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A Black Mount Vernon: Exploring Enslaved Homespace And Family At Mount Vernon Plantation

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ABSTRACT

This thesis utilizes a theoretical approach that draws on Whitney Battle-Baptiste's (2011) homespace framework combined with network theory and cultural geography to explore the enslaved community's domestic lives and social structures at Mount Vernon Plantation in the late 18th century. I argue that using homespace and network theory in conjunction with one another allows for a more complex and nuanced exploration of enslaved communities at a household level. Three datasets have been utilized, that embody both quantitative and qualitative data. The first is archaeological data from the Mount Vernon excavations, obtained from the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS). The second dataset is a network diagram, which I created using data from Mount Vernon's Slavery Database, as well as census data recorded by George Washington in 1786 and 1799. The final data set examines the relocations experienced by a select number of enslaved individuals throughout their lives. Through analyzing these three datasets, I demonstrate that we can better understand domestic spaces, even with a fragmentary archaeological record, by drawing on the relationships between people and individual connections to place.

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Introduction:

George Washington's Mount Vernon, like many of the presidential plantations, is a place where one comes face to face with the complicated nature of a founding father, who, during the American Revolution, called for freedom while remaining a slaveholder himself. One of the ways that historic sites, museums, interpreters, and archaeologists have studied these complicated histories is through research centered around the lives of enslaved people. The exploration of the stories and lives of those enslaved at Mount Vernon Plantation has taken many forms, from biographies of individuals to the exploration of women's labor on the outer farms, and has occurred both within academic and public spheres. Multiple studies have explored the domestic lives of enslaved individuals at Mount Vernon, most of which have considered aspects of the experiences of enslaved individuals who lived in the House for Families, such as their diet (Atkins 1994; Schick 2004). What could be described as more traditional approaches for the study of enslaved domestic spaces are difficult to employ at Mount Vernon due to the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record, which, even at its most robust, is a mere glimpse into the material lives of past peoples. However, archaeology can be combined with documentary and oral sources to explore such dynamics. In this thesis, I utilize an approach that draws on Battle-Baptiste's 'homespace,' network theory and cultural geography, along with the analysis of material culture, which allows for a richer understanding and more in-depth exploration of the domestic lives and social structures of Mount Vernon's enslaved community.

In their foundational paper, Wilk and Rathje point to the household as the most basic unit of archaeological analysis, defining the household "as the most common social unit of subsistence, the smallest, most abundant activity group" (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 619). As the study of households has developed over the last thirty years, the definition of what constitutes the house, or the domestic space in household archaeology has expanded. In research revolving around the lives of enslaved peoples, studies of their domestic lives have looked not just at domestic structures, but also exterior spaces, such as yardspaces as being vital domestic areas.

The definition of yardspace used here is drawn from Heath and Bennet's 2000 article; it is "the area of land, bounded and usually enclosed, which immediately surrounds a domestic structure and is considered an extension of that dwelling" (38). Yardspaces are key areas of study in understanding the domestic lives of enslaved Africans and African Americans. They were spaces that "were set aside for particular personal or group uses, including, but not limited to, food production and preparation, care, and maintenance of animals, domestic chores, storage, recreation, and aesthetic enjoyment" (Bennett and Heath 2000: 38).

Due to their multifaceted uses, yards can offer great insight into the domestic lives of enslaved individuals. However, there are cases, like at Mount Vernon, in which yardspaces are inaccessible to archaeologists, and the record of domestic spaces is highly fragmentary. Does this then mean that we cannot adequately investigate households in such contexts? I argue that we can

understand these domestic spaces, even with a fragmentary archaeological record, by drawing upon the relationships that helped to create a home, which sometimes have fewer connections to a physical place and greater ties to the relationships in which it is embedded. Achieving an understanding of domestic spaces in this way can be done through an approach which draws on familial connections and ties to understand how enslaved individuals would have created their own spaces within the plantation landscape. This paper posits that through the use of Battle-Baptiste's idea of homespace as a starting point and central beam, a framework can be built which allows for an understanding of the domestic lives of enslaved people.

Homespace (Battle-Baptiste 2011) allows us to move beyond houses and housing complexes. Battle-Baptiste described homespace as “the spaces that shape…[experience] and memory” (95). To develop the concept of homespace, Battle-Baptiste drew on previous scholarship of yardspaces (Edwards-Ingram 1998; Gundaker 1998; Heath and Bennet 2000) and bell hook’s homeplace (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 95). At its core, homeplace is a site of safety and resistance, where “black people could affirm one another and by so doing heal many of the wounds inflicted by racist domination” (hooks 2015: 42). By drawing yardspace and homeplace together, Battle-Baptiste created a framework that considers both the physical and emotional implications of enslavement on the household.

Homespace includes not just the domestic structure, but all the spaces in which safety and comfort can be found (Battle-Baptiste 2011). In the case of

enslaved households, there have been considerations of the plantations at large and the employment of a multiscalar household approach. A multiscalar approach examines both the plantation as a whole 'household' and the smaller households within the plantation and the different ways in which the plantation was experienced, as an aggregate household, by the different residents living there. Most studies of households and approach this from a material perspective, which is the natural inclination of the archaeologist, as we most often deal with the material remains of plantations. However, it seems that most would say there is a difference between the space of a physical house and the idea of 'home.' While the two are often inextricably tied together, they are different. A house or dwelling is a physical space all can see; a home is less physically defined. A home is a place that is created through social relationships (Tringham 1995; Battle-Baptiste 2011) and often tied closely to feelings of safety and comfort (hooks 2015).

In *Black Feminist Archaeology* (2011), Battle-Baptiste utilized her functional plantation model and homespace to revisit her previous work on Andrew Jackson's Hermitage. She used the functional plantation model to break down the plantation into four realms, one of which is the captive domestic sphere (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 87). Within the reexamination of the captive domestic sphere, homespace was used to connect households and yardscapes (101). Battle-Baptiste identified a homespace that was central to the quarter and "a significant component to all the members of the quarter neighborhood" (2011: 100). This central location at the First Hermitage site was the cooking pit; an area

related to food preparation, as evidenced by the presence of faunal remains and cooking utensils (103). However, this area also served as a social space, where all genders and ages would have come together daily to eat and socialize after the work for the day was completed (104).

The use of homespace brings complexity into the understanding of domestic spaces. It draws on both the emotional and physical landscape. In this paper, I take a multiscalar approach to investigating homespace at Mount Vernon. Yet I do not consider the entire plantation in my analyses, instead, I focus on the parts and places of this landscape where enslaved people would have interacted in their daily lives and, therefore, would have become imbued with memory and meaning. As connections are created between people and places, homespace comes into existence. It is a space that is neither wholly concrete nor imagined — homespace is grounded in the idea of home and less in the concrete domestic space formed by the house and yardspace surrounding it.

The concept of homespace comes out of Black feminist theory and suggests addressing how a Black Mount Vernon would have been a fraught place to be part of a family. Plantations were places in which familial ties often had little to do with daily domestic life, however those connections were integral in the shaping and forming of the idea of home. I build on this idea, using cultural geography and network theory to examine the web of ties that formed between individuals, loved ones, and the plantation on which they lived.

This paper will utilize both archaeological data and censuses taken by George Washington of the enslaved people living and working on the five farms

of Mount Vernon Plantation to explore the connections between enslaved individuals and other members of the captive community and between enslaved people and the landscape. Due to limited archaeological evidence associated with the dwellings on the outer farms, this study will build upon previous work completed at the House for Families, considering how it would have been one dwelling connected to a network of households on Mount Vernon Plantation. These domestic spaces would have been connected through kinship and community ties, ties that are at least partially illustrated through Washington's 1786 and 1799 lists of the enslaved living and working on the Five Farms of the plantation. The analysis will take on different forms, and through these diverse types of analysis, multiple aspects will be drawn out of the data, which together will form a picture of a multifaceted understanding of how enslaved individuals constructed homespace at Mount Vernon Plantation.

Historically, interpretation at George Washington's Mount Vernon emphasized the viewpoint and worldview of George Washington - from his 'eye,' if you will. The presentation of the Mansion House Farm was as the home of George Washington, the first president of the United States, and his wife, Martha Washington. However, recently the research and interpretation at Mount Vernon has made a point to focus more attention on the lives of Mount Vernon's enslaved population. The exhibit 'Lives Bound Together,' ran from 2016-2021 at Mount Vernon highlighted the stories and lives of nineteen enslaved individuals and the 2022, eight-part podcast, *Intertwined: The Enslaved Community at George Washington's Mount Vernon*, are two examples of the ways in those at

Mount Vernon have been worked towards a more balanced interpretation of the historic site.

The Mount Vernon that has been presented as a historic site is pointed to in its name, "George Washington's Mount Vernon." Statements such as this exclude and alienate others, even the other Washingtons who helped create Mount Vernon Plantation. George Washington's Mount Vernon is a particular place, and while it is an exciting place to explore, this explores the possibility of creating a different Mount Vernon. The Mount Vernon presented here is not seen through the gaze of George Washington but instead through the relationships that tied Mount Vernon's enslaved community together and through which they created their own Mount Vernon, a diasporic Mount Vernon.

