The loop of the handle takes the

⁷⁸ A spoon handle with a shaft of similar type was found at Jamestown. It bears the mark of Joseph Copeland, a pewterer of Chuckatuck, Virginia, in 1675. See JOHN L. GOTTER, *Archeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia* (Washington: National Park Service, 1958), pl. 87, fig. at right.

⁷⁹ See *Catalogue of the Guildhall Museum*, pl. 71, fig. 3 (for bowl shape) and fig. 5 (for mark).

- form of a broad but thin-sectioned band set at a right angle to the blade, an early characteristic.⁸⁰ T.N. 23.
16. Pair of iron scissors with one blade broken, of similar type to the above. The loop and shaft of the left section are much more substantial than the right, suggesting that although the components were found attached they were not originally made for each other. T.N. 23.
 17. Left side of iron casing for a fleam. An example of similar shape and size was found in excavations at Jamestown. T.N. 23.
 18. Pair of iron dividers with bulb terminal and tines somewhat convex on the outside faces.⁸¹ T.N. 23.
 19. Iron key with round-sectioned loop; stem round-sectioned and narrow at junction with loop and becoming much wider in midsection, then tapering again as it approaches the web. The pin is solid and terminates in a small nipple; the web is divided and much decayed, with the foresection represented by only a small fragment that is much thinner than its companion. It would appear that the key had been violently wrenched in a lock, resulting in the breaking of the web and the twisting and fracturing of the loop. T.N. 23.
 20. Small tool of uncertain purpose, perhaps an awl. Broad and flat at one end, in the manner of a screwdriver or drill shank, and becoming round-sectioned and narrowing to a point at the other end. T.N. 30.
 21. Iron spoon bit with flattened shank terminal. Spoon convexo-concave in section, saucered upwards at the lower end to the same height as the walls of the trough, and terminating in a worm or twist of two surviving revolutions.⁸² T.N. 23.
 22. Iron quillon and knuckle bow mounting from sword.⁸³ T.N. 23.

FIGURE 16. BUILDERS HARDWARE
AND OTHER METAL ITEMS

1. An object of uncertain purpose, made from sheet

⁸⁰ As the 18th century progressed, loops tended to be more round-sectioned. By the end of the colonial period most loops display their greatest width on the same plane as that of the blade. See NOEL HUML, "Excavations at Rosewell," p. 198, fig. 21, no. 13.

⁸¹ For a similar example see HUDSON, *New Discoveries at Jamestown*, p. 57.

⁸² See H. C. MERGER, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools* (Doylestown, Pa.: Bucks County Historical Society, 1951), p. 182.

⁸³ See NOEL HUML, "Excavations at Rosewell," p. 198, fig. 21, no. 14.

- iron rolled at the sides over a wire to provide round-sectioned edges and more roughly folded for the same purpose at the lower edge. The central hole has been deliberately cut. The object, whose shape resembles the terminal from a checkpiece of a snaffle bit, has been broken at the narrow end, suggesting that it was too light in construction to have been intended for such a purpose. T.N. 19.
2. Tang and part of blade from an iron sickle. Blade is triangular in section, and the cutting edge commences approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the haft. T.N. 23.
3. Blade fragment from sickle of larger size than the above, triangular in section, and bearing some indication that the back has been hammered. T.N. 17.
4. Front plate and part of mechanism of bag-shaped padlock. The keyhole cover is now missing but originally it was hinged, and not pivoting as has been common on locks since the second half of the 18th century.⁸⁴ The bolt, which survives, is fitted with a spring at the rear and has two wards projecting from its midsection. T.N. 27.
5. Chest or coffin handle, iron. Handhold is $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width at its widest point and tapers at either end. The terminals, of disk form, serve to hold the handle at right angles to the wood of the chest. Such handles were attached by means of cotter pins. The form was common in the 17th century.⁸⁵ T.N. 24.
6. Iron spike of large size, measuring $5\frac{5}{8}$ in. in (surviving) length, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{7}{16}$ in. at the broken top, and approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{1}{4}$ in. at the bottom. This was the largest spike found on the site. T.N. 22.
7. Iron spike with heavy square head. Length $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.; shaft at head measures $\frac{7}{16}$ in. by $\frac{5}{16}$ in. and is spatula-ended. T.N. 23.
8. Ring-headed bolt. Collar beneath the loop, with the shaft round-sectioned and $1\frac{13}{16}$ in. of threading above the pyramidal point. The nut measures approximately $\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $\frac{5}{8}$ in.⁸⁶ T.N. 17.
9. Iron bolt or rivet with large thin head $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in

⁸⁴ Both the baglike shape of the lock and the hinged keyhole cover are indicative of a date in the late 17th century or early 18th century.

⁸⁵ HUDSON, *New Discoveries at Jamestown*, p. 26.

⁸⁶ A similarly headed object, but slotted at the other end to hold a linchpin, was found at Jamestown and considered to be an item of marine hardware. HUDSON, *New Discoveries at Jamestown*, p. 85.

