

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank all those who have contributed to this project, particularly the Service League of Northern Virginia whose generous funding and volunteer assistance made the undertaking possible. The Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority supplied the operating budget and cost of materials for the exhibit.

The author is grateful to all of the volunteers who spent hours scrubbing and labeling sherds, destroying their fingernails and ruining their eyesight. Several volunteers deserve special recognition for long and faithful service: Lauri LaCorte, liason with the Service League, Marti Patchell, Carole Sanders, Anne Santorelli, Sue Snyder, Alicia Stroud and Nancy Tribble. They ~~s~~ worked through the entire project and ably took on some of the more specialized tasks. Their assistance was invaluable and their enthusiasm was infectious and supportive at all times.

Many groups and individuals in Alexandria and elsewhere offered their help and expertise. Katharine Beid^{le}man and Pamela Cressey, with other members of the Alexandria Archaeology Research Center (AARC) were extremely helpful. They offered continual support and advice on archaeological and historical questions and gave us free use of their library. Richard Bierce, ^{Project Director for the restoration of} former Historic ^{Planning Director} Carlyle House and ^{Resources} helped to compile all the materials from the restoration research and excavation and supplied many details from memory. Sharon Park of Fauber Associates was also instrumental in collecting the research notes. Don Slaugh, Curator of the Stabler-Leadbeater Apothecary Shop and Richard Napoli of the AARC assisted with glass identification. J. Jefferson Miller, II and Susan Myers

of the Division of Ceramics at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History took time from their busy schedules to discuss ceramic identification. Emily Monk of the George Washington Bicentennial Center provided information on locally produced ceramics and Susan Henry of ^{the}AARC and James Munson helped steer the author through the intricacies of documentary research in Alexandria.

Alexandra Klingelhofer and Anne Garland of the College of William and Mary Anthropology Department did an excellent job of conserving the leather, wood, bone and metal artifacts which required special treatment.

Thanks are due to all the staff members of Carlyle House. Joseph Carr, formerly administrator at Carlyle House proposed the project. Julia Claypool, curator, helped with the exhibit planning and construction. Many secretaries have worked on the project. Rudd Kenvin and Mary Beth Krivoruchka have been particularly helpful in typing the drafts and final copy of this report. The author is especially grateful to Susan Borchardt, the present administrator of Carlyle House, who has been her chief advisor and supporter in the project from its beginning.

Finally, the author wishes to thank Richard Glassco for his support and patient encouragement during the ^{months preparation} long ~~weeks~~ of cataloguing and writing it took to complete the ^{report} ~~project~~.

Introduction

Between 1972-1976, during the restoration of the John Carlyle House in Alexandria, Virginia, an exploratory archaeological survey was made and four wells containing historic artifacts were excavated. At the time of the excavations there was neither time nor money for more than a cursory examination of the artifacts recovered from the wells. They were packed in boxes and stored until 1978 when a generous grant from the Service League of Northern Virginia made it possible to undertake their processing. Members of the Service League and other volunteers, under the direction of an archaeologist hired with grant funds, worked to clean, label, sort and catalogue the artifacts from April 1978 to October 1979. Since then the author and the staff of Carlyle House Historic Park have continued working to complete this report and an exhibit related to the artifacts.

The well excavations at Carlyle House were salvage digs. They followed no clear research plan which would define an approach to the artifact study. It was necessary to establish goals for this project on the basis of the most effective exploitation of materials (artifacts and records) available. Problems of unclear stratigraphy, incomplete excavation records and probable biases in the recovery of artifacts had to be taken into account. The relationship of these artifacts to the Carlyle House and the interpretive and educational ideals of the museum were also considered. Finally, participation of volunteers in the work dictated some goals related to their training and involvement in the project.

Project goals:

1. Preserve and catalogue the artifacts.
2. Date and interpret the artifacts collection in relation

to the history of the property and develop guidelines for using the material in interpretive programs in the museum.

3. Organize, compile and supplement excavation records and research materials in a way which will make all the data readily available to other researchers for comparative studies.
4. Produce an exhibit using the artifacts which will travel to other public institutions in the area and possibly eventually form the core of a permanent exhibit area in the Carlyle House.
5. Provide a rewarding and educational experience for volunteers who helped with the project, involving them in as many facets of the work as possible.

Though it has taken far longer than anticipated all of these goals have been met at least in part. All of the artifacts from the three earliest wells, AX3A, AX3B and AX3C have been cleaned, labeled, catalogued in detail and packed for storage. Artifacts which required special preservation measures, including leather, bone, wood and metal objects, were treated by professional conservators. Detailed records of the treatments used for each object are on file. Artifacts from a fourth well, shaft AX3D, were cleaned, labeled and inventoried in less detail. (See ^{Chapter 7} ~~appendix~~ .) Surface exploration of an unexcavated shaft yielded some late 19th and 20th century sherds which were simply washed and stored for future study.

