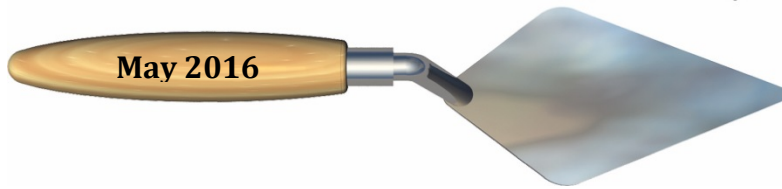


# The SCOOP

A Newsletter of the Friends of Fairfax County Archaeology and Cultural Resources **FOFA**



*Inside:*

1. Alcohol Consumption by Enslaved African-Americans at Montpelier – MAAC Conference Paper
2. 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of NHPA
3. FOFA President's Corner
4. Upcoming Events

*Please join the Friends of Fairfax County Archaeology and Cultural Resources and the Cultural Resource Management and Protection Branch of the Fairfax County Park Authority in hosting an archaeological symposium.*

## ***Prehistory in the Mid-Atlantic Area***

**Saturday, May 21, 2016 - 9:00 AM -4:00 PM**

**Attendance Fee:** FOFA Members, \$5; Non-members, \$20

**James Lee Community Center, Gym A**

**2855 Annandale Rd, Falls Church, VA 22042**

**Please enter the building through the Main Entrance. ADA accessible; TTY 711.**

*Registration Opens at 9:00 AM with a Light Breakfast – the Program begins at 9:30 AM.  
Lunch will be on your own (choose from numerous local restaurants in the area) 12:15-1:30 PM.*

MICHAEL F. JOHNSON  
CONSULTING ARCHAEOLOGIST

**Geologic Mid-Atlantic Prehistory:  
The Stage**

STEPHANIE T. SPERLING  
LOST TOWNS PROJECT INC.

**Excavating Coastal Sites in Anne Arundel  
County, Maryland: A View from the  
Water's Edge**

JOHN M. RUTHERFORD  
CRMPB - FCPA

**Terrible Tools and Terrifying Ticks:  
Research of the Sully Woodlands  
Archaeology Team (SWAT)**

KURT W. CARR  
PENNSYLVANIA STATE MUSEUM

**The Flint Run Complex in Retrospect:  
An Examination of the Thunderbird  
and Related Paleoindian Sites  
in the Shenandoah Valley**

SHEILA KOONS  
CART, CRMPB-FCPA

**Establishing a Timeline for the Prehistoric  
Settlement of Old Colchester:  
Problems and Answers**

JOSEPH A.M. GINGERICH  
NC STATE UNIVERSITY

**Overview of Findings at  
Smith Mountain Lake Site**

## FOFA STUDENT SPONSORSHIP

This year, FOFA sponsored the attendance of two students at the Mid Atlantic Archaeological Conference in March. For those of you that were unable to attend, we will present their papers in The Scoop, beginning in this issue with Allison Campo.

### ***Wine Not?: Investigating Alcohol Consumption within Montpelier's Enslaved Community***

*Contributed by Ally Campo, The Montpelier Foundation*

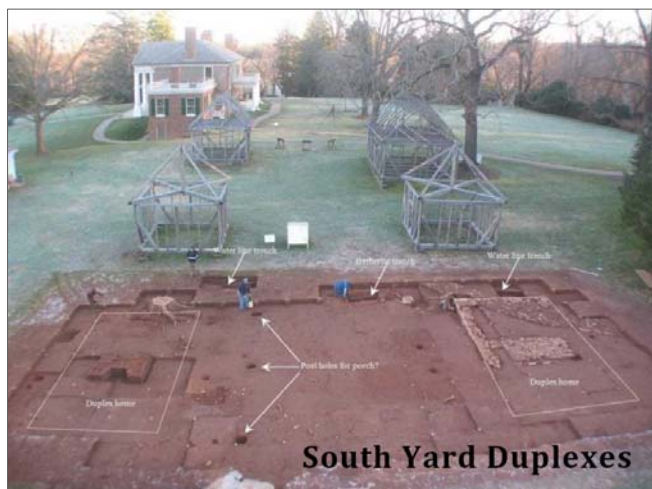
Alcohol consumption, though infrequently discussed in detail amongst enslaved communities, leaves its traces in the artifacts left behind at sites of slavery.