Historical Background and Context:

Though known as George Washington's Mount Vernon, George was neither the first nor last Washington to own the estate. The Mansion House Farm was established by Augustine Washington, who also built the original house at Mount Vernon in 1735, although his family only lived there sporadically until Augustine's death in 1743 (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998). The plantation did not immediately go to George Washington but to his older half-brother. Even after he inherited the plantation, it was managed by another brother, John, due to George Washington often being gone on military campaigns and expeditions. In 1759, Washington returned to Mount Vernon with his new wife, Martha Dandridge Custis (Breen 2013). Throughout the 1770s and 1780s, Washington guided his farm managers toward shaping the land on his terms and design. He was an

active and opinionated manager whose aim was to reinvent Mount Vernon "as a model of progressive agriculture" (Pogue 2002: 4) in part through manipulation of the domestic and workspaces of those enslaved on the farms. The changes these three generations of Washingtons wrought on the plantation would have more directly impacted the enslaved individuals living and working there than the Washingtons themselves.

Slavery at Mount Vernon:

The Mount Vernon Plantation was not a single farm with numerous fields, workshops, and industries, but instead was made up of five different farms. The Washingtons and most of those enslaved who worked as artisans lived and worked at the Mansion House farm. Field hands lived and worked at the other four farms: Muddy Hole, River, Dogue Run, and Ferry Farms. The five farms were separated by wooded areas and other tracts of land, dividing many couples and families that lived on the plantation. Enslaved men, women, and children lived on the farm where they were assigned to work rather than in family units, though they regularly moved from one farm to another (Morgan 2000: 281). The separation of couples and families is clearly illustrated in a census created by George Washington in 1799, where the name of each enslaved person working on one of his farms is listed. Their name is followed by remarks with information Washington found essential to note. The information noted included; spouse, children, occupation, and who owns their kin. The organization of the census and the information included allows for a picture of the connections people have across the farms to be reconstructed.

While many of his writings show Washington to be indifferent and undesirous of the institution of slavery, he endeavored to exert a great deal of control on the lives of those enslaved at Mount Vernon. He tightly controlled and shaped the physical landscape, continually attempting to encourage better and more efficient production. The ways in which he pushed for housing changes are linked to a desire for greater control, profitability, and domination. Washington's attempt to dominate those enslaved at Mount Vernon's five farms were subtle; as McGuire and Paynter say, "the structuring of domination into everyday activities, through architecture, town planning, and work rules, serves to mystify power relationships" (9). The active restructuring of households through changes to the architecture on the farms and the shifting of workers between the farms were acts of domination. Yet interestingly, historic documents illustrate that many of those enslaved at Mount Vernon resisted such domination in varied ways.

Though there is very little written by those enslaved at Mount Vernon, there are a plethora of documents written *about* them. One such document is the census materials discussed above. While the list of those working on the plantation in 1799 is enlightening and the insights it can offer significant, other documentary sources speak to actions of resistance and the deliberate choices made by the enslaved at Mount Vernon. While acts of resistance varied in degrees of covert and overt, the most potent and overt act of resistance was running away. In the spring of 1781, 17 individuals made a bid for freedom (Thompson 2016: 73). While this number of people seeking freedom at one time was unusual, people choosing to run away was not a rare occurrence at Mount

Vernon. The cases of Hercules and Oney Judge, both of whom were skilled laborers, Hercules a chef, and Oney Judge, Martha Washington's personal maid, further illustrate this point. Though both individuals were in what could be perceived as privileged positions amongst the enslaved, they still chose to resist enslavement in the most forceful of ways.

While the lives and stories of those who chose to seek their freedom by running are compelling, their methods of resistance were not the only ones practiced. Instead, for the majority of those enslaved at Mount Vernon Plantation, resistance would have been small actions that were a part of their daily lives. We can see throughout the history and development of Mount Vernon as a productive, active plantation how the choices of the Washington family as landowners and slaveholders impacted the lives of the enslaved who resided there, as well as the ways in which those attempts at control were resisted by the enslaved.

In examining Mount Vernon, we can see that it was not a place with a single identity, but instead, numerous Mount Vernons layered upon one another. Those who lived and worked there would have had different experiences and understandings of the spaces that made up the plantation, which added more layers to its identity as a place. It has also changed in nature and function throughout its existence, from a single farm to a complex of farms to the historical site of today. These transitions in function physically changed Mount Vernon as a place. This included the acquisition and sale of land and the movement, razing, and construction of buildings.

Chronology of George Washington's Mount Vernon:

In 1796, toward the end of Washington's life, he decided to try to rent some of his farmland due to financial constraints. These attempts at generating a different source of revenue through rent ultimately proved unsuccessful. His choice to attempt to rent out farmland is interesting, given the extensive effort and commitment of resources he had made in the prior years in trying to revitalize the plantation and its production (Pogue 2002). Washington's heirs, trusted with the managing of Mount Vernon, inherited not only the farmlands and material goods Washington left behind but also many of the same concerns that he had dealt with during the last decade of his life. Over a span of fifty- six years, Washington's heirs gradually parceled off or sold all but 1,025 acres. The Mount Vernon Ladies Association's purchase of the mansion and 200 acres in 1858 preserved Washington's home; however, at the close of the Civil War, the final 825 acres of the estate were put up for sale by John Augustine Washington. As a result of the piecemeal selling of different portions of the original estate, the historic site, George Washington's Mount Vernon, and the Mount Vernon Plantation of the 18th century vary rather greatly from one another, which can be seen in the map of Mount Vernon drawn by George Washington (Figure 1).

Figure 1: A map of General Washington's farm of Mount Vernon from a drawing transmitted by the General

It is evident that the Mount Vernon experienced by contemporary tourists would be very different from what it was when it was a functioning plantation, if for no other reason than OSHA and health and safety requirements. A historical site is a deliberate construct, and there are many ways in which it is entirely different from the place that those who resided there in the eighteenth century interacted with and shaped in their daily lives; this holds especially true for George Washington's Mount Vernon. It is a place significantly reduced from its functioning prime, with only one of the five farms being preserved as part of the historic site. Additionally, more recent twentieth- century suburban development on the land that made up what was called Five Farms has all but obliterated the

traces of Washington's grand plantation design (Pecoraro 2018). As a result, many aspects of life across the Five Farms that constituted Mount Vernon Plantation cannot be explored through the archaeological record. Though extensive archaeological excavations have not been done at all five farms, the archaeological record that has been recovered is rich, and through the use of different lenses and analysis, insight can be gained into life on the outer farms and the interactions between all five of the farms.

Creation of a Historic Site:

The Mount Vernon Ladies Association has been the driving force behind the production of George Washington's Mount Vernon. Their founder and first regent, Ann Pamela Cunningham, was the one to reach out to Washington's heirs and to lead the raising of funds which allowed for their purchase of the estate in 1858 (Ward 1899: 3). In a closing address, Cunningham identified the purpose of the MVLA, saying, "Ladies, the home of Washington is your charge – see to it that you keep it the home of Washington…" (Wall 1967: 3). For many years this purpose remained the focus; however, in more recent years, there has been a shift both in interpretation and research, where the role played by enslaved people in the creation and maintenance of the plantation has been brought into greater focus. This study continues along that trajectory.

As I argue, while Mount Vernon Plantation was undeniably the home of George and Martha Washington, it was also the home of 317 enslaved people. It is their understanding of home and homespace that are the focus of this study. There is no single correct version of Mount Vernon. It was and continues to be

created through the experiences and memories of those who build connections to it. As a former director, Charles Wall wrote, "Mount Vernon is many things. It is organized and administered as a museum…more particularly it is a historic house museum, and structurally it is a complex of detached museums in a landscape setting…a landmark of its period…a monument…a shrine...It is all these things and more" (Wall 1967: 20). Here, I parse out what this place was for the enslaved who worked and lived on the plantation during parts of, or their entire, lives.

Archaeology at Mount Vernon:

The archaeology and archaeological research completed at Mount Vernon has changed and significantly developed over time. Archaeological work at Mount Vernon has spanned the history of American Archaeology. From the early stages of antiquarianism through today, the nature of archaeology has changed and developed as a profession and discipline, as has the archaeological and interpretive approaches of the staff at Mount Vernon. Throughout these developments and changes, the collection and recovery of material objects have remained consistent, and because of this, Mount Vernon has developed an extensive collection of material culture derived from the plantation.

Though archaeologists have consistently recovered objects from Mount Vernon, in the early years, most of the collection occurred through maintenance work and the occasional visitor find. Between 1859 and 1930, no formal policies or research goals were in place in regards to the artifacts recovered at the site (Pecoraro 2018: 73). Interestingly, the first artifacts to be analyzed by a scholar

were not related to the Washington occupation of the plantation but instead focused on the pre-contact history of the landscape. However, in 1931 the beginnings of what would become Mount Vernon's active archaeological research were laid out, with research into the chronology of the building phases at Mount Vernon. MVLA established a permanent professional archaeological program in 1987 (Breen 2013: 227) with a few goals in mind; to achieve greater authenticity with the interpretation, more accurate restoration of the site, and to preserve and manage the extensive archaeological resources present on the plantation. The work done at Mount Vernon by their archaeologists has ranged from in-depth excavations, like those done at the House for Families, the Distillery, and the South Grove Midden, to the equally significant survey of the 425 acres that make up the historical site. In conducting survey across the plantation, over 100 archaeological sites that span the 4000-year inhabitation of the landscape have been identified (Breen 2013: 227). Though the majority of the research done by Mount Vernon's archaeological team has focused within specific areas (plantation slavery, explorations of Washington's entrepreneurial pursuits, and the Washington family at home), these specific research foci have resulted in building reconstructions and replicas, as well as a revision of the historical narrative about life at Mount Vernon (Pecoraro 2018).

