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## Late 18<sup>th</sup> Century and Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century Life at Rutland Hanover County, Virginia

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## Introduction

Historic Rutland, located near the village of Atlee in Hanover County, Virginia, is associated with the Timberlake family beginning in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Colonial parish records place the ancestor Benjamin Timberlake in Hanover County in 1742. At that time, nearby Richmond was comprised of a few hundred residents clustered within less than a square mile, surrounded by large tobacco plantations and smaller farms (Dabney 1990:16). Several lines of evidence suggest that the main house at Rutland was constructed in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, probably around 1790, by Burnett Timberlake, or early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by his son, David Timberlake. Evidence suggests the original house was what architectural historians refer to as a hall-and-parlor plan, two main rooms with hall entry, with two rooms above and kitchen in the basement. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Timberlake farm became a large agricultural estate surrounding an impressive, Italianate house.

## **Property History**

David Timberlake farmed the land until his death in 1829, and willed it to his oldest son, Archibald Burnett Timberlake, who married Emily Rushbrook Bowe three years later. Their younger son, John Henry Timberlake, was a University of Virginia graduate (B.A., 1857; M.A., 1858.) During the Civil War, both sons were in Gen. J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry. In 1862, following the Seven Days Battle of June 26 through July 10, General Stuart established his headquarters in the Timberlake house. The cavalry division of the Army of Northern Virginia was headquartered at Rutland from July 12 until July 23, 1862.

John Henry Timberlake described Stuart's use of the house to his then fiancée Etta Gertrude Bowe in a July 16, 1862 letter, as did Heros von Borcke (1981). A Prussian, von Borcke dodged the Federal blockade to join the Confederate forces in May 1862. His journal depicts the landscape and the landowner in detail:

"On the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup> [July 1862] we set out for Hanover County, where our headquarters had been established upon the farm of a Mr. Timberlake, near Atlee's Station, on the line of the Virginia Central Railway. Mr. Timberlake's house was situated in the midst of a forest of lofty oak and hickory trees, around which stretched fertile fields. The proprietor himself was a pleasant, jovial old gentleman, who had two sons in our cavalry; and as he remitted no exertions to make us comfortable, we had really nothing to desire..."

Just before von Borcke's portrait of a jovial, hospitable host, A. B. Timberlake had returned from Union imprisonment, having been arrested with neighboring landowners and held under difficult conditions at Fort Wool, an island in Hampton Roads. After his return, his health declined, and he died in early 1863, and was buried at Rutland in a cast iron coffin. He left Rutland to his son, John Henry Timberlake.

In the fall of 1863, John Henry Timberlake and Etta Gertrude Bowe were married and took up residence at Rutland. At this time, Gertrude Bowe's father, Nathaniel Fleming Bowe (1809-1875) resided at "Magnolia," near the western boundary of Civil War Richmond. The family believes she transplanted from "Magnolia" the three magnolia trees, which remained until the 21<sup>st</sup> century, two of which marked the walkway centered on the earlier dwelling's front door. The Rutland house took on its present character during the years that John and Gertrude Timberlake lived and raised their three children at Rutland.

## Architecture of the Rutland House

The main house at Rutland was a vernacular Italianate dwelling with a T-shaped footprint and a shed roof. Originally a late-18<sup>th</sup>-to-early-19<sup>th</sup>-century dwelling, it was enlarged and remodeled by John Henry and Gertrude Bowe Timberlake after the Civil War. Much of the original dwelling's fabric above its brick basement foundation was replaced. The original building was enlarged to two stories and the south block was added at this time.

The house remained relatively unchanged until 1947 when the house was modernized and additional modifications were made, including removal of the verandas on the west, north, and east façades, removal of the two-room exterior kitchen with the conversion of a first floor bedroom into a modern kitchen, and the addition of a Georgian entrance. No additional changes were made to the house following the 1947 work. The Rutland House was relocated to its current setting in 2007.



Figure 1. Detail of *Yellow Tavern, VA* USGS Quadrangle Depicting the 197-Acre Rutland Project Area and Showing the Location of Sites 44HN0356 and 44HN0366 (Maptech 1997-8).



Figure 2. View of Rutland House at Original Location.



Figure 3. Front View of the Rutland House at Original Location.

