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Community Through Consumption: The Role of Food in African American Cultural Formation in the 18th Century Chesapeake

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COMMUNITY THROUGH CONSUMPTION: THE ROLE OF FOOD IN AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL FORMATION IN THE 18TH CENTURY CHESAPEAKE

A Thesis Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

COMMUNITY THROUGH CONSUMPTION: THE ROLE OF FOOD IN AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL FORMATION IN THE 18TH CENTURY CHESAPEAKE

May 2018

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Stratford Hall Plantation's Oval Site was once a dynamic 18th-century farm quarter that was home to an enslaved community and overseer charged with growing Virginia's cash crop: tobacco. No documentary evidence references the site, leaving archaeology as the only means to reconstruct the lives of the site's inhabitants. This research uses the results of a macrobotanical analysis conducted on soil samples taken from an overseer's basement and a dual purpose slave quarter/kitchen cellar at the Oval Site to understand what the site's residents were eating and how the acquisition, production, processing, provisioning, and consumption of food impacted their daily lives. The interactive nature of the overseer, enslaved community, and their respective

botanical assemblages suggests that food was not only used as sustenance, it was also a medium for social interaction and mutual dependence between the two groups.

The botanical assemblage is also utilized to discuss how the consumption of provisioned, gathered, and produced foods illustrate the ways that Stratford's enslaved inhabitants formed communities and exerted agency through food choice. A mixture of traditional African, European, and native/wild taxa were recovered from the site, revealing the varied cultural influences that affected the resident's cuisine. The assemblage provides evidence for ways that the site's enslaved Africans and African Americans adapted to the local environment, asserted individual and group food preferences, and created creolized African American identities as they sought to survive and persist in the oppressive plantation landscape.

The results from the Oval Site are compared to nine other 18th- and 19th-century plantation sites in Virginia to demonstrate how food was part of the cultural creolization process undergone by enslaved Africans and African Americans across the region. The comparison further shows that diverse, creolized food preferences developed by enslaved communities can be placed into a regional framework of foodways patterns. Analyzing the results on a regional scale acknowledges the influence of individual preferences and identities of different communities on their food choices, while still demonstrating how food was consistently both a mechanism and a product of African American community formation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Life on 18th-century Chesapeake tobacco plantations was rigid, ordered, and brutal. Social hierarchy was determined by economic standing and race, with the lowest status belonging to enslaved Africans and African Americans. The enslaved had little autonomy and lived at the whim of plantation owners and management. Enslaved workers in the 17th and early 18th century were primarily African-born, and upon arrival were forced into a system of labor with both African and Euro-Americans strangers that spoke different languages and had diverse ethnic backgrounds and cultural practices. Despite their diverse ethnic backgrounds, the enslaved Africans found themselves grouped together by white Anglo-American society based on an imposed racial identity.

In order to survive the oppressive plantation system, enslaved Africans had to work together. First generation enslaved Africans began to form communities, create kinship networks, and have children. Communities began to adopt creolized African American identities, with cultural practices that included a mixture of traditional African and Anglo-American elements. The subjugated nature of these enslaved communities meant that the history of their practices, preferences, and lifeways survive in bits and pieces and are often only documented through the biased view of their oppressors.

The Oval Site at Stratford Hall Plantation is a prime example of how the history of an enslaved community can easily be lost to time. The undocumented site was the home to an overseer and enslaved community that, up until the 1970s, was completely forgotten. While everything that is known about the Oval Site has been inferred from archaeological excavations, an occupation date range from approximately 1725-1775 suggests that the site would have been the location of enslaved African Americans and newly arrived Africans forming communities and creating new cultural practices.

This research uses the results of a macrobotanical analysis conducted on slave and overseer-related features on the site to reconstruct the foodways of and interactions among the site's inhabitants. The botanical assemblage will be analyzed to understand how food was used as a tool of oppression, negotiation, and resistance. An examination of provisioned, gathered, and produced foods will illustrate the ways in which Stratford's enslaved community subverted the imposed provisioning system in order to exert their own identity and agency through food choice.

The analysis of the Oval Site is particularly important due to the inclusion of features related to both overseers and enslaved African and African Americans. There is a limited amount of archaeological analyses conducted on overseer sites, and even less that utilize macrobotanicals (Wilkins 2017:16). Analyzing botanicals from both overseer and slave-related features provides a unique opportunity for this analysis to address the assemblages of the two groups as the result of interactive rather than mutually exclusive foodways practices. A comparison of the results from the two areas will be utilized to understand how the two groups were interacting and navigating the imposed social and racial hierarchy established by the plantation labor structure.

The results of the analysis will then be compared to a number of other sites in the Chesapeake to understand how food was part of the process of cultural creolization undergone by the enslaved Africans and African Americans as they began to form communities and create relationships at Stratford Hall and across the region. Comparative date will be utilized to demonstrate how the use of food choice as a means to exert power and identity is a pattern that can be identified on a regional scale. The results from Stratford Hall and similar data will be placed within a regional framework of food acquisition and consumption by enslaved communities to illustrate how food was both a mechanism and a product of African American cultural and community formation.

Life on 18th-Century Chesapeake Plantations

Food acquisition and consumption on 18th-century Chesapeake plantations was heavily tied to the social and economic structure of tobacco plantation life. While initial 17th-century tobacco farming in the region was primarily conducted on small family farms, by the early to mid-18th-century growth of the cash crop was taking place on large-scale plantations. The change in plantation size led to a completely new social and economic hierarchy, most of which was driven by a massive increase in the reliance on enslaved human labor. The interactions and dynamics between different groups may have varied across different plantations, but were always tied to the imposed racial categories of enslaved Africans and African Americans versus free whites.

Tobacco

The daily life of Chesapeake plantation slaves and overseers revolved around the labor-intensive process of tobacco cultivation. The region's hot summers and mild winters were especially conducive to optimal tobacco growth (Morgan 1998:33). With each crop cycle lasting 15 months, every stage of planting required close attention. The plant required a seeding period at the beginning of the year before being moved into the fields in the spring. In the fields, the plant went through processes of weeding and topping, before being harvested once the leaves began to wilt. The plants were then dried and stripped before being packed into hogsheads for sale (Weldon 2014:37-38). The long, laborious cultivation period of the plant required consistent care for the plant punctuated by periods of high intensity work, which was supported by slave labor. In addition to tobacco, many plantations grew wheat and corn. Corn was a common secondary crop and provided sustenance for people and livestock on the plantation (Morgan 1998:49; Wilkins 2017:93). Increased demands for grains and a fluctuating tobacco market led to a progressively diversified agricultural output in the region starting in the mid-18th century. Wheat was an especially popular crop and could be farmed to complement the tobacco cultivation schedule (Kulikoff 1986; Morgan 1998; Wilkins 2017).

Labor, specifically slave labor, was structured around creating an optimal tobacco harvest. Due to how quickly tobacco depleted the soil, fields had to be rotated and left to fallow. The crop required a large amount of land per laborer in order to stay profitable so plantations were often organized into a series of quarters headed by an overseer in different areas across the plantation (Wilkins 2017:110). Enslaved field hands were often organized into small gangs to keep pace with each other (Wilkins 2017:92). Early-to-mid 18th century Chesapeake overseers tended to be in charge of anywhere from 8 to 20 slaves, but this number increased throughout the 18th-century as slave populations were concentrated on larger plantations (Wilkins 2017: 110). An increase in the use of plows and carts in the 1750s caused further division in cultivation labor through the addition of positions such as cartmen, plowmen, and mowers (Kulikoff 1986: 408).

Plantation Structure and Social Dynamics

Three main social groups existed on large-scale Chesapeake plantations in the 18th century: the plantation owner, overseers, and the enslaved. These three groups were constantly interacting with each other, both directly and indirectly. The dynamics among the different social and racial groups varied by both time and space, with plantation size and agricultural practices acting as major influences on how those interactions occurred. Seventeenth-century agricultural labor forces in the tidewater often consisted of white indentured servants as well as slaves. The transition to African slave labor has been attributed to both economic choices on the part of plantation owners, as well as a conscious choice based on attitudes towards racial groups and how they could be treated (Wilkins 2017:74). The formation of a wealthy planter class, increased reliance on an enslaved African labor force, and creation of an intermediate supervisory overseer role forced each group to regularly confront and navigate their roles within the plantation structure. While these trends did not occur uniformly across the Chesapeake, they encompassed some of the more prevalent attitudes and social interactions taking place in the region.

While tobacco was cultivated by indigenous peoples long before Europeans arrived, tobacco planting by Anglo-Americans started in the Chesapeake in the early 17th century primarily on small, family-run farms. These small-scale plantations continued as the practice of slavery took hold in the region, with a few enslaved laborers working in the fields along with the farmer, his family, and occasional hired hands (Kulikoff 1986: 43). Increased plantation size and reliance on slave labor in the early 18th century led to the creation of a gentry class of plantation owners. As agricultural production and success became status markers of the elite, a class of wealthy planters was soon established in the region that used their political clout to impose tobacco regulations on poorer farmers. The wealthiest planters sought to create self-sufficient plantations of enslaved farmers, artisans, and domestic workers (Kulikoff 1986:10, 396). Outlying quarters were established on plantations to increase tobacco quality and output. The increase in plantation size led to a larger enslaved labor force, reliance on overseers to manage the day-to-day responsibilities of crop and livestock management. Differences in social and racial classes became more pronounced, both on the plantation and within the surrounding community.

Plantation Owners

Despite past attempts to portray the relationship between slave owners and the enslaved as oppression being forced upon and accepted by static actors, the reality is much more complicated. Philip D. Morgan (1998) notes that the dominant social attitudes of the period need to be contextualized with actual individual interactions that would have been taking place. Power and domination imposed from the plantation owner would not exist without a response from the enslaved (Morgan 1998:318). This is not to say that the enslaved were complicit in their own domination, but rather addresses the fact that the dynamic between the two social groups was constantly in flux and full of contradictions. The enslaved were viewed as property, yet they denied this categorization by constantly demonstrating their humanity, sentience, and will. When the enslaved forced plantation owners to acknowledge their humanity, plantation owners utilized attitudes of patriarchy and paternalism to reconcile these contradictions (Morgan 1998:260-261).

A patriarchal approach to managing the enslaved was most prevalent prior to the mid-18th century. Plantation owners engaged a "father providing" dynamic that rationalized the severity of the slave system. As the provider, the plantation owner was to be obeyed and when he was not, his wrath should be expected and respected. Implicit in this perspective was the understanding that the enslaved would not necessarily be submissive, and that plantation owners needed to meet certain obligations such as providing sustenance and the creation of work limits (Morgan 1998:276-280).

The second half of the 18th century saw the rise in a more sentimental "paternalistic" approach. Order and authority were still stressed, but there was an increased emphasis in benevolence and familial affinity used towards the enslaved. This can be observed the creation of a fictional "content and loyal slave" boasted about by plantation owners. Part of the shift in attitudes can be attributed to disruption from the Revolutionary War and the rise of Evangelicalism (Morgan 1998:284-289). While these approaches may have been an attempt to reconcile the moral conflicts of slavery experienced by the plantation owners, they were only used when it worked to the plantation owner's advantage. Self-interest and commercial advantage always won out over the best interests of the enslaved (Morgan 1998:294).

Overseers

Overseers occupied a unique position within the social strata of plantation life. The role held by overseers has often been characterized as a difficult in-between position typically filled by young, white, single, unskilled, illiterate men for short periods of time. These men were responsible for making sure the work of the enslaved conformed to the expectations set by the plantation owner, as well as any shortcomings or misbehaviors incurred. It was up to them to make sure quotas were met, whether through abuse or coercion, while often contending with hostility from the enslaved labor force. They served as a communication channel between the plantation owner and the enslaved, and were often in charge of managing livestock and keeping accounts (Kulikoff 1986; Morgan 1998; Wilkins 2017).

Research on overseers conducted by Andrew Wilkins has shown that in addition to general responsibilities, regional and individual variations in plantation structure, crops, and slave labor organization would have necessitated varying skillsets (2017:127). Documentary research undertaken by Wilkins indicated that the schedule of tobacco cultivation influenced the hiring practices of overseers in the Chesapeake region (2017:105). Tobacco's deleterious effect on soil and value based on product quality rather than quantity meant that overseers were often charged with managing outlying farm quarters to maximize land use. Based on an analysis of newspaper advertisements, Wilkins found evidence that Chesapeake overseers were valued for their planting knowledge, which could be used to ensure a small gang of slaves would produce good quality tobacco (Wilkins 2017:121).

Regardless of the overseer's planting skills, they were still not on the same social level of a plantation owner. Social hierarchy of plantation life would have placed them above the enslaved, but the generally low-paying position did not afford them the same amenities and social standing of their employers (Wilkins 2017:100). Overseers were often provided with housing, and while they were not commonly provisioned with food or clothing, overseers were often paid with shares of the plantation's crops (Wilkins 2017:101, 141). Conflict between overseers and plantation owners over the amount of authority the overseer had over the enslaved was common, and some plantation owners went even further, treating their overseers with open disdain. Having their authority undermined by the plantation owner would have put the overseer in a precarious position within the social hierarchy of the plantation, which was regularly taken advantage of by the enslaved (Morgan 1998; Wilkins 2017:101).

Enslaved Africans and African Americans

The reality of slave life was brutal. After being kidnapped and enduring a treacherous journey across the Atlantic, first-generation enslaved Africans who ended up on Chesapeake plantations were forced into a system of subjugation and hard labor. Their new social role was enforced in every part of their lives – from the landscape they inhabited to the new names they were given. Unequal ratios of men to women and cultural barriers between groups prior to the 1730s the growth in slave population was primarily due to the importation of more Africans. It wasn't until the second quarter of the 18th century that sex ratios began to even out and the enslaved population began to have children (Kulikoff 1986:64; Wilkins 2017:94).

When the slave population began to grow naturally in the 1730s, the new generation of enslaved African Americans did not have it any easier. Men, women, and children as young as ten were forced to do agricultural labor, and all had to contend with the difficulty of trying to form families and community groups in the face of varying population sizes, language barriers, cultural differences, and the possibility of families being broken up among different plantations (Kulikoff 1986:64; Wilkins 2017:94).

As discussed by Terrence Epperson (1990), plantation owners used a wide variety of methods to enforce social systems of domination. They used violence as a tool to assert power and compliance from the enslaved workforce, and whipping and mutilation were regularly inflicted to punish and control the enslaved. Long work hours, minimal clothing and food provisions, and providing barely adequate shelters were similarly used as tools of oppression. Plantation owners also imposed Anglo-American names onto the enslaved that had familial diminutives and lacked a family name, which enforced attitudes of condescension and parental authority. Each method served a different purpose. Some methods such as mutilation separated out enslaved individuals from the group, whereas other practices such as naming incorporated the enslaved into a social group (Epperson 1990:30, 35).

Kulikoff (1986) described enslaved Africans and African Americans in the 18th century as being part of both a racial caste and a laboring class. Their race defined them as being both a person and a mean of production, while their role as a laborer placed them within a complex system of production controlled by the plantation owner. Their role within the social hierarchy created by the plantation owner was contradictory, and their day-to-day life was oppressive. But despite their central role in the plantation, their social status granted them a certain level of invisibility. Their presence was often taken for granted and dominant racial attitudes frequently afforded them an "out of sight, out of mind" role on the plantation. This invisibility proved to be an advantage for the enslaved, which they used to create personal lives, family ties, and communities.

Within the chaos of enslavement, many of the enslaved worked together and ordered their lives by established behavior codes and formed social relationships, but oftentimes this was dependent on where the slaves had originated and the economic and demographic environment in which they were placed (Morgan 1998:442-443). The enslaved in the Chesapeake were brought from a variety of African cultures that varied greatly in religious beliefs, kinship systems, and social organization. Despite these difficulties, the enslaved were able to establish relationships that extended across plantations (Kulikoff 1986:317).

CHAPTER II

PLANTATION ARCHAEOLOGY, AFRICAN DIASPORA THEORY, AND AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURE FORMATION

The Archaeology of Plantations

A critical examination of archaeology as a discipline clearly shows that past research goals and results are a reflection of the dominant social attitudes from the time they were conducted. Changes in research focuses similarly indicate shifting perspectives in anthropological and archaeological theory. The archaeology of plantations in the Chesapeake, and specifically how archaeologists have studied the topics of slavery and race, is no different. An examination of past attempts to study race and slavery illustrates how far the discipline has come, as well as points to how the results of analyses on African and African-American sites can be used in the future.

As was typical of many approaches to history in the early-to-mid 20th-century, early plantation archaeology was primarily focused on architectural reconstructions and preservation of former historic settlements and homes of the elite. Plantation archaeology in Virginia began in the 1930s and examined properties belonging to some of the country's early patriots and presidents such as Mount Vernon, Monticello, Gunston Hall, and Stratford Hall. Early excavations were conducted by both trained and amateur archaeologists, who often did not leave behind any detailed documentation of their work. While early plantation archaeology became more systematic and developed as a discipline, it was rarely if ever employed to understand and reconstruct landscapes used by enslaved Africans and African Americans (Heath and Bennett 2000:44; Singleton 1990:70-71).

It was not until the late 1960s that archaeology was used to reconstruct more than just elite lifeways and began to examine African and African American-related sites. Spurred on in part by civil rights activism, historic preservation laws, and influenced by the new social history and vindicationist movements, this new archaeological focus was the result of a shift from examining elite subjects to the oppressed (Agbe Davies 2007; Fennell 2008:3; Honerkamp 2009:1; Singleton 1990:71-72). The movement started a trend of analyzing the lives of African and African American slaves in the American South and Caribbean, with the goal of giving a voice to the voiceless subjects of history (Honerkamp 2009:2).

One of the earliest examples of this shift from studying plantation owners to slaves was the work of Charles Fairbanks in the late 1960s and early 1970s. His excavations of a slave cabin on Kingsley Plantation in Ft. George Island, Florida, and later groundbreaking work excavating a slave cabin with Robert Ascher at Rayfield Plantation in Cumberland, Georgia, brought the lives of both plantations' enslaved inhabitants into the forefront of archaeological analysis and conversation (Honerkamp

2009:1-2; Otto 1980:11). Fairbanks and Ascher's work at Rayfield is especially well known due to its use of audio recordings of slave narratives and eyewitness accounts in the site interpretation to share multiple perspectives and give a voice to those impacted by racialization (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Orser 2007:16). While the archaeology done by Ascher and Fairbanks did not focus on racialization or use a specific theoretical perspective, they nonetheless showed that focusing on the lives of enslaved Africans was an important avenue for future research (Fennell 2008:4; Honerkamp 2009:2-3; Orser 2007:16). Fairbanks was also well aware of the biases implicit in the documentary record and, similar to Stanley South and James Deetz, saw archaeology as a way to move past them (Honerkamp 2009:1-2).

While Fairbanks has been noted as the first archaeologist to focus on slave sites, many scholars credit John Otto with continuing to develop the discipline. Otto, a New, Processual archaeologist, used the results of his excavations at Cannon's Point in Georgia to compare the material culture of enslaved individuals, overseers, and planters in an attempt to seek out patterns of status (Honerkamp 2009:2-3). His research was predicated on seeing differences in status, caste/class, and race manifested in the material culture from each group. Otto used the results of the Cannon's Point data to create "status patterning" so that it could be applied to other sites (Singleton 1990:72).

In order to identify the presence of enslaved Africans and African Americans, early examination of slave-related sites in the 1960s and 1970s sought out "Africanisms" (Agbe Davies 2007:414). Believing that the individuals inhabiting these sites were members of displaced cultures, archaeologists believed they could find physical evidence of the continuation of African cultural traits and looked for artifacts believed to be diagnostic of African culture such as cowrie shells, blue beads, pierced coins, gaming pieces, and colonoware. The diagnostic elements also extended to the built environment, and included evidence of earthfast structures and subfloor pits (Heath and Breen 2009:2; Orser 1998:63-68).

Early plantation archaeology was far from perfect. Otto's status patterning was not consistently being replicated at other sites, indicating that broad generalizations of culture and status were not applicable and more nuanced than Otto originally thought. Otto's critics felt that his work oversimplified the complex cultural, social, and economic interactions taking place on the plantation, and did not take into account changes in those interactions over time (Honerkamp 2009:3-4). Status patterning also ignored the diverse cultural origins of the enslaved African and African Americans, and when done on a regional scale, it obscured individual relationships and interactions (Howson 1990:80-81; Orser 1998:37). These criticisms extended to the search for "Africanisms" as well. Comparisons of slave-related sites in Virginia undertaken by Barbara Heath and Eleanor Breen explored the presence of artifacts and features "diagnostic" of African culture using the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS). Heath and Breen found a lack of consistency in the types of artifacts and archaeological features on sites associated with enslaved individuals, indicating that using the presence of "Africanisms" was not a consistent way to identify the presence of enslaved individuals (Heath and Breen 2009).

As status patterning and the search for broad cultural generalizations fell out of favor, scholars utilized postmodern critique to focus more on individual experiences and subjectivity (Honerkamp 2009:3). Many different lines of inquiry developed including those focused on economics and power, dominance and resistance, and contextualizing individual experiences (Honerkamp 2009:3; Singleton 1990:73-74). A lack of distinctly African American cultural material in archaeological assemblages led archaeologists to adopt an acculturation model of assuming that the Euro-American cultural influence replaced the African heritage of the enslaved (Agbe-Davies 2007: 415). Despite not finding any consistent occurrences of African American cultural material, archaeologists were still seeking Africanisms or survivances of African culture in the archaeological record.

Archaeologists came to adopt a "creolization" culture model, suggesting that African and African descendant communities outside of Africa would be a mixture of African, African American, and Anglo-American culture, rather than a static transplant of African culture existing outside of Africa. Maroon communities in the Caribbean exhibited strong evidence of creolization and the maintenance of culture over time (Orser 1998:63-69). This period of scholarship was focused on plantation sites and was primarily identified as African American archaeology. It was not until the past three decades that a shift in focus to sites outside of the United States has given scholars a global perspective on a broader range of social and historical contexts, with a stronger focus on race and racial politics. This shift has brought the discipline to what is currently known as African Diaspora archaeology (Franklin and McKee 2004:2-3).

African Diaspora Archaeology

African Diaspora archaeology is multi-disciplinary, and is influenced by social anthropology and theory, diaspora theory, and Black feminist theory (Franklin and McKee 2004:5). It involves working on contextualized local scales of analysis, as well as expanding to a more global concept of African diaspora. The archaeological study of sites relating to Africans and African Americans has expanded beyond housing and foodways to include industrial sites, economic interactions, social and community structures, mortuary and healthcare traditions, spirituality, landscape modifications, and comparative studies in Africa (Fennell 2008:2-3; Heath and Breen 2009:15).