While there have been numerous excavations, prompted by both research and mitigation, based at Mount Vernon, four main excavations have dealt with the lives of the enslaved at the Mansion House Farm.

Table 1: Excavations of Enslaved Sites

Context Name	Context Use	Used By	Date of Use	Excavation Date(s)
House for Families	enslaved quarters	enslaved Blacks	second half of 18th century	1984 - 1985 1989 - 1990
South Grove Midden	workspace & midden	enslaved Blacks & free Whites	c. 1735 through late-18th century	1990 - 1994
Servant's Hall / Wash House	trash pit	enslaved Blacks & free Whites	mid-18th century	1998
Slave Cemetery	burial ground	enslaved and free Blacks	c. mid-18th through mid-19th century	2014 - current

The most recent and ongoing project focuses on an African American burial ground on the farm grounds. Oral histories in combination with artifacts recovered from the stripping away of the topsoil, suggest that the cemetery was in use from the last quarter of the eighteenth century to the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Pecoraro 2018: 84). The other three excavations focused on domestic contexts and workspaces: The House for Families, which was a dormitory-style slave quarter that was in use until the late-18th century; the South Grove Midden; and the Servant's Hall/Wash House. Both the South Grove Midden and Servant's Hall/Wash House seem to have a mixture of material culture from both enslaved Black and free White individuals. Given the periodic and limited nature of the archaeology that has dealt with the enslaved population at Mount Vernon, I believe that utilizing a combination of the idea of homespace, network theory, and cultural geography will allow for a discussion of domestic life that draws not only on domestic spaces but also on relational ties. This combination will enable me to approach and examine multiple places not as

separate entities, where different activities took place, but instead as aspects of a larger household and as spaces that have numerous connections to one another.

The excavations of the South Grove Midden began as part of mitigation work that took place in two separate occurrences, over 40 years apart. While planting a holly tree in 1948, Mount Vernon's landscapers uncovered the South Grove Midden, which served the Mansion House and its kitchen (Breen 2004: 111). Though aware of the midden, it was not until 1990 that archaeologists at Mount Vernon undertook large-scale excavations of the site. During four field seasons between 1990 and 1993, Mount Vernon's archaeologists uncovered the complexities of the South Grove Midden. The midden was formed in what archaeologists believe to be a natural depression and was made up of over 50 distinct deposits (Breen 2004: 112). As the landscape underwent changes, it transitioned into being used less heavily as a sheet midden (Breen 2004: 115). The South Grove Midden was used by all those who lived and worked on the Mansion House Farm. It was not used exclusively by any of the residents of Mount Vernon but instead by all of them (DAACS Breen 2013). While the midden was used throughout the residency of the Washington family, the way in which it was utilized changed as the landscape was altered. Before 1775 the South Grove functioned as a workspace, and the refuse that accumulated during that time reflects the day-to-day operations on the plantation (Breen 2004: 115). In 1776 George Washington decided “to improve on the natural landscape [in] the area south of the Mansion” (Pogue 1991: 29). The transition of the South Grove from a functional space part of the daily operation of the plantation to a more

formal landscape was accomplished through the replacement of the old dairy and kitchen with a new kitchen, the installation of a vaulted brick drain, and the planting of a new grove of trees (DAACS Breen 2013).

The same assemblage, which offers insights into the choices made by the Washingtons, can also offer a window into the lives of the enslaved people as it comes from a space that had shared utility for all of those living and working at the Mansion House Farm. The complex nature of the assemblage speaks to an aspect of plantations, where the lives of the slave holder and enslaved were intertwined both materially and spatially. This, however, is not the only way to consider this material culture; in her studies, Breen focuses on first identifying through stratigraphic analysis the timeline of deposition at the midden and who created the deposits (Breen 2004). After establishing this, Breen then examines the assemblage to explore the consumerism of George Washington's household and what influences their behavior and choices as consumers (Breen 2013). In changing the questions being asked when examining the South Grove Midden, we can shift the focus away from the Washington household to the enslaved individuals who also contributed to the creation of the midden. By examining material culture such as colonoware and sewing findings, we can start to better understand domestic facets of the lives of the enslaved, as well as some of the work being done by enslaved women on the Mansion House Farm. While robust, the assemblage from the South Grove Midden cannot stand alone when trying to paint a picture of the lives of those enslaved at Mount Vernon. It is instead a corner in a puzzle that is missing many pieces.

The still extant Servant's Hall served as a temporary residence for both the enslaved Black and free White servants of Washington's visitors. Furthermore, for three years, it was 'repurposed' as a longer-term temporary residence for Williams Pearce, Washington's plantation manager, and his family (Pogue 2006). However, it is not the Servant's Hall, but the Wash House, which it was built on top of that further adds to our understanding and discussion of the lives of the enslaved at Mount Vernon. The Wash House was listed on the 1753 probate for Lawrence Washington; however, it seems to have been one of the buildings demolished in Washington's restructuring of the plantation (DAACS Breen 2013). In a 1775 letter between Lund, who was managing the plantation, and George Washington, it was indicated that the Wash House had been torn down some time prior to make way for the construction of new outbuildings (Dalzell and Dazell 1998).

The Servant's Hall/Wash House was excavated during February and March of 1998. With the five test units that were dug during excavations, the northeast corner, and hearth of the Wash House were uncovered. To the north of the northeast corner of the Wash House, a stratified trash pit was uncovered. The trash pit was located in a naturally-formed depression and is thought to be contemporaneous “with the wash house and sealed by the construction of the Servant’s Hall” (Breen 2015). The Servant's Hall/Wash House is the smallest excavation and contributor to the catalog of material culture examined in this paper. It would perhaps be easy to bypass the material culture found at the Servant’s Hall/Wash House in favor of the more robust collections recovered

from the House for Families and the South Grove Midden. Not only is the Servant's Hall/Wash House a small collection, but similar to the South Grove Midden, it was a site that was utilized not just by the enslaved working there but by everyone who lived and worked on the plantation. Though this collection is small, it can still add to our understanding of the spaces inhabited by those enslaved who worked and lived at the Mansion House.

The House for Families was a large frame building that, up until 1793, served as the primary slave quarter. When it was demolished between 1792-1793, new residences were constructed as wings attached to the greenhouse. It is possible that the House for Families was built by Lawrence Washington before his death in 1752 since there seems to be no record of its construction during George's ownership of the Mount Vernon estate (Pogue 2005). The House for Families served as a residence for those who worked most closely with the Washington family on the Mansion House Farm, the house servants, and the craftspeople.

Excavation of the House for Families cellar occurred on two separate occasions. It was first excavated in part between 1984 and 1985 by the Virginia Research Center, and the excavation of the feature was completed in 1989/1990 by staff archaeologists at Mount Vernon (Pogue 2003). The refuse-filled cellar remains had been a part of a building which served as one of the principal dwellings for enslaved peoples living and working on the Mansion House Farm, though housing on the farm was also supplemented through various outbuildings that also served as residences, as well as cabins (Pogue 2005). In 1786, 67 of

the 217 enslaved people living and working on the plantation lived on the Mansion House Farm (Pogue 1995: 5), and between 40 to 50 would have likely been residing at the House for Families (Pogue 1995: 15). While there is significant documentation about other types of dwellings at the Mansion House Farm, these different forms of housing have not been explored or recovered through archaeological excavation. Documentary records have revealed that the dwellings on the outer farms where those working in the fields lived were log buildings, though there was some variation in their exact form- some dwellings were smaller cabins, and others were larger structures, which were referred to as quarters (Pogue 2005: 437). While I do not have archaeological data from domestic structures on the outer farms, the excavations of the House for Families can offer some insight into the material lives of those living and working on the plantation.