Montpelier, like many plantations across the country, has ample evidence that the enslaved workers were partaking in drinking from the archaeological remains and documentary evidence. But what does this mean in terms of what, where, and why they were

drinking? And further, what stance did the Madison family take on drinking within the enslaved community?

A detailed analysis of the types and colors of bottles found within the South Yard's Southern Duplexes and Stable Quarter, along with written records of alcohol purchases and discussions on the topic with James Madison, may begin to uncover the role and acceptance of alcohol at Montpelier.



The Southern Duplexes of the South Yard and the Stable Quarter lie within 100 yards to the south of the Madison's House. The duplexes sit just inside the formal grounds and the Stable Quarter only right outside it. The South Yard duplexes housed the enslaved domestic workers while the Stable Quarter was home to the skilled artisans. Most likely a family of 6-8 lived in each side of the duplexes in the South Yard, totaling 24-32 people between the two houses.

In contrast the structure of the Stable Quarter as two rooms connected inside suggests one extended family lived there. So when we excavated these areas, which probably housed around 34-44 people total, yet found over 200 total wine and case bottle bases, we knew this was something in need of more research. Just the overwhelming presence of these bottles opens up a discussion of the drinking habits of the enslaved at plantation sites, and more specifically Montpelier. To foreground this discussion, I touch on the Madisons' participation in alcohol consumption and potential feelings towards partaking.



Starting with James Madison Sr., we know that the Madison family provided certain enslaved individuals with alcohol. In his account book from 1755-1765, Madison Sr. purchased brandy and rum, by either the pint or quart, on six different occasions with the intention of giving it to specific individuals.

Interestingly, in his account books from 1776-1798, he only has one recorded instance of purchasing brandy for one enslaved domestic worker, Sawney. When Dolley and James moved in together into Montpelier, we have limited documentary records about their purchases for the enslaved community. A single receipt from February

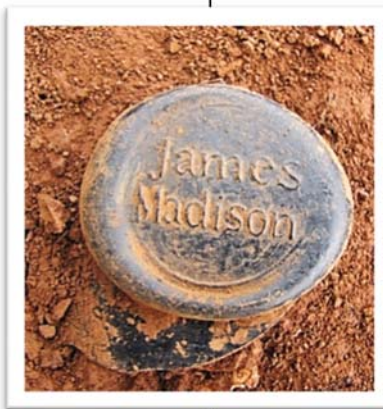
of 1812 has listed “Brandy for Negroes,” although lacking specificity in type of drink or to whom. But years later, James K. Paulding, upon a visit to Montpelier in the summer of 1818, remarks that Madison substituted beer for whiskey for his enslaved workers during harvest time. But as for James Madison himself, Paul Jennings his enslaved manservant, comments in his memoir that he drank little, if any, on most occasions. Often being sly as to not draw attention to his lack of drink amongst others. Even after Madison’s death, Dolley’s son, John Payne Todd, continued buying alcohol for the enslaved community, this time both whiskey and brandy in bulk by the barrel.

The mention of buying alcohol in bulk for the enslaved laborers, brings up to question of the number of wine and cases bottles found throughout the Southern Duplexes and the Stable Quarter. The Duplexes had a minimum number of 114 wine and case bottles total, while the Stable Quarter had a minimum number of 106 total according to bottle bases. If the Madisons were not giving pre-bottled alcohol to the enslaved community, then the question arises: where were all the bottles coming from?

Montpelier’s enslaved laborers, like most across Virginia, participated in local markets and often made their purchases there either with money, credit, or bartering goods. Outside of markets, Ann Smart Martin researched store accounts and found that enslaved people were often buying rum at general stores (Martin 1994, quoted in Samford 1996:109-110), and the same can be seen about those at Montpelier. From 1785-1786, six different enslaved men bought rum from a store owned by the Barbour and Johnson families located in Orange County, and within a 15-mile radius of Montpelier. The only exception to this was a purchase of “1 Bottle Porter” by Jack on a Thursday in February. This transaction also stands out because every other purchase by himself and others was done on a Saturday, Sunday, or Christmas holiday, extended periods of time off. Though businesses were traditional closed on Sundays, the Barbour-Johnson store was not the only shop remaining open to accommodate enslaved African Americans day off. In the 1820s, Virginian James

Alexander recalled the Charlottesville shops staying open on Sunday mornings to offer the opportunity for enslaved workers to do their shopping, despite the outrage of some local white townspeople. Furthermore, there was such an outcry against the specific purchase of alcohol at stores that white Virginians attempted to pass legislature in 1854 to ban the sale of alcohol to enslaved laborers without approval from their owners (Hilliard 2014:76-77).