## Archaeology at Rutland

Rutland offered the opportunity to investigate a relatively undisturbed late-18<sup>th</sup>and 19<sup>th</sup>-century plantation in Hanover County. Two aspects of the archaeological record were particularly significant. Site 44HN0356 identifies the core of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century plantation, including the slave quarters and the locations of two cemeteries. The remains of a 19<sup>th</sup>-century smithy, located away from the domestic hub of the plantation, were labeled as Site 44HN366. These numbers and letters help archaeologists inventory resources throughout all of the United States. Using the classification system developed by the Smithsonian Institution, the number "44" identifies the state of Virginia, alphabetically the 44<sup>th</sup> of the 48 mainland states; "HN" is the designation for Hanover County; and the final numbers identify the quarters and smithy as the 356<sup>th</sup> and 366<sup>th</sup> sites recorded at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) for Hanover County.

## Cultural Resource Management (CRM) Archaeology

Archaeological investigations often are conducted to comply with specific federal and/or local government regulations related to the management of historic resources. The VDHR serves as the home office for the State Historic Preservation Officer and also provides guidance for archaeological research throughout the state of Virginia. There are typically three phases of study associated with cultural resource management archaeology, reflecting different stages in the regulatory process.

A Phase I archaeological survey is undertaken to identify archaeological resources within a given study area. The survey typically involves excavation of a grid of post-hole-sized shovel tests, controlled collection of artifacts from the surface of plowed fields, or some combination of the two methods. During this process, a number of archaeological resources may be identified within the study area. The Phase I survey determines the approximate size of each site and the location of artifacts within them, and, based on the artifacts recovered, estimates the time period when each site was occupied. In addition, the extent of post-occupational disturbance of the site is assessed. Following the fieldwork, the identified archaeological resources and buildings in the study area are evaluated, following established guidelines and criteria, in terms of their potential eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

The next level of investigation is the Phase II evaluation, which is focused upon evaluating the significance and integrity of an individual archaeological resource. The significance of the site is evaluated in terms of its importance to history (and prehistory) at the local, regional, and/or national levels, according to formally defined evaluation criteria (Table 1). A Phase II evaluation is typically conducted when a resource cannot be avoided by a proposed project and falls within impact areas associated with the undertaking, and a final determination of its eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) is required for regulatory compliance.

Field methods used in the Phase II evaluation process typically include closeinterval shovel testing, controlled surface collection of artifacts, the excavation of square test units, and/or mechanical trenching. The combination of field methods, tailored to the specifics of each archaeological site, provides a refined definition of resource boundaries, artifact distributions, and site integrity. Based on this more detailed information, the significance of the site is evaluated by reference to the criteria for listing on the NRHP. Criterion D, the potential of a resource to contain important historical information, is typically applied to archaeological sites.

If an archaeological site is determined eligible for listing in the NRHP and the project cannot be redesigned to avoid disturbing the site, a Phase III data recovery is often undertaken to mitigate the adverse effects to the resource and to collect significant information before it is impacted. While the field methods used to recover the significant information vary according to the specific attributes of a site, they typically include the hand excavation of a large number of square test units and cultural features within the defined site area. Following the completion of the data recovery investigations, the proposed project is allowed to proceed.

Due to the large size of many archaeological sites, mathematical sampling strategies are often utilized to ensure that testing collects representative samples of data from all areas of a site. Since not all artifacts can be recovered, effective sampling ensures that the collected artifacts accurately reflect the entire site history while large areas are examined to identify buildings, work areas, and other cultural features scattered throughout the greater site area. Sampling is particularly important on a resource such as Rutland, which contains a main house, slave quarters, and associated outbuildings and work areas. Sampling was not utilized for the recovery of the two cemetery areas. All possible burial features were examined during the Phase III date recovery process at Rutland.

All three phases of archaeological investigation were completed at Rutland. During 2005, a Phase I survey was conducted across the entire 198-acre parcel. Several sites were identified during this process and three were recommended for Phase II evaluation. The Phase II studies were conducted later in 2005 and at their completion it was determined that Sites 44HN0356 and 44HN0366 contained significant information about the past, and therefore were determined eligible for listing on the NRHP under Criterion D. The Phase III data recovery effort conducted in 2006 was focused on the remains of the smithy at 44HN0366, and the slave quarters and two cemeteries at 44HN0356.