One of the primary aims of the Carlyle House staff in seeking funding for the artifact processing was to make possible the use of the archaeological collection to enrich interpretation of the house to the public. (Grant proposal to Service League of Northern

Virginia, July 1977.) With this in mind the emphasis of the study was directed toward linking the artifacts specifically to inhabitants and activities on the property. To accomplish this, each deposit was dated as closely as possible by the range of ceramic and glass styles it contained. The artifact assemblages were also examined for patterns which might reflect cultural circumstances surrounding their use and disposal in the wells. Clues to the original functions of the shafts were sought in the excavation records. In addition, the history of this property in the 18th and 19th centuries was researched as fully as time permitted. The results of this research and the artifact analyses are the main topics of this report

Although the focus of this study is a single property's history an effort has been made to organize all the data from this site in ways that will make it readily available to other researchers for comparative studies. It must always be a concern of archaeologists and historians to contribute to a cumulative bank of information which can be synthesized in broader studies. In Alexandria an unusual, long-range plan to document the city's history through archaeological and archival research has recently been launched which intensifies the need for cooperation among researchers in this city. To permit cross-site comparisons the features excavated at Carlyle House were assigned numbers keyed into a state-wide archaeological register (kept by the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology in Williamsburg) and the artifact catalogue was designed to include functional classifications in use by the city's archaeology staff (AARC). Written records of the excavations and archival research notes ~~are being~~ documented as completely and clearly as possible.

In archaeological research the artifacts are only part of the data. Knowledge of their context in the ground deposit is equally important. As has been mentioned, the excavation data from these shafts is incomplete and sometimes confused. Few first-hand observations of the features were available to this author. For this report information from all available excavation records has been combined and carefully evaluated and interpreted as fully as possible by the author. The original documents are on file at the Carlyle House. Chapter 3 of this report summarizes the history of the excavations. Conclusions drawn from the artifacts and excavation records are detailed in the discussion of each shaft and summarized at the end of the report.

During the architectural study of Carlyle House prior to its restoration a great deal of historical data from both primary and secondary sources had been gathered, particularly dealing with the 18th century period. For the purposes of the archaeological study it was necessary to re-examine the restoration architects' research notes in the light of new questions. Incidentally, these notes were copied and sorted to keep on file at Carlyle House for future reference.

Household inventories and wills are the documentary standbys for archaeologists and restorationists alike. The restoration research included a thorough search for family documents related to the house and property and its owners. A 1780 inventory for John Carlyle was found which is an extremely helpful resource for furnishing the house museum but bears little apparent relationship to the excavated artifacts, mostly of later date. Unfortunately, no inventories for later occupants are known. If, in the future, additional records, diaries or letters should be discovered, they should be compared to the artifacts. In their absence, the ceramics and glass cannot be

positively attributed to particular families who inhabited the site.

The architects' research focussed on the 18th century, the period when John Carlyle occupied the house. As most of the artifacts from the wells were of later date it was necessary to learn more about the property's history during the 19th century. To supplement the research that had been done previously, one of the volunteers examined the land and personal property tax records of Alexandria for the various owners of the property between the years 1787-1835. This type of research is very time consuming so it was not possible to examine all the records. Only the years 1787-1812, 1819, 1827-1828, 1831, 1832 and 1835 were covered. (Note: ~~In the year 1831 the property changed hands from Ladd, Hoffman and Lloyd to Orlando Morse. The researcher has not listed an entry for any of these names. They may be missing from the tax rolls or may have been skipped over accidentally during research.~~) The findings of this research are summarized in appendix .

A chief reason for such thorough examination of the tax rolls was to try to identify the renters who inhabited various buildings on the property through time. It is possible that many of the artifacts were used by them ~~as well as by the property owners.~~ ^{owned} Many of these tenants have now been named but little is known about them. A possible future project would be to complete the survey of the tax rolls, particularly up to James Green's acquisition of the land in 1848 and to try to trace the names of these tenants as well as the owners through census reports (which report occupations), tax rolls, local business directories and newspapers. If more were known of the lives of the people who rented shops and homes on the lot, a much fuller picture of its history during the 19th century could be pieced together.

One of the most valuable sources for adding lively detail to documentary history is local newspapers of the period. For the restoration of the Carlyle House and the nearby Bank of Alexandria building many issues of the Alexandria Gazette and related papers were checked for items relating to the property. These include advertisements for shops and businesses which operated here, notices of dwellings to rent or sell with descriptions, accounts of the hotel construction and other interesting articles. All issues on microfilm in the Alexandria Public Library have¹⁸⁷⁴ been examined for the years 1792-1808. Only occasional issues from 1808-1843 were checked. (See An Architectural and Documentary Study: The Bank of Alexandria, Jan. 1974. J. Everette Fauber Jr. Associates, pub. by Northern Virginia Regional Authority, pp. 134-135.) A complete search of the later issues including references to tenants whose names were not known when previous research was done could also be very helpful.

In order to share some of the results of this study and to begin as soon as possible using the artifacts in interpretation of the house to the public and archaeological exhibit has been planned. Artifacts Document Social Life--Carlyle House will outline the archaeology project at Carlyle House and incorporate artifacts, documents and photographs which reflect the importance of home entertaining in 19th century social life. The display is scheduled at the Carlyle House in the spring of 1981 and later to travel to other sites.

Archaeology, though specialized, is a good field for volunteer participation because the work requires many hands and the subject is inherently interesting. The volunteers themselves are perhaps the best judges of this project's success as a rewarding experience

for them. Two general training sessions were held which attracted sixteen volunteers. All of them received instruction in identification of ceramics and glass and cataloguing procedures. All helped with the laborious tasks of washing, labeling and sorting the artifacts. It was hoped that some volunteers could become more deeply involved in the project and this hope was realized. Seven volunteers who continued working through the later phases of the work took on more specialized projects including cataloguing, ceramic and glass research, documentary research and ceramic restoration. The volunteers' contribution to the project is immeasurable--without them so much could never have been accomplished.

INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Carlyle House is a significant historical and architectural monument. A fine surviving example of a mid-Georgian style house, it is associated with important events and personalities of Alexandria's history from the city's founding through the nineteenth century. John Carlyle, a successful Scottish merchant and one of the new town's trustees, built his elegant home in 1752. By his own admission it was an ambitious undertaking.

...its a Pleasure to build in England but here where we are obliged to do Everything with one's own Servants & these Negros make it require constant attendance & Care-- & so much Trouble that if I had suspected it woud been what I have meet with, I believe I shoud made shift with A Very Small House.
(Carlyle, letter to George Carlyle,
Nov. 12, 1752)

← The handsome stone dwelling was unparalleled among homes in early Alexandria.

Although the house and grounds imitated the graciousness of a country estate, the property was very much a part of the commercial city. John Carlyle conducted a lot of his trade from his home. His house was conveniently situated, overlooking the market square on the front and the river, with wharves and warehouses, to the rear.

Mr. Carlyle lived with his family in this house until his death in 1780. He was very active in public affairs and moved in the first social circles. It seems likely that his spacious home was frequently a site for social and political gatherings. In 1755 General Braddock and some of the colonial governors met here to discuss military and financial plans for the French and Indian War. The memory of this meeting, considered significant as a prelude to the taxation policies which triggered the Revolution, inspired subsequent owners to preserve the house with some of the original interior features.

After Carlyle's death the house was occupied by his daughter, Sarah Herbert, her husband, William, and their seven children. The Herberts, like the Carlyles, were a well-to-do and respected family, prominent in the community. William Herbert was president of Alexandria's first bank for many years and served a term as mayor from 1808 to 1810. Letters written by Sarah and her daughters at the turn of the nineteenth century mention gay parties and elegant society. As in John Carlyle's lifetime, the property was a site both of business affairs and of social entertainments for the family.

While the Herberts lived here (1780-1827) the house and grounds probably remained substantially unchanged. Insurance plans drawn in 1796 (figure 1) show the main house with two dependencies in front, a kitchen and an office or dwelling adjoining another, larger dwelling to the north. The Cameron Street boundary of the property was lined with yet another wooden "dwelling" (which may have been rented as a shop), a shed, a stable, and a large two-story warehouse. Several small unmeasured buildings are also pictured. *possible incert about measurements of these buildings, etc. ?*

In 1803 the northwest corner of the lot was sold to the Bank of Alexandria for the bank's new building. This was obviously a convenient arrangement for William Herbert, bank president. An 1836 drawing of the bank property shows the Banking House, which replaces the earlier dwellinghouse, and a yard, privies and stables. (Figure 2.)

These features probably existed as pictured much earlier, perhaps from circa 1803 when the banking house was built.

In 1827 Sarah Carlyle Herbert died at the age of 70. Her husband had predeceased her in 1819. By this time John Carlyle Herbert, their oldest son and the actual owner of Carlyle House, was established in Maryland as a lawyer and politician. He sold the house and some of the property, subdivided now into smaller lots, in payment of a *uncle's* ~~cousin's~~ debt. Through a period of ten years these lots changed hands frequently.

The main lot, containing the mansion, passed finally to John Lloyd who held the deed for ten more years, between 1839 and 1848.

Little is known of who lived here or how the property was used during these twenty years of flux. It seems to have been an era of neglect and deterioration for the house. A travelogue published in 1841 describes the house in use as a low-rent tenement.

A large and handsome mansion, built as a family residence, by an English gentleman named Carlisle, is now occupied by a number of poor families, two or three living in each of the separate floors; and the whole building exterior and interior, is going gradually to ruin, for the want of occasional repairs.

(Buckingham 1841: pp. 376-377)

Further careful examination of nineteenth century documentary records may reveal other pertinent information.

In 1848 James Green, owner of a highly successful furniture factory, bought the house. Over the next five years he acquired nearly all of the pieces of the original Carlyle property with the intention of establishing an elegant hotel here. Green built several additions to the house and Bank of Alexandria building, enclosing Carlyle House on three sides. He modernized and altered the interior of the house extensively, but retained two rooms virtually intact. The "Council Room" and a small adjoining parlor were preserved because of their association with the Braddock meeting of 1755. Green advertized the historical significance of the Carlyle House to attract guests. According to contemporary descriptions, "The Mansion House" was indeed a first-class hotel.

Right in the midst of the hotel bustle, Mr. Green and his family occupied the Carlyle mansion. We have no direct evidence of their domestic life-style. The family was large; there were nine children of whom eight reached maturity. A history compiled from the scant

Includes names
of visitors etc.
results of text search

family records available mentions a death, a marriage and a birth in the house. As Mr. Green's business was flourishing and his real estate holdings ^{were} among the largest in Alexandria we can assume that they ^{family} probably enjoyed a high living standard. Like his predecessors, Mr. Green was active in civic affairs, serving as a director for the Cotton Factory and the Orphan Asylum, and for several terms in City Council. (^{Anonymous,} Record of the Family of William Green : 5.)

While Green owned the property until his death in 1880, the hotel was operated by a succession of proprietors, beginning with A.G. Newton in 1849. Local newspaper headings and sherds of personalized utilitarian porcelain found on the property attest that the Mansion House was also known as "Newton's Hotel." By February of 1859 the hotel was under the management of Mr. Stuart (formerly Newton's assistant) and Mr. Gregory. According to an account in the Alexandria Gazette it had recently been refitted and refurnished. They were apparently serving the public in fine style. "The table is supplied with the best of everything, and the bar with the choicest of liquors." (Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser, February 17, 1859.)