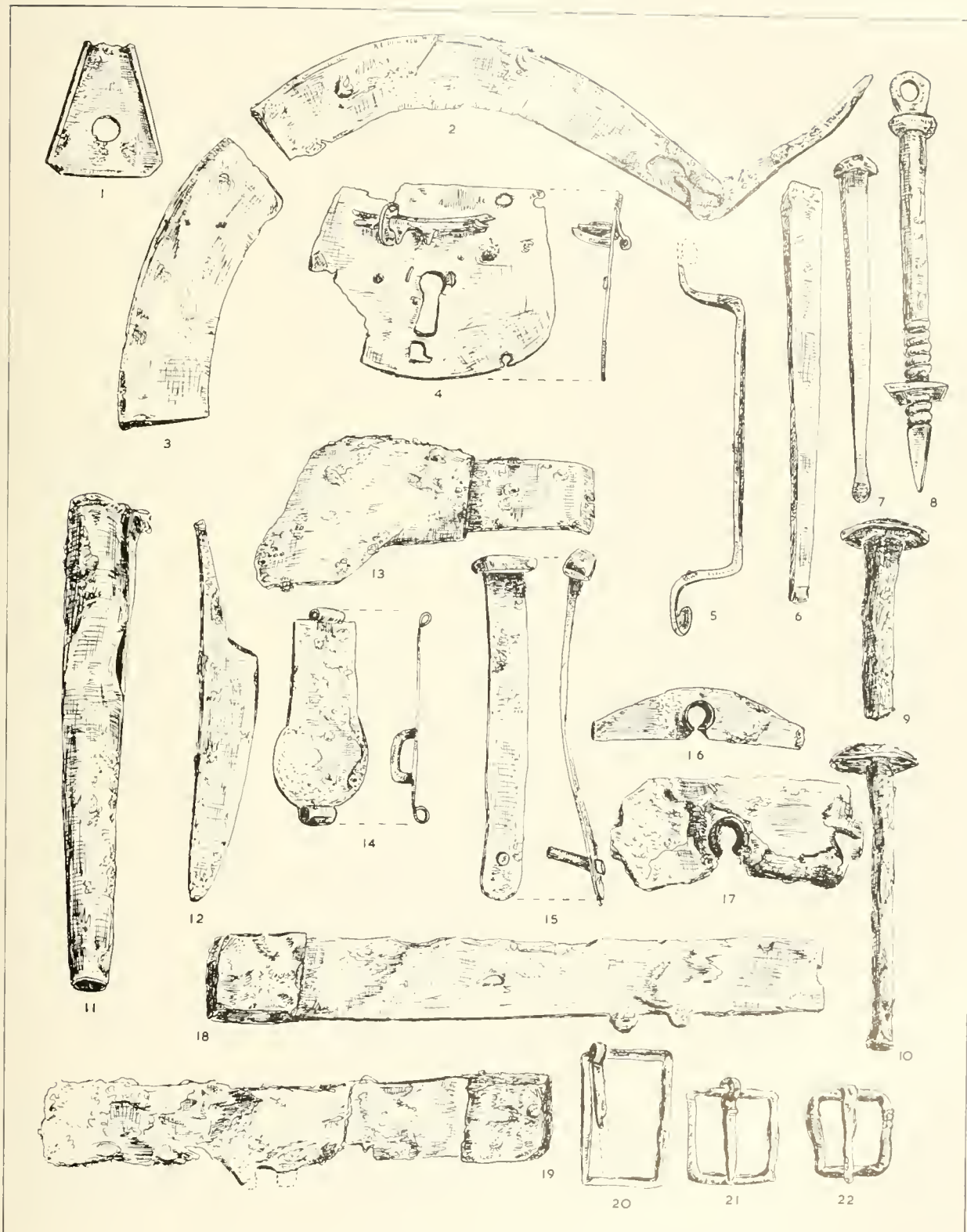


FIGURE 16.—BUILDERS' HARDWARE and other metal items. One-half.

- diameter; shaft end probably broken. T.N. 23.
10. Iron rivet with large head approximately rectangular in shape and measuring $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. Shaft originally round-sectioned but now much decayed and showing evidence of having spread at its flat terminal. T.N. 23.
 11. Tube of sheet iron. Wider at one end than the other, having an aperture of $\frac{3}{8}$ in. at the narrow end and approximately $\frac{7}{8}$ in. at the other end. Possibly the nozzle from a pair of bellows or, conceivably, a large ferrule; however, there seem to be no holes for mounting the iron to wood. The object has been hammered at its wide end, causing the metal to spread and roll and the entire object to buckle and yawn at its midsection. T.N. 23.
 12. An object of uncertain purpose sometimes described as a door or shutter latch. The blade section is neither pointed nor sharpened, and the shank or tang is slightly spread at the end.⁸⁷ T.N. 18.
 13. Fragment of object of uncertain purpose. Sheet iron is folded over at one edge to grip an iron strap, only a small section of which survives. T.N. 23.
 14. Iron hasp from trunk or chest lock; has rectangular keeper and rolled terminal for lifting.⁸⁸ T.N. 18.
 15. Iron strap with rectangular T-shaped terminal at one end and pierced by a $\frac{1}{8}$ in. rivet at the other end; of uncertain purpose. T.N. 23.
 16. Ward plate, possibly from large padlock, iron. T.N. 22.
 17. Ward plate from large rimlock. Lugs at either end serve as rivets that pass through iron supports extending back from the front plate. T.N. 17.
 18. Bolt, iron, from large rimlock. The head is approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. Two wards extending from the shaft show that, to lock, the bolt moved from right to left. Unstratified.
 19. Bolt, iron, from large rimlock. The head is approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. The remains of two wards extend from the shaft and show that, to lock, the bolt moved from left to right. T.N. 18.
 20. Harness buckle, iron. Almost square-sectioned, with the tang round-sectioned, flattened at the top, and rolled around the buckle. T.N. 16.
 21. Harness buckle, iron. The tang side is round-sectioned, the other sides flattened. The tang is

- pointed, square-sectioned in the shaft, and possesses an ornamental ridge below the point at which it rolls over the frame.⁸⁹ T.N. 23.
22. Harness buckle, iron, much decayed. Frame and tang apparently square-sectioned, the former perhaps unintentionally constricted at one side. T.N. 23.