Criterion	on Definition		
А	Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.		
В	Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.		
С	Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.		
D	Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.		

Table 1. National Register of Historic Places Significance Criteria.

## The Smithy (Site 44HN366)

Blacksmiths were essential components of 19<sup>th</sup>-century communities, including plantations. The growth of factories and mechanized production during the Victorian era drove blacksmiths, like many other artisans, out of business. Once a common sight in virtually every town and plantation, smithies disappeared from the landscape during the twentieth century (Klatka 1992; McBride 1987).

Rutland's blacksmith forged the nails, horseshoes, and other necessary wares in an isolated building to the east of the main house and outbuildings. The blacksmith was likely a slave, since the smithy appears to have been in use from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Excavation of 19 5-x-5-foot blocks revealed the composition and layout of the blacksmith's work area (Figure 2-3).

The Rutland forge was a fireproof cube about 2.5 feet high with forced air blowing across the surface, probably from the south to the north. A brick scatter identified southwest of the forge identifies the location of the chimney. The tuyere, the metal pipe that channeled the forced-air from the bellows into the fire, probably ran through the base of the chimney. A large, flat metal ring, approximately six inches in diameter recovered from the vicinity appears to have been part of the tuyere. The layout allowed the smith to operate the bellows with his left hand, freeing his right hand to work the fire.

The anvil support post sat to the east of the forge. This would have been a solid block of wood, typically white oak, red cedar, locust, or walnut, with one end buried several feet in the ground. The anvil was chained and bolted to this support. In the Rutland forge, the smith took the metal from the fire and pivoted 180 degrees to reach the working surface on the anvil.

Chunks of clinker, the burned waste product of coal, were recovered near the smithy. The clinker implies that the smith relied on imported coal to fire the forge. Coal was available from the nearby Midlothian fields by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Other artifacts reveal the range of wares produced by the blacksmith. Several types of hardware for horses, nails, and preforms for various items dominated the collection. Less common items included a padlock plate, the brass t-shaped core for a bung valve, and at least one blacksmith's tool battered to the end of its typical working life, a hardie.

Hardie refers to a wedge-shaped blade mounted on the end of a short, square shaft. The shaft dropped into the "hardie-hole" on the anvil, providing a fixed, vertical blade. To cut metal, the smith held the piece over the blade and struck it with a hammer. In some cases this metal could have been cold, but typically it was red hot. The smith never intentionally struck the hardie directly, but over time, the blade edge became battered down beyond use and was discarded.



Figure 4. View of Architectural Remains and Excavation Area associated with the Rutland Forge.



Feature	Test Unit	Function	Notes
	(SW Corner)		
1	N90/E95,N90/E90,N95/E95,N95/E90	Workspace of	1a/1b group of features assoc.
		smith, wraps	w/ interior of forge
		around anvil	
		post.	
1a	90/95	Pit/Depression	
1b	N90/E90,N95/E90,N95/E95,N90/E95	Work Surface/	Work surface/floor or sheet
		Midden	midden assoc. with work
			surface.
2	N100/E100,N95/E100	Coal/Slag	Dumping/sweeping
		Dump	
3	N90/E110,N90/E105,N95/E105	Midden	Mottled soil, low density coal,
			slag, glass and nails recovered
5	N90/E110	Midden	Higher portion domestics, looks
			like dumping area, see
			topographic lines at unit
			N90/E110
6	N95/E100,N90/E100,N90/E95,N95/E95	Brick Floor	Appears to pop up across the
			site
7	N100/E95,N100/E100	Purposefully	Swept surface? With brick
		spread clay:	rubble drain?
		heat altered	
		floor of forge.	

Table 2. Archaeological Features Identified at the Rutland Forge.