These purchases may account for the vast majority of the wine and case bottles found within the duplexes and Stable Quarter, but they cannot account for the sealed bottles found. There were six bottle seals unearthed during the excavations, two from the Stable Quarter and 4 around the Southwest Duplex. Three of these six had partial or entirely embossed, the name “JAMES MADISON.” While often we cannot assume who owned a specific undecorated bottle, bottle seals establish an exact reference to the owner.



Kimberly Trickett, the former Curator of Archaeological Collections at Montpelier, argues these Madison wine bottles found in the context of the enslaved community “could represent a gift from the Madisons’ private supply, a stolen bottle of wine, or breakage of the bottle that was later discarded near the quarter” (K. Trickett 2013b:31).

These finds are not unique to Montpelier as excavations at Kingsmill Plantation in southeast Virginia found unbroken, sealed wine bottles of planter Carter Burwell in a slave dwelling’s subfloor pit (Kelso 1984). Many archaeologists have argued that bottle seals of slave owners within enslaved contexts, especially when found in subfloor pits, suggest they were stolen by the workers rather than freely given by the owners (Kelso 1984, Samford 2007:139-140).

The presence of the Madison wine seals in the southwest duplex and Stable Quarter do not imply appropriation or secrecy though since the Stable Quarter’s seal was found outside the home, despite the presence of a subfloor pit inside, and those around the southwest duplex were in a midden on the side closest to the Madison’s house. In addition, during the late 18th and early 19th century, the price of liquor was only 40

cents a gallon making it cheap enough that you hardly had to do extra work or steal to afford it (Genovese 1976:641).

When enslaved African Americans did choose to purchase alcohol, they probably had a variety of reasons. Barbara Heath argues alcoholic beverages may have been prevalent purchases, specifically whiskey for men and brandy for women, because they offered an escape from daily struggles and were popular at social interactions (Heath 2004:29). Throughout the country and in the Caribbean, scholars have recognized some enslaved laborers used alcohol as a coping mechanism for the stresses of enslavement (Campo 2015, Smith 2005), and Frederick Douglass' goes as far to admit, "many slaves tried to drown their anger in the whiskey bottle" (Douglass, quoted in Blassingame 1979:315).

But in spite of these individuals, drinking on a regular basis seems to be a rare occurrence and usually in conjunction with a specific time of year. Examining the 1930s WPA interviews with formerly enslaved people, reveals that fewer than 10 percent of slaves in the United States consumed alcohol on a regular basis (Crawford 1980). Moreover, few enslaved workers drank in excess and limited drinking during work to a shot of whiskey to stay warm in the cold months (Genovese 1976:644). Joseph Holmes, a formerly enslaved man born in Virginia, attests to the frequency of turning to brandy as a means of warming up in the cold. At Montpelier, documentary evidence reflects this same thought because all alcohol purchases by enslaved workers at the Barbour-Johnson store occurred from October through March.

The density of wine bottle glass within the South Yard's duplexes may also support this notion. Comparing the two duplexes, the Southwest has a higher concentration of wine and case bottle glass than the Southeast Duplex. The interesting part is that the Southeast duplex has been dominantly associated with social artifacts such as tobacco pipes, ceramics, eggshells, and table glass; while the Southwest duplex has been dominated by tools and domestic work related artifacts (M. Trickett 2013). Therefore, the greater amount of wine and case bottle glass found around the Southwest duplex may suggest their use of holding liquor that was consumed during work in the cold months. Although, this theory can only be considered if we assume that the bottles only ever

held alcohol. This pushes the discussion into what the bottles may have been containing.

In Virginia, similar to the rest of the country, throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries people recycled and refilled wine bottles due to the expensive cost (Jones 1986, Samford 2007:144). Depending on type and function, 19th century glass bottles had about a six to sixteen-year lag time from when produced till discarded (Hill 1982). If speaking of the original contents of a bottle, case bottles were typically thought of to store gin or bitters, but in actuality they held a variety of beverages from wine to different liquors (Hoover 1993:49), and wine bottles often stored wine.