Archaeologists studying the African diaspora use archaeological evidence to understand how diasporic communities lived and changed over time. These communities may be geographically dispersed but are related through history, culture, and racialization (Franklin 2001:89). The different diasporic groups share histories of racial oppression, as well as the struggle against it (Palmer 2001:58). Despite these shared histories, scholars recognize that these widespread communities, which are the result of several migratory streams, do not necessarily share cultural unity or a singular culture of the African diaspora (Simms Hamilton 1995:407). African diaspora scholars recognize that the diaspora process is social as well as physical, and aim to contextualize the movement of peoples within historical conditions that structure the events and environments contributing to peoples’ experiences (Simms Hamilton 1995:397-398). Many studies look at race and class as two structures of inequality that have greatly influenced the experiences of diasporic communities (Simms Hamilton 1995:398). This particular project uses the framework of African diaspora scholarship to examine how the processes of racialization and creolization experienced by enslaved Africans and African Americans in the 18th-century Chesapeake influenced food choice, and by extension, cultural identity and community formation.

The enslaved individuals kidnapped and sold into bondage in Africa during the Atlantic slave trade did not define themselves as "African." They instead defined themselves by their ethnic group – a fact that was known to white slave traders and purchasers (Palmer 2001:57). Race was an unfamiliar social category to the enslaved, an identity forced on them along with a new language as part of the demoralizing tactics imposed by white planters upon their arrival after crossing the Atlantic (Franklin 2001:91). Enforcing a blanket racial identity upon the enslaved made it easier to essentialize a diverse community of peoples and dehumanize them, oppress them, and treat them as chattel. In the early to mid-17th century, the loose social hierarchy seen on small family farms and middling plantations in the Chesapeake meant that despite this label, Africans could reposition themselves, with more chances at economic and social mobility. But by the second half of the 17th century, an increase in tobacco farming and the growing size of the enslaved work force eliminated any opportunity for incoming Africans. The continued reliance on slave labor into the 18th century further solidified as a class of elite planters on large plantations was established, necessitating an even larger enslaved work force (Franklin 2001:90).

Previous efforts to understand the imposition of race and its effects on cultural changes experienced by enslaved Africans and African Americans have been criticized for oversimplifying the process. Early attempts to identify African American culture did not discuss the structural influence of slavery, therefore did not contextualize the environment in which that culture was created. Some scholars believed the antiquated notion that African slaves would have arrived in the Americas culturally blank (Palmer 1995:224). Charles E. Orser, Jr. (1998) pointed out that many archaeologists have equated race with ethnicity, or ignored race entirely. Similar to archaeologists' search for Africanisms and survivances, studies that attempted to understand the experiences of diasporic groups by using an imposed singular racial identity as a key characteristic rather than recognizing cultural diversity within different groups have been criticized as static and essentialist (Agbe-Davies 2007:415).

Current African diaspora scholarship has shifted from a descriptive approach to an interpretive one that acknowledges the diverse circumstances experienced by diasporic groups (Franklin 2001:82; Palmer 2000:30). Scholars recognize the common experience of diasporic groups created by imposed racial identities and subsequent oppression, and that race is often used as a unifying characteristic between African diasporic groups as a source of empowerment (Franklin 2001:90). But they are also exploring the unique social, economic, and political factors faced by each group in order to contextualize how community identity was formed (Palmer 2000: 30). Race is now commonly acknowledged as a social construct rather than the result of biological differences, and scholars such as Anna Agbe-Davies (2007:74) advocate using race as a practice-based concept rather than an essentialist category – similar to how ethnicity is conceptualized. Others argue that diasporic studies should focus on how communities and individuals identify with one another. Identity is recognized as being dynamic and situational based on the context where it is defined and lived, and people are acknowledged as being active agents in their creation of social networks and survival skills, rather than passive reactors (Franklin 2001:89-90; Simms Hamilton 1995:403).

African American Cultural Formation

One of the overarching themes in the study of the African diaspora is seeking to understand how cultural practices and identity changed as a result of the diaspora. Culture itself has been recognized as a dynamic expression of individual and community relationships, knowledge, values, and norms that develop and change continuously over time. These changes can be the result of conflict, and are influenced by both past experiences and present circumstances (Simms Hamilton 1995:403-404). The process of creolization has been used to understand and explain how African American culture first developed (Ferguson 1992). Entering a new, oppressive environment with different food, language, and an imposed racial identity, enslaved Africans and later generations of African Americans developed a culture that neither remained solely African, nor became Anglo-American, but instead consisted of entirely new cultural practices. Interactions and cultural exchanges between enslaved Africans, white Anglo-Americans, and local Native American populations would have caused changes and cultural adjustments within all three groups. For enslaved Africans, this new creolized culture was not unified across different communities, but instead varied based on factors such as location, time, and power structure. African American culture therefore developed as a mixture of interacting subcultures and communities rather than a uniform creolized blend (Ferguson 1992).

As previously discussed, enslaved individuals arriving to the Chesapeake from Africa would have carried with them a sense of community and cultural identity that was not part of the system they were forced into. New arrivals would have been placed with a group of people that had varying cultural practices, tribal origins, and values. Housing was not often based on kin-relationships, and once established, families were often at risk of being broken up and sold to different plantations (Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008:707). The strictly structured and controlled physical and social environments of Chesapeake plantations were completely at odds with traditional ways of life, and survival necessitated that enslaved people formed new relationships. As the late 17th century transitioned into the mid-18th, relatively stable enslaved communities were established and enslaved Africans began to create family ties and have children (Franklin 2001:91-92). As more African-American slaves were born and grew up, ethnic-based ties, identities, and loyalties began to break down, a group identity formed around enslavement, and an enforced racial identity further solidified (Palmer 1995:236). Enslaved people formed communities in which shared responsibilities such as raising children, maintaining shared spaces, and providing resources for survival contributed to a sense of group identity (Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008:707).

Creolized Foodways

New cultural identities and practices on Chesapeake plantations meant changes in how enslaved people procured, cooked, and consumed food. While many changes were the result of the need for survival in a new environment, food preparation and consumption was imbued with symbolism, and food was often used to reinforce cultural values, community relationships, and social differences (Franklin 2001:88, 106). Investigations of African and African American foodways on plantations have moved beyond simply the descriptive toward the interpretive, focusing on food acquisition strategies and its cultural meanings. The acquisition, production, and consumption of food have been identified as indicative of choice and self-reliance, as well as representative of some of the social and economic negotiations taking place between enslaved individuals and plantation owners. It has also been recognized as a method for the assertion of identity, dominance, and resistance (Honerkamp 2009:4-5).

In the Chesapeake region, plantation owners commonly practiced partial provisioning of food for the enslaved. The enslaved were provided part of their subsistence, often consisting primarily of corn and beef or pork rations, and had to supplement their diets through small-scale gardens that they tended in their spare time. Gathering of fruits and nuts and hunting of small game was also common (Bowes 2011; Crader 1990; Heath and Bennett 2000; Kulikoff 1986:392; Morgan 1998:139-140). Documentation of slave gardens mention the cultivation of West African taxa such as black eyed peas/cowpeas, okra, and watermelon, as well as indigenous American taxa including peanuts, sweet potatoes, squash, and pumpkin. Many of the indigenous

American taxa were already incorporated into several West African diets through trade, and others such as pigeon peas and horse beans were cultivated because of their similarity to West African taxa (Morgan 1998:140, 360; Samford 2007:127). Medicinal and ornamental plants may have been grown as well (Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008:718).

Both the cultivation and consumption of food is imbued with cultural meaning, and enslaved African and African American consumption choices would have served as a way to assert their West African heritage, as well as an emerging African American cultural identity (Samford 2007:128). According to Samford (2007:128), the food preparation techniques of enslaved Africans and African Americans in the Chesapeake were primarily West African in nature, with a prevalence of low maintenance one-pot meals consisting of stewed starches and vegetables supplemented with protein. Corn was a dietary staple and would have been consumed in a variety of ways including being ground as cornmeal, cornbread, hominy, and raw (Vlach 1992:56-59; Weldon 2014:57). Interviews of former slaves from the Chesapeake in the late 19th century include references to soups, and hoecakes and ashcakes made from meal, cornbread, and sweet potatoes. Proteins such as meat and fish mentioned less frequently (Perdue et al. 1976).

The plantation work schedule necessitated that Africans not only had to adapt to new types of food, but also new consumption patterns. Meals needed to be easy, quick, and filling. Rather than having the entire day to acquire and prepare food, enslaved Africans had forage, hunt, and garden outside of work hours to supplement meager provisions (Franklin 2001; Yentsch 2008). While certain provisioned and gardened foods appear to have been somewhat common across plantations in the region, the choices and availability of foodstuffs varied from place to place. Maria Franklin's work at Rich Neck Plantation, a mid-18th century satellite plantation in the Chesapeake, showed the enslaved community's foodways system was influenced by cultural traditions, locally available natural resources, the interactions with and surveillance of an overseer, and the provisioning system imposed by the plantation owner (Franklin 2001:100, 2004). These factors would have varied greatly both across plantations and over time in the region.

While foodways traditions were certainly heavily influenced by the surrounding landscape and power structure, they were also an assertion of autonomy. Work conducted at Rich Neck Plantation has illustrated how the enslaved community came together to create a foodways system that was based on sharing knowledge and pooling resources (Franklin 2001, 2004; Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008). The community worked together to create a food system that used gardening and hunting/foraging to assert their own autonomy over their food choices and construct part of their group identity (Franklin 2001:106). Gardening and hunting/foraging may have been born of a need to supplement meager provisions but they are also evidence of specialized skills and familiarity with the natural environment, as well as opportunities to have autonomy over their diet and the development of food preferences (Franklin 2001:95-96).

Developing and asserting preferences also extended to spaces of consumption. The spaces that people prepared and consumed food were arguably as imbued with meaning as the food itself, and likely varied based on what was being consumed. Larry McKee's 1999 model of plantation food supply places the enslaved community as active participants in defining their food supply – whether it was sanctioned by the plantation owner or not. The model, which examines who is in control of providing the food and whether it is sanctioned or not, suggests that interactions where the plantation owner is supplying the food are relatively straightforward. When the slaves are obtaining food for themselves, however, the model suggests that the behavior is much more complex and influenced by space and place (McKee 1999:219; Yentsch 2008:6). The consumption of "illicit" food items is well documented and is another example of the enslaved community developing new foodways traditions. The types of food and spaces where the material was consumed likely varied greatly across different plantations based on surveillance, availability of space, resources, and the preferences of individual enslaved communities.

The power-based plantation system imposed by the plantation owner predicated on the enslaved workforce complying with his demands – whether through choice or coercion. That predication meant that the enslaved workforce possessed some power as well, however little. As stated by Morgan (1998:258):

> Bought and sold like cattle, bequeathed and inherited like furniture, won and lost like lottery prizes, slaves nevertheless were human beings with whom working relationships had to be established, negotiations arranged, and accommodations reached.

Slaves knew that without their work, the plantation system would collapse. They often used this knowledge to demand reciprocity for their labor to negotiate changes to their daily life, such as being allowed to raise livestock and free time in the evenings (Kulikoff 1986: 392). Negotiations are also visible in the allowance and preservation of family ties. Some plantation owners would try to keep family units together and allow crossplantation marriages to avoid slow or unproductive work. Oftentimes illicit slaughter or selling of livestock was overlooked as long as the enslaved continued to work at a good pace (Kulikoff 1986).

The interactions involved in partial provisioning show negotiations of power occurring between the enslaved and plantation management. Provisioning and controlling access to food was regularly used as a mechanism to dominate and threaten the enslaved. It was common for Chesapeake plantation owners to allow slaves to sell and exchange goods, such as poultry and other food items (Morgan 1998:358). These goods were most often excess garden produce from their yards. In doing so, the plantation owner had to provide fewer provisions for their slaves, saving the owner money. It was also thought that plantation owners would be viewed as "benevolent" for giving slaves time to work on their gardens and an opportunity to trade for goods or money (Bowes 2011:98; Heath and Bennett 2000:42; Morgan 1998:359). But giving the enslaved inhabitants time to cultivate their garden and potentially sell excess goods was not done out of kindness. It was a calculated act, meant to lessen the financial burden of provisioning and keep up the productivity levels of the enslaved. Implicit (and perhaps explicit as well) in this concession is the threat that if the enslaved were not given the time to cultivate their own food and in some cases sell excess goods, they would not work as hard or be more likely to participate in overt and covert acts of resistance.

Resistance by the enslaved was a common reaction to the oppressed environment they were forced into and was expressed in a variety of ways from outright rebellion to establishing cultural identities based on resisting (Babson 1990:22). Both outright and covert forms of resistance took place on the plantation. Outright resistance included rebellion, running away, visiting friends and/or family on neighboring plantations, and stealing food (Morgan 1998; Perdue et al. 1976; Wilkins 2017). These acts could be traced back to specific individuals and often had harsh consequences. Some acts of resistance, however, were much more subtle and pervasive.

Overseers were often on the receiving end of more covert resistance. Field hands regularly took steps to undermine overseers by complaining about the overseer's job performance directly to the plantation owner. The plantation owners often sided with slaves in disputes and superseded the overseer's orders (Kulikoff 1986:410; Morgan 1998:334). Field hands would also break tools, slow down their work pace, and sabotage work (Wilkins 2017:138). Carts and plows began to be used in the mid-18th century, and slaves took advantage of the efficiency they provided by working slowly for a few days and then using the equipment to get their work done on time (Kulikoff 1986:412). Plantation owners were targets of covert resistance as well. Mortality rates in the region were high, so slaves would often pretend to be ill, knowing that plantation owners would not risk them getting sicker. Occasionally they would pass along rumors from other plantations that would cause panics. They would also drink while working, only work when they were being watched, and pretend not to understand tasks (Kulikoff 1986:389, 412; Morgan 1998:321).

Food has also been shown to illustrate the process of creolization. Many of the foods consumed on Chesapeake plantations, such as corn, collard greens, deer, possum, pokeweed, potatoes, and persimmon, were not native to Africa and would have been initially unfamiliar to Africans. Enslaved Africans adapted Euro-American and Native American ingredients and cooking methods to create new, distinct food traditions that were reminiscent of how similar ingredients were cooked back home (Franklin 2001; Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008:721). Traditional West African styles of cooking, including ash baking, pit roasting, and frying, and European methods of cooking such as dry roasting were used on African and New World ingredients to create food dishes that were representative of the cultural exchanges taking place (Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008: 721-722; Yentsch 2008:4). These traditions would have varied over time and across the region and were influenced by traditional preferences, new cultural interactions, and resource availability. As time went on, the foodways created by enslaved African American became an integral part of their community and cultural identity.

CHAPTER III

STRATFORD HALL PLANTATION

Located in Westmoreland County, Virginia, Stratford Hall Plantation is situated on a peninsula known as the Northern Neck. Westmoreland County is in the Tidewater region of Virginia, and bounded by the Potomac River to the north, the Rappahannock River to the south, and the Chesapeake Bay to the east (Figure 1). Stratford Hall is advantageously sited approximately a mile inland from the Potomac River. The Great House and surrounding historic dependencies occupy a relatively flat space in an area characterized by a mix of flat surfaces, ridges, and ravines. Once over 6,600 acres in size, the current property is approximately 1,900 acres and is owned and managed by the Robert E. Lee Memorial Association. The plantation currently consists of the Georgian-style brick Great House, several original and reconstructed dependencies, administrative and educational buildings, fields for raising livestock, and woodlands (Stratford Hall Cultural Landscape Inventory 2012:3-4).

Figure 1: Location of Stratford Hall Plantation.

Stratford and the Lee Family

The main plantation house at Stratford Hall was constructed sometime between 1729 and 1738 by Thomas Lee. A member of the prominent Lee family of Virginia, Thomas Lee purchased what would later become the site for Stratford in 1718. The property was approximately 1,443 acres, and was then known as the Clift's Plantation. The acquisition of an adjoining 2,400 acres, known as Hallow's Marsh, further augmented the property in 1732. While it is unknown precisely when construction on the Great House first began, a devastating fire that destroyed Lee's home Machodoc in 1729 most likely sped the process along (Wyrick 1971:76).

The landscape around Stratford Hall was built to produce Virginia's cash crop: tobacco. Maintenance and upkeep were ongoing at the dynamic plantation, but the majority of construction was completed in the 1740s. By this time, Stratford had become a self-sufficient community. The plantation had its own landing on the Potomac River, with a wharf that housed a ship's store. Due to tobacco's deleterious effects on the soil, Thomas Lee was continuously planting the crop on outlying farms. Besides tobacco, Stratford also produced barley, oats, flax, and corn. Documents of the property indicate that the kitchen garden grew vegetables and "sallat" greens, and the orchard directly adjacent to the Great House contained grapes, apples, pears, peaches, apricots, cherries, figs, and pomegranates. A mill located close to the river ground wheat and corn (Robert E Lee Memorial Association 2012).

After Thomas Lee's death in 1750, son Philip Ludwell Lee took control of the plantation. Ludwell Lee continued the growth and success of the plantation, including making Stratford the location of a tobacco inspection warehouse in 1759 (Weldon 2014: 74). Documentary evidence suggests that sometime around 1760, Ludwell Lee may have commercialized mill activities to provide another source of revenue for the plantation. In 1769, a hurricane damaged the Stratford waterfront. The tobacco inspection warehouse was destroyed and never resumed function, and the mill was most likely damaged as well. If this was the case, it is probable that the mill went back to only serving the plantation's needs (Calhoun 1992).

Philip Ludwell Lee's death in 1775, combined with steadily declining tobacco prices and impending war with the British, drastically changed life at Stratford Hall.

Philip Ludwell Lee did not leave behind a last will and testament, and the death of his and wife Elizabeth Steptoe Lee's young son in 1779 meant that there was no male heir left to inherit Stratford Hall (Nagal 1990:98-99). Elizabeth and her two daughters Matilda and Flora each owned a portion of Stratford's holdings. Matilda married Henry "Lighthorse Harry" Lee in 1782 and the couple resided at Stratford. Elizabeth Steptoe Lee remarried soon after and moved to Alexandria, Virginia with Flora, leaving "Lighthorse Harry" Lee to manage their portions of the estate. Harry Lee was a compulsive gambler, and sold off portions of Stratford to pay his debts. Matilda inherited Elizabeth's portion in 1789, but died the next year in childbirth. A deed of trust was drawn up prior to Matilda's death, placing control of the estate in the hands of two of her cousins until her children came of age. Harry Lee was allowed to live at Stratford with his children, and continued to slowly sell of small portions of the plantations to pay off his debts. Lee later remarried and had several children with new wife Anne Hill Carter including Robert Edward Lee, best known for leading the Confederate Army during the Civil War (Nagal 1990:164-165).

Matilda and Harry's son Henry inherited a considerably smaller estate when he came of age in 1808 (Nagal 1990:165). While Henry went on to marry heiress Ann McCarty, Stratford's financial and legal troubles continued until Henry Lee sold Stratford in 1822 to William C. Somerville of Maryland. After Somerville's death, Mr. and Mrs. Henry D. Storke purchased the property. The property changed hands several times until it was sold to the Robert E. Lee Memorial Association in 1929 (Nagal 1990:206-216; Robert E. Lee Memorial Association 2012).

The Undocumented Individuals at Stratford

Despite a dearth of documentary evidence, members of the well-to-do Lee family were hardly the only inhabitants of Stratford. As an active plantation, Stratford Hall relied on large-scale agriculture in order to stay viable. This meant utilizing a large number of enslaved African Americans in several areas across the plantation. Some of these enslaved individuals were housed in structures next to the Great House and were most likely domestics. Others lived in quarters closer to the agricultural areas where they worked as field hands. With the exception of two reconstructed buildings next to the Great House, none of the slave quarters constructed during Stratford Hall's time as a working plantation remain extant.

There are only a handful of existing documents that refer to the activities of the plantation, and even fewer that provide information about the enslaved Africans and African Americans who lived and worked there (Calhoun 1992; Wilkins 2009:68; Wyrick 1971:72). Two inventories dating to 1758 and 1779 and three estate lists that date to 1782, 1786, and 1789 are the only known documents that include information about enslaved African Americans at Stratford.

The 1782 estate list contains the most information about Stratford's enslaved population, including names, ages, value, and in some cases occupations. The estate list was created to document the division of Philip Ludwell Lee's estate and lists the 137 slaves living on Stratford, the Clifts, and Hallow's Marsh. The document further lists the division of slaves between Ludwell Lee's widow Elizabeth and two daughters Matilda and Flora. Ninety-six of the 137 listed slaves were identified as belonging to Ludwell

Lee’s daughters and presumably stayed at the estate. In 1786, documents show the daughters divided the 98 slaves belonging to the estate and presumably at least half of them left with Flora when she moved to Alexandria. The 1782 estate list contains the most information, but it is far from comprehensive. Family groups and the occupations of enslaved women are not listed, and only 16 individuals are listed with specific skills (Calhoun 1992).

Despite a scarcity of documentation on the enslaved inhabitants of Stratford Hall, several recorded examples of their activities have been found in Westmoreland County records and personal correspondences. Some of these records even mention acts of resistance performed by the enslaved. Research conducted by Stratford’s former Director of Research Jeanne A. Calhoun found records indicating that while theft and escape were common forms of overt resistance, furtive activities such as sabotage and work slowdown occurred as well. Calhoun (1992) found a quote from nearby planter, Landen Carter, discussing Philip Ludwell Lee’s slaves’ resistance to using carts and plows:

> I talked to Colonel [Francis Lightfoot] Lee …. Lee was perfectly satisfied of the disservice introduced by Carts and plows and really the impossibility of their doing any service …. He …. told me a story of his brother Phill. He had one Pritchard for his Overseer who without Carts or plows always made large fine Crops of Corn and Tobacco. Colo Phill imagining that more might be made with Carts and plows with no small expense provided them in abundance but Pritchard upon one year’s tryal being satisfied that his people had laid aside their diligence in working resolved not to live with him and never since has that plantation afforded a good Crop. The Colo. has now taken to his hoes again and is satisfied he is in a good way for a Crop.

While a few documents offer glimpses into the lives of the enslaved African Americans living at Stratford, they hardly provide a complete picture. The vast majority of Stratford's slaves' day-to-day lives are unknown, with bits and pieces of information pieced together through limited estate documents, correspondences, and county records. Some aspects of Stratford's enslaved population may be inferred from similar Chesapeake plantations; however archaeology can be utilized to more directly understand the lives and experiences of the individuals that inhabited the Oval site.