FIGURE 17. OBJECTS OF IRON, BRASS, BONE, AND GLASS

1. Ring, iron, with evidence of wear at one side; possibly a handle or a chain terminal. T.N. 23.
2. Loop, iron, with the ends perhaps originally meeting; possibly a handle or a chain terminal. T.N. 19.
3. Horseshoe, iron. Rudimentary keyhold type, much decayed but with slight traces of fullering, probably eight nail holes, four on each side. The lug at left terminal would seem to have been created by the loss of a fragment of the outer edge. This is a typical 17th-century form, but one that continued into the 18th century.⁹⁰ T.N. 24.
4. Handle from scythe, iron. The wooden shaft was approximately $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. in diameter at point of contact. T.N. 24.
5. Part of snaffle bit, jointed mouthpiece lozenge-shaped junction of bit and rein loop. T.N. 23.
6. Fragment of iron pot, with two molded cordons on the body. T.N. 30.
7. Leg from iron pot, five-sided and tapering to a point.⁹¹ Base of pot approximately $\frac{1}{8}$ in. thick. T.N. 8.
8. Leg with trifold or cloven foot, from iron pot. Legs of this type narrow above the foot and spread again towards the point of junction with the pot base. It was at the narrow midsection that the illustrated leg broke. The form was common in the 17th century. T.N. 18.
9. Tapering iron strap of uncertain purpose. Two small nail holes at the broad end and two larger holes down the length of strap. T.N. 19.

⁸⁹ Another example with similar frame, but with a broader tang and no ornamental ridge, was found in the same context.

⁹⁰ See NOËL HUME, "Excavations at Rosewell," p. 224, no. 10, and *Archaeology in Britain* (London: Foyle, 1953), p. 107, fig. 23, no. 17.

⁹¹ It is possible that this leg originally spread out into a foot in the style of no. 6. See HUDSON, *New Discoveries at Jamestown*, p. 30, fig. at left.

⁸⁷ For similar example see NOËL HUME, "Excavations at Rosewell," p. 224, no. 8.

⁸⁸ For similar example see HUDSON, *New Discoveries at Jamestown*, p. 30, fig. at top left.



FIGURE 17.—OBJECTS OF IRON, BRASS, BONE, AND GLASS. One-half.

10. Strap similar to the above. Slightly constricted at midsection but otherwise without taper; positioning of nail holes as in no. 9. The strap is bent in opposite directions at either end, the bend at the right extremity passing through the line of the nail holes, indicating that the bending occurred when the object was used for a purpose other than that for which it was originally intended. T.N. 23.
11. Shoe buckle, iron. Badly decayed, but traces of both iron tines and back loop remain. The frame sides were probably originally only $\frac{3}{16}$ in. to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide. T.N. 23. Shoe buckles of iron are very rarely encountered.
12. Harness ornament, brass. Originally silver-plated or tin-plated, of shell form; five tangs that protrude from the back—four in the area of the shell and one at the tail—were folded over to grip the leather, fragments of which still survived when the fitting was found. The form was common in the 18th century,⁹² but most examples found in Virginia are much less angular than is this example. T.N. 17.
13. Harness fitting, brass, with rectangular loop at right angles to the ornamental plate, probably a strap retainer. T.N. 15.
14. Bone tube or nozzle, possibly part of a syringe. Internal bore spreads from $\frac{1}{8}$ in. at the narrow, broken end, to $\frac{3}{8}$ in. at the other end. The increase in bore begins at a point $\frac{3}{4}$ in. from the wide end. The latter terminates on the exterior in a collar above six encircling grooves, below which the tube is trumpet-shaped and ornamented with two shallow incised rings. T.N. 17.
15. Bone tube of uncertain purpose. Trimmed at the narrow end to fit within a collar or extension; the wider end spreading and convex, the interior of this end with spiral groove to create threading to house a screw-ended plug or extension. T.N. 17.
16. Wineglass stem. Heavy and solid inverted baluster with small fortuitous tear; the lead metal a smoky gray with an almost frosted appearance resulting from surface decay.⁹³ The bowl, though

large, was comparatively thin at its junction with the stem and probably, therefore, was of funnel form. Late 17th century. T.N. 22.

17. Light wineglass. Pale straw-colored metal; ⁹⁴ inverted baluster stem is hollow and gently tooled into quatrefoil form at its junction with the bowl,⁹⁵ the latter setting firmly into the top of the stem. The conical foot with central pontil mark is thin and was undoubtedly folded. This is an important 3-piece glass of a type sometimes attributed to Hawley Bishop, George Ravenscroft's successor at the Henley-on-Thames glasshouse.⁹⁶ About 1680-1700. T.N. 30.
18. Wineglass stem. Sparkling lead metal; the stem comprising a solid, inverted baluster beneath a massive cushion knop, the base of the bowl nestling firmly within the latter. Late 17th century to early 18th century.⁹⁷ T.N. 4.

FIGURE 18

ENGLISH DELFTWARE

1. Bowl with everted rim ornamented with crudely overlapping ovals and diamonds in blue; interior of bowl decorated with rings of the same color. The conjectural base and foot are derived from larger bowls of similar form found in excavations at Williamsburg. The glaze is thick, and very white. Late 17th century to early 18th century. T.N. 30.
2. Rim sherd from bowl of form similar to the above, but the blue decoration on the interior of the bowl and the rim plain. T.N. 23.
3. Hemispherical bowl. The foot conjectural, decorated in blue on the exterior with a stylized foliate border made up almost entirely from groups of straight lines. There is a trellis border above the missing foot, and the interior is decorated with a double blue line at the same height, and with a single line $\frac{5}{8}$ in. below the rim. This last is decorated with red, imitating the red-brown slipped line that frequently occurs on Chinese export

⁹² For similar examples, see NOEL HUME, "Excavations at Rosewell," p. 200, fig. 22, nos. 6, 7.