A large four-story addition to the Mansion House begun in 1855 was nearing completion early in 1859. This would provide more rooms for guests and would also house several shops.

The addition is 110 feet, making the whole front on Fairfax Street 148 feet, with a depth of 123 feet on Cameron Street. The new building will contain more than 50 fine rooms, and the whole house upwards of two hundred, besides six stores on Fairfax Street, each with a basement.

(Ibid. Aug 11, 1855, Aug 15, 1857, Feb 8, 1858, Feb 17, 1859.)

More research is necessary to determine what businesses occupied these spaces.

When Union troops occupied the city of Alexandria in 1861 the spacious Mansion House was commandeered for use as a hospital. The ^{The Green family were allowed to continue living in the Carlyle House.} history of the property at this period has not yet been investigated in detail. After the Civil War in the summer of 1865, the hotel, still known as the Mansion House, was leased by Messrs. S.J. Saunders and Martin Maddox and reopened. (Ibid. June 28, 1865.)

After James Green died, the property was sold. The hotel continued to operate under the new name of Braddock House but the mansion apparently stood empty during the later years of the nineteenth century. It deteriorated badly. By 1917 the house was being used as an antique shop and tea house. About this time the hotel was converted into apartments which were in use until the 1960's. An attempt ^{was made} at restoration was undertaken in the first quarter of the twentieth century and after this the house, though still surrounded by other buildings, was displayed to the public.

In 1970 the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority purchased the property and undertook a full-scale restoration of the Carlyle House. It was opened as a historic house museum in 1976. The apartment complex and other additions were torn down, but the Bank of Alexandria building was preserved along with the house. Plans have been made to restore this building for use as an active bank. This building has been restored for use as an active bank.

II. Archaeological Excavations

Altered and dilapidated as the Carlyle House was, restoration was a major undertaking requiring intensive preliminary research. Fauber Associates, the architectural firm which conducted the project, began with what was described as a three-pronged plan of architectural, documentary and archaeological research. The evidence produced from each of these areas was fragmentary and incomplete but when combined, provided a fairly clear picture of John Carlyle's life and the house as it was during his lifetime. The results of these investigations will ^{have been} ~~be~~ published in the architects' restoration report ^(Fauber, Carbee, Inc., Architects: 1980.) ~~(still in preparation).~~

The following discussion is concerned with the archaeological ^{phase} ~~phase~~ of that study. ^{contains the} ~~The~~ most complete description of the excavations available ^{is in} ~~is in~~ a chapter prepared by Richard Bierce for the restoration report (Ms. on file, Carlyle House). Mr. Bierce was the architect in charge of the restoration project during the archaeological investigations. The history of the excavations is summarized here to provide a background for the artifact analysis. An effort has been made to synthesize and clarify all available field notes and first-hand accounts of the digging.

Archaeological research conducted at Carlyle House during the restoration was aimed toward contributing directly to architectural data and adding detail to knowledge of Carlyle's life. A special effort ^{was} ~~has been~~ made to reconstruct the progression of changes to the structure through the years. Some evidence was found of the doorway alterations, along with substantiation of a suggested nineteenth century date for the building of the terrace ^{ce} and vaults at the rear of the house. Preliminary survey clearly demonstrated, however, that the floor of the house and the grounds surrounding the foundations had

been lowered since the eighteenth century, destroying most earlier deposits. (Kelso: 1973)

While the yield of eighteenth century material from the excavations was disappointing, some of the artifacts recovered ~~will~~ ^{have} provided interesting information about the lesser known nineteenth century history of the property. Several filled well shafts discovered during the course of the restoration were excavated using ^{archaeological} salvage techniques. They contained a variety of ceramic and glass sherds, which represent a broad range of nineteenth century styles. Interpretation of this collection is the main topic of this report.

Excavation Summary:

May 1973: Seventeen test squares were sunk in and around the house to evaluate the potential of archaeological excavation--- could it reveal data pertinent to architectural features and the eighteenth century occupation of the property? Dr. William Kelso of the Virginia ~~State~~ Historic Landmarks Commission conducted the survey. ^{See} (Figure 3). No undisturbed eighteenth century fill or features were discovered. Filling of the river front, construction of additions to the house in the nineteenth century, and lowering of the basement floor had apparently destroyed most evidence of earlier features. Because of these disturbances Dr. Kelso judged that the value of a thorough excavation would not outweigh its cost.

On Dr. Kelso's recommendation long range excavation plans were abandoned, but test probes were continued during the course of the stripping and reconstruction. These resulted in the discovery of five well shafts, three within the house and two outside its walls. Salvage excavation was performed on four of these shafts. (Figure 4.)

January 1974: The first of the shafts (AX3B) was discovered in the vault space B-7. This shaft clearly pre-dates the vault construction, as the vault wall cuts through its diameter. Excavation revealed artifacts of the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. The excavation was directed by Richard Muzzrole, then rescue archaeologist for Alexandria.

Winter or spring 1974: The shaft AX3A, in space B-3, was discovered and excavated by Mr. Muzzrole. This deposit probably dates to the late eighteenth century. The shaft contained homogeneous fill consisting of oyster shell with scattered bone fragments, brick and stone rubble, and a few small ceramic fragments.