Archaeology

Archaeology has a long history at Stratford Hall, beginning in the early 1930s with excavations conducted during a landscape research project run by then Harvard School of Design student Morely Jeffers Williams. Led by Williams' assistant, graduate student Charles Coatsworth Pinkney, the excavations helped identify several key features of the plantation's original East Garden and what was believed to have been an oval approach to the front of the mansion (Beaman 2002:350-352). The Garden Club of Virginia asked Williams for restoration plans based on his archaeological and documentary research, and utilized the plans to restore the East Garden and vistas from the main house. This included the establishment of an oval-shaped drive and grassy fields visible on the front of the Great House that, while not completely original to the plantation, exist to this day (Sanford 1999:14; Wilkins 2009:93). Further archaeology was later conducted by Pinkney to determine the extent of development on the west side of the main house (Beaman 2002:356-357).

In 1977 Dr. Fraser Neiman conducted an archaeological survey of the plantation through the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology and found an area on the southwestern edge of the oval drive with archaeological potential (Sanford 2012:1). The survey identified two distinct areas of occupation on either side of a current farm road. Neiman uncovered brick rubble and artifacts on the east side of the road and a concentration of coarsewares and probable posthole to the west, which he interpreted as a possible kitchen. This site was designated as ST92 by Neiman, and later given the Virginia state site number 44WM080 (Figure 2) (Crowder 2013:43; Wilkins 2009:72).

Figure 2: Photograph of ST92 looking towards the Great House.

Starting in 2001, the University of Mary Washington's Annual Field School in Archaeology began to excavate ST92 and over subsequent summers, several areas of occupation have been uncovered. Also called the Oval site, ST92 marks the location of a farm quarter that contained at least one overseer's house (Structure 1), a barn (Structure 2), a slave quarter/kitchen structure (Structure 3), and another possible slave quarter

(Structure 4) (Figure 3). These structures were purposely demolished in the late 18th century and the surrounding areas became plowed fields. Original interpretations of the site dated its occupation from approximately 1740 to 1800, based on artifacts recovered during excavation. However, analysis on some of the artifacts recovered from the site conducted by Dr. Andrew Wilkins and a ceramic analysis conducted by University of Mary Washington alumna Robin Ramey suggest the site most likely dates from 1725 to 1775 (Ramey 2014:32; Wilkins 2017:20).

While a lack of documentation makes interpretation of the Oval Site difficult, an increasing number of analyses have helped inform and refine interpretations of the site. Along with ceramic analyses conducted by Ramey (2014) and myself (2013), Wilkins has conducted phosphorous testing and artifact analyses at the site. Wilkins' Master's Thesis (2009) tested two areas of the site: the West Field (location of the slave quarter/kitchen and slave quarter), and the Triangle (location of the tobacco barn). His dissertation (2017) included results from the third area, known as the Oval Proper (location of the overseer's house).

Testing soil samples for phosphorous can indicate areas of organic refuse deposits, which could be attributed to human waste, domestic trash, food processing waste, and animal waste. Wilkins' results indicated a low concentration of phosphorous around the triangle, supporting the building's use as a tobacco barn. Samples taken from the west field contained significantly high levels of phosphorous enrichment, suggesting human related organic refuse. The high phosphorous levels, coupled with the area's associated artifact assemblage, indicates that domestic or kitchen refuse is the likely

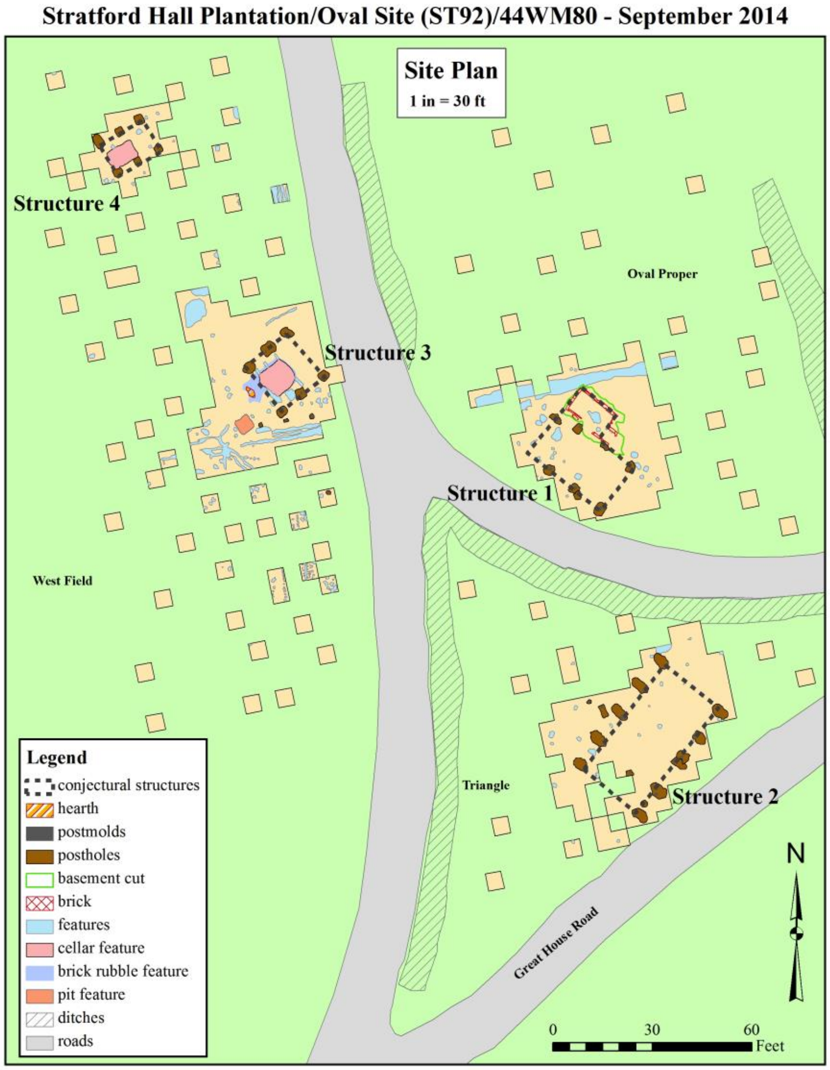

Figure 3: Map of the 4 structures uncovered at the Oval Site, showing the locations of the overseer's house (Structure 1), barn (Structure 2), slave quarter/kitchen structure (Structure 3), and possible slave quarter (Structure 4). Image courtesy of Andrew Wilkins.

source (Wilkins 2009:73-74). As part of his dissertation, Wilkins (2017) conducted further soil chemistry testing, cataloged some of the site's artifact assemblage, and synthesized other analyses conducted on the site. Based on his research, and in conjunction with work done by University of Mary Washington professor and former Field School Director Dr. Douglas Sanford, Wilkins believes that the site was most likely constructed as an independent agricultural complex during the 1720s when Thomas Lee owned the property but was not living on site, that later became part of the plantation landscape as Stratford Hall was built (Wilkins 2017:215).

This research focuses on two areas of occupation on the site: Structure 1, which is believed to be an overseer's house, and Structure 3, a combination slave quarter and kitchen (Figure 4). Archaeological evidence suggests that Structure 3 most likely provided food for the overseer and possibly other slaves inhabiting the quarter. These two structures were approximately 70 feet from each other and their inhabitants most likely interacted on a daily basis, especially through the activities of processing, producing, and consuming food.

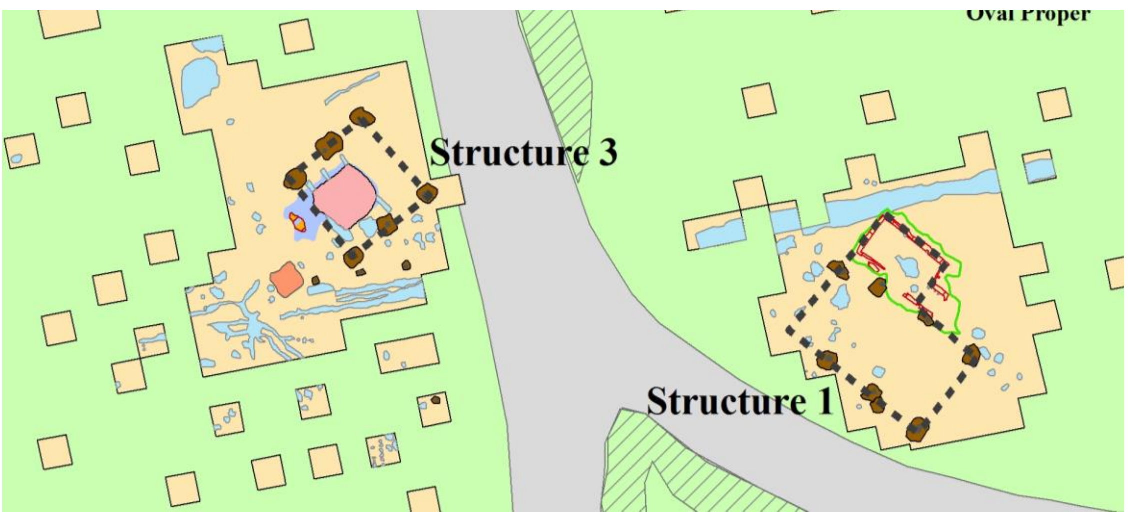

Figure 4: Map of Structure 1 and Structure 3.

Situated on the eastern portion of the site in an area known as the Oval Proper, the overseer's house was an earthfast structure measuring 16 x 20 ft., with a brick-lined basement addition measuring 8 x 16 ft. that included a room finished with plaster above it (Figure 5) (Sanford 2012: 28). The basement had a bulkhead entrance with wooden steps, and extended approximately 4 feet below the plowzone, suggesting that it was constructed as a full-height basement (Wilkins 2017:243). The array of domestic materials recovered from the structure, as well as the architectural investment in the building's construction, suggest that the structure was most likely inhabited by a free white resident (Sanford 2012; Wilkins 2009:71). Research conducted by Wilkins (2012, 2017) on similar site types indicates that the orientation of structures within the farm quarter places the overseer's house in a place of dominance within the quarter, further supporting its interpretation as an overseer's dwelling (Wilkins 2012:15-16).

Figure 5: Photograph of the excavated overseer's basement.

The slave quarter/kitchen is located in a pasture adjacent to the oval drive called the West Field (Figure 6). The quarter/kitchen was a 16 x 16 ft. earthfast structure with a cellar feature located within the building, approximately 9 x 9 ft. in size. Burned earth and brick and mortar rubble indicate that a hearth was on the west end of the structure, and linear features on either side of the cellar have been interpreted as holding "sleeper" joists to support a floor about the cellar (Wilkins 2017:211, 251). Linear and planting features to the south of the structure were shown to have high phosphorous levels by Wilkins, indicating the location of a garden (Wilkins 2017:280).

Figure 6: Photograph of the excavated slave quarter/kitchen.

A mixture of coarseware utilitarian vessel fragments and refined tablewares were recovered from the cellar and surrounding excavation units, as well as several colonoware fragments. When compared to the ceramic assemblage of the overseer's basement, analyses conducted by Ramey and myself have shown that the quarter/kitchen contains slightly lower ware diversity, and a higher proportion of coarsewares and utilitarian forms (Crowder 2013; Ramey 2014; Wilkins 2017). The large cellar size, artifact assemblage, and proximity of the structure to the overseer's house all suggest that the structure functioned in part as a kitchen. The intensive use of the landscape evidenced by phosphorous results and archaeological features and the mixture of utilitarian and refined tablewares in the ceramic assemblage indicate the area most likely functioned as a dwelling as well (Crowder 2013; Ramey 2014; Wilkins 2009). As discussed by Wilkins (2009, 2012), an overseer having a detached kitchen would not have been unique to Stratford, and it was also common for slaves to be housed in outbuildings and kitchens (Wilkins 2009:77, 2012:15). All of these pieces of evidence support the mixed use of the structure as a slave quarter and kitchen that provided food for both the enslaved inhabitants of the quarter and the white overseer.

Contextualizing the Archaeological Results

Historical documentation of other 18th-century Chesapeake plantations suggests that the presence and structure of a farm quarter like the Oval Site was common on other plantations as well. Regionally, agricultural laborers, or field hands, often lived on farm quarters which were composed of several slave dwellings and/or outbuildings and supervised by an overseer. Slave dwellings, also called slave quarters, varied in size and housed multiple individuals that may or may not have been related. Yards surrounding the slave quarters often held small gardens and fowl, and would have been a location of communal activities and social interactions. The use of yards as a place of work, gardening, cooking, and socializing is a practice that can be seen in many West African cultures, as well as in the historic Caribbean (Heath and Bennett 2000).

Previous archaeology and historical documentation from the Oval Site has not provided as much information on what the site's inhabitants were eating and how they got their food. Analyzing the botanical remains from the slave quarter/kitchen and overseer's house will illustrate what the two groups were eating, how they were acquiring their food, and the ways in which food played into the social interactions taking place on the plantation. Understanding the foodways practices, particularly those of the enslaved, will illustrate the ways in which food factored into the assertion of identity and autonomy, and the formation of a community on the Oval Site. The results will be compared to common practices in the Chesapeake to determine how region-wide provisioning strategies and foodways practices affected the formation of African American culture.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Paleoethnobotany and Plants in the Archaeological Record

This research uses paleoethnobotany as the methodological approach to examining and interpreting archaeological recovered botanical material from the Oval Site. By examining the interrelationship between human culture and the plant world, paleoethnobotany takes both an archaeological and an ecological approach (Hastorf and Popper 1988:1; Pearsall 2000: ix, 2). Both perspectives are important when establishing the activities and relationships taking place at the Oval Site. When looking through the lens of ecology, paleoethnobotany can speak to far more than simply what was being eaten. Paleoethnobotany can illustrate how plants are used for fuel, medicine, and ritual practices. It can also inform how interdependent humans and plants were on each other, the seasonality of plant availability and how it affected settlement systems, and the impact of humans on vegetation (Pearsall 2000:2). All of these veins of information are not pieces that can easily be put together through documentary records or material culture alone.

Paleoethnobotany is not, however, without limitations. Not all methods of analysis lend themselves to all sites, and sometimes the data simply does not exist in the archaeological record. This is often due to plants not surviving archaeologically, which can be the result of deposition, poor preservation, or incomplete recovery of plant material (Pearsall 2000: 194). Biases based on differential preservation of botanical material are of the greatest concern. Because botanical evidence is comprised of organic material, there are a limited number of ways that it can be preserved over time. Carbonization is the most common type of preservation; however, even the process of charring introduces biases. The act of carbonization is usually due to human activity involving fire, such as heating and cooking or accidental fire. Not all plant material will be processed or used in a way that allows it to be carbonized, and therefore will not survive in the archaeological record. Differential preservation occurs based on plant taxa as well; not all taxa are as well preserved by fire in a way that makes them identifiable during analysis (Hastorf and Popper 1988:5; Pearsall 2000:228-229). Recovery methods can also affect what material ends up in the lab for analysis. Excavation methods, storage, and flotation all introduce biases, although steps can be taken to recover as many representative remains as possible (Pearsall 2000:228).

In order to reconcile the variables associated with paleoethnobotanical analysis, special consideration must be taken to determine what is “missing” from a sample. This can be difficult in paleoethnobotany, because it must be determined if the botanicals were simply not preserved, or did not exist on the site in the first place. Determining what is missing is a practice that all archaeologists have to include in their interpretation of their site; the archaeological record is by nature incomplete (Pearsall 2000:228). Oftentimes what is missing from a sample can be just as telling as what is there. As with any type of analysis, best analytical practices include consistent recovery methods and careful consideration of what might be missing from a sample and why. Despite the capacity for biases to affect botanical preservation and collection, steps can be taken to factor them into analysis and still glean important information.

Paleoethnobotany at Stratford Hall Plantation

This research examines the macrobotanical remains (seeds and charcoal) of plants found archaeologically using floated soil samples and botanical material collected from screens during excavation. The Oval Site was extensively plowed after its structures were razed, so many of the original archaeological features have been obscured. Fortunately both the slave quarter/kitchen cellar and overseer's basement survived as preserved, intact deposits on the site. The size of the deposits, as well as the nature of structures that they were part of, made them good candidates for macrobotanical analysis.

At Stratford Hall Plantation, the majority of recovered botanicals are carbonized. Their charring is most likely the result of either cooking or heating related to consumption practices, or the destruction of the two buildings associated with the features. It appears that the two buildings were razed sometime before or around 1800, and some debris and yard fill was pushed into the features so the land would be suitable for plowing and farming. Both the carbonization process and the site formation process means that a significant amount of botanical material never made it into the archaeological record, and their absence needs to be taken into consideration during interpretation of the results.

Excavation

Twelve test units directly related to either the overseer's basement or the slave quarter/kitchen cellar were excavated at the Oval Site. Seven of the units (TU 272, 275, 312, 313, 314, 365, 379) were associated with the overseer's basement, and were excavated between 2002 and 2013 (Figure 7). The overseer's basement was originally uncovered by 5ft x 5ft test units oriented along the site's northwest-southeast excavation grid. As the top of the feature became visible, six new larger units were opened to better examine the basement in its entirety. The basement units were excavated stratigraphically, with each individual layer assigned a letter designation. Because the stratigraphy was not consistent amongst all of the basement units, some of the individual layers within units may correspond to unit layers while others do not. Sixty-eight soil samples were taken from the overseer's basement, each representing an individual context.

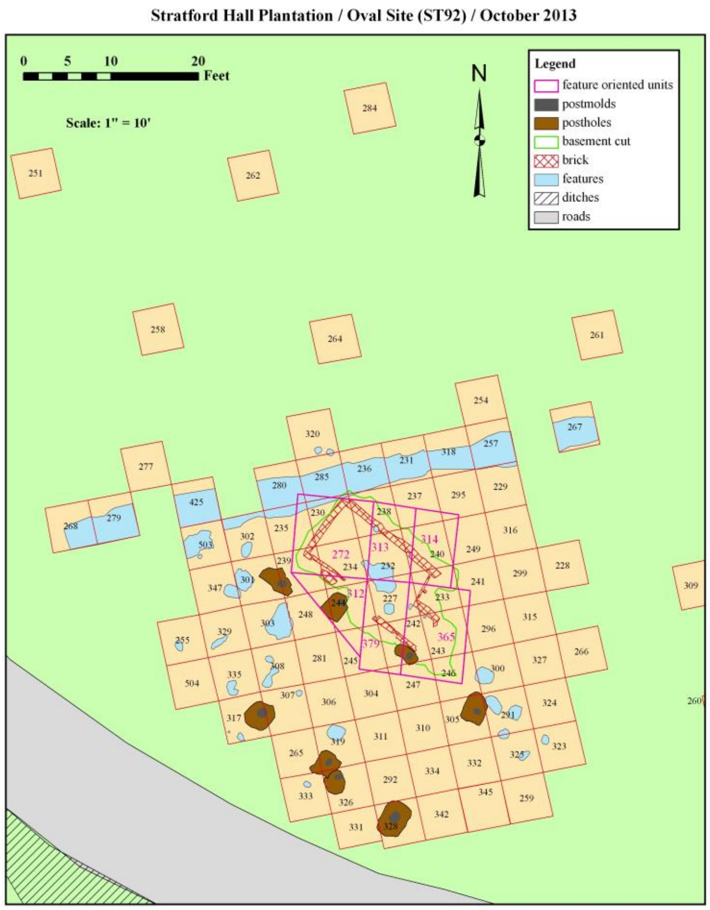

Figure 7: Map of the overseer's basement.

The five units (564, 566, 591, 601, 607) associated with the slave quarter/kitchen cellar were excavated from 2013-2014 (Figure 8). Similar to the overseer's house, the slave quarter kitchen was first uncovered by 5ft x 5ft test units oriented along the site's northwest-southeast grid. Once the cellar feature was uncovered, larger units oriented to the structure were excavated to examine the cellar in its entirety. As with the basement, the cellar was excavated stratigraphically, with each individual layer assigned a letter designation. Inconsistent stratigraphy in the cellar meant that some of the individual layers correspond with others among the cellar units, whereas others did not. Sixty-eight soil samples were taken from the slave quarter/kitchen cellar, each representing an individual context.

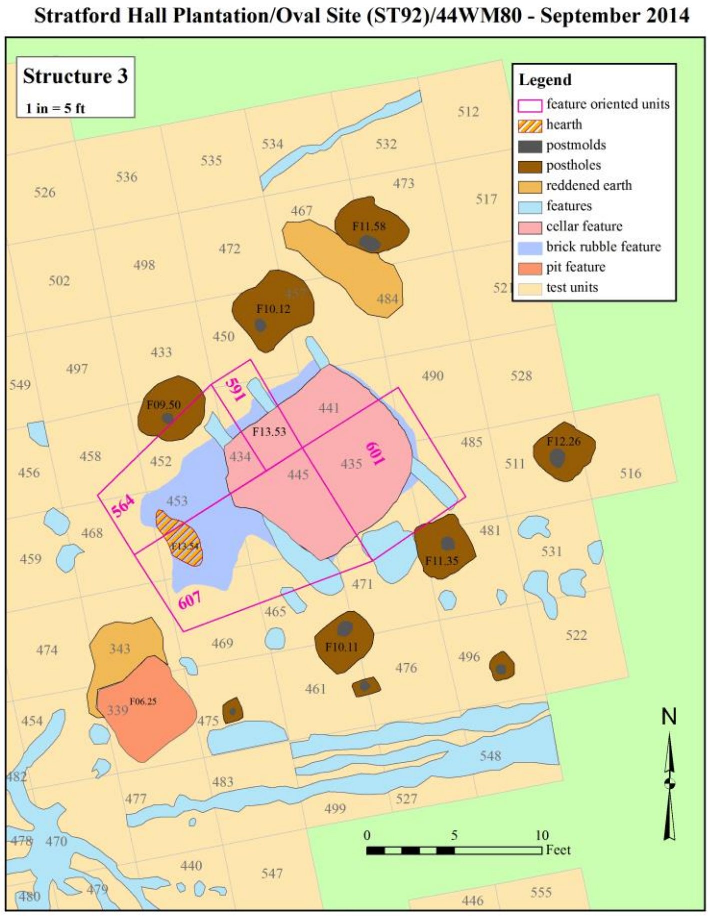

Figure 8: Map of the slave quarter/kitchen cellar.

Flotation

A total of 136 soil samples were taken from the cellar and basement units, representing 135 individual unit-layer designations. All of the soil samples taken from these twelve units were floated and analyzed. Soil samples were taken from previously screened soil and ranged from 0.75 liters to 6 liters, with a total volume of 426 liters. The 68 samples from the overseer's basement contexts had a total volume of 191.5 L, and the

68 slave quarter/kitchen cellar samples had a total volume of 234.5 L.