## The Slave Quarters at Site 44HN356

On small farms, slaves often resided in buildings intended for other purposes. On larger plantations, where the majority of slaves lived by the end of the 18th century, bound laborers resided in single or double unit cabins, or "quarters." These quarters were small, of impermanent materials, and minimally equipped (Upton 1988: 438-9). Increased slave population, both numerically and with respect to residential density, enabled more "stable" communities to form on large plantations. The planter's commitment to slavery inadvertently fostered greater, but still limited, stability for African-American families. Despite the harsh living conditions and the social and cultural oppression that the institution of slavery imposed upon African Americans, a creole society and culture grew and flourished primarily in the quarters (cf. Kulikoff 1986; Sanford 1994, 1996). The quarters and yards area identified as Site 44HN0356 were investigated through the excavation of seven 5-x-5-foot squares and the mechanical removal of topsoil within a large area. Excavation revealed 58 cultural features that document the buildings and lives of the people who labored on the property. Posts and brick piers revealed the layout of buildings and other structural features, and shallow refuse and storage pits provided insight into the material world of the enslaved workers (Table 3).

Brick piers and a double, internal chimney reveal the plan of a double cabin with a central chimney that heated both rooms. No subfloor pit, characteristic of the period when groups of unrelated individuals enslaved in Africa and newly arrived in North America were housed together, occur within either half of the structure. The absence of a sealed storage area implies cooperation, trust, and sharing among the co-residents, probably members of a single family. One family likely resided in each half of the cabin, and each would have entered through a separate doorway. Nearby posts, which form no clear shape, may represent the remnants of a frame building set on posts rather than piers or a fence (Figure 6).

The recovery of numerous fragments of creamware, popular from approximately 1762 to 1830, and pearlware, manufactured and used between 1775 and 1840, document late 18<sup>th</sup>-and 19<sup>th</sup>-century activity in the immediate vicinity of the structure. Pipe fragments, which some associate with socializing, occur in the area as well (Neiman 1978). A white clay marble and fragments of porcellaneous (post-1820) doll likely reflect the presence of children.

Several relatively rare artifact classes, primarily ceramics associated with tea drinking, decorated plates, and silver-plated buttons, indicate participation in the "consumer revolution," a pattern also encountered at Monticello. Rather than simply receiving hand-me-down goods, Neiman et al. 2000 suggest that enslaved men and women purchased fashionable items to dress-up their clothing and houses as a way of signaling personal worth and an identity within the African-American community. The money to purchase consumer goods required work beyond the daily labor demanded of enslaved laborers.

Table 3. Archaeological Features Associated with the Slave Quarters and Yard Area at			
Site 44HN0356.			

Feature	Description	% Excavated	Feature	Description	% Excavated
30	brick piers & wall	100%	60	post	100%
	trench			_	
31	brick piers		61	post	100%
32	terra cotta sewer pipe		62	posthole	100%
	& trench				
33	Brick	100%	63	posthole	100%
34	hearth/septic tank/privy	Bisected	64	pit?	bisected
35	brick pier	100%	65	posthole/pit	
36	brick pad		66	pit	100%
37	post hole		69	posthole	100%
38	Brick		70	posthole	100%
39	post hole		71	posthole	100%
40	post hole		72	posthole	100%
41	post mold & hole	100%	73	trench	100%
42	post mold & hole	100%	74	trench	100%
45	post hole	100%	75	wall	
47	backhoe redeposit	100%	76	posthole	
48	Cellar		77	pit	100%
49	brick pier	Bisected	78	trench/wall	
50	brick pier	Bisected	79	stake hole	
52	post hole		81	Pit	100%
54	Pit	100%	82	Pit	100%
55	posthole/pit		83	Pit	100%
56	Posthole		84	Post	100%
57	stake hole		85	Post	100%
58	stake hole		86	brick wall	
59	square post	Bisected	87	Trench	100%



## Overview

The mortuary traditions carried to America by 17th-century colonists reflected both the shared belief system and the intensely held precepts of smaller religious communities (Curl 1984). In England alone, Calvinists, Catholics, Quakers, Puritans and others dissented from the Church of England. Enslaved Africans brought very different traditions to the New World. The design of cemeteries and the treatment of the dead reflected the overlapping, yet distinctive, beliefs held by different groups at different periods of time. The layout and use of any cemetery also reflects both history and kinship. The Rutland cemeteries included the cemetery of the Timberlake family and a burial ground where enslaved bondsmen and later freedmen were interred for 100 years or more. The remains of Timberlake family members have been reinterred at family plots located at Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia, and Franklin, Virginia. The remains from the African-American cemetery have been reinterred within a memorial garden located within the Rutland development, in close proximity to the relocated Rutland House site.