The material record from the House for Families is rich and offers insight into many different aspects of the lives lived by those enslaved on the Washington's plantation. Looking at the ceramic and glass remains within the cellar, it appears that those enslaved people living and working close to the Washingtons were afforded material benefits that those who resided on the outlying farms did not receive. Though some may perceive this increased access to finer goods as a benefit, this by no means balances the disadvantages incurred by living in such close contact with the White household: constant supervision, limited privacy, and the 'on-call' nature of the work performed by many of those living in the House for Families (Breen 2016). Interestingly, a

possible connection has been made between the House for Families and the unmarked cemetery, which is still under investigation, through artifacts that were uncovered at both sites. While investigating the cemetery, a linked button was recovered. What makes this particularly intriguing is that during the excavations of the House for Families, a nearly identical linked button was recovered. While these two artifacts cannot be definitively connected to one another as coming from the same garment or having belonged to the same person, they perhaps serve as a physical representation of the link between those living at the House for Families and the dead housed in the unmarked cemetery. Unfortunately, many ways in which people, both living and dead, are connected and tied to one another do not leave physical traces and, therefore, cannot easily be seen in the archaeological record.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework:

The study of plantations and those who lived there, be they enslaved, indentured, or free, has been an area of archaeology that has seen many changes. The focus of these studies has varied, with the earliest studies being primarily interested in the stories of the landholding elite with a focus on the planter's household to an archaeology that seeks to understand the complexities of daily life on plantations. There was a push to understand and acknowledge the ways in which the lives of all who lived on the plantation were entwined with one another, and these studies also sought to understand both the struggles and triumphs of enslaved Africans and African Americans. Early archaeologies of slavery (Adams and Boling 1989) and the critiques of the approaches taken

(Potter 1990) made clear the need for a shift in theoretical perspectives and approaches when considering the lives of Africans and African Americans in the context of plantation life. In the last thirty years, there have been great strides made in African Diasporic archaeology, and from our current frame of reference, it can be quite easy to find the flaws in early studies. Rather than detailing the flaws of such works, it is perhaps more fruitful to consider how the critiques of those studies shaped the trajectory of the archaeology of plantations and those who lived there.

Increasingly there has been a greater focus on the daily lives and realities of daily life within a plantation context. Understanding the daily life of any person is incredibly complex, as our lives are made up of multitudes of details. As it is nearly impossible for a single study to detail and understand the many complexities of daily life fully, archaeologists must choose where to focus their minds and gaze. Research interests and specialization vary widely among archaeologists, as can be seen in this brief overview of some of the more recent topics of interest. Archaeologists have explored the economies that enslaved people participated in (Heath 2004; Heath 2016; Fogel 2019; Gibson and Kelly 2019; Goode 2022), in addition to foodways (Shick 2004; Mrozowski et al. 2008), cosmologies and rituals (Fennell 2007; Agbe-Davies 2017; Moses 2018; Davidson 2020), socialization of children (Betti 2022) and labor (Fanto-Deetz 2017; Franklin 2020).). It is through the use and consideration of multiple lenses that we can achieve the most precise images.

The exploration of the connections between African and African diasporic archaeology started with archaeologists in the Americas looking towards the work done in Africa to understand the material culture they were recovering at plantation sites. The evidence of continuities, or Africanisms, between African cultural practices and the cultural practices of enslaved peoples (Klingelhofer 1987) demonstrated the link between enslaved peoples and the cultures from which they derived. More recently, archaeologists have argued that understanding and exploring the connections between Africa and the Americas is crucial for archaeologists studying African diasporic sites and that a more global perspective is mutually beneficial for archaeologists working on both sides of the Atlantic (Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Marshall 2018; Sayer 2021).

In the volume *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora*, archaeologists came together in an effort to better integrate the work of African and African Diasporic archaeologists. In the opening chapter Ogundiran and Falola stated that this approach put forth in the volume "is guided by the vision that not only do we have historical continuity between Atlantic Africa and African Diaspora, but we also have come to a point where both should be integrated into one unit of analysis" (Ogundiran and Falola 2007: 5). Consideration of how connected the Americas and Africa have been to one another and the exchanges that occurred in both directions is essential for the overarching understanding and development of African and African Diasporic archaeology.

The themes explored within studies of slavery have historically fit within four main categories: community, dominance, resistance, and identity (Singleton

1995). Ogundiran (2007) has also identified four major themes within African diasporic archaeology: cultural identity creation and maintenance, daily life, resistance, and interaction with other ethnic and racial groups within the diaspora. We see overlap in both of their evaluations of the major thematic categories seen within the field. There are many ways in which to approach and consider plantations and the lives of those who dwell there; the focus of further discussion will revolve around household approaches within the context of plantations and the ways and scales at which such analyses have been deployed.

Studying the lives of enslaved people has led to the expansion and reassessment of what we consider to be part of the household or dwelling of African and African American households. The boundaries of the household were expanded outward to include the yardspaces associated with dwellings (Edwards-Ingram 1998; Gundaker 1998). Through the practice and continual refashioning and reassessment of the approaches taken, questions asked, and assumptions being made, the study of enslaved households has grown increasingly sophisticated and allows for multifaceted understandings of those who dwelled there. While a household approach can focus on a single structure or the complex of structures and spaces associated with a single household, it can also be expanded to consider the plantation as a household on varying scales. Household archaeology has the ability to examine smaller households within the plantation landscape, the plantation as a household itself and at a regional scale, multiple plantations as part of a household complex.

Such models are compelling, for they offer a straightforward method for understanding the complexities of the lives entwined together within a plantation. In her chapter "Finding the Space Between Spatial Boundaries and Social Dynamics: The Archaeology of Nested Households," Nesta Anderson employs the concept of nested households to try to better understand the interactions occurring between and within three Bahamian plantations during the late-18th through the mid-19th centuries. Anderson's is a fascinating approach to looking at plantations at a household level, for not only does it examine the entire plantation as a household but also considers plantations with familial connections with one another as parts of an even greater household complex. While Anderson's use of nested households does paint a picture of multiple interconnected households that come together in different ways, it does not fully encompass all the complexities within the plantation setting, as it does not consider the many households contained within the three Bahamian plantations.

Grappling with issues posed by the nested household perspective, Barile utilized the household complex framework in her study of the Middleburg Plantation in South Carolina. She defined the household complex as "a group of households who share one or more of the traits of an individual household, such as kin-relations, economic interdependence, or a bounded space/structure" (Barile 2004: 122). Barile claimed that this household approach to the plantation allows for a more fluid definition of the household while negating the implied dominance within the nested household concept, as it allows for different viewpoints and spatial boundaries from person to person. This method of looking

at the household or plantation complex is compelling, for it allows for connections between multiple households yet through different types of relationships. Such an approach seems appropriate within the plantation setting because while it is possible to argue that a plantation is a household using the strictest and most straightforward definition, such an approach does not allow for the different ways in which households can be connected into a complex together to be fully explored.

Another approach that aims to connect the different spaces and places with which enslaved people would have interacted with regularly is Whitney Battle-Baptiste's model developed in *Black Feminist Archaeology*. Battle-Baptiste employs two frameworks for her exploration of Andrew Jackson's estate, the functional plantation model and the concept of homespace. I will first consider the function plantation model, which includes four 'realms' for examining the plantation: the whole plantation, the captive domestic sphere, the labor sphere or workspaces, and the wilderness (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 87-89). Battle-Baptiste considers how these realms are interconnected and how people would have moved in and out of them as they traversed the landscape of the plantation. While this model considers the connections between differing realms that come together to make up the plantation as a whole, it does not take into account the times that these spaces overlap and intersect with one another. For many enslaved cooks the kitchen was a space that would have been both part of the captive domestic sphere and the labor sphere (Fanto-Deetz 2017). Such

overlaps between domestic and labor spheres are just one place for which the model, though complex, cannot account.

Though models centered around understanding the plantation as a structured place can be compelling, they often lack the flexibility to consider the varied connections that enslaved people had to one another and to their domestic spaces. Homespace, a combination of 'yardspace' and bell hook's 'homeplace,' allows the conversation to move beyond the bounded and limiting nature of houses, activity areas, and yardspaces (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 95). The idea of homespace encompasses the environment; it is made up of the spaces that shape experience and memory (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 95), but it also includes a consideration of the relationships between people and how those relationships shape the understanding of home as much as connections to physical places. Grounding this exploration of households and community in the idea of homespace will allow for an approach that draws together considerations of domestic spaces, community, and kinship ties. It will also allow for an approach that contemplates how these are bound to one another and together create complex households and kinship ties that expand beyond the bounds of a single household or dwelling and reach across and between the five farms that made up Mount Vernon Plantation.

In this paper, homespace functions as the thread that draws cultural geography and social network analysis together in an approach that will consider how enslaved peoples would have moved through and connected with their landscape, as well as the social relationships that overlaid this landscape and

guided these interactions. Many recent historical archaeology studies employing network theory have taken regional approaches (Pezzarossi 2020; Mathwich and Giomi 2021). In the context of plantation archaeology, network theory has been utilized to connect multiple sites together, such as in Ryzewski and Cherry's 2015 study of the sugar industry on plantation-era Montserrat. However, in this paper, the application of network theory focuses on relational ties between people and how these connections shape ideas of home and belonging. In addition, instead of examining the whole Chesapeake or another broad region, the focus is a single plantation, yet one that encompasses multiple farms.