The samples were floated during the summer of 2014 at the University of Mary Washington, using a medium outdoor barrel flotation device. The light fractions were captured in chiffon material and the heavy fractions contained in standard window screen mesh (approximate aperture size <0.05 inches). Each sample was assigned an identification number, tagged, and tracked in a flotation log. The samples were air-dried and then bagged up in labeled, 4 mil plastic bags. The light fractions were separated and mailed to Boston to be analyzed in the paleoethnobotany lab at the Fiske Center for Archaeological Research. The heavy fractions are currently at the University of Mary Washington with the rest of the Oval Site artifact collection.

Analysis

The 136 light fractions were weighed and scanned under a Nikon dissecting microscope at 40x to 100x magnification, and charred botanical material was removed. All identifiable botanical material, with the exception of charred wood, was identified to the closest taxonomic level. The paleoethnobotany lab's 700+ physical specimen collection was used as a reference during the identification process, as were published photographs and online resources (Davis 1993; Martin and Barkley 1961; Montgomery 1977; USDA.NRCS 2016). Identified plant specimens were recorded, in some cases weighed, placed into centrifuge tubes, and placed back with the light fraction it came from. Each identifiable seed and plant part fragment was counted as one. No un-charred seeds were included in the analysis.

Screen Material

Standard practices for collecting flotation samples in the field usually involve collecting a minimum of 2 liters of unscreened soil from each context (Springer 2015: 101). At the Oval Site, samples were taken from soil that had already gone through ¼ inch screen. Some visible charcoal was collected separately when it was found in the screen, meaning that botanical material larger than a ¼ inch most likely never made it into the soil samples. Any botanical material that was collected in the screen was bagged with the rest of the artifacts and kept in the University of Mary Washington's Archaeology Lab.

During the fall of 2016 and spring of 2017, the artifact bags for all units associated with the cellar and basement features were examined for botanical material. Charred botanical material was found in 24 contexts relating to the overseer's basement (within TUs 272, 275, 365, and 379), and 17 contexts from the slave quarter/kitchen cellar (within TUs 564, 566, 591, 601, and 607). Several specimens were found in contexts from TU 272 (layers B, C, F, H, K, L, M, T, V, X, XX), TU 275 (layers A, B, C, F), and TU 607 (layer O) that did not have soil samples taken. Because these specimens were associated with the two analyzed features, they were included in the analysis.

The material was separated from the rest of the bagged artifacts, placed in labeled tubes by context, and brought to the University of Massachusetts, Boston for identification and analysis. The botanical material was identified to the most specific taxonomic level. The data from the screened material was integrated into the total counts for the macrobotanical analysis; however the screened material was removed from the results for part of the sample density calculations.

Charcoal Analysis

Charred wood is the most commonly recovered plant material in the archaeological record, and can be incredibly useful to examine when conducting a macrobotanical analysis (Hastorf and Popper 1988; Smart and Hoffman 1988:167). Identifying wood taxa, comparing the specific properties of each type, and comparing the assemblage to the natural environment can help reconstruct past environments, and identify choices of wood for fuel, structure, and artifacts. With that said, this research focuses on plant parts associated with food so charcoal identification was not conducted on the samples.

Density

Many of the samples varied by volume, making it difficult to meaningfully compare raw specimen counts between samples with different volumes. To account for this, the density of seeds per liter of soil (N/L) or weight of seeds per liter of soil (g/L) was calculated for each taxonomic category by area and as a site total. Density calculation allowed for an even comparison between samples and areas, without the concern of a larger sample skewing the data. Because screening removed any specimen larger than ¼ inch from the soil samples when they were collected, several larger taxa were only found in screened artifact bags. In order to compensate for this, densities were calculated both by floated material only, and as a combination of floated and screen-recovered material. Counts and densities calculated with just floated material are referred to as “floated” counts and densities. Counts and densities calculated with both the floated and screen-recovered material are referred to as “combined” counts and densities.

Ubiquity

Ubiquity was calculated in order to demonstrate the proportion of samples in which a taxon occurred. Most often calculated as a percentage, ubiquity can demonstrate the concentration of taxa within certain areas. Ubiquity is used to compare values for one taxon across features, between sites, and over time, but cannot be used to compare the values of two (or more) different taxa. As such, ubiquity values cannot be used to suggest that one taxa is more important than another because it is present in more samples.

The specimens from both floated samples and screen-recovered contexts were combined to prevent duplicating events. Unidentifiable taxa were not included. Because each sample represents an individual context, the ubiquity was calculated by totaling the number of samples in which a taxon occurred (number of events or frequency values) and dividing them by the total number of samples to yield the ubiquity percentage. Ubiquity was calculated for both areas of the site (slave quarter/kitchen cellar versus overseer’s basement) and as a site total to help indicate where certain taxa may have been concentrated.

Frequency values were similarly used to find areas were taxa were concentrated. A ratio of count:frequency was calculated in order to illustrate the relationship between the two values. A taxon with higher count to frequency ratio indicates higher counts in a small number of deposits, suggesting the possibility of less frequent events or localized activity. Conversely, a taxon with a lower count to frequency ratio indicates that the two values are closer to a 1:1 relationship, which suggests a more commonly occurring event.

In order to more easily compare the count:frequency ratio, the count was divided by the frequency to yield a decimal value. Decimal values closer to one suggested a more commonly occurring event, whereas values higher than one indicated deposition of multiple specimens within fewer contexts. A higher count/frequency value suggested less frequent events or localized activity. Ubiquity percentages and count/frequency values were only utilized as a means of comparing different areas within one taxonomic group, rather than comparing different taxa.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Over 400 liters of soil were floated from the Oval site, which yielded light fractions weighing just under a total of 300 grams. Approximately 1,836 specimens were recovered during analysis of the floated material (Appendix A). Fifteen of the samples (11%) did not contain any charred botanical material. An additional 148 specimens were identified in the screened artifact bags and added to the analysis totals.

A total of 927 specimens were recovered from flotation samples associated with the slave quarter/kitchen cellar, with an average floated density of 3.953 seeds recovered per liter of soil sampled (N/L). An additional 46 specimens were recovered from the previously screened material. The floated soil samples from the overseer’s basement contained 909 recovered specimens, with an average floated density of 4.747 seeds recovered per liter (N/L). A total of 102 additional specimens were recovered from the previously screened material. The assemblage represents a mixture of local wild taxa and domesticates. The results have been organized into seven groups based both on their use and their role in the environment: unidentifiable material; grains; starches; beans and legumes; fruits; nuts; weedy plants, herbs, and grasses; and other.

Unidentified Plant Parts

This category is composed of all of the material that could not be identified to the level of at least a taxonomic family and therefore could not be directly attributed to a certain type of plant or use. A total of 750 specimens were found to be unidentifiable. Two stems and four seed coats were also included in this category. Approximately 703 specimens identified as starchy material and four specimens identified as parenchymous tissue were included in this category as well. The source of parenchymous tissue and starchy material are difficult to determine, but are usually attributed to wheat/corn/rye flour, or tubers (Crowder and Trigg 2015:13). The starchy material did not have any visible tissue structure or organization that could have been attributed to tubers, suggesting they may have been charred flour. The parenchymous tissue had some tissue structure, but was not able to be identified further. The presence of some visible tissue structure may suggest that the samples could be loosely attributed to some type of tuber. The two starchy material types are included in the unidentified material category due to the inability to attribute them to a specific type of plant taxa or category.

Unidentified plant parts comprised the largest category group both by number of specimens and weight. Unidentifiable material was the largest category of the total assemblage by count, with a combined density of 1.834 specimens/L in slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts, and 1.619 specimens/L combined density in overseer's basement contexts. When combined, starchy and parenchymous material comprised the next largest category of the total assemblage by count. The starchy material had a higher density by both count and weight in contexts relating to the overseer's basement. All four of the parenchymous tissue fragments were found in overseer's basement contexts as well.

Identified Material

A total of 521 specimens were identified to at least a family level, and approximately 21 taxa were identified to a species level. The identified specimens were organized into the categories of grains, starches, beans/legumes, fruits, nuts, weedy plants/herbs/grasses, and other. These categories reflect their use and in some cases, how they were produced. Grains were primarily grown on a large scale as a plantation crop, whereas starches, beans, and legumes would have likely been grown in small-scale gardens. Nuts and some of the fruit may have been gathered. The weedy plants, herbs, and grasses represent a mixture of taxa that may have been the result of wild plants growing in the area or taxa specifically used for medicines or foods. Table 1 illustrates the identified taxa organized by category.

Grains

The largest category of identified specimens was the grains category. A total of 215 grain specimens were recovered from the flotation samples and one from the screened material, for a site total of 216 specimens and combined density of 0.505 grains/L. Identified taxa include *Zea mays* (maize or corn), *Triticum aestivum* (bread wheat), and *Avena sativa* (oat).

Table 1: Oval Site Counts and Densities By Category
(Categories with screened material shaded)

Category	Common Name	Scientific Name	Slave Quarter Kitchen Cellar		Overseer's Basement		Total	
			Count (N)	Density (N or g/L)	Count (N)	Density (N or g/L)	Count (N)	Density (N or g/L)
Unidentified Plant Parts	Unidentifiable		436	1.859	314	1.640	750	1.761
	Unidentified		-	-	1	0.005	1	0.002
	Seed Coat		3	0.013	1	0.005	4	0.009
	Stem Count		2	0.009	-	-	2	0.005
	Starchy material count		270	1.151	433	2.261	703	1.650
	Starchy material weight (g)		2.02g	0.009	9.14g	0.048	11.16g	0.026
	Parenchymous Tissue count		-	-	4	-	4	-
	Parenchymous Tissue weight (g)		-	-	0.6g	-	0.6g	-
Grains	Corn/maize kernel	*Zea mays*	8	0.034	7	0.037	15	0.035
	Corn/maize cupule	*Zea mays*	24	0.102	143	0.747	167	0.392
	Corn/maize glume	*Zea mays*	1	0.004	-	-	1	0.002
	Corn/maize cob fragment	*Zea mays*	-	-	1	-	1	-
	Wheat	*Triticum aestivum*	17	0.072	10	0.052	27	0.063
	Wheat rachis fragment	*Triticum aestivum*	3	0.013	-	-	3	0.007
	Oat	*Avena sativa*	1	0.004	-	-	1	0.002
Starch	Possible tuber		-	-	1	-	1	-
Fabaceae/ Legumes	Fabaceae/Pulse		76	0.324	8	0.042	84	0.197
	Lentil	cf. *Lens culinaris*	1	0.004	-	-	1	0.002
	Bean/Kidney bean	*Phaseolus vulgaris*	16	0.068	-	-	16	0.038
	Legume		2	0.009	1	0.005	3	0.007
	Black-eyed pea	*Vigna sinensis*	8	0.034	-	-	8	0.019
	Cowpea	*Vigna* sp.	26	0.111	-	-	26	0.061
Fruits	Peach pit count	*Prunus persica*	1	-	7	-	8	-
	Peach pit weight (g)	*Prunus persica*	0.37g	-	8.26g	-	8.63g	-
	Cherry	*Prunus* sp.	1	0.004	-	-	1	0.002
	Sour cherry	*Prunus cerasus*	-	-	1	0.005	1	0.002
	Raspberry/Blackberry	*Rubus* sp.	2	0.009	-	-	2	0.005
	Strawberry	cf. *Fragaria* sp.	1	0.004	-	-	1	0.002
	Persimmon	*Diospyros virginiana*	-	-	1	0.005	1	0.002
Nuts	Nutshell		14	0.060	13	0.068	27	0.063
	Black walnut nutshell count	*Juglans nigra*	21	-	45	-	66	-

Category	Common Name	Scientific Name	Slave Quarter Kitchen Cellar		Overseer's Basement		Total	
			Count (N)	Density (N or g/L)	Count (N)	Density (N or g/L)	Count (N)	Density (N or g/L)
	Black walnut nutshell weight (g)	*Juglans nigra*	8g	-	18.18g	-	26.18g	-
	Hickory nutshell count	*Carya* sp.	-	-	6	-	6	-
	Hickory nutshell weight (g)	*Carya* sp.	-	-	0.91g	-	0.91g	-
	Acorn nutshell	*Quercus* sp.	6	0.026	-	-	6	0.014
	Possible Nutmeat		10	0.043	1	0.005	11	0.026
Weedy Plants, Herbs, Grasses	Clover	*Trifolium* sp.	1	0.004	4	0.021	5	0.012
	Grass	Poaceae	1	0.004	1	0.005	2	0.005
	Carpetweed	*Mollugo* sp.	-	-	1	0.005	1	0.002
	Knotweed	*Polygonum* sp.	3	0.013	2	0.010	5	0.012
	Bedstraw	*Galium* sp.	3	0.013	1	0.005	4	0.009
	Wild grass		1	0.004	-	-	1	0.002
Other	Tree Bark		-	-	4	0.021	4	0.009
	Juniper	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	-	-	1	0.005	1	0.002
	Pinecone bract		1	0.004	-	-	1	0.002
	Compositae		13	0.055	-	-	13	0.031

Zea mays (corn) was the largest taxon within this category by count. Identified parts included kernels, cupules, one glume, and one cob fragment. The majority of corn plant parts found on the site were cupules, 143 of which were found in overseer's basement contexts. Corn kernels could have been consumed raw, boiled, roasted, or ground into meal. Cupules may have been used as tinder or fuel. The 15 kernels found on the site were more evenly spread out between the two areas, with a density of 0.034 seeds/liter calculated for the slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts and 0.037 seeds/liter in overseer's basement contexts. The corn glume was found in the slave quarter/kitchen cellar, and the cob fragment in the overseer's basement.

Triticum aestivum had the second highest density amongst the grain taxa recovered site-wide, with an average of 0.063 kernels recovered per liter. Seventeen of the 27 bread wheat kernels and all of the rachis fragments were recovered from the slave quarter/kitchen cellar. *Avena sativa* is the smallest identified grain taxon, with one identified kernel found in the cellar.

Starches

One possible tuber fragment was recovered from a context within the overseer's basement from the screened material. While the specimen has not been identified as a specific type of tuber, it is possible that it is a charred piece of potato or sweet potato. Numerous documents discussing the diet of enslaved Africans and African Americans mention sweet potatoes as being an a staple food of enslaved African and African American diets (Samford 2007:127, 131, 137).

Beans and Legumes

The beans and legumes group is the second largest category, with a combined count of 139 and density of 0.326 seeds/L. Identified taxa include *Vigna* sp. (cowpeas), *Phaseolus vulgaris* (common/kidney beans), *Vigna sinensis* (black-eyed peas), and cf. *Lens culinaris* (possible lentil). Specimens that could not be identified to a more specific taxonomic level were placed into either a more general legumes category or slightly more specific pulses/Fabaceae subcategory.

The pulses/Fabaceae subcategory was the largest, with 76 of the 84 identified specimens coming from contexts associated with the slave quarter/kitchen cellar. Many of these fragments were morphologically similar to specimens identified to a species level, however they lacked an intact hilum and could not be confidently attributed to a specific species group. *Vigna* sp. and *Phaseolus vulgaris* comprised the second and third largest subcategories, with all of the 27 *Vigna* sp. specimens and 16 *Phaseolus vulgaris* specimens found in slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts. Similarly, all of the black-eyed peas and the possible lentil fragment all came from slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts. Both cowpeas and black-eyed peas are African in origin and are documented as being used in slave gardens (Gill and Vear 1980:190; Samford 2007:127). The combined densities of all specimens in this category are 0.554 seeds/L for the slave quarter/kitchen cellar, and 0.050 seeds/L for the overseer's basement.

Fruits

Fourteen specimens identified as fruits in the Rosaceae family were recovered from the site, making it the second smallest category by count. The category has a combined density of 0.033 seeds/L. The five specimens from the slave/quarter kitchen have a combined density of 0.021 seeds/L, and the nine overseer's basement specimens have a combined density of 0.047 seeds/L. Identified taxa include *Prunus persica* (peach), *Prunus* sp. (cherry), *Prunus cerasus*, (sour cherry), *Rubus* sp. (blackberry/raspberry), cf. *Fragaria* sp. (strawberry), and *Diospyros virginiana* (persimmon). Peaches and sour cherries are domesticates that were likely grown in the plantation's orchard located next to the main house. The *Prunus* sp. pit was likely from a domestic cherry tree as well. Persimmon is native to the region and was likely gathered nearby. Strawberries may have been grown in gardens or gathered, and the blackberries/raspberries were probably wild taxa gathered from areas on the periphery of the plantation.

Peach pits comprise the majority of the fruit assemblage, with seven of the eight fragments found in overseer's basement contexts. The pits from the slave quarter/kitchen cellar weighed a total of 0.37g, compared to the 8.26g of pits recovered from the overseer's basement. The next largest subcategory in the fruit group is blackberry/raspberry, with both of the two identified specimens coming from slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts. Both the single cherry pit and one strawberry seed came from slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts, while the sour cherry pit fragment was identified in an overseer's basement context.

Tree Nuts

A total of 116 tree nuts, nutshell fragments, and nutmeats were identified during analysis. The combined count density for all tree nuts is 0.272 nuts/L. By area it is 0.218 nuts/L for the slave quarter/kitchen cellar and 0.339 N/L for the overseer's basement. *Quercus* sp. (acorn), *Juglans nigra* (black walnut), and *Carya* sp. (hickory) nutshell and nutmeat were all identified. Unidentifiable nutshell was grouped together.

The general nutshell category consisted of 27 specimens. Fourteen came from slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts and 13 from the overseer's basement. A total of 21 pieces (weighing 8g) of the identified black walnut nutshell came from slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts, and 45 (weighing 18.18g) from the overseer's basement. All six acorn nutshell fragments came from slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts, whereas the six hickory fragments came from overseer's basement contexts. All walnut and hickory nutshells were recovered in the screens.

Most of the nuts were likely gathered from the surrounding area for food. Beyond eating the meat, walnut nutshells and tree bark may have been used as a dye for clothing (Heath and Bennett 2000: 49; Morgan 1998: 598). Black walnut trees had other uses as well, with many Native American groups utilizing parts of the tree medicinally as analgesics, dermatological aids, and gastrointestinal aids (Moerman 1999:280-281). Hickory bark was used for dye as well, and the tree sap was collected to make syrup (McKnight 2015: 26).

Weedy Plants, Herbs, and Grasses

Weedy plants, herbs, and grasses had a density of 0.042 seeds/L. A total of 18 specimens were identified, 15 of which were identified to a species level. *Trifolium* sp. (clover), *Mollugo* sp. (carpetweed), *Polygonum* sp. (knotweed), and *Galium* sp. (bedstraw) seed fragments were all identified, as well as general Poaceae seed fragments and specimens that could be identified more specifically as being wild grass seeds.

Of the 18 specimens in the weedy plants, herbs, and grasses category, 9 were found in slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts and 9 in overseer's basement contexts. Individual subcategories were not as evenly spread, however. The majority of the identified *Trifolium* sp. and the single *Mollugo* sp. came from overseer's basement contexts, whereas the single wild grass specimen, the majority of *Galium* sp. specimens, and three of the five *Polygonum* sp. came from slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts. One identified Poaceae specimen was found in each of the respective site areas.

Many of the recovered weedy seeds may represent wild flora from the surrounding environment, but could have also been gathered for food and/or medicinal purposes. *Trifolium* sp. was often used on fields left to fallow and may have been charred by chance. *Galium* sp. specimens may also represent a nearby weed that was charred by chance, but the plant is also known to have medicinal properties and was used by several Native American groups as a laxative, "love medicine," poison, dermatological aid for itchy skin, antihemorrhagic, diuretic, and kidney aid, among other uses (Moerman 1999: 241-242). It can also be used as dye and bedding material, and seeds can be ground up as a coffee substitute (McKnight 2015:34-35). Similarly, *Polygonum* sp. had medicinal properties and could be consumed as a green (Crowder and Trigg 2015:11; Henderson 2013:34; Springer 2015:52).

Other

The other category is composed of 19 seeds and plant parts, with a combined density of 0.045 specimens/L. Primarily composed of Compositae seeds, the category also includes tree bark, one cf. *Juniperus* sp. (possible juniper) cone part, and one pinecone bract. All four of the tree-bark fragments and the juniper plant part were found in overseer's basement contexts, whereas the pinecone bract and Compositae fragments were all recovered from slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts.

Ubiquity and Frequency

Table 2 provides a breakdown of counts, frequency (number of samples in which each taxa occurred), and count/frequency per taxonomic category for each of the two areas and as a site total. Table 3 illustrates the ubiquity percentages per taxonomic category for each of the two areas and as a site total. While the total number of samples analyzed for each area was 68, the addition of material recovered from the screen would skew the ubiquity percentage values. Therefore all of the taxonomic categories that included screened material did not have ubiquity percentages calculated. Comparing all three sources of data elucidates several possible trends in how consistently certain taxa were deposited, and by extension, used by the site's former inhabitants.

Starchy material was the most ubiquitous taxonomic category on the site, occurring in 103 (58%) of the site's contexts. Both areas of the site had high count/frequency values as well, suggesting that not only was starchy material deposition ubiquitous (regularly used over time), it was also deposited in large amounts, which may indicate it was also used in large quantities. Corn was the most ubiquitous grain, occurring in 37 contexts site-wide. By area, the overseer's basement had a higher ubiquity both by total taxa and cupules. The count/frequency values for corn kernels was fairly equal between the two areas, and is close to one, suggesting fairly consistent use. The count/frequency value for cupules is much higher in the overseer's basement and is likely the result of a large number of cupules found in one deposit, which may have been the result of burning corn cobs for fuel. The overseer's basement also had more wheat kernel events and a count/frequency value close to one, suggesting wheat deposition was much more consistent in the basement.