⁹³ For a parallel of the stem form only, see GEORGE BERNARD HUGHES, *English, Scottish and Irish Table Glass from the Sixteenth Century to 1820* (London: Batsford, 1956), fig. 35, no. 1. A rather similar baluster shape, about 1695, is shown in E. M. ELVILLE, "Starting a Collection of Glass," *Country Life* (June 11, 1951), vol. 125, no. 3256, p. 1329, fig. 1. A tavern glass, attributed to the period 1685-1690, whose baluster has a large tear, but which otherwise is a good parallel, is shown in *The Antiques Dealer and Collector's Guide* (April 1954), p. 29, fig. at left.

⁹⁴ The metal was tested for lead with positive results.

⁹⁵ A slightly larger stem from a glass of similar form was found outside the kitchen in deposit T.N. 1; not illustrated.

⁹⁶ For a glass of comparable form, but of soda metal, see G. B. HUGHES, "Old English Ale Glasses," *Wine and Spirit Trade Record* (April 15, 1954), p. 428 and fig. 1.

⁹⁷ For a similar stem shape attributed to the last decade of the 17th century see A. HARTSHORNE, *Old English Glasses* (London, 1897), p. 245, pl. 34.

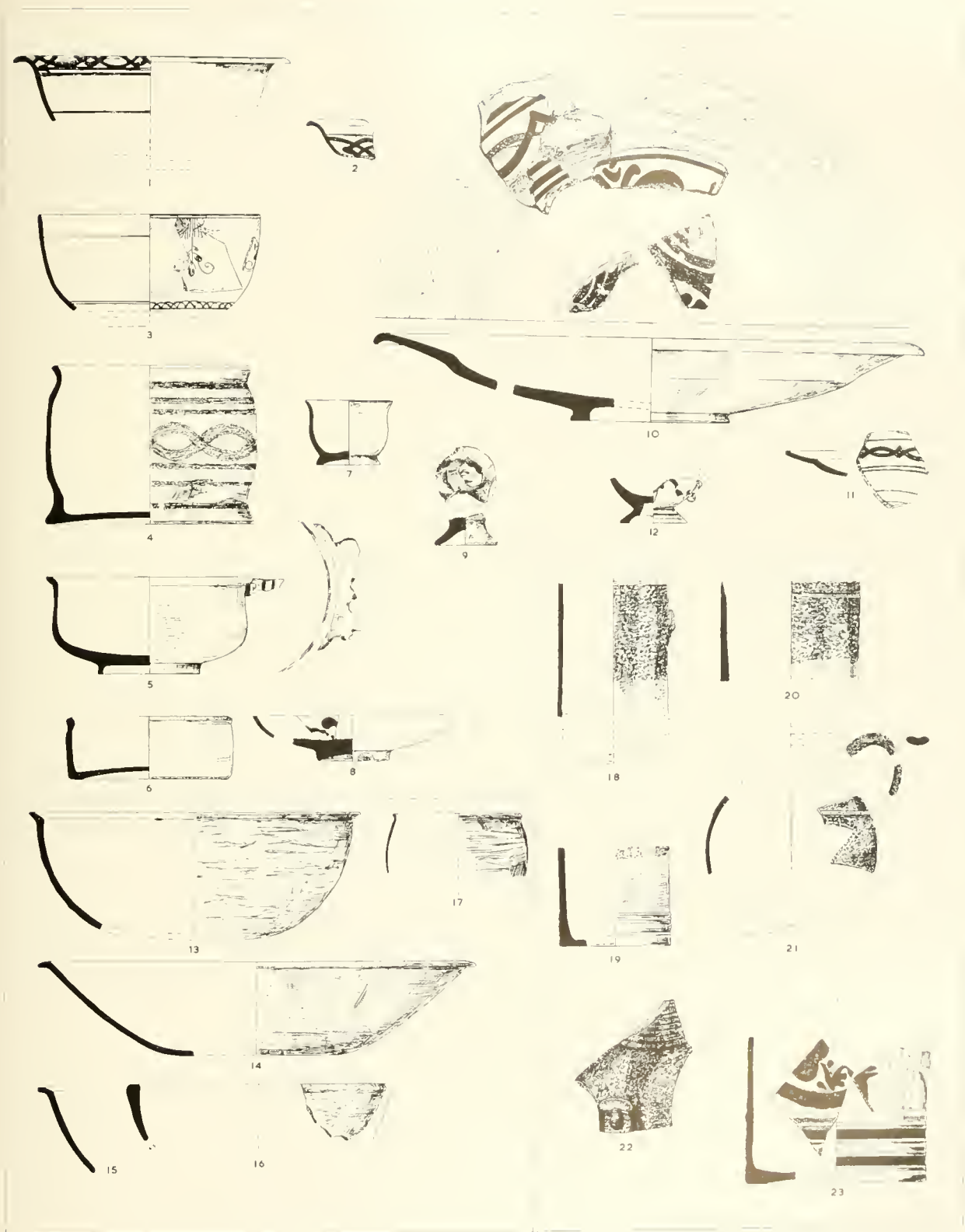


FIGURE 18.- ENGLISH Delftware, Indian pottery, and stonewares One-fourth.

porcelain. Second quarter of 18th century. T.N. 17; one sherd from T.N. 16.