Although, Hume (1968, 1974:178-179) contends that the color of the bottle can generally predict what specific liquid was being stored in it. Lighter-green bottles were generally used to hold wine or champagne, while darker tinted green glass bottles were used to hold brewed beverages such as ale, beer, and cider. Additionally, Olive Jones (1986) suggests that amber olive bottles may have stored ale. The darker colored bottles often referred to as "black glass," were imperative for protecting brewed beverages from the light to ensure quality over time. John Solomon Otto (1984) has demonstrated the usefulness of this theory to investigate beverage preference of the enslaved community and overseers at Cannon's Point Plantation, finding that overseers favored wine while enslaved workers preferred brewed drinks. So though wine and case bottles could at times be reused to hold water or dry items, they most likely contained some form of alcoholic beverage, therefore the rest of my research moves forward on this notion.

Looking closer at this idea of colors of bottles and their likely contents, I broke down the distribution of bottle

colors into lighter and darker olive colors. The wine and case bottles from both sites ranged in color from olive, green, amber to a combination (K. Trickett 2013a, 2013b). Using the SHA definition of “black glass” (SHA 2016), I grouped the light olives and olives as the lighter colors and the dark olives and olive ambers as the darker colors. The weight based distribution maps of these groups, provides an idea of where these bottle colors were most often.

Randolph (1855:20-21), a formerly enslaved man from Prince George County, Virginia, remarked on the making of persimmon beer within the enslaved community in the state.

A macro-botanical analysis of the Stable Quarter at Montpelier show that persimmons, along with other fruits, and black locust were present during occupation of the building (Henderson 2016), although it cannot be

### Case Bottles



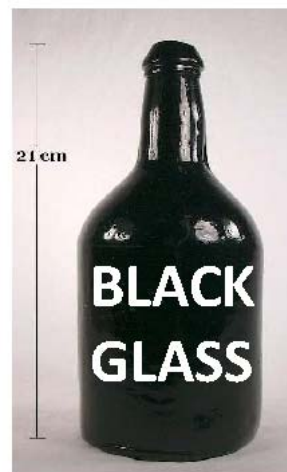
- Gin
- Bitters

### Lighter-colored Wine Bottles



- Wine
- Champagne

### Darker-colored Wine Bottles



- Beer
- Ale
- Cider

But, a look at the numbers shows even clearer the significance of these color findings. The Stable Quarters had a huge volume of black glass in comparison to the South Yard’s duplexes. Since black glass has been historically correlated with brewed beverages, perhaps those living in the Stable Quarter had a greater liking of beer or ale. No store records mention the purchasing of beer or ale by enslaved workers, but we know from James Paulding’s earlier quote that around 1818, Madison substituted beer for whiskey during harvest time.

Prior to this and even after, enslaved laborers could have been taking control of their own desire for brewed beverages. There have been accounts across Virginia of enslaved African Americans making their own beer out of persimmons and black locust. William B. Smith a white man from Cumberland, Virginia (1838:58) and Peter

shown whether these seed traces were fermented or raw. We are unsure exactly where the persimmons were specifically gathered from, but we know that black locust trees have grown, and continue to grow, in the Montpelier Landmark Forest, which was historically on Madison’s land and lies only a quarter mile away from the Stable Quarter (Dierauf 2011). So though we cannot be positive, the residence could have brewed persimmon-locust beer in their home since they had easy accessibility to all the necessary ingredients and storage bottles. Also it is worth mentioning that though the quarter was close to the main house in distance, there was extensive tree cover blocking the structure from its view therefore providing more privacy and freedom of movement and activities.

Aside from knowing what types of alcohol the enslaved community of Montpelier drank, the times when they

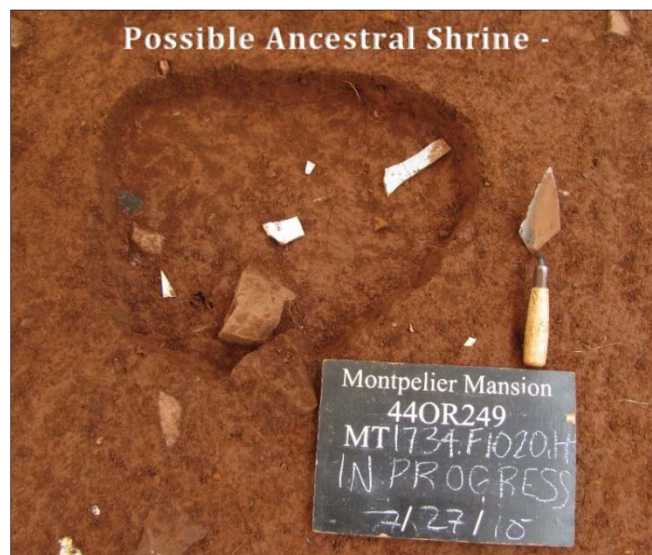
drank are just as significant. We already recognize that enslaved workers probably consumed rum and brandy to stay warm in the cold season, but earlier statements indicate that the Madisons gave alcohol to them during harvest time as well. A Virginia farmer went so far as to specify it as an African American “festival” in the state (Breedon: 250). John Blassingame (1979:107) also states that the end of labor before harvest and Christmas were celebration times, often including the enslaved getting drunk and partaking in dances and athletic competitions.