Both areas of the site have high ubiquity values for the Fabaceae/Pulse category, suggesting they were regularly used. The ubiquity values between the two areas for the Fabaceae/Pulse identification group are not drastically different, however the relatively

Table 2: Ubiquity Values of Taxa Recovered from the Oval Site

Category	Scientific Name	Slave Quarter/Kitchen			Overseer's Basement			Site Total		
		Count (N)	Frequency (F)	Count/ Frequency	Count (N)	Frequency (F)	Count/ Frequency	Count (N)	Frequency (F)	Count/ Frequency
Unidentified	Seed Coat	3	3	1	1	1	1	4	4	1
	Stem Count	2	2	1	-		-	2	2	1
	Starchy material	270	45	6	433	58	7.47	703	103	6.83
	Parenchymous Tissue	-	-	-	4	3	1.33	4	3	1.33
Grains	*Zea mays* (total)	33	16	2.06	151	21	7.19	184	37	4.97
	Zea mays kernel	8	6	1.33	7	5	1.4	15	11	1.36
	Zea mays cupule	24	12	2	143	18	7.94	167	30	5.57
	Zea mays glume	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
	Zea mays cob	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Triticum aestivum (total)	20	7	2.86	10	9	1.11	30	16	1.875
	Triticum aestivum kernel	17	6	2.83	10	9	1.11	27	15	1.8
	Triticum aestivum rachis	3	2	1.5	-	-	-	3	2	1.5
	Avena sativa	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
Starch	Possible tuber	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
Beans & Legumes	Fabaceae/Pulse	76	9	8.44	8	7	1.14	84	16	5.25
	Possible Legume	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	2	1.5
	Vigna sp.	27	3	9	-	-	-	27	3	9
	cf. *Lens culinaris*	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
	Phaseolus vulgaris	16	1	16	-	-	-	16	1	16
	Vigna sinensis	8	1	8	-	-	-	8	1	8
Fruits	*Prunus persica*	1	1	1	7	6	1.17	8	7	1.14
	Prunus sp.	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
	Prunus cerasus	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Rubus sp.	2	2	1	-	-	-	2	2	1
	cf. *Fragaria* sp.	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
	Diospyros virginiana	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nuts	Possible Nutmeat	10	3	3.33	1	1	1	11	4	2.75
	Nutshell	14	8	1.75	13	9	1.44	27	17	1.59
	Quercus sp.	6	1	6	-	-	-	6	1	6
	Juglans nigra	21	12	1.75	45	14	3.21	66	26	2.54
	Carya sp.	-	-	-	6	1	6	6	1	6
Weedy plants, herbs, and grasses	*Trifolium* sp.	1	1	1	4	5	0.8	5	6	0.83
	Mollugo sp.	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1

Category	Scientific Name	Slave Quarter/Kitchen			Overseer's Basement			Site Total		
		Count (N)	Frequency (F)	Count/ Frequency	Count (N)	Frequency (F)	Count/ Frequency	Count (N)	Frequency (F)	Count/ Frequency
	Polygonum sp.	3	2	1.5	2	2	1	5	4	1.25
	Galium sp.	3	2	1.5	1	1	1	4	3	1.33
	Poaceae	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
	Wild grass	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
Other	Tree Bark	-	-	-	4	3	1.33	4	3	1.33
	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Pinecone bract	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1
	Compositae	13	1	13	-	-	-	13	1	13

high count from the slave quarter/kitchen cellar makes the count/frequency ratio much higher at 8.44, compared to 1.14 from the overseer's basement. Almost every other identification group in the beans and legumes category has a higher ubiquity in the slave quarter/kitchen cellar. Low ubiquity values for several of the identification groups suggest that most of the taxa are concentrated in the same area. Further examination of the results shows many of the specimens originating from several layers within TU 566 in the southeast portion of the slave quarter/kitchen cellar. The low ubiquity values as compared to high counts create high count/frequency values for *Vigna* sp., *Phaseolus vulgaris*, and *Vigna sinensis* meaning that when the taxa were found, they were found in large amounts. While this may indicate that preservation conditions were ideal for the specimens, it may also suggest that the taxa contributed to the diet in large quantities rather than only occasionally being used in small quantities.

Table 3: Frequency and Ubiquity Percentages of Taxa Recovered from the Oval Site (categories with screened material shaded)

Category	Scientific Name	Slave Quarter/Kitchen (68 samples)		Overseer's Basement (68 samples)		Site Total (136 samples)	
		Frequency F)	Ubiquity %	Frequency (F)	Ubiquity %	Frequency (F)	Ubiquity %
Unidentified	Seed Coat	3	4%	1	1%	4	3%
	Stem Count	2	3%	-	-	2	1%
	Starchy material	45	-	58	-	103	-
	Parenchymous Tissue	-	-	3	-	3	-
Grains	*Zea mays* (total)	16	-	21	-	37	-
	Zea mays kernel	6	-	5	-	11	-
	Zea mays cupule	12	-	18	-	30	-
	Zea mays glume	1	1%	-	-	1	1%
	Zea mays cob	-	-	1	-	1	-
	Triticum aestivum (total)	7	10%	9	13 %	16	12%
	Triticum aestivum kernel	6	9%	9	13 %	15	11%
	Triticum aestivum rachis	2	3%	-	-	2	1%
	Avena sativa	1	1%	-	-	1	1%
Starch	Possible tuber	-	-	1	-	1	-
Beans & Legumes	Fabaceae/Pulse	9	13%	7	-	16	-
	Possible Legume	1	1%	1	1%	2	1%
	Vigna sp.	3	4%	-	-	3	-
	cf. *Lens culinaris*	1	1%	-	-	1	1%
	Phaseolus vulgaris	1	1%	-	-	1	1%
	Vigna sinensis	1	1%	-	-	1	1%
Fruits	*Prunus persica*	1	-	6	-	7	-
	Prunus sp.	1	1%	-	-	1	1%
	Prunus cerasus	-	-	1	1%	1	1%
	Rubus sp.	2	3%	-	-	2	1%
	cf. *Fragaria* sp.	1	1%	-	-	1	1%
	Diospyros virginiana	-	-	1	1%	1	1%
Nuts	Possible Nutmeat	3	4%	1	1%	4	3%
	Nutshell	8	-	9	-	17	-
	Quercus sp.	1	1%	-	-	1	1%
	Juglans nigra	12	-	14	-	26	-

Category	Scientific Name	Slave Quarter/Kitchen (68 samples)		Overseer's Basement (68 samples)		Site Total (136 samples)	
		Frequency F)	Ubiquity %	Frequency (F)	Ubiquity %	Frequency (F)	Ubiquity %
	Carya sp.	-	-	1	-	1	-
Weedy plants, herbs, and grasses	*Trifolium* sp.	1	1%	5	7%	6	4%
	Mollugo sp.	-	-	1	1%	1	1%
	Polygonum sp.	2	3%	2	3%	4	3%
	Galium sp.	2	3%	1	1%	3	2%
	Poaceae	1	1%	1	1%	2	1%
	Wild grass	1	1%	-	-	1	1%
Other	Tree Bark	-	-	3	-	3	-
	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	-	-	1	1%	1	1%
	Pinecone bract	1	1%	-	-	1	1%
	Compositae	1	1%	-	-	1	1%

The peach count/frequency values for the two areas are relatively similar with an approximate 1:1 ratio of count to event. The rest of the taxa in the fruit category each have count/frequency ratios of one as well. Nutmeat had both a higher ubiquity and count ubiquity value in the slave quarter/kitchen cellar than the overseer's basement, suggesting more consistent use of the taxa in the cellar. All six of the *Quercus* sp. nutshell fragments in the slave quarter/kitchen cellar came from one context, as did the six *Carya* sp. fragments from the overseer's basement, giving each taxonomic category a count/frquency value of six for their respective areas. While *Juglans nigra* nutshell fragments were found in an almost equal number of contexts in the two areas, the count of *Juglans nigra* was much higher in the overseer's basement, giving the area a higher count/frequency value.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the interpretation of counts, frequency, and ubiquity of the recovered botanical material comes with limitations. The values generated from the ubiquity and frequency calculations cannot be compared across multiple taxa as indicators that one taxon was more important than another. Taxa would have been charred, deposited, and recovered differently, and the results stated above are not reflective of overall proportions of the site residents diet. It is therefore not possible to say that, for example, higher ubiquity and count/frequency ratios for starchy material and grains means that starchy foods were the main portion of the resident's diet. The ubiquity and frequency calculations can, however, indicate areas of concentration or consistent use for one taxa in different areas of the site.

The botanical results reveal that the Oval Site's overseer and enslaved community inhabited a dynamic, interactive space. Recovered taxa include a mix of large scale crops, gardened plants, and wild taxa native to the local environment. The results suggest that the enslaved grew beans and gathered fruits and nuts to supplement the corn and wheat that served as the starchy base of their diet. Wild herbs and weedy plants may have been used to supplement and season as well as for spiritual or medicinal purposes. The results from the overseer's basement were relatively similar. Corn and wheat were present in both areas, as were tree nuts and fruits. Beans were in both areas as well; however the counts, density, and ubiquity values show that there were larger amounts of beans more consistently deposited in the slave quarter kitchen. Differences in the recovered amount of beans between the two areas, as well as the presence of a corn glume and wheat rachis in the slave quarter/kitchen assemblage, hint at the use of slave quarter/kitchen area as a space for food growth and preparation, and both areas as spaces of food consumption. The results support the interpretation that these two groups would have been regularly interacting with each other, and that the enslaved inhabitants were likely charged with providing food for the overseer as well as themselves. Additional differences in the assemblages of the two areas further hints at the ways that these two groups may have interacted, as well as points to how food played a part in the cultural and community formation of the Oval Site's enslaved community.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Understanding what was happening at the Oval Site requires contextualizing the botanical data within the framework of what is already known about the area. The lack of documentary evidence on the site makes this process more difficult, but does not preclude any interpretations of the site from being any less informative. The results of this botanical analysis are combined with information about the Oval Site generated by years of archaeological excavation to interpret the social, economic and cultural interactions taking place. Comparisons of these interpretations with botanical analyses at other plantation sites help to explore the role of food in the negotiation and creation of identity and community at Stratford Hall. Spatial and historic data indicate that the Oval Site was a strictly surveilled and controlled agricultural quarter, but was also the location of a persistent group of enslaved peoples that developed from a set of ethnically diverse Africans into a creolized African American community.

Power and Surveillance

Both the overseer and enslaved inhabitants of the Oval Site lived in a highly structured environment imbued with messages of power and control. The formalized plantation landscape, layout of the Oval Site farm quarter, and results of the botanical analysis all suggest that the Lee family was actively enforcing messages of dominance over their slaves, and created a landscape where the enslaved African Americans at the Oval Site were almost always under surveillance.

One of the strongest messages of enforced power is visible in the built environment and structured landscape of the plantation. While the Oval Site was an agricultural quarter that housed field workers, the cluster of buildings was located within eyesight of the Great House. The proximity of the quarter to the Great House meant that in addition to being under constant surveillance by the overseer, the enslaved residents were also under the watchful eyes of the Lee family. The slave quarter/kitchen was also adjacent to the overseer’s structure. The two buildings were located less than 80 feet apart, and while there may have been fences and gardens to create barriers around the slave quarter/kitchen, the proximity of the two structures would have certainly affected enslaved residents’ sense of privacy. As a dependency for the overseer, the slave quarter/kitchen may have been regularly entered/accessed by the overseer. Unannounced entrances by the overseer would have greatly affected how the enslaved residents created and experienced personal space within the quarter.

Window glass was consistently recovered at both the overseer's house and the slave quarter/kitchen. Outfitting a slave quarter/kitchen with window glass, especially one that was not located directly next to the Great House, was very unusual. The use of window glass could be interpreted as a conspicuous display of wealth on the part of the Lee family. Wilkins (2017) has suggested that the Oval site is oriented to a historic road that mirrors the current approach to the Great House. This road would have been the main entranceway used by visitors coming to the plantation by land. Window glass on the slave quarter/kitchen and overseer's house suggests that the Oval site was regularly on display to visitors to the plantation, which may indicate even further lack of privacy for the enslaved inhabitants.

The built environment would have been a static symbol of power and control and in many ways was a constant reminder of the site inhabitants' enslaved status. While it exhibits the display of power intended by the Lee family, it does not necessarily indicate how it was interpreted and experienced by the site's enslaved inhabitants. Access to and consumption of food represents a more dynamic indicator of not only how power and control were regularly exerted through food supplies but also the ways in which that power system would have been experienced and subverted by the site's enslaved population. The balance between provisioning of food by plantation management versus the gathering and producing of food by the site's enslaved residents would have been constantly in flux and may have been used by both groups as a means to assert control.

Provisioning

Results of the macrobotanical analysis show that the Lee family provisioned at least a portion of the enslaved residents' diet. The presence of wheat and corn indicate that both taxa were likely a constant, consistent part of the diet. The ubiquity suggests that they were regularly provisioned, and would have probably been ground on site by the slaves. On-site grinding may explain why starchy/parenchymous tissue as well as whole corn and wheat kernels and plant parts were recovered. The botanical assemblage suggests that the enslaved residents were only partially provisioned and needed to supplement their diet. Planting features uncovered near the kitchen-quarter, combined with the presence of garden-grown beans, indicates that the enslaved residents were growing some of the food being consumed on the site – most likely in the garden just south of the slave quarter/kitchen. Many of the fruit seeds and tree nuts recovered were probably the result of foraging for wild taxa. Because preservation of the botanical material varies depending on how the food was prepared, deposited, and preserved, these results cannot be interpreted as representing their importance to the residents' diet. But it is clear that part of their diet was based on large-scale crops that would have been provisioned to them as well as food they needed to provide for themselves.

Evidence of provisioned crops is present in both areas of the Oval Site. Based on counts, a large amount of the grain category came from the overseer's basement. With that being said, the majority of the material is corn cupules that may have resulted from burning corncobs for heat. Corn kernels are close to equal in count, density, and ubiquity between the slave quarter/kitchen cellar and overseer's basement. Wheat kernels, however, have a higher prevalence in slave quarter kitchen cellar contexts by count, density, and ubiquity. Starchy material and parenchymous tissue are the most prevalent material type across the site, with slightly higher count, density, and ubiquity values in contexts related to the overseer's basement. This material represents previously processed food, likely flour.

The only other plant parts identified from the grain category – two wheat rachis fragments and a corn glume – were found in slave quarter/kitchen cellar contexts. While these consist of just a few fragments, their presence in the slave quarter/kitchen cellar and absence in the overseer's basement may indicate that the slave quarter/kitchen was used as a processing area. The plant parts and higher prevalence of wheat kernels in the slave quarter/kitchen cellar, combined with the higher prevalence of starchy material in the overseer's basement suggests separate areas of production/processing of foods (slave quarter/kitchen) and consumption of that material (overseer's house). This spatial interplay is also visible through the presence of planting features adjacent to the slave quarter/kitchen, and the higher proportion of courseware and utilitarian ceramic forms to tablewares recovered from the slave quarter/kitchen when compared to the overseer's basement (Crowder 2013; Ramey 2014).

The results may also indicate the storage of food as well. The large overseer's basement would have had a considerable amount of storage space. The basement was constructed underneath a white-washed addition to the overseer's home, the construction of which may reflect a change in position and financial arrangement from overseer to farm manager or steward. As a farm manager or steward, he likely received crop shares as part of his pay. The shares would likely have been stored in the basement before being allotted out to the kitchen/quarter as needed. The allotments would have then been stored in the kitchen/quarter cellar to be processed for the rest of the quarter (Douglas W.

Sanford 2018, pers. comm.). The constant exchange of food between the two groups may have been benefitted the enslaved through increased provisions and cultural exchange, but would have also resulted in less privacy and reduced control over what was provided and consumed.

Provisioning on Chesapeake plantations was one of plantation owners' attempts to subjugate and control enslaved laborers. As part of a reciprocal system of labor and "earnings," provisioning came with a series of expectations. In order to earn provisions, Oval Site inhabitants would have had to complete work to the satisfaction of plantation owners. Withholding food would have been a constant threat, and despite documentation suggesting that enslaved laborers were rarely provisioned enough food to avoid supplementing their diet, provisions would have been used to establish reliance on plantation management for survival (Perdue et al. 1976). Provisioning would have been used to send subtle reminders of enslavement as well. Whether intentional or not, making enslaved Africans conform to a new, bland and starchy restricted cuisine would have been a stark reminder of their new status, defined by their race and enslavement. The implications of imposing a new cuisine would have been echoed in making arriving Africans learn a new language, giving them new names, and forcing them to live with total strangers.

Implied in the process of partial provisioning was the need for slaves to have time to grow and gather their food, which would have been used as a source of manipulation. Despite plantation management using partial provisioning as evidence of their benevolence, it was more so a calculated decision that both provided another means of control over the enslaved and less economic responsibility. Withholding or granting of time to work on their gardens and possibly gather food from the wild was no doubt used to ensure compliance and increase labor output.

Persistence and Cultural Formation

An occupation date range of approximately 1725-1775 suggests that the Oval Site would have been one of the many locations in the region that served as a locus for the creation of a new, creolized African American culture. While some of the enslaved population may have come to Stratford from the Lee's Machodoc plantation, the relatively early arrival date of the site's enslaved inhabitants suggests that at least a portion of the enslaved probably came directly from Africa, rather than being born in the United States. They would have arrived at Stratford as a diverse group of strangers with varying ethnic backgrounds and cultural practices, and likely had no established kinship networks. Their new environment would have come with strange foods, different names, and a new language. As occupation of the site progressed, the inhabitants would have joined the existing African American population to create relationships, have children, and form a diverse community built around their imposed racial and social identities of being black and enslaved.

Results of the macrobotanical analysis provide evidence for new, emerging foodways patterns that show the establishment of food preferences and adaptations to new types of food. While the timeline of when maize was introduced to Africa is contested, it is widely accepted that the crop was grown in various parts of Africa by the

18th-century. That does not necessarily mean that the site's enslaved inhabitants would have been familiar with maize by the time they arrived at Stratford, or that it would have replaced millet and sorghum as large portions of their diet in Africa (for further discussion on the introduction of maize to West Africa, see Havinden 1970, McCann 2001, Miracle 1965). Maize and wheat, both non-African taxa, would have become a significant portion of the sites inhabitants' diet and may have necessitated learning new ways to prepare and cook them. Rather than solely replace ingredients in traditional African dishes or abandoning traditional preparations in favor of European dishes, they would have adapted taxa and food preparation methods to suit their personal tastes.

The proximity of the overseer's home to the residents of the slave quarter/kitchen would have been a strong influence on the creolization process, especially if the enslaved inhabitants were required to provide meals for the overseer. The interactions of the two groups may have increased newly arrived Africans' familiarity with European cooking methods and ingredients. As a quarter of agricultural laborers, it is unlikely that the enslaved residents would have made separate meals for themselves and the overseer and were all likely eating the same foods.

The presence and preparation of native taxa in the assemblage, such as crushed charred black walnut shells, bedstraw, and raspberry/blackberry seeds, are wild and may have been unfamiliar to newly arrived Africans. Gathering them for food or medicinal purposes would have required local knowledge of what was available and how it could be used. Their presence within the assemblage illustrates the enslaved inhabitants' growing knowledge and familiarity with the local environment, both within the plantation landscape and on its periphery. Native Americans used several of the wild taxa identified in the assemblage for their medicinal properties, and their presence may be indicative of interactions between the local Native population and enslaved Africans and African Americans. Unfortunately by the 18th century it is difficult to find evidence of Native and African/African American populations interacting in the documentary record. By that point, many of the region's original inhabitants had left the area – both by choice and by force. In 1705, colonial authorities in Virginia decided to label Native peoples as "nonwhites" in public records, obscuring the presence of Native peoples who continued to inhabit the area (Grumet 1995:264). At the very least, African and African Americans interacted with Native culture indirectly through the preparation and consumption practices of native taxa that were adopted by Euro-American settlers from Native communities.

The creolization of African and European food types and preparations is also evident in the variety of ceramic vessel forms recovered from the site. Traditional West African cooking favored baking, stews, and other one-pot meals which would have relied on using hollow vessel forms, whereas typical European vessel forms included both hollow and flat vessel forms (Franklin 2001:97; Samford 2007:128). Both areas of the Oval Site contained hollow and flat ceramic vessel sherds, suggesting that the enslaved Africans and African Americans on the site were using European-style vessel forms as well as the vessel forms they were familiar with. Many of these sherds were decorated refined earthenwares, indicating not only a familiarity with the conspicuous consumption of 'high status' ceramics, but a desire to participate. The ceramic analyses conducted on the site found that the overseer’s basement contained a higher proportion of tablewares to utilitarian wares than the overseer’s basement, but the ceramic assemblages of the two features did not vary from each other greatly. The similarities in ceramic assemblages between the two areas may indicate that both groups had similar or related means of ceramic acquisition and use (Crowder 2013:53; Ramey 2014:30; Wilkins 2012:5). Several colonoware sherds have been recovered from the site, including some hollowware sherds. The production of the vessels in this context have been attributed to enslaved Africans and African Americans, and may be representative of vessels used for one-pot stew favored in traditional West African cuisine (Douglas W. Sanford 2018 pers. comm.).

The foodways patterns seen in the botanical assemblage also indicate the continuation of traditional West African food practices. Bean taxa that are West African in origin (cowpeas and black-eyed peas) were found concentrated in the slave quarter/kitchen cellar. All of the legume subcategories had both a higher density and ubiquity in the cellar as well. The presence of African taxa illustrates a strong preference for such foods because the enslaved would have grown them in gardens, the area in which they arguably held the most control over the types of food they grew and consumed.

The establishment of new food preferences within a recently arrived African community would have taken time and been driven both by what was available and what people preferred. The availability of gathered and wild foods would have changed as the plantation grew and the enslaved population began to establish food preferences. Growth in plantation size may have also affected provisioning strategies and the capacity to grow different gardened foods.

The botanical assemblage is not only a product of the creolization process, but also a determining factor. Yards and gardens were spaces of shared tasks and social interactions, and the act of gardening would have reinforced group norms and community reliance. The planting features found just south of the slave quarter/kitchen are likely remnants of the residents' garden and yard, which would have functioned as a gathering space. The gardening that would have taken place there during and gardening down time would have been a community effort. The performance of these community activities in a shared yard space would have established and reinforced group identity and cultural practices. In many ways the space where taxa were cultivated would have played just as important a role in community growth as the consumption of the taxa themselves (Heath and Bennett 2000; Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008).

Negotiation

The botanical evidence recovered at the Oval Site not only speaks to formation of new creole African American foodways and cultural practices; it also highlights the ways in which the enslaved residents used food as a tool to express their identity, negotiate for a better life, and resist oppression. In addition to demonstrating the creation of a new creole African American culture, the use of several taxa can also be interpreted as a conspicuous assertion of choice and identity. Beans were recovered in both areas of the site, although their higher prevalence in the slave quarter/kitchen cellar suggests that is where the taxa originated. The consumption of African taxa such as cowpeas or black-eyed peas by the enslaved becomes even more significant when it is also being cooked for the overseer. It first and foremost demonstrates that the process of creolization affected all cultural groups involved, not just the group being subjugated. Additionally, it serves as an example of the enslaved community reclaiming some of the power taken away from them through the provisioning process. While the meals that they cooked for themselves and provided for the overseer may not have been composed of the same dishes, it is likely there was a large amount of overlap between the two. As laboring agricultural workers it is doubtful that they would have wanted to cook two separate meals for themselves and the overseer, and they would have wanted to ensure that the food they made was one that they enjoyed and was part of their cultural cuisine. Choosing to grow food based on personal and community preference asserts control in a system where much of what they eat was predetermined.