Knappett (2013) describes the flexibility inherent in taking a network approach, saying that "[Networks] do not bring necessary directionalities. They do not oblige the drawing of boundaries, zones, or territories based on limited information. They can be relational and spatial….and most importantly, they can cross scales" (Knappett 2013: 6). In their paper “Incomplete Histories and Hidden Lives: The Case for Social Network Analysis in Historical Archaeology,” Holland-Lulewicz and Roberts Thompson discuss how while social network analysis has been widely adopted across numerous fields of study, including archaeology and history, there has been comparatively little utilization of it within North American historical archaeology (Holland-Lulewicz and Roberts Thompson 2022: 1030). They aim to illustrate the potential of social network analysis to “be employed as a framework for the integrated consideration of both archaeological and documentary evidence” (1027) and demonstrate the varied uses of social network theory within historical archaeology. Equally important as the ability for

network analysis to integrate archaeological and documentary evidence, is the capability to employ it on widely varying scales, from the state level to a single household (Knappett 2011). Using a network approach within the context of Mount Vernon Plantation allows for shifting scales, looking not only at the connections across the plantation broadly but also at the connections within smaller homespaces. In this paper, I aim to demonstrate how utilizing a network approach within this single plantation in conjunction with homespace can allow for a more complex analysis of the enslaved domestic landscape.

A Household Approach to Mount Vernon:

Although he is discussing the landscape of Mount Vernon, architectural historian Dell Upton has observed that "A thorough understanding of the early Virginia scene requires concurrent analysis of both the gentry world and overlapping lower-class sphere, for the gentry, poor Whites, and slaves often shared the same physical structures but constructed very different mental landscapes from them" (Upton 1990: 47). This same idea would hold for the household. To employ the household complex framework, the definition of the household complex must be necessarily broad, for it does not necessitate co-residence, but rather, refers to people living on a portion of land who are involved in the same overall economic purpose (Barile 2004: 123). At Mount Vernon, this would include the Washingtons, who lived in the Mansion, enslaved craftspeople and house servants who lived on the Mansion House farm, and the enslaved laborers living on the outer farms as well. All of those living on the plantation

would have been part of a network that crossed the physically bounded spaces of Mount Vernon Plantation.

Before the general restructuring of the slave quarters, which included the discontinued use of the House for Families at the Mansion House and the building of the Greenhouse quarters, those living on the outer farms had some degree of autonomy and privacy regarding their dwellings. Pogue (2002) recounted that before Washington started to push for the restructuring and rearrangement of the quarters, the dwellings on the outer farms were far apart and dotted across the landscape. He posited that it was Washington's desire for easier surveillance of those living on the outer farms that led to his decision to centralize the houses. The shifting of the quarters would have impacted all those living on the farms, with the change in dwellings likely changing how people would have been interacting with the landscape and with other members of the enslaved population at Mount Vernon.

Across all five farms, the enslaved community at Mount Vernon had ties to communities on other plantations. This is perhaps made most visible through Washington's 1799 survey. Through this survey or census, familial ties can be seen across all the farms connecting them to one another, as well as between the enslaved community at Mount Vernon Plantation and enslaved communities on other plantations. These ties would have led to movement between the farms and plantations- in a letters to his farm managers George Washington made refence to enslaved people “night walking” (Washington 1797) and to how they would travel between houses on cold nights with fire (Washington 1794).

There is an anecdote about architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe who was traveling through Virginia in 1795. According to his account, Latrobe asked an enslaved person for directions to a nearby plantation, who gladly obliged. However, Latrobe found the instructions to be bewildering, and he found it necessary to ask detailed questions about which roads and turns he should take, for these were not part of the initial directions provided (Upton 1990). They had instead involved a complex network of fields, farm lanes, waterways, and fences. The complexity of the connections across the landscape and the paths taken parallels the underlying complexities of homespace, both of which are entwined with a person's position, experiences, and memories.

Homespace does not set boundaries on what one considers 'home' or the household to be; its creation happens through experience, memory, and personal connections. Homespace is a concept that will vary from person to person because its foundations are rooted in the individual and the experiences and memories that each holds, no two of which are precisely the same. Similarly, the enslaved individual giving directions to Latrobe had an understanding of the landscape that was impacted by how they themselves moved across it, the paths taken to visit family and friends, and ways that allowed one to avoid observation – if only for a short time. It is a map that makes sense for the individual and also perhaps those who have shared similar experiences, but for those outside of that experience, it is an incomprehensible map. I believe this to be a powerful comparison, for it illustrates the ways in which personal experiences significantly shape how the world is seen and experienced. That the landscape is

experienced by people differently is a fact that has been well acknowledged in plantation archaeology when the landscape has been the focus, but it seems to be less of a consideration when the household is the focus of the investigation.

At Mount Vernon, a significant portion of the archaeology relates to the domestic lives of the enslaved. However, one of the principal activity areas that historical archaeologists look at when excavating slave quarters has not and cannot be excavated; the yardspaces of the House for Families are inaccessible. Unfortunately, they were built over in the early years of Mount Vernon's life as a historic site. However, if the household is not strictly bound to activity areas surrounding the dwelling, this opens further options for looking at the household of those dwelling in the House for Families and exploring the ways in which it was a single dwelling that incorporated multiple familial spaces and was also part of a greater network of domestic spaces.

Data and Analysis:

It is a rare case when all the questions you ask can be answered with a single set of methods. As this is not one of those occasions, varying methods have been employed to answer the queries posed within this paper. I examine three different datasets, that embody both qualitative and quantitative data. The first includes the archaeological data from the Mount Vernon excavations, the second is a network diagram, and the third is an examination of some of the relocations of enslaved individuals. In building these datasets, archaeological data and primary documents were used. Each on its own is fragmentary, but when deployed together, they offer a more complete answer. The data used has

been drawn from multiple sources, with the archaeological data coming from DAACS, some of the census data from Mount Vernon's Slavery Database, and the rest from two censuses taken by Washington. Most of the primary documents utilized in this paper are lists enumerating the enslaved living and working on Mount Vernon Plantation, which offer little insight into the domestic lives of the people listed.

The majority of archaeological research has centered around the House for Families, which serves as a partial record of the material lives of those who lived and worked on the Mansion House Farm. The archaeological record offers hints not just of the domestic lives of the enslaved but also of some aspects of their work lives. Much of the previous research has focused on domestic spaces and has offered insight into many aspects of the lives of the house servants and craftspeople at Mansion House Farm. The presence of two toys, a figurine, and a dish, speaks to one of the threads that have been woven throughout this study of the presence of families. Though they do not directly point to a specific family or family members, the presence of toys does point to children being a part of the larger household and would have grown into adults within the walls of the House for Families and other residences across the plantation. For them and their families it would have been a place central to their creation of homespace.

While both the House for Families and the South Grove Midden have been the subject of previous research, they have been examined independently from one another. Within this paper, I look at the House for Families, the South Grove Midden, and the Servants/Wash House as different parts of a larger

landscape that are interconnected with one another. This is reflected in how material culture is approached; instead of considering them separately, the archaeological data has been grouped together to create one large dataset that reflects all three sites.

Material Culture:

The artifact catalog from the excavations of these three Mount Vernon sites is impressive, comprising of over 150,000 artifacts. Though a robust dataset, there are some weaknesses within the dataset. Firstly, of the three sites at Mount Vernon, two of them were spaces that were utilized by all who lived and worked at Mount Vernon. The Black enslaved laborers, White laborers, managers, and White slaveholders all used the two middens. Therefore, the South Grove Midden and the trash pit from beneath the Servant's House do not represent items being used and discarded only by the enslaved. However, while these sites are not private ones, they would have still been utilized by enslaved workers who were in the majority on the farm and, therefore, should not be discounted as important sites with valuable data. My interests lie not only in the private spaces but the public ones and those that may fall somewhere in-between. For, all these spaces were integral to the daily lives and the construction of homespace. In analyzing the material culture recovered from the three sites, I have chosen to view the material remains as an aggregate. While looking at the differences or similarities of the artifact distribution across all three sites could offer many insights, here I am interested in looking at the connections between the sites and not the distinctions.

The dataset I am utilizing was obtained through the DAACS database using Artifact Query 1. From this data, I have created two tables, Table 2 allows for a general overview of the artifacts recovered from the three sites. When looking at the assemblage, 50% of artifacts recovered have been categorized as general artifacts, and within this type, there are many other subcategories found, including building materials, botanical remains, sewing supplies, personal adornment, and toys.

Table 2: Artifact Frequencies

ARTIFACT TYPE	SITE			
	HOUSE FOR FAMILIES	SERVANTS HALL/ WASH HOUSE	SOUTH GROVE MIDDEN	TOTAL
Bead	0.30	0.03	0.19	0.21
Buckle	0.10	0.04	0.02	0.04
Button	0.17	0.03	0.04	0.07
Ceramic	1.85	4.93	9.44	7.36
Faunal	57.72	61.55	5.04	20.48
General Artifacts	34.94	26.77	56.64	50.02
Glass	2.38	5.26	18.51	13.95
Lithics	0.62	0.76	7.82	5.74
Tobacco Pipe	1.89	0.57	2.29	2.12
Utensil	0.04	0.06	0.01	0.02
TOTAL	24.98	4.03	70.99	

Given the volume of artifacts, it becomes necessary for a narrower view of the catalog to be used based on the questions being asked. While a broader examination of the archaeological record of the sites can allow for more general questions to be answered about the lives of Mount Vernon's enslaved, for my research, I will be focusing on the ceramics recovered from all three sites. I have chosen to focus on ceramics because they allow for an exploration of foodways

(Singleton 1995). In domestic spaces, foodways, familial ties, religion, medicine, and history are deeply intertwined with one another (Singleton 1995; Twitty 2017) and play a prominent role in the creation of homespace.