The rum purchases by Moses, the Madison’s enslaved carpenter, on two back-to-back days, suggest the enslaved community at Montpelier drank to celebrate during the Christmas holiday. Moses bought three quarts of rum on Christmas and another gallon the following day in 1785 (Barbour-Johnson 1784-1786). The Madisons probably tolerated the excessive drinking during these times, and Christmas especially, because it could serve a purpose to them. Historically, whites had contradictory perceptions of alcohol consumption by enslaved workers; they felt it might encourage acts of insurrection, yet a state of drunkenness could mollify enslaved individuals and keep them from pondering their oppression. To reconcile these situations, often slave owners allowed, and sometimes even encouraged, drunkenness during the Christmas holiday when additional surveillance could be arranged for (Christmon 1995:327).

Another time of drinking and merriment in the enslaved community occurred during barbecues. Joseph Holmes, mentioned earlier, recalls hog-killing time as the “only time slaves really got drunk” (Holmes 1937:11). He elaborates saying the feast that followed was filled with songs and much drinking. The presence of a roasting pit located northwest of the southeast duplex (Trickett 2013:104), could be the location around which such drinking occurred. In addition, the findings of three mouth harps among the duplexes and one at the Stable Quarter could have accompanied the drinking since music and dancing often occurred alongside celebrations in enslaved communities. Interestingly though, the distribution of both wine and case bottles across both areas show that the roasting pit has no significant volume of wine or case bottles. Perhaps this is due to the nature of the swept yards maintained between the two duplexes. But another possibility is that, due to the proximity to the main house, the

roasting pit was not meant for the enslaved community’s personal use, but instead for Dolley Madison’s famous barbecues (M. Trickett 2013).

A closer look at the distribution shows a concentration of wine and bottle glass around an unlikely interior feature. In the southwest corner of the Stable Quarter lies a roughly circular feature, with vertical walls, a flat bottom, and only half a foot in depth (Marshall 2011:53). Similar features have been found across other Middle-Atlantic sites (Samford 1999:72), and been interpreted as ancestral shrines due to their round shape and placement in the corner of a structure (Samford 2000:186). Pollen analysis at the Utopia Quarter site in James City County, Virginia supported the findings of an ancestral shrine there from the large quantity of grape pollen within it. This pollen could have come to be there from the Igbo practice of pouring a wine offering into it. Equiano (2004:193), an enslaved man brought to Virginia from Africa in the 18th century, explains the tradition of Igbo people laying offers for the spirits, which included both drink and food.



The feature in the Stable Quarter does not have traces of grape pollen in it, but there were traces elsewhere in the site. But, the high concentration of wine bottle fragments both within the bottom layer of the feature, and immediately around the feature, give pause to ruling out such a possibility as an ancestral shrine. The presence of bones and a pipe stem in and around the feature as well add support to the claim. Furthermore, we know that the enslaved community at Montpelier had Igbo lineage through the earliest enslaved workers

of the Madison family (Chambers 2005). We have found spiritual caches on both the South Yard duplexes so we recognize that West African spiritual practices were still occurring during this time and amongst this community. If this is indeed an ancestral shrine, the Montpelier enslaved community demonstrated that their use of alcohol extended beyond direct consumption.

**The drinking of wine, beer, and other spirits was a common occurrence within the enslaved community at Montpelier. Reminders of wine and case bottles abundantly scattered across the South Yard duplexes and Stable Quarter attest to this along with the documentary evidence from store records, receipts, and personal testimony.**



Though I plan to delve deeper into the specifics of the bottle types, finishes, and dates, for a future publication on this subject, I have begun to show some trends in drinking habits and occurrences.