Black walnut may have also been utilized in a way that promoted individual taste and fashion as well. Enslaved Africans and African Americans were often responsible for their own clothing and were known to use the bark and shells of black walnuts as dye for clothing (Heath and Breen 2009:49; Morgan 1998:598). Dyeing and styling of clothing would have been a way to express personal taste and cultural traditions. African clothing styles varied by region and may have been used to signal different ethnic groups, share creolized African American designs, and to express individuality.

There is no doubt that the enslaved residents were far from passive actors and were instead in constant negotiations with the plantation owner and overseer for power and control in their daily lives. African and African American slaves were well aware that without their work the plantation labor system would collapse. Their status as property notwithstanding, they used this knowledge to their advantage to demand reciprocity for their labor (Kulikoff 1986: 392). The partial provisioning system seen at the Oval Site and common in the region illustrates several examples of how negotiations between the enslaved and plantation management would have resulted in the enslaved reclaiming some autonomy over their time and economic status. Many of these negotiations occurred between the enslaved population and plantation owner, with overseers acting as enforcers and representatives for the plantation owner.

A common topic of negotiation was time off. Partial provisioning required extra time for the enslaved to work on cultivating their gardens, and it was common for the enslaved to also requested extra time off in the evenings and on Sundays (Kulikoff 1986: 392). Implicit in the request for time off was the threat that not receiving it would result in consequences. Plantation management often granted them this time in part to avoid work slowdown, tool breaking, and feigned illness.

Another commonly negotiated topic was the ability of the enslaved to sell excess food and goods from their gardens for a profit. While it is unclear whether or not the Oval Site's enslaved inhabitants were able to participate in this practice, the ubiquity of the activity in the region strongly suggests that it was taking place. Stratford's location on the water made it a center for trade and would have provided ample opportunities to sell excess goods. Many of Stratford's enslaved inhabitants worked as wagon and carriage drivers, fishermen, and boatman, which would have given them the ability to work off the plantation and have access to nearby markets (Douglas W. Sanford 2018 pers. comm.).

Participation in the local economy would have allowed some of the enslaved inhabitants to purchase items that contributed to their sense of well-being. The slave quarter/kitchen's artifact assemblage included several refined earthenwares, suggesting that some of the profit made by selling excess food material would have been used to invest in 'high status' materials (Crowder 2013; Ramey 2014). Selling goods may have also given residents the opportunity to travel off the plantation. The Lees owned several outlying farms and quarters surround Stratford, and as the 18th century progressed, family members may have been sold to nearby plantations. This movement of people would have created expansive kinship networks, and trips to sell goods at market would have been opportunities to visit loved ones and maintain relationships. It would have also increased access to goods and foodstuffs.

Interactions between the Oval Site Overseer and Enslaved Community

Multiple lines of evidence illustrate the negotiations and exchanges taking place between the enslaved population and overseer inhabiting the Oval Site, adding to a small but growing body of literature on the interactions of overseers and enslaved populations in the region. The two groups inhabited different social and labor classes created by the imposed racial hierarchy of the plantation power structure, however archaeological and botanical evidence recovered from the site demonstrate that the enslaved community regularly asserted their autonomy and were active participants in the exchanges taking place on the site.

As previously discussed, the botanical results, ceramic analyses, and planting features all illustrate an active exchange between the two groups where the slave quarter/kitchen served as an area of food production and processing, and the overseer's home as an area of consumption and storage for provisioned foods. The overseer would have been providing at least a portion of the food directly to the enslaved residents, and then received food back in the form of meals. The success of this regular exchange of food would have predicated on the active participation of both groups. The overseer may have had control over the provisioned foods, but the responsibility of providing meals for the overseer granted the enslaved negotiating power as well. The presence of provisioned, gathered, and garden-grown taxa, including those native to West Africa, in both the slave quarter/kitchen cellar and the overseer's basement may be a direct result of negotiations between the two groups over what was cooked. Gardening and gathering food would have given the enslaved community the ability to assert their own food choice and to become more self-reliant. Allowing the enslaved community to grow and gather their own food would have benefited the overseer both in the variety of food that would have been available for consumption and as a way to keep them from undermining and resisting his authority.

Some of the exchanges that took place between the two groups were more reaction than negotiation. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the Oval Site's enslaved inhabitants lived in a highly structured and surveilled landscape. The proximity of the overseer's house to the slave quarter/kitchen suggests that the activities of the quarter/kitchen inhabitants would have been visible to the overseer and that the cellar was regularly accessible to searching. There were no subfloor pits uncovered within the slave quarter/kitchen cellar and the possible slave quarter located to the north, despite the prevalence of the pits in slave dwellings to store personal items, food, and illicit material (Bowes 2011:94). Instead, both the cellars contain what have been called a "cubby hole", dug out of the walls (Figure 9). While the cubbies did not contain any artifacts, their construction deviates from standard cellar and sub-floor pits, and may have been an attempt at constructing a place where illicit and personal materials could be hidden.

Figure 9: Photograph of the “cubby” excavated in the slave quarter/kitchen cellar

The location of the planting features south of the slave quarter/kitchen may have similarly been a reaction to the level of surveillance experienced by the enslaved residents. The location of the quarter/kitchen near the plantation’s entrance road and the likelihood that the quarter/kitchen had glass windows meant that visitors may have regularly viewed the enslaved when approaching the main house. Planting a garden in between the quarter/kitchen and entrance road would have created a physical and visual buffer from anyone entering the area from the south. Yards have long been recognized as private spaces, and the garden may have been used in conjunction with other landscape delineation markers such as fences to create a sense of privacy and separation of space (Heath and Bennett 2000).

The results of the ceramic analyses conducted by myself and Ramey both indicate that the assemblages of the two groups were not vastly different (Crowder 2013; Ramey 2014). The general similarities of the ceramic assemblage are also reflected in the botanical assemblage at the Oval Site, and analyses on overseer sites throughout the American South have often found that artifact patterns between slave and overseer sites are remarkably similar (Wilkins 2017:19). At the Oval Site, this suggests that while the overseer occupied a higher social status, his economic status and purchasing power may have been more closely related to that of the enslaved community than the Lee family (Crowder 2013; Ramey 2014:30). This may mean that having the enslaved community provide food for the overseer was more than just a perk of the job; it may have also been economically necessary. Whether the overseer would have been well-off enough to provide food for himself if he wanted to or not, the similarities between the assemblages point to how the power associated with higher racial and social status did not always translate into an equally high economic status.

Comparing the results from the overseer's basement and slave quarter/kitchen suggests that a certain level of cooperation needed to take place in order for the two groups to subsist. The overseer ultimately was in a position of power and it was unlikely that his success on the plantation was a matter of life or death, but in order to be successful and earn a livelihood he needed cooperation from the enslaved community. While cooperation could be coerced through violence, the social position of the overseer made his power precarious. As discussed in Chapter 1, overseers were often undermined by plantation owners, and discontent between plantation owners and overseers was regularly exploited by the enslaved. To coerce the enslaved through violence could be a risk, particularly if their responsibility extended beyond working in the fields and included providing him with food.

In response to the demands made by the overseer, the enslaved African and African Americans at the site recognized that the power held by the overseer relied on their participation and made a calculated risk to at least partially comply and negotiate with the overseer. They used that knowledge to negotiate for some control over what they were growing and eating, and how they were spending their time. The level to which the overseer's demands were complied with would have varied by both the directive and the individual it was made upon.

These interactions would have not been static or even consistent. The overseer would have still used violence to coerce work from the enslaved, and the enslaved would have still overtly and covertly resisted their oppressors. The negotiations and interactions between the two groups would have occurred daily, and varied by individual. It is probable that multiple overseers inhabited the overseer's house, and each one may have had a different interaction with the enslaved community. With that being said, the results from the Oval Site demonstrate that rather than strict assertions of power by the overseer and reactions of submission or resistance by the enslaved, food became a medium that established mutual reliance between the two groups.

Situating the Results Within the Region

In order to interpret and situate the results of the Oval Site's botanical analysis within the framework of Chesapeake and Virginia planation life, the data was compared to similar site types with botanical components (for the botanical results from each site, see Appendix B). A survey of archaeological excavations of 18th-century Virginia slave and overseer sites with macrobotanical components identified at least nine studies located in the Tidewater and Piedmont regions of Virginia. Two of the sites had similar occupation date ranges to the Oval Site: Rich Neck Slave Quarter in Williamsburg, occupied approximately 1720-1773 (Franklin 2001, 2004; Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008), and the Accotink Slave Quarter in Fairfax County, occupied approximately 1720-1769 (Sipes, Rose, and Smith 2013). As part of the analysis conducted at Rich Neck, archaeologists Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt compared their results to four other sites with botanical components. Those four sites were incorporated into this comparison as well, and include the results from the Poplar Forest's North Hill site, occupied from the 1790s into the early 1800s, and Quarter site, occupied from the 1790s until 1812 (Raymer 1996, 2003); the 1750-1790 occupation (Period I) of Wilton Plantation Quarter Site in Henrico County (Higgins et al. 2000; McKnight 2000); and the Southall Quarter in James City County, occupied from 1750-1800 (McKnight 2003; Pullins et al. 2003).

Botanical results from Poplar Forest's Wingo's Quarter, occupied from 1773 until the end of the late 18th/early 19th century (Henderson 2003), and French's Tavern, occupied from the 18th into the 19th century (Crowder and Trigg 2015), as well as Mount Vernon's House for Families, occupied 1759-1793 (McKnight 2015), were also included in this comparison. McKnight's (2015) analysis of the House for Families site also includes a comparison to the results from Rich Neck, Period I of the Wilton Plantation site, Southall Quarter, and Poplar Forest's North Hill and Quarter sites, situating the Mount Vernon dataset within known foodways practices in the region.

All nine of the sites examine the results of botanicals collected from slave-associated features, with only the Accotink Quarter additionally including botanical results from overseer-related features. The sites vary in the number and types of features sampled, as well as the sampling and collection methods. Duties assigned to each site's inhabitants varied as well, with primarily field hands living at Rich Neck, Wingo's Quarter, North Hill, and Accotink, field hands and artisans living at Poplar Forest's Quarter Site, skilled workers living at Wilton, and a mixture of domestic workers and artisans living at Mount Vernon's House for Families. Occupants of the Southall Quarter are believed to have rotated between working in a tavern and in the fields. The sites additionally differed in proximity to plantation surveillance. Some of the sites, including North Hill, and Accotink, were small outlying quarters with an overseer living on site. Rich Neck was a satellite plantation and may not have even had an overseer living on the property. Other sites, such as Wilton and the House for Families, were located close to the plantation core and subject to constant surveillance.

The assemblages from each site were aggregated by taxonomic presence/absence and organized into categories based on where they were likely to be grown and how they may have been procured (Table 4). Taxa were first organized by the likelihood that they were either cultivated or wild. Cultivated taxa included large-scale field crops, orchard/vineyard taxa, garden taxa, and cash crops that were not consumed.

Large-scale field crops were interpreted as provisioned foods, and gardened taxa as those grown by each site's enslaved inhabitants. Orchard/vineyard taxa may have been provisioned, gathered, or pilfered and were not placed into a provisioning-strategy category. Cash crops were similarly not placed into a provisioning category. Wild taxa consisted of trees and shrubs, weedy plants and grasses with food and medicinal uses, and other wild taxa. The fruits and nuts in the trees and shrubs category would have grown in the surrounding environment and may have been gathered for food, medicine, or dye. The size, charring, and nature of many of the taxa in this category strongly suggest that they were purposely gathered rather than deposited naturally. Each of the remaining wild taxa was entered into the Native American Ethnobotany Database (NAEB 2003) in order to determine if they had food or medicinal uses. NEAB was used due to its comprehensive description of ways that taxa were used by Native peoples who would have been most familiar with the species native to the region. Seven taxa had widespread and/or regional use by Native American groups and were separated into the category weedy plants and grasses with food and medicinal uses, and the remaining taxa were placed into the other wild taxa category. While the taxa with medicinal and food uses cannot be assumed to have been used for those purposes, placing them in a separate category acknowledges that

Table 4: Results of Regional Botanical Comparison

Source		Common Name	Scientific Name	Oval Site	House for Families	Accotink Slave Quarter	Rich Neck	Wilton	Wingo's	North Hill	Poplar Forest	Southall Quarter	French's Tavern
Cultivated Taxa	Field Crops	Cultivated grains	Ceralia						X	X	X		
		Corn	*Zea mays*	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
		Wheat	*Triticum sp.*						X				
		Wheat	*Triticum aestivum*	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
		Wheat/Oat	*Triticum* sp./*Avena* sp.		X							X	
		Oat	*Avena sativa*	X	X			X		X			
		Little Barley	*Hordeum pusillum*				X						
		Lentil	*Lens culinaris*	X		X							
		Rye	*Secale cereale*				X		X	X			
		Sorghum	*Sorghum* sp.							X			X
	Orchard/Vinyard Taxa	Apple	*Malus domestica*		X	X							
		Cherry	*Prunus* sp.	X	X		X	X			X		X
		Cherry/Plum	*Prunus*sp.		X								
		Sour cherry	*Prunus cerasus*	X									
		Peach	*Prunus persica*	X	X				X	X	X		
		Pear	*Pyrus* sp.						X				
		Grape	*Vitis* sp.		X				X	X	X		X
	Garden Taxa	Legume		X									
		Peanut	*Arachis hypogaea*				X						
		Bean/Pulse	Fabaceae	X	X	X				X			X
		Bean	*Phaselous* sp.				X		X				
		Common bean	*Phaselous vulgaris*	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	
		Lima Bean	*Phaselous lunatas*				X						
		Cowpea	*Vigna* sp.	X	X		X		X				
		Black-eyed pea	*Vigna sinensis*	X									
		Pea	*Pisum sativum*		X								
		Gourd/melon	Cucurbitaceae						X				X
		Winter squash	*Cucurbita maxima*						X				
		Pumpkin	*Cucurbita pepo*				X						
		Melon	*Citrullus lanatus*				X						
		Bottle gourd	*Lagenaria siceraria*		X								
		Possible tuber		X									
		Sweet potato	*Ipomoea batatas*					X					
		Celery	*Apium graveolens*			X							
		Mustards	*Brassica* spp.			X							
		Strawberry	*Fragraria* sp.	X						X			
		Daisy	Asteraceae		X								
		Sunflower	*Helianthus* sp.							X	X	X	
		Poppy	*Papaver* sp.							X			
		Violet	*Viola* sp.							X			
		Sage	cf. *Salvia* sp.						X				
		Spearmint	*Mentha* sp.						X				

Source		Common Name	Scientific Name	Oval Site	House for Families	Accotink Slave Quarter	Rich Neck	Wilton	Wingo's	North Hill	Poplar Forest	Southall Quarter	French's Tavern
Cultivated Taxa	Cash Crop	Alfalfa	cf. *Medicago sativa*			X							
		Cotton	*Gossypium* sp.		X								
		Flax	*Linum* sp.						X				
		Tobacco	*Nicotiana tabacum*						X				
Wild taxa	Trees and Shrubs	Huckleberry	*Gaylussacia* sp.		X						X		X
		Blackberry/Raspberry	*Rubus* sp.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
		Elderberry	*Sambucus canadensis*							X			
		Red elderberry	*Sambucus racemosa*			X							
		Blueberry	*Vaccinium* sp.						X				
		Possibly nutmeat		X									X
		Nutshell		X									X
		Chestnut	Castanea sp.						X				
		Hazel	*Corylus* sp.		X								
		Hickory	*Carya* sp.	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	
		Hickory/Walnut								X			
		Persimmon	*Diospyros virginiana*	X	X					X	X	X	
		Beech	Fagaceae		X								
		Honey locust	*Glenditsia triacanthos L.*				X		X				
		Walnut family	Juglandaceae						X			X	X
		Walnut	*Juglans* sp.		X	X						X	
		Black walnut	*Juglans nigra*	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X
		Acorn/oak	*Quercus* sp.	X	X		X		X	X			
		Sumac	*Rhus* sp.		X				X	X			X
	Weedy Plants and Grasses with food and medicinal uses	Lambsquarters	*Chenopodium album*			X							
		Goosefoot	*Chenopodium*sp.			X		X	X	X	X		X
		Jimsonweed	*Datura stramonium*							X	X		
		Bedstraw	*Galium* sp.	X	X		X			X	X		
		Pokeweed	*Phytolacca americana/ Phytolacca sp.*		X								X
		Common selfheal	*Prunella vulgaris*			X							
		Curly dock	*Rumex crispus*						X				
	Other Wild Taxa	Copperleaf	*Acalypha virginica*							X			
		Wheatgrass	*Agropyron*sp.							X			
		Pigweed	*Amaranthus* sp.							X			
		Ragweed	*Ambrosia* sp.							X			
		Sedge	*Carex* sp./Cyperaceae		X	X	X						
		Juniper	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	X									
		Spurry	cf. *Spergula* sp.						X				
		Goosegrass	*Eleusine indica*						X	X	X		
		Vetch	*Lathyrus* sp.						X				
		Carpetweed	*Mollugo verticillata/ Mollugo* sp.	X						X			
		Yellow Woodsorrel	Oxalis stricta						X				

Source		Common Name	Scientific Name	Oval Site	House for Families	Accotink Slave Quarter	Rich Neck	Wilton	Wingo's	North Hill	Poplar Forest	Southall Quarter	French's Tavern
Wild Taxa	Other Wild Taxa	Wild panic grass	Panicum sp.	X					X				
		Pine plant part	*Pinus* sp.	X									X
		Grass family	Poaceae	X	X	X			X	X	X		
		Pennsylvania smartweed	*Polygonum pennsylvanicum*			X				X	X		
		Knotweed	*Polygonum* sp./*Polygonaceae*		X			X	X	X			X
		Purslane	*Portulaca oleracea/Portulaca* sp.			X			X	X			X
		Cinquefoil	*Potentilla* sp.			X							
		Sheep sorrel	*Rumex acetolcela*				X						
		Sorrel/Dock	*Rumex* sp.						X	X			
		Prickly Mallow	*Sida spinosa*							X			
		Nightshade	*Solanum* sp.							X			
		Clover	*Trifolium* sp.	X					X				
		Vervain	*Verbana* sp.							X			
		Compositae		X						X			
		Tree Bark		X									

they may have been. The species in the other wild taxa category are likely the result of each sites' enslaved inhabitants interacting with the natural environment and would have not been consumed. Some of the categorizations do not necessarily reflect the interpretations of the archaeobotanists who originally conducted the various analyses.

Despite the variety of locations, daily responsibilities, and site types, a general overview of the botanical assemblages from each site highlights some major similarities. All nine sites contained evidence of large-scale crops, gardened taxa, and wild species (see Table 4). Corn and wheat specimens were found at each of the nine sites, a trend that Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt (2008:720) saw in their 2008 comparison and suggested was indicative of broad provisioning practices regardless of the type of work the enslaved were assigned to. Other trends noted in the Rich Neck comparison that hold true for rest of the sites in this analysis is the presence of foraged fruits and nuts, and that the majority of assemblages included black walnut and hickory. The authors found differences in the assemblages as well, such as the presence of rye, sorghum, barley, and millet at some of the locations and not at others. The comparison also found that the common bean was the only gardened taxon recovered from all of their five comparative sites, suggesting a wide variety in types of garden-cultivated taxa. A comparison of all nine assemblages illustrates that while there was not one singular taxon found at every site, plants such as squash, pumpkin, beans, and cowpeas were relatively common.

From a cultural perspective, the majority of the assemblages bear evidence of creolized foodways (see Table 4). With the exception of Poplar Forest's Quarter site, Southall, and Wilton Plantation, all of the sites contain a mixture of taxa native to the Americas, Europe, and Africa. All nine assemblages included Anglo-American foods such as wheat and corn, and each site except for Southall included weedy taxa that were used by Native Americans for medicinal and food purposes and whose presence may indicate cultural interactions between the two groups. The Quarter site, Southall, and Wilton were the only sites that did not have any taxa native to Africa, although Wilton did contain a large amount of sweet potato, which was by that time cultivated in West Africa and likely replicated the central role of yams in traditional West African diets.

The Oval Site assemblage fits neatly into a comparison with the other nine sites. It contained provisioned crops, gardened plants, and wild taxa. Both wheat and corn were recovered from the site, as were fruits, black walnut, and hickory. The gardened taxa included a wide variety of beans and a possible tuber. The assemblage also demonstrates creolized foodways with the inclusion of Anglo-American, African, and Native American-favored taxa. The Oval Site provides a unique basis of comparison due to the presence of both slave and overseer-related features. The inclusion of the two social groups, enslaved and overseers, both demonstrates the consistency of some of the region's provisioning patterns, and provides evidence as to how the interactions between the site's enslaved inhabitants and overseer would have affected both groups. Only one other site that included both overseer and slave-related components was included in the analysis: the Accotink Quarter. Unfortunately, the relatively small assemblage size of the Accotink Quarter (166 identifiable specimens; see Appendix B) makes it difficult to draw any reasonable comparison to the Oval Site. With that being said, both sites exhibit trends similar to those seen in botanical studies conducted on only slave-related sites including the presence of wild taxa, suggesting that the presence of overseers did not diminish the need or ability for enslaved residents to forage for a portion of their diet.

Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt made several observations that appear to hold true with the inclusion of more sites. They noted that the inhabitants of all of the sites needed to rely to a certain degree both on being provisioned, gardening, and foraging for some of their food. They also remarked that the amount of forage and gardened taxa from each site varied, and was likely related to the amount and frequency that they each site's inhabitants were provisioned (Mrozowski, Franklin, Hunt 2008:720-721). McKnight's comparison of the Rich Neck analysis sites with the Mount Vernon House for Families concluded with the observation that the botanical assemblages indicate a diet centered on starch-rich cereals, corn, and beans, and complemented by foraged and gardened foods (McKnight 2015:43).

In addition to the observations made by McKnight, Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt, comparing the sites illustrates the way that partial provisioning affects food choice. While all of the sites included provisioned, gardened, and foraged food, the variety of each type of food varies greatly. Provisioned crops were the most consistent taxa by species. This makes sense considering they would have been produced on a large scale, been available locally, and could have been tended in the fields by the enslaved Africans and African Americans who would later be receiving them as provisions. The starchy foods were also a cheap source of calories, and could be stored and distributed with relative ease. There was a wider array of gardened taxa recovered from the sites (n=25), with beans constituting the most common type of gardened food. When combined, the gathered wild taxa categories of trees and shrubs and weedy plants with food/medicinal uses had a similarly wide variety of taxa (n=28) and all of the sites consistently included gathered fruits and nuts.