While only making up just over 7% of the artifacts recovered at Mount Vernon, the ceramic assemblage is also a rich and varied category of material culture, with 39 identifiable waretypes recovered. Utilizing vessel count when examining ceramics is preferred, however due to the lack of identifiable vessels

Table 3: Ceramic Frequencies

WARETYPE	FORM TYPE			
	FLAT	HOLLOW	UNIDENT.	TOTAL
American Stoneware		0.9		0.5
Astbury Type	0.4	0.7	0.2	0.5
Black Basalt		> 0.1		> 0.1
Bristol Glaze Stoneware		> 0.1		> 0.1
British Stoneware		1.0	0.4	0.7
Buckley-type		5.9	5.0	4.9
Coarse Earthenware, unidentified	0.1	1.1	12.2	4.6
Colonoware		13.0	0.3	7.4
Creamware	4.3	0.9	4.8	2.5
Delftware, Dutch/British	11.0	5.8	29.5	14.0
Fulham Type		4.0		2.2
Iberian Ware		0.2		0.1
Ironstone/White Granite	1.9		> 0.1	0.2
Jackfield Type		> 0.1		> 0.1
Native American		0.5		0.3
North Devon Gravel Tempered		0.4	0.1	0.3
North Devon Plain		0.4	0.4	0.3
Nottingham		9.9	0.6	5.7
Pearlware	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.3
Porcelain, Chinese	58.9	4.3	11.0	12.9
Porcelain, unidentifiable	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.2
Porcellaneous/Hard Paste	0.1	> 0.1	> 0.1	> 0.1
Post-Medieval London-area Redware		6.0		3.4
Redware	0.2	2.4	0.5	1.5
Refined Earthenware, modern		> 0.1		> 0.1
Refined Earthenware, unidentifiable	0.2		0.7	0.2
Slip Dip		3.8	0.1	2.2
Slipware, North Midlands/Staffordshire	7.3	13.1	13.8	12.7
Staffordshire Mottled Glaze	0.1	7.4	0.8	4.4
Stoneware, unidentifiable		0.5	0.9	0.5

Tin-Enameled, unidentified	0.1	0.1	8.4	2.7
Unidentifiable		> 0.1	0.1	0.1
Wedgwood Green			> 0.1	> 0.1
Westerwald/Rhenish		5.9	0.3	3.4
Whieldon-type Ware		0.1	> 0.1	0.1
White Salt Glaze	10.3	11.2	7.7	9.9
Whiteware	4.2	0.2	1.1	1.0
Yellow Ware	0.1		0.1	> 0.1
TOTAL	11.8	56.2	32.0	

recovered from the Servant's Hall/Wash House, I have chosen to use fragment count instead. Looking at Table 3, we can see that across all ceramic types, the holloware vessel category occurs with greater frequency than the flatware category. Hollow forms include bowls, cups and storage jars, examples of flat forms includes plates and platters (DAACS 2018: 14). Of the identifiable forms, about 82.65% of the ceramics recovered are hollow. The favoring of holloware becomes even more significant when we focus even further on the colonoware recovered from the three sites. A low-fired, hand-built (Ferguson 1992: 19) earthenware made from local clays (Galke 2009: 321), Colonoware would have been locally made to fit the needs of the potter or those trading with the potter (Ferguson 1992: 22). While it has been found at numerous colonial sites, it is most frequently recovered from enslaved colonial sites (Ferguson 1992).

We see in Table 4 that of the pieces of colonoware recovered, 98.7% of them were holloware. While the large quantities of holloware across the other ceramic types might be harder to connect to choices being made my enslaved people at Mount Vernon, the presence of colonoware on the table of any of the Washingtons or their farm managers would have been doubtful. It is perhaps

through the creation or trade for specific pieces in the form of colonoware that we can most readily look towards some of the deliberate choices being made regarding the foodways of those enslaved at Mount Vernon. With only 1.3% of the colonoware recovered being flatware, the large percentage of hollow colonoware is indicative of the deliberate selection of items that best suit one's needs.

Table 4: Colonoware Form Frequency

FORM	HOLLOW	FLAT	TOTAL
Bowl	16.9		16.7
Milk Pan	2.8		2.8
Unid: Utilitarian	0.4		0.4
Unidentifiable	79.8	100	80.1
TOTAL	98.7	1.3	

We know from previous research that the cooking methods and dishes eaten by enslaved people were often better suited to be cooked and served in holloware (Singleton 1995: 25). This knowledge, paired with understanding the effort it would take to make and trade for colonoware, adds strength to the conclusion that the pieces of colonoware chosen would have been selected deliberately to help fill in where the other types of dishes and cookware available lacked. While most of the colonoware recovered has no identifiable form (79.8%), the two identifiable forms recovered were bowls and milk pans. Both of these relate directly to the preparation and consumption of food and can speak to the ways in which European dish forms did not sufficiently meet the needs of African Diasporic foodways. The dishes regularly consumed by enslaved people would have often consisted one-pot meals of stewed meat, vegetables and broth

(Samford 1996) which would have likely been served in bowls. And in numerous 18th and 19th century recipes the use of low-fired earthenware is required to prepare traditional African American foods (Galke 2009: 321).

Previously I claimed that the high frequency of hollow forms in colonoware speak to enslaved people making up for where the other cooking and serving vessels left gaps. In looking at how cooking methods and tastes differ between slave holders and the enslaved, we can see that while there were areas where exchange happened, each retained the framework from their culinary history. Broadly, the meals of enslaved people would have consisted of starch and a stew (Samford 1996; Twitty 2017). At Mount Vernon, daily rations for an adult consisted of 1 quart of cornmeal and 5 to 8 ounces of salted fish (Washington 1793). These rations would have been supplemented in numerous ways. The collection of artifacts recovered from the cellar of the House for Families can offer insight into what was being added to the diet to supplement the rations and how some of these foods were obtained. Previous research into the foodways has shown that enslaved people relied most heavily on the beef and pork that were distributed as part of the rations as well as the salted fish (Atkins 1994). Meat rations were supplemented with wild game (Atkins 1994) and fish, and the addition of domesticated and wild plants (Shick 2004) added more variety to the diet as well. The domestic plants could speak to the cultivation of small gardens within the yardspaces, which Pogue (2002) alludes to when recounting a visitor's description of what seems to be slave quarters on one of the outer farms. Bringing together knowledge of how people were eating with the importance of

food can allow insight into one of the ways those enslaved at Mount Vernon maintained and created a space that was uniquely theirs.

While the archaeological record offers some answers into the daily practices of the domestic servants working at the Mansion House Farm, we cannot glean the relationships they had with one another and those living and working on the outer farms and even on other plantations through it. It is through an exploration of the documentary and archaeological record of Mount Vernon Plantation in conjunction with one another that we can gain an understanding of the complexities of the social structures and the ways in which Mount Vernon's enslaved may have created homespace.

Family Networks at Mount Vernon:

To answer my first research question, I start with an exploration of the ways in which the domestic spaces and dwellings on the five farms would have related to one another, with the familial connections detailed in the censuses written by George Washington serving as the paths that link the farms of Mount Vernon to one another and other plantations. The 1799 census was chosen as the center point because it is the most detailed census of those written by Washington. While it does not specify the units in which people were living, Washington did include information about marriages, parentage, ownership, place of residence, occupation, and age, which allows for a more nuanced understanding of the nature of the relationships that connected people across these spaces. Table 3 condenses the data to show whether family members (as detailed in the 1786 and 1799 censuses) were living together or apart from one

another. As we can see from the data derived from the 1799 census, well over half (58.9%) of the nuclear families identified by Washington lived separated to some degree, with over a third (34.2%) living on different plantations.

Table 5: Place of Residence Frequencies for Enslaved Families, 1799

	PLACE OF RESIDENCE			
	SAME FARM	DIFFERENT FARM	DIFFERENT PLANTATION	TOTAL
HUSBAND & WIFE*	20.00	33.33	48.00	32.88
MOTHER, FATHER & CHILD(REN)	40.00	66.67	44.00	47.95
MOTHER & CHILD(REN)	40.00		8.00	19.18
TOTAL	41.10	24.66	34.25	

Note 1: This includes cases where the presence of children is unknown

The census that Washington recorded in June of 1799 only captures a single moment in time. I have chosen to use this snapshot of time to create my network diagram. Which means that this diagram also only depicts a small window of time. When enslaved people experienced relocation to different farms or plantations, reassignment of tasks, and/or the loss or addition of family members the web of ties that connected them across the landscape would also change. However, while the details of the network would have varied, there would also be continuity within the community, which allows us also to consider how the House for Families would have been embedded within this more extensive web of domestic and familial spaces.

In order to visualize what this network might have looked like in 1799, I have traced individuals between the 1786 and 1799 censuses and have created a network diagram that links three generations together.