4. Drug jar. Flat and slightly everted rim, straight body section, and spreading base; the bottom slightly domed and the glaze thin. Ornamented in pale blue with groups of horizontal lines and a body zone decorated with linked ovals created by the drawing of two overlapping wavy lines. Probably of London manufacture and of 17th-century date.⁹⁸ T.N. 30.
5. Porringer. Slightly everted rim and handle with heart-shaped aperture; body slightly bulbous and incurving to a straight foot; the glaze thick and gray. Probably of London manufacture.⁹⁹ Late 17th century to early 18th century. T.N. 23.
6. Shallow ointment pot or jar. Rim flattened, undercut, and slightly everted; base markedly domed, thick pinkish-white glaze. Almost certainly of London manufacture and dating from latter part of 17th century. T.N. 30.
7. Ointment pot. Thin, slightly everted rim over a bulbous body; the foot slightly spreading beneath it and slightly conical beneath; the glaze thick and gray. 18th century. T.N. 23.
8. Saucer. Conjectural reconstruction derived from base and rim sherds. The base thick; the foot solid and only slightly raised, but the rim thin and with a much more even finish. The piece has a thick white glaze with a slight pink cast and is haphazardly splashed with blue. The technique would appear to be the reverse of the London copies of Nevers faïence whereon white dots are splashed over a blue ground.¹⁰⁰ This object appears to be without parallel in published sources, but may tentatively be given the same dating as the

⁹⁸ The association of color and style of decoration coupled with the relationship of diameter to height as displayed here is generally indicative of early date. In the 18th century, jars of this diameter tended to be taller, less spread at the base, and with the blue decoration much darker.

⁹⁹ Waste products from London delftware kilns were used to build up the north foreshore of the River Thames between Queenhithe and Dowgate in the City of London. Among the many fragments recovered from this source were biscuit porringer handles of a type similar to the Tutter's Neck example. The manner in which the rim is folded over the handle seems to be a London characteristic. Bristol examples more often being luted straight to the rim. The Thames material was deposited in the late 17th century and probably came from a pottery on the Bankside on the south side of the river.

¹⁰⁰ A very small porringer rim sherd of this ware was found at Tutter's Neck in context T.N. 24; not illustrated.

London white on blue, i.e., about 1680–1690.¹⁰¹ T.N. 30.

9. Pedestal base from a small salt. Base conical within; glaze thick and very white; bowl decorated internally with profile portrait of a cavalier. This extremely unusual item was, by a remarkable coincidence, paralleled by an identical fragment found by the writer on the foreshore of the River Thames at Queenhithe in London. The two are shown together in figure 11. About 1660–1680.¹⁰² T.N. 23.
10. Large dish or charger reconstructed on the basis of base and rim fragments. Diameter approximately 1 ft. 3 in. The rim turns gently downward beyond the wide marly, and the foot is squat and slightly spread. The glaze is thick and white, and the rim decoration takes the form of broad rings of blue enclosing a marly zone ornamented with an alternating lozenge and diamond motif created from two rows of interlocking arcs, the upper painted in orange and the lower in blue. The decoration of the center of the dish is uncertain, but was painted in the same two colors, perhaps in a stylized pomegranate design. Such dishes are frequently decorated on the rim edges with dashes of blue that give them the name "blue dash chargers,"¹⁰³ but there is sufficient glaze surviving on this example to indicate that there was no such ornament. Another somewhat unusual feature is that the back of the dish is tin-glazed; the majority of such dishes were coated on the reverse with a thin yellow or yellowish-green lead glaze. Such dishes were frequently used as wall or dresser ornaments and not for use at table; consequently, the footings are generally pierced for suspension. No suspension holes occur on the small sections of the footing that survive on this example. The dish is believed to be of London manufacture on the evidence of wasters found in the Borough of Southwark,¹⁰⁴ London (see fig. 10), though the style is clearly of Dutch origin.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ See GARNER, *English Delftware*, p. 15, fig. 30a.

¹⁰² Dating based on the Carolian appearance of the figure.

¹⁰³ E. A. DOWMAN, *Blue Dash Chargers and other Early English Tin Enamel Circular Dishes* (London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd., 1919).

¹⁰⁴ From a kiln site found during building operations for Hay's Wharf between Tooley Street and Pickleherring Street in 1958.

¹⁰⁵ See ERNST GROHNE, *Tongefässe in Bremen seit dem Mittelalter* (Bremen: Arthur Geist, 1949), p. 120, Abb. 78, Abb. 80a.

About 1670-1690. T.N. 30.¹⁰⁶

11. Rim fragment from plate. The glaze slightly pink, narrow marly decorated with alternating lozenge and diamond motif in light blue (see no. 10) bordered by a single and double line of the same color. At least two concentric circles adorned the floor of the plate, but no evidence of the central design survives. Early 18th century. T.N. 23.
12. Pedestal foot and base of salt or cup. The foot conical and shelved internally; the bowl flat-based and with the rolled terminal of a small handle at one side; the glaze somewhat gray. The foot decorated with three somewhat irregularly drawn rings in light blue; the bowl ornamented with rudimentary floral devices; and the handle terminal decorated with two horizontal bars of dark blue, perhaps beneath a vertical, stalked flower. Late 17th century(?). T.N. 24.

INDIAN POTTERY

13. Bowl with flattened and slightly everted rim. Colono-Indian¹⁰⁷ pottery, pebble- or stick-burnished, with pink surface; extensive tool marks on the exterior; the ware flecked with red ocher and few traces of shell. T.N. 23, T.N. 24.¹⁰⁸
14. Shallow bowl or pan with flattened and everted rim. Colono-Indian pottery; the ware buff and heavily shell-tempered and retaining traces of surface burnishing. T.N. 23.
15. Rim and wall fragment of bowl with roughly flattened and everted rim. Colono-Indian pottery; the body pale buff and finely shell-tempered. T.N. 19.
16. Rim sherd from bowl of local Indian pottery. Lip thickened and slightly incurving; body pink to buff and coarsely shell-tempered; the exterior stick-burnished. T.N. 19.