While the number of identified gathered and gardened taxa may be similar overall, the specific taxa recovered at each site varied. Of the 28 gathered taxa, 17 were recovered at multiple sites and the remaining 11 (39%) were only found at one site. In comparison, only seven of the 25 gardened taxa were found at multiple sites, while 18 (72%) were recovered from only one site. The higher consistency of wild taxa across multiple sites may be representative of the fact that while the types of wild foods consumed would have depended on personal and cultural preference, they were also defined by the surrounding environment and availability of resources, which varied from site to site. In comparison, the lack of consistency in gardened taxa use across sites suggests that the cultivation of certain taxa may have been more related to preference and choice rather than access to resources. The variety of identified garden taxa is a testament to the wide range of personal and community tastes that existed across different sites. Developing those preferences would have been the result of cultivating traditional foods, being exposed to different foods, and making decisions on what to grow based on individual and community needs.

Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt state that the variations seen in the results of their botanical comparison do not illustrate completely different foodways practices taking place at each site, but rather are representative of a continuum of different household production strategies based on each group's needs, resources, and power structures. They suggest that the components of African and African American foodways may have differed from site to site but still fulfilled the same goal (Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008:721). The number of factors that would have influenced African American cuisine is vast, with the biggest variable of all being individual preferences and experiences. The paleoethnobotanical analyses of these sites demonstrate the commonalities of emerging African American foodways, as well as their differences. Each community familiarized themselves with their local environment to gather and cultivate foods, while simultaneously exploring and asserting their own personal tastes and preferences. Placing African American foodways practices on a spectrum of consumption patterns highlight similarities across sites without simplifying differences, and acknowledges the diverse, unique experiences of enslaved African Americans expressed through food.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Already having survived horrendous cruelties, Africans arriving at Stratford in the early 18th century would have immediately been pushed into a system of plantation labor where their imposed social status was that of little more than property. A collection of strangers, they would have been forced together as a group based on a racial identity that held little meaning to them. They had to immediately adapt to a new language, new names, different foods, and the practices of the African Americans already living on the plantation. The strict schedule of tobacco cultivation would have necessitated long work hours with a few provisions in return. In order to survive, the newly arrived Africans would have to learn how to cultivate and forage for unfamiliar foods, a task that often necessitated working together.

The power of the plantation owner was absolute, and repercussions for not doing what was expected were brutal and violent. Plantation managers had ultimate control over providing food and time to cultivate small gardens around the quarter. Someone would have always nearby watching, whether it was the overseer living right next to the quarter, visitors entering the plantation, or the plantation owner that could see the quarter from the Great House. The Africans and African Americans had to cook food for themselves as well as the overseer, which may have led to the overseer entering the building that acted both as a kitchen and living quarters, unannounced, on a regular basis.

As time passed, the Africans would have become familiar with their environment. Foreign, plantation-grown foods were incorporated into their diet, and melded with traditional African foods and wild plants from the surrounding landscape to create new dishes that were influenced by their current lives but reminded them of home. People began to create relationships and start families, and raising children would have been a community effort. Gathering and growing food would have been a group responsibility, and the types of food gathered and grown were based off of what people had determined they liked, rather than just what was available. Plants would have been exploited for more than just food. Nutshells and tree bark were likely used as a source of self-expression as clothing dye, and native plants would have been utilized for their medicinal qualities.

The newly developing creolized African and African American community would have adapted to the plantation system of power and oppression and learned how to persist in spite of it. They would have used their labor power as a negotiating tool to receive extra time off to work on their gardens and socialize with their community. Extra food could have been sold at local markets, giving members of the community the ability to purchase goods and luxury items. Food would have been stolen from different areas of the plantation, and consumed in locations away from the watchful gaze of plantation management. The food the enslaved residents cooked for the overseer would have been a source of cultural exchange, and the preparation of creolized African American dishes may have been used as a symbolic assertion of identity and autonomy.

The archaeological and botanical evidence proves that the Oval Site's enslaved inhabitants grew into a community that persisted in the face of the oppressive environment they were forced into. The botanical assemblage illuminates specific examples of how the rigid plantation system played out through food, and the ways in which the enslaved community used food to get around it. Food would have been both a medium of creolization and a symbol of its result. The need to adapt to new ingredients would have necessitated adopting new cooking techniques. People needed to work together to grow and gather resources in order to supplement the incomplete provisions provided by plantation management. The Oval Site's enslaved residents not only consumed food to survive, they used food as a form of cultural expression, a demonstration of personal taste, a means for economic gains, and a vehicle to subvert the system through resistance.

The results of the botanical analysis not only position the Oval Site within Stratford's plantation landscape, they also situate the site within the greater Chesapeake region. Comparing different slave-related sites first reveals how diverse they were. Influenced by their environment, their personal preferences, and their community, Africans and African Americans developed unique, creolized food preferences based on available resources and negotiations with their oppressors. But while the contexts and resulting cuisine of each community varied, the way that they developed food preferences and practices was relatively similar. Across the region, communities supplemented

Anglo-American provisioned food with a mixture of what was available in the natural environment and garden-grown taxa. As groups became more familiar with available garden cultivars and the surrounding landscape, they developed preferences based on exposure to new cuisines, cultural meaning assigned to certain foods, and individual tastes.

The value of the Oval Site botanical assemblage extends beyond the ability to compare it to contemporaneous slave-related sites. Finding a site with a botanical assemblage that encompasses both an overseer and slave-related features is relatively rare, and comparing the site to other studies is not always straightforward. Because the inhabitants of the two structures were regularly interacting, the assemblage cannot be fully split and examined separately. But the combination of overseer and slave features does not preclude it from comparison. Instead, it enhances the results. While botanical assemblages from slave quarters provide valuable insight into the lives and preferences of individual slave households, it is difficult to contextualize the assemblage with what else would have been available and consumed on the plantation. Including an overseer assemblage (when possible) grounds the data within the social and racial hierarchy experienced by the site's inhabitants. It provides a frame of reference for different interactions and exchanging of goods. In the case of the Oval Site, the similarities between botanical assemblages of the two areas illustrate how intertwined their foodways practices were. The ability to compare the two areas while still acknowledging that they are interconnected illustrates the reflexive nature of cultural exchange.

The task of the enslaved Africans and African Americans providing meals for the overseer would have created a system of production, processing, storing, and consuming food between the two groups. In addition to an increase in cultural exchanges, the interactions would have given more opportunities for the enslaved Africans and African Americans to negotiate with the overseer. The success of the overseer would have been contingent on the participation of the enslaved community. Recognizing this, they could negotiate for more control over what they gardened and gathered and time to produce and process food. This consistent negotiation identifies the enslaved community as active participants in the plantation labor and power structure and is just one of many examples of how the enslaved demanded reciprocity for their labor and recognition of their humanity.

Enslaved Africans and African Americans occupied the Oval Site for approximately 50 years, during which they came together to form a new, community identity, created new cultural practices, and consistently asserted their identity and humanity. Towards the end of the 18th century, the Oval Site was abandoned, and its residents were likely sent to another area of Stratford or sold to a different plantation. Land and the enslaved population were downsized to settle Henry Lee's debts, and the plantation was reorganized as Stratford began shifting to wheat production. The Oval Site was plowed and eventually became part of Stratford's currently manicured landscape. While archaeological excavations rediscovered and investigated the site, all that currently remains of the slave quarter/kitchen and overseer's basement is a sign marking the site's location.

The legacy of the Oval Site's inhabitants does not end with them leaving the site. The adaptation and persistence of the enslaved Africans and African Americans became part of a larger creolized African American culture. The botanical assemblage illustrates how the Oval Site falls onto a spectrum of foodways patterns created by enslaved Africans and African Americans across the nation. Variations in contexts and preferences combined with the widespread formation of new cultural and community identities contributed to creating nuanced patterns of behavior and consumption steeped in symbolism. Equally important is the individuality of the Oval Site. In a location where a lack of documentary records meant that the site's history could have been lost to time, archaeology excavations and the botanical assemblage have provided an opportunity for the lost story of the overseer and enslaved African and African American community to be told.

APPENDIX A

MACROBOTANICAL RESULTS FROM THE OVAL SITE

Sample # (S = Screen)	Location: Overseer's Basement (OB) or Slave Quarter/Kitchen (SQK)	Unit	Level	No Recovered Material	Unidentifiable	Unidentified	Seed coat	Stem	Starchy Material	Starchy Material Weight (g)	Paranchymous tissue	Paranchymous tissue Weight (g)	*Zea mays* Kernel	*Zea mays* Cupule	*Zea mays* Glume	*Zea mays* Cob	*Triticum aestivum*	*Triticum aestivum* Rachis	*Avena sativa*	cf. Tuber	cf. Tuber Weight (g)	Fabaceae/Pulse	cf. *Lens culinaris*	*Phaselous vulgaris*	Legume	*Vigna sensis*	*Vigna* sp.	*Prunus persica*	*Prunus persica* Weight (g)
S	OB	272	B																			1							
S	OB	272	C																										
7	OB	272	E		5				40+	0.59																			
S	OB	272	E																									1	1.61
S	OB	272	F																										
S	OB	272	H																										
S	OB	272	K						4	0.65																		1	1.56
S	OB	272	L						15	1.68																			
S	OB	272	M						1	0.45																			
S	OB	272	T						6	0.68																			
S	OB	272	V																										
S	OB	272	X																										
S	OB	272	XX																										
90	OB	275	1		22				3	<0.01				3															
91	OB	275	2		13				6	0.03				43								2							
92	OB	275	3		23				15	0.06			3	47								2							
S	OB	275	A																	1									
S	OB	275	B																									1	1.07
S	OB	275	H																									1	0.93
17	OB	312	H		3				8	0.01							1												
18	OB	312	I		3				6	0.02							2												
19	OB	312	J		3				19	0.11																			
20	OB	312	K						Y	0.08			1				2												

Sample # (S = Screen)	Location: Overseer's Basement (OB) or Slave Quarter/Kitchen (SQK)	Unit	Level	No Recovered Material	Unidentifiable	Unidentified	Seed coat	Stem	Starchy Material	Starchy Material Weight (g)	Paranchymous tissue	Paranchymous tissue Weight (g)	*Zea mays* Kernel	*Zea mays* Cupule	*Zea mays* Glume	*Zea mays* Cob	*Triticum aestivum*	*Triticum aestivum* Rachis	*Avena sativa*	cf. Tuber	cf. Tuber Weight (g)	Fabaceae/Pulse	cf. *Lens culinaris*	*Phaselous vulgaris*	Legume	*Vigna sensis*	*Vigna* sp.	*Prunus persica*	*Prunus persica* Weight (g)
21	OB	312	L	N/A																									
22	OB	312	M	N/A																									
23	OB	313	A		2				1	<0.01																			
38	OB	313	C						2					1															
24	OB	313	D		36				20+	0.11				6															
25	OB	313	E	N/A																									
26	OB	313	F		4				9	0.11																			
5	OB	313	G		5				13	0.13				1															
27	OB	313	G		3				28	0.17																			
28	OB	313	L						4	<0.01																			
29	OB	313	N		1																								
30	OB	313	R	N/A																									
31	OB	314	B		2				3	<0.01																			
32	OB	314	E		3				7	0.05																			
33	OB	314	H						6	<0.01																			
34	OB	314	I						1	<0.01				1								1*							
35	OB	314	J	N/A																									
36	OB	314	K						10	0.03																			
37	OB	314	L		4																								
74	OB	365	D		3				8	<0.01																			
75	OB	365	F		1																								
76	OB	365	G		3				14	0.06																			
51	OB	365	H		1				7	0.03																			
52	OB	365	I		4				16	0.19																			
1	OB	365	J		1				36	0.54			1																
7	O	365	K		5				2	0.1																			

Sample # (S = Screen)	Location: Overseer's Basement (OB) or Slave Quarter/Kitchen (SQK)	Unit	Level	No Recovered Material	Unidentifiable	Unidentified	Seed coat	Stem	Starchy Material	Starchy Material Weight (g)	Paranchymous tissue	Paranchymous tissue Weight (g)	*Zea mays* Kernel	*Zea mays* Cupule	*Zea mays* Glume	*Zea mays* Cob	*Triticum aestivum*	*Triticum aestivum* Rachis	*Avena sativa*	cf. Tuber	cf. Tuber Weight (g)	Fabaceae/Pulse	cf. *Lens culinaris*	*Phaselous vulgaris*	Legume	*Vigna sensis*	*Vigna* sp.	*Prunus persica*	*Prunus persica* Weight (g)
7	B								7	4																			
S	OB	365	K																										
78	OB	365	L		4				4	<0.01																			
79	OB	365	M		9				15	0.08				3															
80	OB	365	N						Y	0.17																			
54	OB	365	O		9				40+	0.39																			
2	OB	365	P		7				17	0.23							1												
81	OB	365	Q						Y	0.47																			
82	OB	365	S						Y	0.26																			
83	OB	365	T						Y	0.05																			
53	OB	365	U		6				1	<0.01																			
84	OB	365	V						12																				
85	OB	365	W		5				11	0.03																			
86	OB	365	X		2				3	<0.01												1							
3	OB	365	Y		1				14	0.04																			
62	OB	379	AA		3				9	0.09				2															
63	OB	379	AB		5				5	<0.01				2			1												
64	OB	379	AC	N/A																									
65	OB	379	AD	N/A																									
66	OB	379	AE		1				1	<0.01												1							
67	OB	379	AF	N/A																									
68	OB	379	AG		5																								
69	OB	379	AH						2	<0.01																			
70	OB	379	AO		4																								
55	OB	379	H		45				5	0.03				11			1												
56	OB	379	I		14				8	0.08			1	13															
57	OB	379	O		7				3	0.02												1							

Sample # (S = Screen)	Location: Overseer's Basement (OB) or Slave Quarter/Kitchen (SQK)	Unit	Level	No Recovered Material	Unidentifiable	Unidentified	Seed coat	Stem	Starchy Material	Starchy Material Weight (g)	Paranchymous tissue	Paranchymous tissue Weight (g)	*Zea mays* Kernel	*Zea mays* Cupule	*Zea mays* Glume	*Zea mays* Cob	*Triticum aestivum*	*Triticum aestivum* Rachis	*Avena sativa*	cf. Tuber	cf. Tuber Weight (g)	Fabaceae/Pulse	cf. *Lens culinaris*	*Phaselous vulgaris*	Legume	*Vigna sensis*	*Vigna* sp.	*Prunus persica*	*Prunus persica* Weight (g)
58	OB	379	R		15				12	0.08																			
59	OB	379	U		9				7	0.02				1			1												
S	OB	379	U																									1	1.34
S	OB	379	U																										
60	OB	379	V		1				Y	0.23															1				
S	OB	379	V								2	0.4																	
61	OB	379	Z		8				40+	0.75				2			1*												
S	OB	379	Z								1	0.12																	
87	OB	272/313	F				1		3	0.02			1				1												
88	OB	272/313	H						1					1															
89	OB	272/313	J		2				11	0.07				1															
6	OB	272/313	K						10	0.07				1															
4	OB	272/313	L		1				4	0.04																			
S	OB	275	C											4		1													
S	OB	275	F																									2	1.75
S	OB	365	D																										
S	OB	365	F																										
S	OB	365	L								1	0.08																	
117	SQK	564	B																										
118	SQK	564	C		2				3	<0.01																			
45	SQK	564	D		5																	1							
46	SQK	564	E	N/A																									
119	SQK	564	F		3				2	0.01																			
1	S	564	G		3				7	0.0																			

Sample # (S = Screen)	Location: Overseer's Basement (OB) or Slave Quarter/Kitchen (SQK)	Unit	Level	No Recovered Material	Unidentifiable	Unidentified	Seed coat	Stem	Starchy Material	Starchy Material Weight (g)	Paranchymous tissue	Paranchymous tissue Weight (g)	*Zea mays* Kernel	*Zea mays* Cupule	*Zea mays* Glume	*Zea mays* Cob	*Triticum aestivum*	*Triticum aestivum* Rachis	*Avena sativa*	cf. Tuber	cf. Tuber Weight (g)	Fabaceae/Pulse	cf. *Lens culinaris*	*Phaselous vulgaris*	Legume	*Vigna sensis*	*Vigna* sp.	*Prunus persica*	*Prunus persica* Weight (g)
20	QK									9																			
121	SQK	564	H		1				2	<0.01																			
S	SQK	564	H																										
47	SQK	564	L	N/A																									
S	SQK	564	L																								1		
48	SQK	564	M		1				Y	0.05			1		1				1										
122	SQK	564	N		10				5	<0.01				1															
49	SQK	564	O		30				26	0.11							7												
123	SQK	564	P		10				1	<0.01																			
124	SQK	564	R						5	<0.01																			
50	SQK	564	S		2																								
125	SQK	564	S		4				4	<0.01																			
127	SQK	564	T		8				19	0.06				2															
126	SQK	564	U		8				15	0.03																			
128	SQK	566	B		1				2	<0.01																			
129	SQK	566	C	N/A																									
130	SQK	566	D						4	<0.01																			
131	SQK	566	E		4																	2							
132	SQK	566	F		5				1	<0.01																			
S	S	566	F																										

Sample # (S = Screen)	Location: Overseer's Basement (OB) or Slave Quarter/Kitchen (SQK)	Unit	Level	No Recovered Material	Unidentifiable	Unidentified	Seed coat	Stem	Starchy Material	Starchy Material Weight (g)	Paranchymous tissue	Paranchymous tissue Weight (g)	*Zea mays* Kernel	*Zea mays* Cupule	*Zea mays* Glume	*Zea mays* Cob	*Triticum aestivum*	*Triticum aestivum* Rachis	*Avena sativa*	cf. Tuber	cf. Tuber Weight (g)	Fabaceae/Pulse	cf. *Lens culinaris*	*Phaselous vulgaris*	Legume	*Vigna sensis*	*Vigna* sp.	*Prunus persica*	*Prunus persica* Weight (g)
	QK																												
133	SQK	566	G		19				3	<0.01												1							
134	SQK	566	H						Y	0.9							6	1				49	1	16	2		21		
S	SQK	566	H																										
8	SQK	591	C	N/A																									
9	SQK	591	D	N/A																									
S	SQK	591	D		2																								
10	SQK	591	E						Y	0.02							1												
11	SQK	591	F		33				5	0.03				5								10							
12	SQK	591	G		11				5	<0.01																			
S	SQK	591	G		1																								
13	SQK	591	H		12																								
14	SQK	591	I		8																								
15	SQK	591	J		1				1	<0.01																			
16	SQK	591	K		7																								
43	SQK	591	L		10																								
44	SQK	591	L (burned)		6				5	0.06																			
71	SQK	591	M		6																								
72	SQK	591	N		3				4	<0.01																			
S	S	591	N																										

Sample # (S = Screen)	Location: Overseer's Basement (OB) or Slave Quarter/Kitchen (SQK)	Unit	Level	No Recovered Material	Unidentifiable	Unidentified	Seed coat	Stem	Starchy Material	Starchy Material Weight (g)	Paranchymous tissue	Paranchymous tissue Weight (g)	*Zea mays* Kernel	*Zea mays* Cupule	*Zea mays* Glume	*Zea mays* Cob	*Triticum aestivum*	*Triticum aestivum* Rachis	*Avena sativa*	cf. Tuber	cf. Tuber Weight (g)	Fabaceae/Pulse	cf. *Lens culinaris*	*Phaselous vulgaris*	Legume	*Vigna sensis*	*Vigna* sp.	*Prunus persica*	*Prunus persica* Weight (g)
	QK																												
73	SQK	591	O		25				19	0.05				2															
93	SQK	601	B		7				1	<0.01																			
39	SQK	601	E						1	<0.01																			
94	SQK	601	F		2				3	<0.01																			
95	SQK	601	G		7																								
S	SQK	601	G																										
40	SQK	601	H		7				6	0.03				1															
S	SQK	601	H																										
96	SQK	601	I		3				4	<0.01												1							
S	SQK	601	I		2																								
41	SQK	601	J	N/A																									
42	SQK	601	K		22				5	<0.01				3								1							
S	SQK	601	K																										
97	SQK	601	L		1				2	<0.01												1							
S	SQK	601	L										1																
98	SQK	601	M		6				3	0.03				1			1												
99	SQK	601	N		10				1	<0.01			1*																
100	SQK	601	O						1	<0.01																			
S	S	601	O		1																								

Sample # (S = Screen)	Location: Overseer's Basement (OB) or Slave Quarter/Kitchen (SQK)	Unit	Level	No Recovered Material	Unidentifiable	Unidentified	Seed coat	Stem	Starchy Material	Starchy Material Weight (g)	Paranchymous tissue	Paranchymous tissue Weight (g)	*Zea mays* Kernel	*Zea mays* Cupule	*Zea mays* Glume	*Zea mays* Cob	*Triticum aestivum*	*Triticum aestivum* Rachis	*Avena sativa*	cf. Tuber	cf. Tuber Weight (g)	Fabaceae/Pulse	cf. *Lens culinaris*	*Phaselous vulgaris*	Legume	*Vigna sensis*	*Vigna* sp.	*Prunus persica*	*Prunus persica* Weight (g)
	QK																												
101	SQK	601	P		5		1		9	0.06			2	3															
102	SQK	601	Q		7																								
103	SQK	601	R		12				9	0.03			1	2															
S	SQK	601	R																										
104	SQK	601	S		7			1	3	<0.01				1															
105	SQK	607	A		4				1	<0.01																			
106	SQK	607	B		1				4	<0.01																			
107	SQK	607	C		3				19	0.12																			
108	SQK	607	D		3				5	0.02				2															
109	SQK	607	E		37			1	45	0.29				1				2				10				8			
S	SQK	607	E		4																						5	1	0.37
110	SQK	607	G	N/A			1																						
111	SQK	607	H				1																						
112	SQK	607	J		7				3	0.03							1												
113	SQK	607	K		6																								
114	SQK	607	L		1																								
115	SQK	607	M		2																								
116	SQK	607	N		5																								
S	S	607	O																										

Sample # (S = Screen)	Location: Overseer's Basement (OB) or Slave Quarter/Kitchen (SQK)	Unit	Level	No Recovered Material	Unidentifiable	Unidentified	Seed coat	Stem	Starchy Material	Starchy Material Weight (g)	Paranchymous tissue	Paranchymous tissue Weight (g)	*Zea mays* Kernel	*Zea mays* Cupule	*Zea mays* Glume	*Zea mays* Cob	*Triticum aestivum*	*Triticum aestivum* Rachis	*Avena sativa*	cf. Tuber	cf. Tuber Weight (g)	Fabaceae/Pulse	cf. *Lens culinaris*	*Phaselous vulgaris*	Legume	*Vigna sensis*	*Vigna* sp.	*Prunus persica*	*Prunus persica* Weight (g)
	QK																												
135	SQK	607	P		7				2	<0.01																			
136	SQK	607	Q		16				5	<0.01			2				1												
S	SQK	607	Q										1																