Spring 1974: Mr. Muzzrole excavated shaft AX3D, located in space B-4. This feature was previously located by Dr. Kelso's crews in pit CrH-9. (See figure 3.) ~~According to Richard Bierce~~ The artifacts in this fill date to the ^{late nineteenth or early twentieth century} ~~twentieth century.~~ (Restoration Report, ^{and consist chiefly of utilitarian ceramics and commercial bottles.} ~~archaeology chapter.~~) ~~No careful study has been made of this material.~~

March 1974: A fourth shaft was located in the garden by Mr. Muzzrole. Using probes, it was defined as a brick-lined feature 10'-6" in diameter. Test pits which penetrated the surface levels yielded mid-to-late nineteenth century glass and ceramic sherds. A high concentration of ashes were mixed with the fill. (Bierce, Restoration Report, archaeology chapter.) This well was not excavated. It has been covered with fill dirt. More thorough investigation may be possible at a future date. As the garden is a public park the feature is safe, for the present, from threat of construction.

January 1975: A brick-lined privy pit on the southeast corner of the Bank of Alexandria property was excavated. This privy is located on Robert Mills's drawing of 1838 but no attempt had been made to uncover it. During the construction phase of restoration the shaft was accidentally uncovered in the path of utility line trenches. Salvage excavation was conducted under the direction of a member of the restoration architect's staff ~~Alan Kemper, architectural historian with Fauber Associates.~~ The upper levels of the shaft were removed with ~~machines~~ heavy machinery. Lower, artifact-rich levels were excavated by hand, but as they began at a depth below the water table no attempt was made to maintain stratigraphic control.

Shaft AX3A Final Report, Draft 2

Shaft 3 Excavation Data

Shaft AX3A is located inside the cellar of Carlyle House, a few feet from, and nearly in line with, the entrance on the north. It was excavated by Richard Muzzrole in 1974. The shaft was 11 feet 2 inches deep from floor level. The diameter of the opening tapered from 3'1" at the top to 2'9" at the bottom. Mr. Muzzrole observed a few brick impressions in the sides of the shaft which suggested that it had been lined with dry-laid bricks in stretcher formation. If so, this lining was removed before the shaft was filled, probably to salvage the bricks for re-use. (Muzzrole, undated Notes on Shaft B-3)

The original function of the shaft has not been determined. It may have been a dry well used for cool storage or a water well which was filled in when the water supply was exhausted. It may have served some other purpose. The artifacts show no signs of water damage so it seems likely that the well was dry when filled.

The lowest level of the shaft is above the current water table but this does not preclude the possibility that it was intended as a water well. Filling of the river and building activities have drastically altered the geographic configuration of the area and may well have caused the water table to drop since the 18th century. Wells also sometimes tap water in aquifers, pockets of water trapped between soil and rock layers. These can be blocked or exhausted, causing a well to dry up.

Brick-lined shafts were sometimes built for cool storage or for water collection or filtration. There is little evidence to show how this well was used. The significance of the tapered diameter of the shaft is not known.

Stratigraphy: The fill in AX3A consisted primarily of oyster shell mixed with some bone, brick and coal, dirty clay, and a few ceramic and glass sherds. In notes from the excavation, Mr. Muzzrole describes three strata:

- 1. 4-5 inches immediately below modern brick floor containing late 19th and 20th-century artifacts.
- 2. 12-14 inches of fill composed of dirty clay, architectural debris, oyster shell and eighteenth-century glass and ceramics, with one small copper alloy buckle or hardware fragment and one large, iron, grille-like objects. Mr. Muzzrole calls this level a "sealing" layer, implying a loosely packed layer spread over the more compacted material of level 3 to smooth out and "top off" the filled shaft.
- 3. Approximately 10 feet of tightly packed oyster shell mixed with bone, brick, coal and eighteenth-century glass and ceramics. This homogeneous deposit was excavated in arbitrary one foot increments, labeled A-H, J, K. (Muzzrole, undated. Notes on Shaft B-3)

The ceramics in levels 2 and 3 are similar and suggest an 18th-century date. Those in the top level are much more recent and probably date from late 19th or 20th-century disturbances, possibly related to lowering the floor and laying the brick paving. The general nature of the deposits indicate that the shaft was filled in all at once within a short period of time sometime in the mid-to-late 18th century. A more detailed artifact analysis follows.

Oyster Shell: The use of oyster shell as the chief fill material is probably related to the widespread presence on the Atlantic coast of Indian shell middens trash heaps composed largely of shells discarded by these food gathering peoples over hundreds of years. Oysters also formed a substantial part of the colonists' diet, too, and colonial garbage was soon added to these deposits. A letter from John Clayton to the Royal Society in 1688 describes the deposits in Virginia. "In some Places for several Miles together, the Earth is so intermix'd with Oyster shells that there may seem as many Shells as Earth." (quoted in McKee, Harley J. Introduction to Early American Masonry, p.62; 1973, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C.)

It is known that the colonists exploited these deposits. shell was used as a source for lime in mortar and tabby, and for fertilizer as well. (Noel Hume, Audrey: Food, Colonial

Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, 1978, p.30) Although in 1751 shell could be sold at "Three Shillings per Hogshead" (Virginia Gazette, February 7, 1751, quoted by Ibid.) apparently it was also used for fill. A late 18th-century trash pit excavated at Rosewell plantation in Gloucester County, Virginia contained thousands of shells (Ibid.) and Garry Stone, archaeologist at St. Mary's City, Maryland, stated that oyster middens were frequently used as fill there (personal communication to Geoffrey Gyrisco in 1977, quoted p.44 Gyrisco, Geoffrey, An Archaeological View of Wealth and Poverty in Alexandria, unpublished paper, 1977).