¹⁰⁶ The smaller base fragment was found in stratum T.N. 17, a much later context than the rest. If this fragment does come from the same dish, it must be assumed that the fragments were scattered and that the sherd was moved in fill dug from an earlier deposit.

¹⁰⁷ A name coined to describe pottery made by the Pamunkey Indians and others in the 18th century that was copied from English forms and sold to the colonists, presumably for use by those who could not afford European wares. See IVOR NOËL HUME, "An Indian Wave of the Colonial Period," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* (September 1962), vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 2-14.

¹⁰⁸ The bowl was important in that the presence of its fragments deep in both T.N. 23 and T.N. 24 indicated that both Pits D and E were filled at approximately the same time.

17. Rim and wall fragment of cup or small bowl, the rim slightly everted by tooling beneath it. Colono-Indian pottery; body pinkish buff with traces of red ocher in the clay; exterior surface highly burnished. It is possible that the fragment came from a vessel comparable to that shown in figure 12, which was found in excavations at Williamsburg.¹⁰⁹ T.N. 23.

BROWN SALT-GLAZED STONEWARES

18. Body and handle terminal fragments from pint (?) tankard. Mottled purplish-brown exterior and reddish-brown interior; the rim conjectural and the lower body and basal section modeled on no. 19. Probably of English manufacture, London or Bristol.¹¹⁰ T.N. 1, T.N. 4.
19. Basal and wall fragments of pint (?) tankard. Similar in form to the above. Two fragments present, one with the beginning of the red slip that becomes mottled brown in firing, a feature that normally extends from the midsection upwards to the rim. The lower body is gray, as is the interior; the foot is ornamented with a ridge, cordon, and double ridge. T.N. 17.
20. Rim sherd of quart (?) tankard. Burnt; the rim thinned from the inside and ornamented on the outside with a single groove; dark purplish-brown mottling on the exterior, a little of the slip from which extends over the interior of the rim. T.N. 23.
21. Jug or drinking pot. Bulbous body with good quality tooling at the shoulder; handle with single groove down the spine; the base and neck conjectural, but modeled after the forms produced by Dwight of Fulham in the late 17th century.¹¹¹ The ware is a pale gray and appears white beneath the internal salt glaze. It is possible that this is an example of the use of the white salt-glazed body conceived by Dwight, and that it may have come from his factory. The refined clay enables the ware to be thinly and finely potted. T.N. 1.
22. Neck, shoulder, and handle-terminal fragments

¹⁰⁹ Colonial Williamsburg archeological collection, 10C 58-10B.

¹¹⁰ Brown stonewares similar to those commonly attributed to Fulham, but more correctly called London, were manufactured at Yorktown by William Rogers in the second quarter of the 18th century. See footnote 67.

¹¹¹ A comparable vessel, ornamented with medallion containing Tudor rose and initials of Charles II, is illustrated in BLACKER, *The A B C of English Salt-Glaze Stoneware*, p. 35.

of jug. The neck ornamented with multiple grooving; the handle terminal pressed into the body with one finger; the glaze a rich purplish brown, reddish brown inside.¹¹² A common form manufactured in London at the close of the 17th century and made elsewhere, including Yorktown, certainly through the second quarter of the 18th century.¹¹³ T.N. 23.

GERMAN SALT-GLAZED STONEWARE

23. Large (Westerwald) tankard, base and lower body sherds only. Stylized foliate and geometric ornament incised and filled with cobalt on an extremely pale-gray body; multiple cordons and grooves above the base; two concave bands filled with blue; the base slightly rising and scored with haphazard lines before firing. T.N. 23.

FIGURE 19

COARSE EARTHENWARES

1. Cream pan of Yorktown (?) earthenware.¹¹⁴ The rim rolled; spout conjectural, based on others from the same group; base slightly rising; exterior of body above base displaying potting rings and knife work; body containing small quantities of quartz grit, pink-cored and yellow at the edges; exterior unglazed but orange-pink slipped, and the interior lead-glazed a ginger brown mottled with iron. T.N. 24.
2. Cream pan. The rim thickened, incurving and undercut; ware as of no. 1, but the internal glaze a darker brown; approximate diameter, 14 in. T.N. 18.
3. Cream pan. Similar to no. 1 but with spout (from which the above was copied), and the exterior slip somewhat more orange in color. T.N. 23.
4. Cream pan. With spout and rolled rim; the ware red-bodied, flecked with quartz grit and red ochre; exterior a deep red to black; internal glaze a dark greenish brown; approximate diameter, 14¾ in. T.N. 23.
5. Cream pan. The rim thickened, incurving, and undercut; body pale buff; exterior with pale-

orange slip; internal glaze a lustrous purple, presumably somewhat overfired. Fragments with this colored glaze are among the many possible wasters from Yorktown. Diameter approximately 14 in. T.N. 23.

6. Cream pan. Unusual, shouldered rim sherd, perhaps intended to take a cover; red body with ginger-brown glaze; probably English. T.N. 4.
7. Storage jar, body fragments only. Decorated with medial grooves and applied trails pressed in piecrust style beneath the missing rim; the body gray-cored and red at the edges, coated with a light-brown glaze flecked here and there with pale green. Presumably English. T.N. 30.
8. Rim fragment from small cup or pot. Hard yellow body coated with a pale treacly glaze. Probably Staffordshire. T.N. 18.
9. Large cylindrical jar or bowl. The wall vertical, undercut above the slightly spread foot. Hard yellow body as above, coated with thick treacly and streaky brown glaze of a color much later often associated with Bennington. A rim sherd from the same deposit is slightly everted, but since the glaze is much lighter the piece may not belong to the same vessel. Base diameter approximately 10½ in. Probably Staffordshire. An example recently purchased by Colonial Williamsburg (fig. 9) is dated 1721. T.N. 30.
10. Storage jar. The rim everted and ridged internally, probably to seat a lid; gravel tempered, pale-pink earthenware; internal dark apple-green glaze.¹¹⁵ West of England manufacture. T.N. 30.