Sample # (S = Screen)	Area	Unit	Level	*Prunus* sp. Cherry	*Prunus cerasus*	*Rubus* sp.	cf. *Fragraria* sp.	*Diospyros virginiana*	Nutshell	*Juglans nigra*	*Juglans nigra* Weight (g)	*Carya* sp.	*Carya* sp. Weight (g)	*Quercus* sp.	cf.Nutmeat	*Trifolium* sp.	Poaceae	*Mollugo* sp.	*Polygonum* sp.	*Galium* sp.	Wild grass	Bark	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	Pinecone brach	Compositaceae
S	OB	272	B																						
S	OB	272	C							1	0.24														
7	OB	272	E																						
S	OB	272	E																						
S	OB	272	F							3	0.45														
S	OB	272	H							14	5														
S	OB	272	K					1		3	0.59														
S	OB	272	L																						
S	OB	272	M							4	1.22														
S	OB	272	T							3	2.63														
S	OB	272	V							3	1.26														
S	OB	272	X							4	2.6														

Sample # (S = Screen)	Area	Unit	Level	*Prunus* sp. Cherry	*Prunus cerasus*	*Rubus* sp.	cf. *Fragraria* sp.	*Diospyros virginiana*	Nutshell	*Juglans nigra*	*Juglans nigra* Weight (g)	*Carya* sp.	*Carya* sp. Weight (g)	*Quercus* sp.	cf.Nutmeat	*Trifolium* sp.	Poaceae	*Mollugo* sp.	*Polygonum* sp.	*Galium* sp.	Wild grass	Bark	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	Pinecone brach	Compositaceae
											4														
S	OB	272	XX							1	0.99														
90	OB	275	1						2																
91	OB	275	2						2																
92	OB	275	3																						
S	OB	275	A							2	0.32														
S	OB	275	B																						
S	OB	275	H																						
17	OB	312	H																						
18	OB	312	I																						
19	OB	312	J																						
20	OB	312	K													1									
21	OB	312	L																						
22	OB	312	M																						
23	OB	313	A												1										
38	OB	313	C													1		1	1						
24	OB	313	D													1									
25	OB	313	E																						
26	OB	313	F													1*									
5	OB	313	G																						
27	OB	313	G													1									
28	OB	313	L														1								
29	OB	313	N																						
30	OB	313	R																						
31	OB	314	B																						
32	OB	314	E																						
33	OB	314	H																						
34	OB	314	I																						
35	OB	314	J																						
36	OB	314	K																						
37	OB	314	L																						
74	OB	365	D																						
75	OB	365	F						2																
76	OB	365	G																						
51	OB	365	H																						
52	OB	365	I																						
1	OB	365	J																						
77	OB	365	K																						
S	OB	365	K							2	0.98														

Sample # (S = Screen)	Area	Unit	Level	*Prunus* sp. Cherry	*Prunus cerasus*	*Rubus* sp.	cf. *Fragraria* sp.	*Diospyros virginiana*	Nutshell	*Juglans nigra*	*Juglans nigra* Weight (g)	*Carya* sp.	*Carya* sp. Weight (g)	*Quercus* sp.	cf.Nutmeat	*Trifolium* sp.	Poaceae	*Mollugo* sp.	*Polygonum* sp.	*Galium* sp.	Wild grass	Bark	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	Pinecone brach	Compositaceae
78	OB	365	L																						
79	OB	365	M																						
80	OB	365	N																						
54	OB	365	O																						
2	OB	365	P																			1			
81	OB	365	Q																						
82	OB	365	S																						
83	OB	365	T						1																
53	OB	365	U																						
84	OB	365	V																						
85	OB	365	W																						
86	OB	365	X																1			2			
3	OB	365	Y						6																
62	OB	379	AA																						
63	OB	379	AB																						
64	OB	379	AC																						
65	OB	379	AD																						
66	OB	379	AE																						
67	OB	379	AF																						
68	OB	379	AG																						
69	OB	379	AH																						
70	OB	379	AO																						
55	OB	379	H						1																
56	OB	379	I																						
57	OB	379	O																						
58	OB	379	R		1																				
59	OB	379	U																						
S	OB	379	U																						
S	OB	379	U							1	0.5														
60	OB	379	V																						
S	OB	379	V																						
61	OB	379	Z																						
S	OB	379	Z																						
87	OB	272/313	F																						
88	OB	272/313	H						2											1			1		
89	OB	272/313	J																						
6	OB	272/313	K																						
4	OB	272/313	L																						

Sample # (S = Screen)	Area	Unit	Level	*Prunus* sp. Cherry	*Prunus cerasus*	*Rubus* sp.	cf. *Fragraria* sp.	*Diospyros virginiana*	Nutshell	*Juglans nigra*	*Juglans nigra* Weight (g)	*Carya* sp.	*Carya* sp. Weight (g)	*Quercus* sp.	cf.Nutmeat	*Trifolium* sp.	Poaceae	*Mollugo* sp.	*Polygonum* sp.	*Galium* sp.	Wild grass	Bark	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	Pinecone brach	Compositaceae
S	OB	275	C							3	1.19	6	0.91												
S	OB	275	F						3	1	0.17														
S	OB	365	D						1																
S	OB	365	F																			1			
S	OB	365	L																						
117	SQK	564	B																		1				
118	SQK	564	C																						
45	SQK	564	D																						
46	SQK	564	E																						
119	SQK	564	F																						
120	SQK	564	G																						
121	SQK	564	H																						
S	SQK	564	H						1	1	0.05														
47	SQK	564	L																						
S	SQK	564	L																						
48	SQK	564	M	1		1	1								7										
122	SQK	564	N														1								
49	SQK	564	O																	2					
123	SQK	564	P																	1					
124	SQK	564	R											6											
50	SQK	564	S																						
125	SQK	564	S																						
127	SQK	564	T						1																
126	SQK	564	U						1																
128	SQK	566	B																						
129	SQK	566	C																						
130	SQK	566	D																						
131	SQK	566	E																						
132	SQK	566	F																						

Sample # (S = Screen)	Area	Unit	Level	*Prunus* sp. Cherry	*Prunus cerasus*	*Rubus* sp.	cf. *Fragraria* sp.	*Diospyros virginiana*	Nutshell	*Juglans nigra*	*Juglans nigra* Weight (g)	*Carya* sp.	*Carya* sp. Weight (g)	*Quercus* sp.	cf.Nutmeat	*Trifolium* sp.	Poaceae	*Mollugo* sp.	*Polygonum* sp.	*Galium* sp.	Wild grass	Bark	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	Pinecone brach	Compositaceae
S	SQK	566	F							1	0.25														
133	SQK	566	G																						
134	SQK	566	H						5						2										
S	SQK	566	H							1	0.58														
8	SQK	591	C																						
9	SQK	591	D																						
S	SQK	591	D																						
10	SQK	591	E																						
11	SQK	591	F																						
12	SQK	591	G																						
S	SQK	591	G																						
13	SQK	591	H																						
14	SQK	591	I																						
15	SQK	591	J																						
16	SQK	591	K																						
43	SQK	591	L																1						
44	SQK	591	L (burned)																						
71	SQK	591	M																						
72	SQK	591	N																						
S	SQK	591	N							1	0.05														
73	SQK	591	O																						
93	SQK	601	B																						
39	SQK	601	E																						
94	SQK	601	F																						
95	SQK	601	G																						
S	SQK	601	G						2	1	0.06														
40	SQK	601	H																						
S	SQK	601	H							3	0.66														

Sample # (S = Screen)	Area	Unit	Level	*Prunus* sp. Cherry	*Prunus cerasus*	*Rubus* sp.	cf. *Fragraria* sp.	*Diospyros virginiana*	Nutshell	*Juglans nigra*	*Juglans nigra* Weight (g)	*Carya* sp.	*Carya* sp. Weight (g)	*Quercus* sp.	cf.Nutmeat	*Trifolium* sp.	Poaceae	*Mollugo* sp.	*Polygonum* sp.	*Galium* sp.	Wild grass	Bark	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	Pinecone brach	Compositaceae
96	SQK	601	I																						
S	SQK	601	I																						
41	SQK	601	J																						
42	SQK	601	K																						
S	SQK	601	K							1	0.42														
97	SQK	601	L						1																
S	SQK	601	L							1	1.55														
98	SQK	601	M			1																			
99	SQK	601	N																						
100	SQK	601	O						1																
S	SQK	601	O																						
101	SQK	601	P																						
102	SQK	601	Q																						
103	SQK	601	R																					1	
S	SQK	601	R							4	2.28														
104	SQK	601	S																						
105	SQK	607	A																						
106	SQK	607	B																						
107	SQK	607	C																						
108	SQK	607	D																						
109	SQK	607	E												1				2						
S	SQK	607	E						3	3	0.53														
110	SQK	607	G																						
111	SQK	607	H																						13
112	SQK	607	J																						
113	SQK	607	K																						
114	SQK	607	L																						
115	SQK	607	M																						
11	SQ	607	N													1									

Sample # (S = Screen)	Area	Unit	Level	*Prunus* sp. Cherry	*Prunus cerasus*	*Rubus* sp.	cf. *Fragraria* sp.	*Diospyros virginiana*	Nutshell	*Juglans nigra*	*Juglans nigra* Weight (g)	*Carya* sp.	*Carya* sp. Weight (g)	*Quercus* sp.	cf.Nutmeat	*Trifolium* sp.	Poaceae	*Mollugo* sp.	*Polygonum* sp.	*Galium* sp.	Wild grass	Bark	cf. *Juniperus* sp.	Pinecone brach	Compositaceae
6	K																								
S	SQK	607	O							1	0.29														
135	SQK	607	P																						
136	SQK	607	Q																						
S	SQK	607	Q							3	1.28														

APPENDIX B
BOTANICAL RESULTS FROM COMPARATIVE SITES

Botanical Results from the Mount Vernon House for Families Cellar (McKnight 2015)

Common Name	Botanical Name	Material	Specimen Raw Count
maize	*Zea mays*	field crop	1326
persimmon	*Diospyros virginiana*	seed	216
black walnut	*Juglans nigra*	nutshell	135
wheat or oats	*Triticum/Avena*	field crop	96
oats	*Avena sativa*	field crop	86
wheat	*Triticum aestivum*	field crop	76
bean	*Phaselous vulgaris*	field crop	48
raspberry/blackberry	*Rubus* sp.	seed	31
hazel	*Corylus* sp.	nutshell	14
peach	*Prunus persica*	seed	14
cherry	*Prunus* sp.	seed	5
cherry or plum	*Prunus* sp.	seed	3
grape	*Vitis* sp.	seed	3
pea	*Pisum sativum*	field crop	3
huckleberry	*Gaylussacia* sp.	seed	2
sumac	cf. *Rhus* sp.	seed	2
knotweed	*Polygonaceae*	seed	2
cowpea	*Vigna* sp.	field crop	2
cotton	*Gossypium*	field crop	2
walnut	cf. *Juglans* sp.	nutshell	1
acorn	*Quercus* sp.	nutshell	1
beech	Fagaceae	nutshell	1
bedstraw	*Galium* sp.	seed	1
poke	*Phytolacca americana*	seed	1
apple	*Malus domestica*	seed	1
daisy	Asteraceae	seed	1
sedge	Cyperaceae	seed	1
bean	Fabaceae	seed	1
grass	Poaceae	seed	1
bottle gourd	*Lagenaria siceraria*	field crop	1

Botanical Results from the Accotink Slave Quarter (Sipes, Rose, and Smith 2013)

	Common Name	Taxa	Structure 1 (Overseer)	Structure 2 (Slave Quarter)	Count	% of Total
Cultivated taxa	Alfalfa	cf. *Medicago sativa*	0	1	1	0.6
	Apple	*Malus domestica*	0	1	1	0.6
	Celery	*Apium graveolens*	1	0	1	0.6
	Corn	*Zea mays*	0	5	5	3.01
	Lentil	*Lens culinaris*	0	1	1	0.6
	Mustards	*Brassica* spp.	0	1	1	0.6
		cf. *Brassica* spp.	0	2	2	1.2
	Red elderberry	*Sambucus racemosa*	0	1	1	0.6
	Wheat	*Triticum aestivum*	0	5	5	3.01
	Legumes, beans, and peas	Fabaceae	0	5	5	3.01
Wild taxa	Blackberry/raspberry	*Rubus* spp.	0	1	1	0.6
	Cinquefoil	*Potentilla* sp.	0	1	1	0.6
	Common selfheal	*Prunella vulgaris*	0	1	1	0.6
	Goosefoot	*Chenopodium* sp.	0	1	1	0.6
	Hickory	*Carya* sp.	0	1	1	0.6
	Lambsquarters	*Chenopodium album*	0	2	2	1.2
	Pennsylvania smartweed	*Polygonum pennsylvanicum*	0	3	3	1.81
	Purslane	*Portulaca* sp.	102	9	111	66.87
	Sedge	cf. *Carex* sp.	0	1	1	0.6
	Walnut	*Juglans* sp.	2	18	20	12.05
	Grasses	Poaceae	0	1	1	0.6
Number of identifiable specimens			105	61	166	
Number of unidentifiable specimens					12	
Total					178	
Number of cultivated taxa			1	22	23	13.86
Number of wild taxa			104	39	143	86.14

Botanical Results from the Rich Neck Slave Quarter (Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008)

Category	Common Name	Scientific Name	Count	% of Total
Grains	Corn/maize	*Zea mays*	30	4.50%
	Bread Wheat	*Triticum aestivum*	6	0.90%
	Little Barley	*Hordeum pusillum*	18	2.70%
	Rye	*Secale cereale*	4	0.60%
Beans and Legumes	Lima Bean	*Phaselous lunatas*	1	0.10%
	Bean	*Phaselous* sp.	23	3.50%
	Bean/Kidney bean	*Phaselous vulgaris*	3	0.50%
	Cowpea	*Vigna* sp.	187	28.20%
	Peanut	*Arachis hypogaea*	1	0.10%
Gourds Melons	Pumpkin	*Cucurbita pepo*	1	0.10%
	Melon	*Citrullus lanatus*	2	0.30%
	Cherry	*Prunus* sp.	6	0.90%
	Blackberry/Raspberry	*Rubus* sp.	3	0.50%
	Acorn	*Quercus* sp.	11	1.70%
	Black Walnut	*Juglans nigra*	113	17.00%
	Honey locust	*Glenditsia triacanthos L.*	250	37.70%
Weedy Plants, Herbs, and Grasses	Sedge	*Carex* sp.	3	0.50%
	Bedstraw	*Galium* sp.	1	0.10%
	Sheep sorrel	*Rumex acetolcela*	1	0.10%

Botanical Results from Period I of the Wilton Plantation Quarter Site (results from Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008)

Category	Common Name	Scientific Name	Count	% of Total
Garden/ Orchard	Blackberry/Raspberry	*Rubus* sp.	3	
	Cherry	*Prunus* sp.	3	1.1
	Common bean	*Phaselous vulgaris*	4	1.4
	Sweet potato	*Ipomoea batatas*	244	86.8
Crops	Corn	*Zea mays*	6	2.1
	Oats	*Avena sativa*	3	1.1
	Wheat	*Triticum aestivum*	8	2.8
Wild Plants	Goosefoot	*Chenopodium* sp.	1	0.4
	Hickory	*Carya* sp.	2	0.7
	Knotweed	*Polygonum* sp.	7	2.5
	Black Walnut	*Juglans nigra*	3	1.1

Botanical Results from the Wingo's Site at Poplar Forest (Henderson 2013)

Category	Common Name	Scientific Name	Count	% of Total
Grains	Corn/maize	Zea mays	166	3.84%
	Wheat	Triticum sp.	35	0.81%
	Rye	Secale cereale	6	0.14%
	Cerealia		1	0.02%
Beans and Legumes	Bean	Phaselous sp.	4	0.09%
	Cowpea	Vigna sp.	3	0.07%
	Winter squash	Cucurbita maxima	1	0.02%
	Cucurbitaceae		8	0.18%
Fruits	Peach	Prunus persica	244	5.64%
	Pear	Pyrus sp.	1	0.02%
	Blackberry/Raspberry	Rubus sp.	2	0.05%
	Blueberry	Vaccinium sp.	6	0.14%
	Grape	Vitis sp.	1	0.02%
	Sumac	Rhus sp.	13	0.30%
Nuts	Acorn	Quercus sp.	2	0.05%
	Juglandaceae		160	3.70%
	Black Walnut	Juglans nigra	8	0.18%
	Hickory nutshell	Carya sp.	1	0.02%
	Chestnut	Castanea sp.	1	0.02%
	Honey locust	Glenditsia triacanthos L.	1	0.02%
Weedy Plants, Herbs, and Grasses	Sage	cf. Salvia	1	0.02%
	Spurry	cf. Spergula	1	0.02%
	Goosefoot	Chenopodium sp.	95	2.20%
	Goosegrass	Eleusine indica	2	0.05%
	Vetch	Lathyrus sp.	1	0.02%
	Spearmint	Mentha sp.	1	0.02%
	Yellow Woodsorrel	Oxalis stricta	5	0.12%
	Knotweed	Polygonum sp.	101	2.33%
	Purslane	Portulaca sp.	17	0.39%
	Curly dock	Rumex crispus	4	0.09%
	Dock	Rumex sp.	7	0.16%
	Clover	Trifolium sp.	1	0.02%
	Poaceae		3345	77.32%
	Wild panic grass	Panicum sp.	78	1.80%
Utilitarian/ Cash Crop	Tobacco	Nicotiana tabacum	1	0.02%
	Flax	Linum sp.	2	0.05%

Botanical Results from the North Hill Site (results from Mrozowski, Franklin, and Mead 2008)

Category	Common Name	Scientific Name	Count	% of Total
Garden/ Orchard	Blackberry/Raspberry	*Rubus* sp.	26	3
	Common bean	*Phaselous vulgaris*	6	0.7
	Elderberry	*Sambucus canadensis*	1	0.1
	Grape	*Vitis* sp.	3	0.3
	Peach	*Prunus persica*	158	18.2
	Poppy	*Papaver* sp.	1	0.1
	Strawberry	*Fragraria* sp.	4	0.5
	Sunflower	*Helianthus* sp.	1	0.1
	Violet	*Viola* sp.	1	0.1
Crops	Corn	*Zea mays*	273	31.4
	Oats	*Avena sativa*	1	0.1
	Rye	*Secale cereale*	4	0.5
	Sorghum	*Sorghum* sp.	5	0.6
	Wheat	*Triticum aestivum*	134	15.4
	Cultivated grain		0.3	2
Wild Plants	Acorn	*Quercus* sp.	2	0.2
	Bedstraw	*Galium* sp.	4	0.5
	Carpetweed	*Mollugo verticillata*	1	0.1
	Goosefoot	*Chenopodium* sp.	34	3.9
	Hickory	*Carya* sp.	12	1.4
	Hickory/Walnut		4.5	
	Knotweed	*Polygonum* sp.	41	4.7
	Pennsylvania smartweed	*Polygonum pennsylvanicum*	14	1.6
	Persimmon	*Diosyros virginiana*	1	0.1
	Pigweed	*Amaranthus* sp.	2	0.2
	Purslane	*Portulaca oleracea*	1	0.1
	Sorrel/Dock	*Rumex* sp.	20	2.3
	Sumac	*Rhus* sp.	16	1.8
	Vervain	*Verbana* sp.	2	0.2
Weed	Copperleaf	*Acalypha virginica*	1	0.1
	Jimsonweed	*Datura stramonium*	8	0.9
	Nightshade	*Solanum* sp.	2	0.2
	Prickly Mallow	*Sida spinosa*	2	0.2
	Ragweed	*Ambrosia* sp.	23	2.6
Weed-Grass	Agropyron	*Agropyron*	4	0.5
	Goosegrass	*Eleusine indica*	1	0.1
	Grass Family	Gramineae	17	2
Unknown (Bean Family)			1	0.1
Unknown (Composite Family)			1	0.1

Botanical Results from the Poplar Forest Quarter Site (results from Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008)

Category	Common Name	Scientific Name	Count	% of Total
Garden/ Orchard	Blackberry/Raspberry	*Rubus* sp.	3	2.3
	Cherry	*Prunus* sp.	2	1.6
	Common bean	*Phaselous vulgaris*	1	0.8
	Grape	*Vitis* sp.	2	1.6
	Huckleberry	*Gaylussacia so.*	2	1.6
	Peach	*Prunus persica*	38	29.5
	Sunflower	*Helianthus* sp.	2	1.6
Crops	Corn	*Zea mays*	45	34.9
	Wheat	*Triticum aestivum*	3	2.3
	Cultivated grain		1.6	
Wild Plants	Bedstraw	*Galium* sp.	2	1.6
	Goosefoot	*Chenopodium* sp.	2	1.6
	Hickory	*Carya* sp.	3	2.3
	Pennsylvania smartweed	*Polygonum pennsylvanicum*	2	1.6
	Persimmon	*Diosyros virginiana*	3	2.3
	Black walnut	*Juglans nigra*	11	8.5
Weed	Jimsonweed	*Datura stramonium*	1	0.8
Weed-Grass	Goosegrass	*Eleusine indica*	1	0.8
	Grass Family	Gramineae	4	3.1

Botanical Results from the Southall Quarter (results from Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008)

Category	Common Name	Scientific Name	Count	% of Total
Garden/ Orchard	Common bean	*Phaselous vulgaris*	1	0.8
	Sunflower	*Helianthus* sp.	1	0.8
Crops	Corn	*Zea mays*	53	42.1
	Wheat	*Triticum aestivum*	12	9.5
	Wheat or Oat	*Triticum/Avena*	2	1.6
Wild Plants	Hickory	*Carya* sp.	13	10.3
	Persimmon	*Diosyros virginiana*	1	0.8
	Walnut family	Juglandaceae	10	7.9
	Walnut	*Juglans* sp.	2	1.6
	Black walnut	*Juglans nigra*	31	24.6

Botanical Results from the French's Tavern Site (Crowder and Trigg 2015)

Common Name	Scientific Name	Count
Corn cupule	*Zea mays*	9
Corn kernel	*Zea mays*	2
Wheat	*Triticum aestivum*	1
Sorghum	*Sorghum* sp.	2
	Fabaceae	1
	Cucurbita	1
Cherry	*Prunus* sp.	37
Grape	*Vitis* sp.	21
Raspberry/Blackberry	*Rubus* sp.	4.5
Huckleberry	cf. *Gaylussacia*	1
Sumac	*Rhus* sp.	1
Nutshell		14
cf. Nutmeat		7
Pine needle	*Pinus* sp.	1
Pinecone brach	*Pinus* sp.	6
Walnut family	Juglandaceae	1
Black walnut	*Juglans nigra*	9
Goosefoot	*Chenopodium* sp.	4
Purslane	*Portulaca* sp.	2
Knotweed	*Polygonum* sp.	1
Pokeweed	*Phytolacca* sp.	3

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