Two

small sherds of prehistoric Indian pottery were found deep in the deposit at Carlyle House. Such fragments are commonly found on colonial sites. Here they demonstrate the mixed nature of the deposit and suggest that at least some of the fill came from a nearby midden.

Other materials: Animal bone, brick, mortar, coal and unidentified mineral fragments which may be coal also occur in significant quantities in the main deposit. These materials are concentrated in the lower five feet of fill. Ceramic concentration also increased in the lower levels. While most of the oyster shell from the deposit was not saved and no quantitative records were kept, it seems probable that shell was correspondingly more prominent in the upper five feet of level 3. A possible explanation for this pattern is that colonial trash was being deposited on top of a shell midden. The material could then have been transported to be used as fill getting reversed and mixed as it was dumped into the shaft, thus shifting the more recent colonial deposits to the bottom of the pile.

Animal Bones: The bone sample consists of large mammal bones, many from pigs and some possibly from cows. More positive identification has not been made. Many of the bones have been butchered and split, evidence that they are food remains. The bones are in very good condition, probably because oyster shell was present in the deposit. (Paterson, 1978:) There are almost no small bones in the sample. This could be a function of three factors: differential survival (larger bones are more durable in the ground), differential recovery

(the excavators may have passed over or discarded small bone fragments), r differential use (those who discarded the bones ate only large mammals). It seems unlikely that large animals were eaten exclusively. On the other hand, if food remains were tossed on a trash heap and exposed to the elements, it seems likely that smaller bones would sift to the bottom of the pile and be lost, particularly if the accumulated material was later moved to fill the well shaft.

Ceramics and Glass:

The ceramic assemblage from AX3A is extremely small, too small for effective statistical analysis or ironclad conclusions. A close look at the collection can, however, indicate some probabilities about when the deposit was made and by whom. As stated in the stratigraphic summary above, there is a distinct time gap between the ceramic types represented in the topmost level and those in the strata beneath. This implies two separate period of deposition.

Level 1 contained 9 fragments of bottle glass, several with molded inscriptions. Twenty ceramic fragments include Oriental porcelain, blue transfer printed wares, coarse earthenware, plain, porcelaneous white wares, and several fragments from the lid of a coarse, white porcelain vessel. These probably date from the late 19th or the 20th century. Other artifacts found in this level were 2 fragments of window glass. One animal bone and 1 polished grey marble slab which may be from a piece of furniture. Several of the artifacts were coated with tar or pitch. This stratum was only 4 or 5 inches deep. It may represent accumulated deposits from the mid-18th century, when the well was filled, until the brick floor was laid circa 1914. On the other hand, this level may simply be a 20th-century disturbance, scattered trash deposited and mixed in with the early deposits by the bricklayers as they worked on the floor.

Levels 2 and 3 contain non-descript wine bottle glass fragments, a few metal objects, and a sampling of 18th-century ceramics including, in order of frequency, white salt-glazed stoneware, grey and brown salt-glazed stoneware (Rhenish or English), plain and decorated

tin-enameled earthenwares, coarse earthenware, green-glazed cream colored earthenware and refined red earthenware with lead glaze. The ceramics are for the most part good quality wares. The fragments are quite small and 63 sherds represent only about 23 vessels.

In 1977 Geoffrey Gyrisco attempted a quantitative ceramic analysis of this material for a comparative study entitled An Archaeological View of Wealth and Poverty in Alexandria (unpublished paper). Applying the "mean ceramic date formula" devised by Stanley South to the sherds from the earlier deposit in Ax3A (levels 2 and 3), Gyrisco arrived at a mean date of 1750 for the deposit. [This formula averages the ceramic date ranges, taking into account each ceramic type recovered. A mean date calculated in this way can only be an indicator of the probable date of a feature. In many cases it will be a little too early as ceramic artifacts usually were not discarded immediately after they were purchased.]

Gyrisco warns of the unreliability of his date. There will usually be some discrepancy between the established dates for ceramic types (based on the period during which they were produced and widely used) and the time when they were discarded. This writer would add that the small size of the sample creates a very significant error factor in any type of statistical evaluation, particularly when it is based on a simple sherd count. Consider that in this collection 9 sherds of tin-enameled earthenware represent 7 different vessels, but 18 sherds of utilitarian salt-glazed stonewares come from only 2 or 3 vessels. Gyrisco finally suggests a date for the deposit slightly after than 1750, with limits based on the presence of 2 fragments of Whieldon-Wedgwood wares (cream-colored earthenwares molded and decorated with fruit and vegetable motifs) which became popular ca. 1755, and on the absence of creamware which was in widespread use after 1762. His careful evaluation of the dating evidence seems reasonable and well-supported.

Accepting an approximate date of 1755-1770 for the filling of shaft Ax3A it is tempting to infer that the artifacts belonged to John Carlyle himself. This would, however, be a very risky conclusion. While fine white salt-glaze, Whieldon-Wedgwood, porcelain, tin-enameled earthenware, and the imported German stoneware are of the quality one would expect to find

among the possessions of a man of Carlyle's wealth and status, there is no way to directly link these sherds to Carlyle. The documentary evidence is negative. The existing inventory of Carlyle's property made in 1780 lists mostly later wares. It makes no mention of white salt-glazed stoneware which is the most abundant ware in the deposit. One would expect a few pieces of this quite durable ware to have lasted. Creamware, conspicuously absent in the deposit, figures prominently in Carlyle's inventory.