## The Timberlake Cemetery

The Timberlake Cemetery contained 20 grave shafts, which represented the interment of 21 individuals. Only a handful of the graves were marked with tombstones. The active use of the Timberlake cemetery may have begun during late 18<sup>th</sup> century, based on the presence of a single coffin constructed using handwrought nails, while the last documented interments occurred in 1890 (Tables 4 and 5). In 1863, Archibald Timberlake was buried within a cast iron coffin decorated with his name and a viewing plate, effectively ending the active use of the cemetery by the Timberlake family. Following the Civil War period, most family members were buried in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia. Comparison of the probable interment dates (based on burial container hardware associated artifacts), demographic data (from osteological analysis and conducted by the Smithsonian Institution), and historical data (from the Timberlake family and census records from Hanover County) has provided possible identities for a number of the individuals buried within the Timberlake family cemetery area (Table 4).

Burial #	Name	Year of Death	Age Range	Sex
1	?	?	16	Male
2	?	?	Subadult	?
3	Judeth Timberlake Hobson (?)	Post-1820	55-64	Female
4	Thomas Hobson (?)	?	45-54	Male
5	?	?	7	?
6	Lucy Cluff (?)	?	32-36	Female
7	David Timberlake (?)	1829	40-54	Male
8	Robert Paul Colonna	1890	10	Male
9	Archibald Burnett Timberlake	1863	54	Male
10	?	?	45-54	Male
11	?	?	18-21	Female
12	?	?	40-49	Female
13	Burwell Jinkins	1853	40-49	Male
14a	Martha Virginia Jinkins	1845	7	Female
14b	Emily Timberlake Jinkins	1845	2	Female
15	?	?	30-34	Female
16	?	?	45-54	Male
17	?	?	16-17	Female
18	No remains recovered	?	Subadult	?
19	Emily Rushbrook Bowe Timberlake	1836	27-33	Female
20	Sarah Graves Hill Timberlake (?)	1812	35-44	Female

Table 4. Individual Burials in the Timberlake Family Cemetery.

# Table 5. Artifacts and Hardware Utilized for Burial Date Estimation for theTimberlake Family Cemetery at Site 44HN0356.

Basis of Date	Number of Graves	Earliest Possible Date
Wrought Nails	1	N/A
Wrought with Machine-Cut	5	1805
Heads	3	1805
Machine-Cut and Wrought Nails	0	1860/1880
Wire Nails		
Prosser Buttons	1	1840
Rubber Buttons	0	1851
Glass Viewing Plate	1	N/A
1817 Pennies on Eyes	1	1817
White Metal Hardware	2	Ca. 1850
Adults in Hexagonal Coffins	11	N/A
Adults in Rectangular Coffins	5	Ca. 1850
Children in Hexagonal Coffins	3	N/A
Children in Rectangular Coffins	1	N/A



## The African-American Cemetery

The unmarked burial ground was used by enslaved bondsmen and later, following the Civil War, by freed African Americans. While some graves may date to the early 19th century, the majority postdate 1850 (Table 6). Children and older adults comprise a large percentage of the slave cemetery burials. High rates of infant mortality are commonly observed for cemetery sites of this period, regardless of ethnicity. Post-war use of the cemetery by former bondsmen may reflect the desire to be with long-deceased loved ones and family members. The most recent interment was that of Easter Claiborne, a Timberlake family servant, who passed away between 1907 and 1911 at the age of 65. The only person of known identity, "Aunt Easter" was eulogized by the Timberlake family as "capable, trustworthy, and faithful, friend as well as servant." She was most likely interred within Burial 49.

Table 6. Artifacts and Hardware Utilized for Burial Date Estimation for theAfrican-American Cemetery at Site 44HN0356.

Basis of Date	Number of Graves	Earliest Possible Date
Wrought Nails	8	NA
Wrought with Machine-Cut Heads	19	1805
Machine-Cut and Wrought Nails	1	1805
Wire Nails	1	1860/1880
Prosser Buttons	5	1840
Glass Viewing Plate	5	
White Metal Hardware	8	Ca. 1850
Adults in Hexagonal Coffins	17	NA
Adults in Rectangular Coffins	18	Ca. 1850
Children in Hexagonal Coffins	5	NA
Children in Rectangular Coffins	10	NA



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