Table 6: 1786 Census

FARM	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Mansion House Farm	28	13	26	67
River Farm	10	18	23	51
Dogue Run Farm	10	11	17	38
Ferry/Union Farm	5	10	11	26
Muddy Hole Farm	6	9	11	26
Mill	4	0	0	4
TOTAL	63	61	88	212

Table 7: 1799 Census

FARM	MEN	WOMEN	WORKING BOYS	WORKING GIRLS	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Mansion House Farm	41	25	6	2	23	97
Muddy Hole Farm	5	15	1	2	18	41
River Farm	11	20	4	3	20	58
Dogue Run Farm	6	16	1	1	21	45
Ferry/Union Farm	6	11	3	0	16	36
TOTAL	69	87	15	8	98	277

While each individual and familial group would have experienced life and homespace differently at Mount Vernon, we can also see similarities in experiences. In the census, there are two kinds of familial ties detailed in the record; spousal and maternal, and there are mainly three kinds of family units; married couples (no children), nuclear families, and single-mother families. I started with the family units identified by Washington in 1799 and then traced

those individuals back to the 1786 census using Mount Vernon's Slavery Database. After identifying the relationships that connected the domestic and familial spaces of Mount Vernon with one another and with other plantations, I then used that information to create a network diagram displaying these connections. This diagram is limited, as it only visualizes three kinds of relationships that were recorded by Washington. The connections between the individuals who made up the enslaved population at Mount Vernon and the surrounding plantations would have been far more varied and complex. However, while it does not capture the entire breadth of relationships and ties that connected these people together, it does encourage us to look at Mount Vernon in what is perhaps a different way by keeping this layer of complexity in mind.

In the network diagram, each person shown is represented as a colored circle and has been treated as a node within the network. The familial relationship connecting individuals is represented by either a solid line (maternal) or a dotted line (marriage) and serve as the edges that connect the nodes together. This approach has allowed for a visualization of Mount Vernon's enslaved community and the familial ties that connect them to one another across the plantation and even serve to connect them to other communities on neighboring plantations. Each circle within the diagram represents an enslaved person connected through familial ties to the Mount Vernon enslaved community. The circles have been color-coded to represent the place of residence, while the lines represent the type of familial connections. Individuals have been grouped together in representations of where the farms are located on the

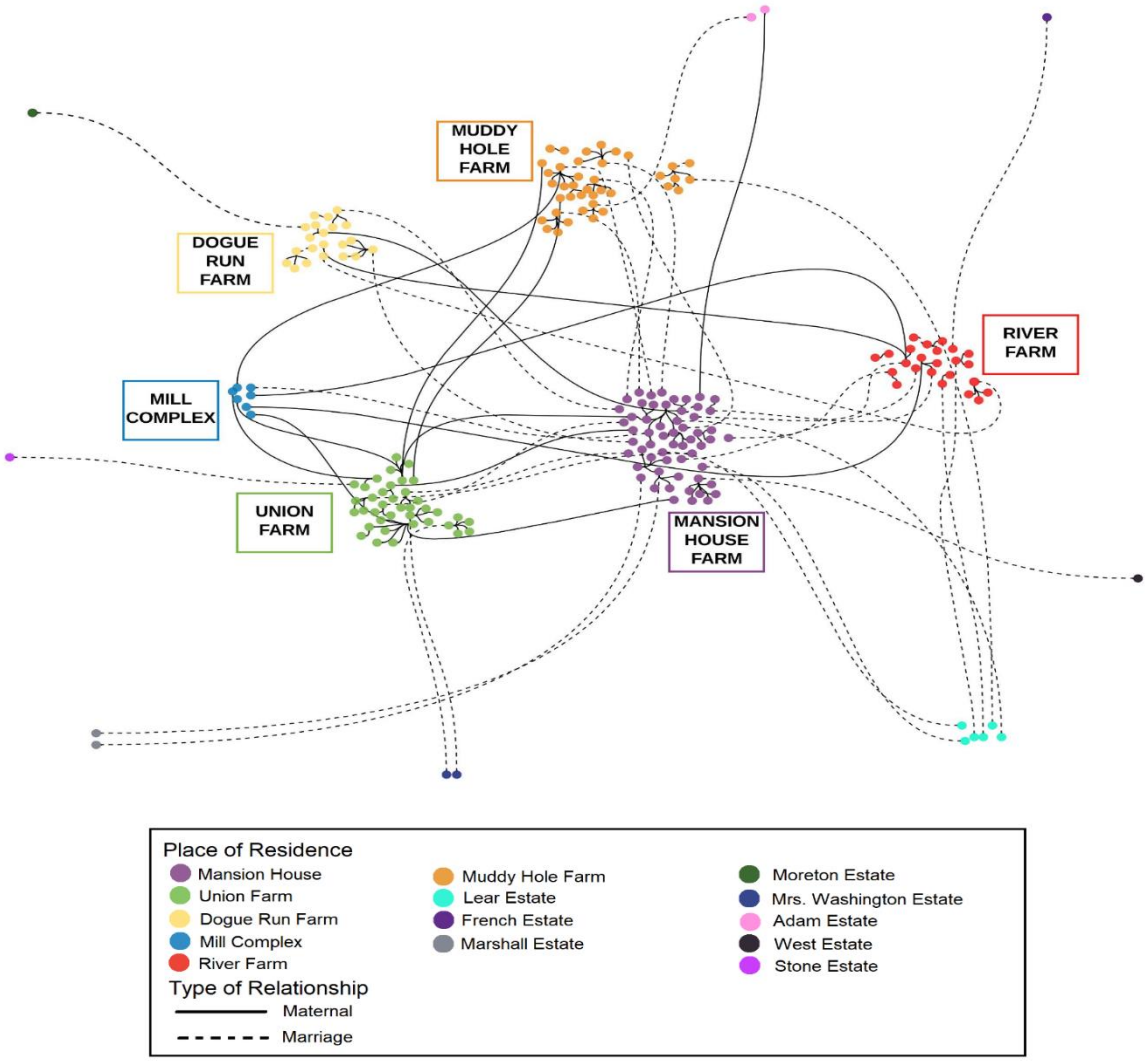

Figure 2: Family Networks at Mount Vernon

While this is not to scale, it still allows for a picture of the communities on each farm to emerge, as well as the web of ties that bring these smaller enslaved communities together into a community that encompasses the entire plantation. Grouping people together based on the area of residence also allows for the distance between family members and the space that they would have to travel to interact with one another to have a visual representation. For example, in

order for the carpenter James, to see his wife Darcus he would have had to travel from the Mansion House Farm to Muddy Hole Farm, which would have been about 2.25 miles if taking a direct path from one farm to the other (distance measured on a georeferenced historical map of Mount Vernon Plantation). However, it would be unlikely that James would be able or want to take a path directly (Upton 1990) from Mansion House Farm to Muddy Hole and likely travelled a longer distance when visiting Darcus and his daughters.

Looking broadly at the network ties between the farms, the Mansion House Farm has the most connections to the other farms of Mount Vernon Plantation, as well as ties to four other plantations in the area. While those living at the Mansion House Farm had the highest number of familial ties to enslaved people living on other the other Mount Vernon farms, the Mill Complex and Union Farm had the highest percentages of enslaved laborers had familial ties that spanned the plantation. Taking a closer look at some individuals and their family ties, we can see that Kitty, a dairymaid, had a relatively large family with Isaac, a carpenter, both of who lived at the Mansion House Farm. She had nine daughters and six grandchildren, all of whom lived at the Mansion House Farm, which meant she had few familial ties that connected her to the other farms. Whereas Doll, who lived on Union Farm, had four children, her son James was a carter on the Mansion House Farm and her daughter Suckey had been hired to work at Mrs. Washington's Farm. Looking at the different ways that the network ties among the enslaved take shape, we can start to see the ways in which the

connections between people would have come together and intersected to create a homespace that each person would have experienced differently.

Relocation and Connection to Place:

Another critical aspect of the idea of homespace is not only the connection to people but also to the places themselves. Knowing that often a common form of punishment that slaveholders utilized was the rupturing of the connection to places through the movement of enslaved people to different plantations, I look at the longevity of residence on the farms. In addition, I am interested if the experiences of domestic servants, artisans, and farm laborers differed in this respect. To do so, I utilized the Mount Vernon Slavery Database and compiled a table that draws from the lists and censuses made between 1760 and 1799 of those enslaved at Mount Vernon Plantation and details of where they lived at the time of the census. Through the various documentation, we can see that while the majority of those enslaved held by Washington lived on one of the Mount Vernon Farms, there were times that people seemed to have been 'rented out' and resided on the farms of Washington's neighbors. We can also see that the moving of people from farm to farm and between plantations does not seem to have been a frequent practice of Washington's.

However, just as there are cases in which an individual lived on the same farm for thirty years or more, there are also instances where a different person never lived more than ten years in one place after they were considered an 'adult.' While the most thorough method to understand the contexts of relocation or the lack of movement would be to study these movements in depth, that would

be a whole paper in itself. So, I have chosen to look at two specific cases, looking first at a case where there were multiple relocations and where it seemed that there was longevity in residence. In exploring the documents, I focused on where and how these individuals were talked about in the record, with an eye toward possible causes or motivations for relocations. I was interested in seeing if a majority of the movements between places of residence were in conjunction with acts of resistance or if there was perhaps something else acting as the impetus of most for the moves.