The ceramics and glass recovered from the well were very small fragments from a relatively large number of vessels. This indicates that they were transported some distance or exposed to the weather before burial, or both. When considered with the abundance of oyster shell and animal bones in the fill (remains of odorous garbage), this supports the theory that the fill was taken from an outdoor trash heap. If so, it is quite possible that the sherds were originally discarded on a neighboring site. It is also possible that during the twenty years or so between the filling of the well and Carlyle's death (in which time he married twice) his stock of dishes changed completely or, if a few odd pieces remained, they were not considered worth including in his inventory.

Geoffrey Gyrisco suggested a relationship between the filling of the well and the completion of Carlyle House construction (1751-1753) (Gyrisco, 1977,) He cites as evidence the shaft's inconvenient location and the 1755-1762 date he obtained for the fill. His idea has merit but certain questions arise. Would a shaft just inside the basement doorway of the structure be any less awkward or hazardous for the builders than for the inhabitants? Also, if the fill was redeposited some time after it was originally discarded, the filling of the well could have taken place later than the artifacts indicate. This writer feels that the evidence is too tentative to support any precise conclusions about the use of the well or its fill date.

Summary: John Carlyle's occupation of this site began in 1749. His house was built between 1751-1753. As far as is known, the property was not settled before he bought it so shaft AX3A was probably built during the early years of his occupation. Ceramic styles

represented in the deposit suggest a tentative fill date of 1755-1770. The mixed nature of the ceramic and glass assemblage and the small size of the sherds, with the presence of animal bone, oyster shell and prehistoric Indian pottery, indicate that the fill may have been transported from outside, possibly from a nearby Indian midden with some colonial trash mixed in. While the well itself was most likely used by John Carlyle and his workmen or family, the uncertain origin of the fill casts doubt on any attempt to attribute the artifacts to the Carlyle household.

Shaft AX3B (vault well), Final Report draft 2

Shaft AX3B, the "vault well" is located at the southeast corner of Carlyle House, inside one of the rooms beneath the terrace. (refer to fig.4) In excavation notes Mr. Muzzrole describes the shaft as constructed of bricks measuring 4" X 2 3/4" X 8 1/2" dry laid in stretcher formation. The interior diameter of the shaft is 5'7" (Muzzrole, 1974) Its depth was not recorded but the shaft was left open for display. The present depth is 8 1/2 feet from the top of the bricks. The perimeter of the shaft extends outside the south wall of the terrace addition to the house. This clearly indicates that the well was built earlier and filled in before or at the time that addition was constructed.

The terrace and vault rooms were tentatively dated ca.1850 by the restoration architects. James Green was known to have undertaken substantial alterations and additions to the buildings on the property between 1848 and 1859 (Alexandria Gazette, 1855-1859). Some of the sandstone blocks in the terrace walls closely resemble the stones in the original house structure. AS the original front door keystone was found in the arch of the vault entrance, it was concluded that these blocks had also been removed during Green's alterations to the house to be salvaged and re-used in the new terrace construction. Recently discovered written evidence substantiates this attribution of the terrace and vaults to James Green's occupation: (see Susan for quote fr. Ruth Kaye) Hence Shaft AX3B must have been filled no later than the middle 19th century.

During the period of its use, shaft AX3B was located outside, near a back corner of the house. No evidence, archaeological or written, has been found to indicate whether there was any structure directly associated with the well. Like AX3A, the use this shaft served is uncertain; it was probably a water well or cool storage pit.

The floor of the shaft is above the current water table level, which led Mr.

Muzzrole to suggest that it had probably been used for cool storage. The artifacts show no water damage so the well was probably dry when filled. As mentioned previously in this report however (see chapter on AX3A) a water well could dry up for a number of reasons. Because of its convenient location it is probably safe to assume that the well was intended for use by the inhabitants of the main house and quite possibly for a food or water related function.

Fill: The fill is a fairly homogeneous deposit containing many ceramic sherds, some glass, building materials, a few animal bones and miscellaneous artifacts. In field notes from the excavation Mr. Muzzrole describes four natural levels in the deposit, from top to bottom:

1. a shallow layer of dirty clay and top soil containing late 19th or early 20th century artifacts
2. a layer of clean, sandy brown clay which sloped from north to south, containing some brick bats, stone and mortar and a wide range of 19th century ceramic sherds
3. dirty clay bearing bricks, stone and mortar, faunal remains (including some butchered animal bones), glazier's glass trimmings, a large copper penny (no date), pearlware and ironstone sherds and the neck of a stoneware jug marked B.C. MILBURN
4. dirty clay mixed with globs of brown clay containing more glass trimmings, brick and brick bats with mortar, and earthen ware and glass sherds; also containing a copper spike, one broken dressed sandstone and plaster with lath impressions.