GLASS BOTTLES

11. Wine bottle of early short-necked form. Olive-green metal; flat string-rim; the mouth everted over rim. About 1680–1700. T.N. 30.
12. Wine bottle with squat body, short and broad neck, and roughly applied string-rim; olive-green metal. The body type may normally be dated around 1700, but some examples are 10 or 15 years earlier.¹¹⁶ T.N. 30.
13. Wine bottle of olive-green metal. Squatter than the above, but the neck somewhat taller and the

¹¹² A similar example from a context of 1763–1772 is illustrated by NOEL HUM, "Excavations at Rosewell," fig. 29, no. 1.

¹¹³ ADRIAN OSWALD, "A London Stoneware Pottery, Recent Excavations at Bankside," *The Connoisseur* (January 1951), vol. 126, no. 519, pp. 183–185.

¹¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, (footnote 67).

¹¹⁵ A close parallel that was found at Lewes, Delaware, is illustrated in WATKINS, "North Devon Pottery," p. 45, fig. 25.

¹¹⁶ See SHEELAH RUGGLES-BRISE, *Scaled Bottles* (London: Country Life, 1949), pl. 4, fig. at lower left, and W. A. THORPE, "The Evolution of the Decanter," *The Connoisseur* (April 1929), vol. 83, no. 332, p. 197, fig. 2.

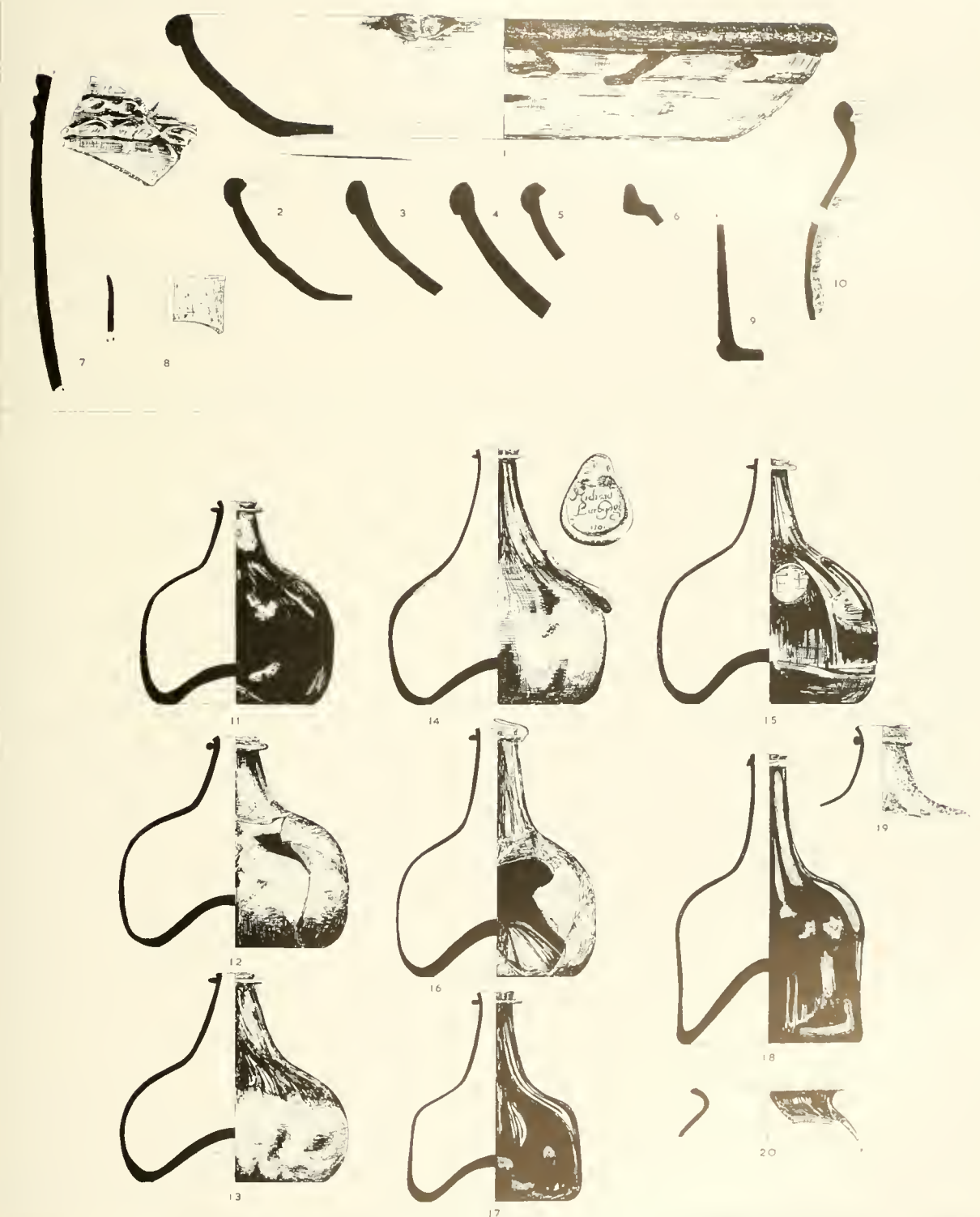


FIGURE 19.—COARSE EARTHENWARES and glass bottles. One-fourth.