The enslaved community's alcohol came from their own purchases, harvest time rations, and maybe their own brewing. Montpelier's enslaved laborers most likely drank to stay warm during the cold months, to momentarily escape their struggles, and to celebrate occasions like harvest time, Christmas, and barbecues. Other times it may have been purposed to continue the Igbo cultural practice of offerings to the spirits. But whether purchasing alcohol from local stores, brewing it themselves, or socially or ceremonially using alcohol, the enslaved community took control of their consumption with or without the full approval of the Madison family.

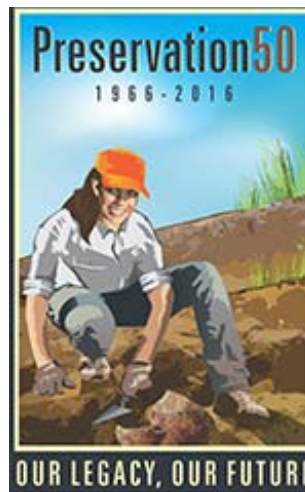
**For more information on Ally's work, please visit Montpelier's website:**

<https://www.montpelier.org/research-and-collections/archaeology/>

## FIFTY YEARS OF THE NRHP

The National Historic Preservation Act was passed into law by President Johnson in 1966. As amended in 1980 and 1992 (it has been amended 22 times), is a strong policy statement for historic preservation. The statute gives the directive for historic preservation to everyone - all levels of government, organizations, and individuals are involved, not just the federal government. The statute also states that the effects of (modern) development on historic properties and archeological sites must be taken into account. This act established the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), and the National Register of Historic Places.

*Stated simply, the NRHP requires all federal agencies to "take into account" the effects of their actions on historic properties and afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation the opportunity to comment on their actions.*



<http://preservation50.org/>:

“Archeological sites have important stories to tell that supplement available written records, as do more obvious and visible historic buildings and cultural landscape features.

The NHPA recognizes the importance of discovering, preserving, and learning from the buried remnants of societies that came before us. Archaeological resources that contribute to our understanding of the past – whether from the last century or thousands of years ago – share the same protections as above-ground resources”.

Fifty-nine historic properties in Fairfax County have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places. See <http://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/dpz/historic/hp50.htm> for more information.

## PRESIDENT'S CORNER

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*Contributed by Jim Evans – FOFA President*

These are exciting times for archaeology. Recent discoveries using advanced technology is helping to rewrite history. Technological advancements using satellite Worldview-3 infrared images combined with aerial high resolution photography and ground excavations helped to discover a second Viking settlement in North America. High tech laser surveys are helping to reveal lost cities. Cambodian archaeologists found a vast metropolis that is 350 years older than Angkor Wat. Using side-scan sonar, nuclear-resonance magnetometer, underwater archaeologists are discovering ancient shipwrecks and lost cities. Advancements in DNA analysis is helping to rewrite the demographic history of early populations across the globe.

In the U.S. the recent discovery of ancient tools and bones in Florida may place human occupation there more than a 1000 years before Clovis. Then there is the shocking discovery that James Monroe's Virginian Highland home was a guest cottage after archaeologists discovered a foundation twice the size of the guest cottage that served as his residence. In Rhode Island, archaeologists may have found Captain Cook's ship Endeavor. The Endeavor was scuttled by the British in Rhode Island's Newport Harbor to blockade French ships during the American Revolution. Considered the founding vessel for Australia and noted as one of the most important shipwrecks in world history after sailing three times around the globe.

While advanced technologies are helping archaeologists, it will take years of meticulous, often gritty, on the ground work to recover, conserve, and interpret all these new discoveries. The work undertaken right here in Fairfax County requires many hours of hard work and funding to continue work at Colchester and other areas. We look forward to new discoveries and for your support!

## UPCOMING EVENTS

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Celebrate Fairfax - June 10-12, 2016

## FOFA NEEDS YOU!

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FOFA is a 501c (3) non-profit organization that supports the Cultural Resource Management and Protection Branch of the Fairfax County Park Authority. We seek to further promote the understanding and appreciation of Fairfax County's cultural resources through archaeology and historic preservation. Among our other activities, FOFA can now offer support in the acquisition of needed field equipment, artifact storage systems, and computer software.

We need you to becoming a supporting member! Please fill out the attached membership application, and especially let us know areas that you can assist (i.e. website development and maintenance, fundraising, outreach, etc.). Follow us on Facebook and on the internet at <http://fofaweb.org/>

## THE 2016 FOFA BOARD

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