While I could go into detail about multiple individuals, I will instead expand upon the experience of one man: Davy Gray. Davy lived at the Mansion House Farm between 1762 and 1764, at the Mill Complex for at least ten years (1765-1774), River Farm in 1786 and 1788, and Muddy Hole Farm in 1799. In looking through the other documents associated with Davy Gray's life at Mount Vernon, it appears that most relocations in this case were related to work. In the earliest mentions of Davy, he is described or listed as a 'laborer,' however, it seems that between June 1769 and July 1770, he transitioned from laborer to overseer. Following 1770, he is most frequently described as an overseer and works in that capacity at the Mill, River Farm, and Muddy Hole Farm. Though the documents do not seem to indicate that the relocations and reassignments that Davy Gray went through were forms of punishment, neither do they relate whether the moves were welcomed. In the end, whether or not the relocations were welcomed is not a question that I would seek to answer. The critical takeaway is

that, legally, the choice of where to live or work was not one that Davy Gray could make for himself; that right was held by others.

There are many people who lived on one or two farms throughout their lives. This was the experience of an enslaved woman, Doll. She first appears on Washington's 1760 List of Tithables as a resident of the Mansion House Farm, where she continues to be in residence until 1799. However, while her place of residence seems relatively stable according to the censuses taken, other documents shed light on how she also faced multiple relocations throughout her life. In 1759 Doll was a cook and likely would have been living in close proximity to the kitchen, either in a room above or adjacent to the kitchen or within the kitchen itself (Fanto-Deetz 2017). However, in February 1760, months after having a child, Doll was reassigned. No longer the cook but instead a laborer (and later a house servant), she would have had to move out of the kitchen and likely into the House for Families. Over 30 years later, in 1793, Doll seems to have taken up her old position within the kitchen and is once again serving as a cook for the Washington household, a change that would have probably brought about another relocation. However, she was not alone in this experience of removal and relocation because, in 1792/1793, George Washington was directing large-scale changes with the destruction of the House for Families and the building of the Greenhouse. Through Doll's experiences, it becomes clear that even when remaining on the same farm, there were still often 'smaller' relocations to face that could come with changes in position and reassignments. Even smaller moves around a farm would have impacted the homespace people

created, for homespace is tied both to the landscape and environment and to the relationships that people have with one another.

Given my limited dataset I cannot speak to whether George Washington regularly used relocation and reassignment as a type of punishment. Though there is at least one instance where he did sell a man who had been causing trouble, and he used this incident as an example to deter others from what he deemed bad behavior. In a letter to Anthony Whitting, Washington told him to inform Ben Hubbard that "…I will ship him off (as I did Waggoner Jack) for the West Indias, where he will have no opportunity of playing such pranks as he is at present engaged with" (Washington 1793). However, it does seem that a majority of Washington's movement of the enslaved people on his plantation seems to reflect his time as a general. Where he chose to move troops about to increase their effectiveness strategically, so too did he seek to improve the 'effectiveness' of his workers and, through that, the production on his farms. The relocations that people experienced and even temporary reassignments to work on different Mount Vernon farms and even other plantations would create an even more complex network of connections than those pictured in the network diagram above, which depicts three generations of familial ties. Another aspect that is essential to consider but that has not been brought into the data are the connections outside of family, which in the case of those enslaved at Mount Vernon would have at different times included other enslaved individuals, indentured servants, and the Washingtons themselves. These are ties that are less clear through census records because they are ties that have little to do with

blood and almost wholly to do with daily interactions and personal histories and experiences.

These three datasets, at first glance, seem somewhat unrelated. However, they all link to essential building blocks in the creation of homespace. Homespace considers not just place in the creation of safe spaces but also how the relationships between people are key in the feelings of safety or peril. Ceramics and colonoware are tied to food, which would have been more than simply a source of physical nourishment for enslaved people. Michael Twitty (2017) says that "…food was never just food. It was medicine and a gateway to good fortune, and a mystical lubricant between the living and the dead" (365). The dishes cooked and eaten by enslaved people within their own spaces would have been a way of nourishing both the body and soul and keeping ties with those past. They would have been shared by family members who had to travel from one farm to another to have a meal together. I utilized family ties to look at how people would have maintained connections to domestic spaces where they were not shown to be residents. Traveling between the different farms that made up Mount Vernon would have been a regular practice for some, and the paths which they traveled would have become an aspect of their environment and a physical representation of the ties they valued. These paths would likely have become well-worn as people traveled for years between farms, and the points of peril and safety would have been known. The threat or reality of relocation would have stretched, morphed, or even broken the physical ties that people had with one another. The landscape of a plantation for an enslaved person would not be

one that could be captured in a map detailing buildings, farmed plots, and physical features.

Discussion and Conclusions:

Overcoming the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record is a challenge all archaeologists face. No matter how extensive the material recovered from a site, there are still gaps in what has been preserved and excavated. For historical archaeologists, one method of compensating for this is the use of historical records. The documentary record can help fill in gaps in the material record, as well as provide information that cannot be gleaned from the archaeological record. The documentary record associated with Mount Vernon is rich, largely due to its intimate connection to George Washington. In many cases, the documents saved because of their association with a Founding Father have made up for the loss of more regional documents. Though not very surprising, in looking for primary documents to explore the connections between enslaved households at Mount Vernon, it came to light that the earliest census taken by the government in Mount Vernon area burned when Washington, DC, did in the early 19th century. Like the material record, the documentary record is also limited in nature. However, when examined together they bolster the other's weaknesses. Though the yardspaces associated with the House for Families is inaccessible for archaeological research and the material record from domestic enslaved spaces limited, that does not mean that the domestic spaces and households are completely unknowable. Instead, I have shown that through using network analysis together with the framework of homespace we can

examine enslaved households and start to understand the ways in which they are connected across the landscape.

Homespace and network analysis at their most base goal, seek to do the same thing: make the intangible, tangible. Homespace does this through identifying spaces where the feelings of homecoming, safety and humanity come together to create a physical place or places that have left traces on the landscape. Network analysis does this through creating maps where we can visually represent relationships, through organizing complex data into nodes (the subjects) and edges (relationships). Both frameworks push for an analysis that does not rely solely on the material record. Homespace does have limitations, because of its deep connection with memory and feelings of safety and comfort. While I have deployed it to look across a plantation, the whole plantation cannot be considered a homespace for enslaved individuals because on the plantation there would have always been areas of insecurity. However, while homespace does have bounds, network analysis does not. It is not bound to place in the same way that homespace is and allows for an analysis that crosses traditional boundaries. When starting out my research, homespace and network analysis seemed to be natural compliments to one another.

Many disciplines have found network analysis to be a compelling method to utilize, given the amount of complex data that can be analyzed and it's flexible nature. It has been employed with greater frequency within history to analyze the documentary record and within archaeology broadly to examine the material

record. However, its adoption into historical archaeology, where we utilize *both* the documentary and material records in our research, has been much slower. This paper demonstrates one way in which utilizing network theory to look at the documentary record can strengthen the analysis of the material record. Without using both this paper would not have been possible. While network analysis was one of the pillars of my research, homespace has been the thread that tied everything together. The examination of homespace and how it may have taken shape at Mount Vernon helped to create another version of the plantation, one where the geography of Mount Vernon's enslaved population was the foundation. I have used a framework rooted in Black Feminist theory and pushed homespace to its bounds, I did not look for a singular homespace at the Mansion House Farm, but considered the presence of multiple, interconnected homespaces across the five farms that made up Mount Vernon Plantation.

This paper is a starting point and could serve as the base for further research and forms of network analysis. While the material record of Mount Vernon continues to grow, the majority of the enslaved domestic sites are not accessible for further archaeological excavation. However, this does not mean that we cannot grow our data or continue studies into these spaces in different ways. It is possible that additional investigation into visitor accounts during Washington's lifetime might offer insight into the domestic spaces and give more insight into what the yardspaces at Mount Vernon might have looked like. With such an extensive documentary record to complement the archaeological one, there are many potential lines of research. One could change the scope and

instead of looking at how multiple families are connected across the landscape, trace a single family's connections, not just across Mount Vernon, but to the other surrounding plantations as well. This approach could look at how the networks of the family changed shape over the years, looking at how it may have expanded or contracted. This type of work could be of interest to members of the descendent community and another approach to future research could be to trace these connections not just through the documentary record but through working with collaborators who may have family ties and histories connected to those who were enslaved at Mount Vernon.

This thesis has demonstrated multiple things throughout, first, that archaeological analysis can be done even with a fragmentary dataset, it however, requires lateral thinking and the use of less common methods. Second, a compelling way to approach data is to take something ephemeral and intangible and create a more easily understood physical representation. Third, telling the stories of individual people and their lived experience further enriches our interpretation and analysis of the data. And finally, that those who were enslaved at Mount Vernon continually resisted bondage, and they did this through maintaining ties to their families and creating safe homespaces where community members could come together to eat, socialize and affirm their humanity.

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