- shoulder less angular; probably little variation in date.¹¹⁷ T.N. 30.
14. Wine bottle of squat form, olive-green metal. The neck taller than in no. 12 and the string-rim smaller and V-shaped.¹¹⁸ Seal, on the shoulder, bears the legend "Richard Burbydge 1701." T.N. 30.
15. Wine bottle of squat form, olive-green metal. Somewhat bulbous and the shoulder weak, the string-rim broad and flat.¹¹⁹ A slightly earlier form than no. 14. The bottle has a seal on its shoulder with the initials "F F" (Frederick Jones) stamped from a single matrix.¹²⁰ T.N. 30.
16. Wine bottle of somewhat unusual form. The metal thin olive green has turned black through decay which has almost entirely destroyed the metal. The body round-shouldered, and bulbous in the early manner; but the neck tall and the string-rim almost round-sectioned rather than V-shaped as one might expect of a bottle of this basic form. Were it not for the soft curve of the body and the shape of the string-rim this bottle might be attributed to the third decade of the 18th century. Note brass wire, still attached to neck, that held cork in place. T.N. 30.
17. Wine bottle of half-bottle size. The metal as in no. 16; shoulder angular; neck somewhat writhen with a broad and flat string-rim of 17th-century character. Without the last feature (and its context) this bottle might be thought to date as late as 1725. T.N. 30.
18. Wine bottle, olive-green metal. Short cylindrical body with conical basal kick, straight neck, and down-tooled string-rim. Dated examples occur in the late 1730's, but are more common in the following decade. T.N. 23.
19. Wine-bottle neck of olive-green metal in an advanced state of decay. Wide mouth with everted lip and large round-sectioned string-rim of unusual character. The angular shoulder suggests that the neck comes from a body comparable to that of no. 12. T.N. 31.

¹¹⁷ Another example is illustrated by NOËL HUME, "The Glass Wine Bottle," *op. cit.* (footnote 56), fig. 3, type 3.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fig. 3, type 6, illustrates a similar example.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 3, type 5, shows another example.

¹²⁰ All other Jones seals from T.N. 30 and T.N. 31 were stamped from combinations of single-letter matrices. See footnote 1.

20. Pickle jar, everted-mouth fragments only. Olive-green metal in an advanced stage of decay, originally with square body in the manner of the more common case bottles.¹²¹ T.N. 18.

FIGURE 20. MISCELLANEOUS SMALL FINDS

1. Harness ornament, plated brass. (See fig. 17, no. 12.) T.N. 17.
2. Harness fitting, brass. (See fig. 17, no. 13.) T.N. 15.
3. Brass button. Hollow cast; both back and front convex; the back with two molding holes on either side of the flat-sectioned brass loop, which spreads directly from the back without any intermediary shank. Such buttons were common in the second half of the 17th century and the first quarter of the 18th century.¹²² Diameter, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. T.N. 23.
4. Brass curtain ring. The shape cast and then roughly filed flat on either side. This method of manufacture is typical of the 17th and 18th centuries. Diameter, 1 in. T.N. 24.
5. Ornamental brass band from shaft or hilt of uncertain form. The band has become flattened and folded, and the condition of the metal precludes regaining its original shape. However, the band is almost certainly a truncated cone, ornamented with a roughly cutout and scored foliate decoration at the narrow end and plated with a thin band of silver at the other end. Length, $1\frac{1}{16}$ in. T.N. 18.
6. Millefiori or chevron bead of yellow and black glass, almost certainly Venetian.¹²³ The bead is flattened on its pierced axis and has a diameter of $\frac{3}{8}$ in. This example is probably of 17th-century date, but the technique can be traced back to Roman times. T.N. 30.
7. Chinese export porcelain-cup fragment. Deco-

¹²¹ A similar though slightly smaller neck came from T.N. 16, and a square base, probably from an ordinary case bottle, was among the surface finds. Another example is illustrated in NOËL HUME, "Excavations at Rosewell," p. 181, fig. 11, no. 13.

¹²² NOËL HUME, *Archaeology in Britain*, p. 108.

¹²³ Colorful beads of this character were frequently used as Indian trade goods and are found in Indian graves in Virginia and elsewhere. A long-established legend that beads were manufactured at the Jamestown glasshouse is without archeological evidence. Although many beads have been found on the shores of the James River near Jamestown, there is reason to suppose that all those of European form were imported.



FIGURE 20.--MISCELLANEOUS small finds.

rated in underglaze blue, rough chevron ornament below the rim on the interior. Diameter approximately 3 in. T.N. 23.

8. Lower bowl fragment of lead-glass Romer ornamented with gadrooning or pillar molding. This is undoubtedly the finest glass fragment from the site; it would not have been out of place in the best English household.¹²⁴ About 1685. T.N. 30.
9. Indian projectile point of honey-colored quartzite. The edges slightly serrated, and the base slightly

¹²⁴ See HUGHES, *English, Scottish and Irish Table Glass*, p. 195 and fig. 134.

concave; the tip missing, but total length originally about 43 mm. Holland Type C.¹²⁵ T.N. 16.

10. Indian projectile point of red quartzite. Eared or corner-notched variety; original length approximately 45 mm. Holland Type O.¹²⁶ This is an unstratified item discovered on the bared clay surface on the promontory of Tutter's Neck overlooking the junction of Tutter's Neck and Kingsmill Creeks.

¹²⁵ C. G. HOLLAND, "An Analysis of Projectile Points and Large Blades," appendix to CLIFFORD EVANS, *A Ceramic Study of Virginia Archeology* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 160, Washington, 1955), p. 167.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 171.