In the lower portion of this stratum "a heavy concentration of brick bats began to appear mixed with a good quantity of earthenware sherds, fragments of at least 3 or 4 flower pots...The same plaster as above is found in increasing amounts down to the brown sandy clay bottom of the shaft." (Muzzrole, 1974)

It has been difficult to reconstruct these levels from the artifacts as some of the provenance information has been lost or confused. Most of the ceramic and glass sherds

were individually labeled at the time of the excavation, but the numbers were not coated with protective varnish. In many cases the markings had worn away during the two year period before the artifacts could be catalogued. Some less distinctive artifacts, such as animal bones and pane glass fragments, were not labeled at all. In other cases the artifact labels were enigmatic and there were no notes to explain their relationships to the excavation level designations. There are a few clear contradictions between the excavation notes and the artifact markings. For example, level 3 was described in the excavation record as being "rich in artifacts" but only two artifacts were found marked with the number representing that level. The stoneware jug marked MILBURN was clearly labeled with the designation for level 2, but excavation notes place it in level 3. It is impossible at this point to tell whether the errors lie in the written notes or in the sherd labels.

An effort has been made to reconcile discrepancies where possible by careful comparison of artifacts and excavation notes. The unreliability of this level information should be considered, however, in any future study of this material. For cataloguing purposes the large body of unmarked artifacts were grouped and designated "unstratified". This group may include artifacts from all the excavation levels (except level 1), especially level 3. (The author believes that most of the artifacts described but not accounted for are now among the unmarked objects. These include window glass, animal bones and ceramic and glass sherds.)

Levels 2-4 seem to be contemporaneous and were probably deposited within a fairly brief time period during the second quarter of the 19th century. Ceramics and glassware crossmend throughout these levels. The artifacts from level 1, of later date, have apparently been discarded. This level probably represented late intrusions from brick laying or other floor-level activities. None of the unmarked artifacts match the written description of level 1, so they are assumed to be displaced from the lower levels of the

deposit. The artifact analysis which follows deals only with materials now present in the collection at Carlyle House, hence, by implication, only with excavation levels 2-4.

Ceramics The fill of shaft AX3B contained a large and varied collection of ceramics including high percentages of plain white earthenwares (41% of maximum vessel count), blue transferwares (18%) and pearlware hand-painted in bold blue and polychrome floral designs (12%). (see figure 8) The whiteware vessel count, which includes sherds of late creamware through all the transitional pearlware to whiteware stages, is deceptively high. In this study, vessel counts represent the maximum possible number of different vessels present in a group after all the sherds have been matched for mends. Each unmatched sherd is counted as a separate vessel. Only a cursory effort was made to match the many small, undistinctive fragments of the whiteware assemblage. In addition, while the majority of the plain white sherds are parts of chamber pots, many may be from the centers of blue- and green-shell-edged pearlware plates. Identifiable shell-edged wares formed 6% of the vessel count from this feature. (see fig.). Other wares represented include English bone china, slip decorated mocha and annular wares, drab yellow ware with blue dendritic decoration, locally made salt-glazed stonewares and unglazed earthenware flower pots.

The possible date ranges represented by the ceramics overlap between 1820 and 1840 but extend considerably earlier and later. (see figure , graph) These ranges are based on dates of manufacture and popularity for each ceramic type. An approximate date of 1831-1833 for the feature is suggested by applying South's Mean Ceramic Date formula (South, 1977: 217) using all the ceramic types for which clear date ranges could be established. For the sake of consistency, median dates for each ceramic ware were drawn from South's chronology (1977: 210-212) when possible. Hand-painted pearlware, in particular, may actually warrant a slightly earlier median date than he suggests (Otto,

1975: 188-189, Noel Hume, 1969: 395).

The presence of a locally made stoneware jug marked B.C. Milburn may indicate a terminus post quem (earliest possible date) for the deposition of the artifacts. Milburn acquired the pottery factory in Alexandria from H.C. Smith in 1841 but he may have begun working there as early as 1833. (Emily Monk from Jack Pickens, personal communication) These dates fit reasonably well with the suggestion that the shaft was filled in connection with James Green's construction of the vaults and terrace around 1850. As noted above, it can usually be assumed that an artifact's date of deposition is somewhat later than its manufacture date. The possibility that the shaft was filled some years before the terrace construction cannot, however, be completely discounted.

Who used these ceramics? Between 1820-1850 the history of the property is mixed and often unclear (see Chapter 2, Historical Background). From 1820-1827 Sarah Herbert still lived in the Carlyle House as a widow. Probably some of her unmarried daughters lived with her. Immediately after her death the house was sold, several times in just ten years, and either stood empty or was used as a rental property. In the early 1840's, the house was apparently inhabited by not one, but several poor families. Finally, in 1848, James Green bought the house and all the surrounding property (which had been subdivided in the first sale) almost immediately beginning his ambitious remodeling and construction project. It is possible that the ceramics in the shaft had belonged to the Green family, were transported in the move and shortly discarded. It seems more likely, however, that the assemblage was the accumulated refuse of all the previous inhabitants of the house, discarded dishes and glassware which may have been left stored in the house to be cleared out by Mr. Green during remodeling.

The ceramic assemblage was examined carefully for clues which might confirm or deny this theory by revealing more of the nature of those who used these dishes. The patterns that emerged are confusing and sometimes contradictory. One puzzle is the high incidence

of tablewares (35.9% of total sherd count) and teawares (16.5%) as compared with extraordinarily low sample of food storage wares (3.3%) (see figure 10) By this period of the 19th century, ceramics held an important and well-established place as both functional and decorative objects. Matched tablewares with complete individual place settings were in common use and some families had both "day-to-day" and "special occasion" dishes. (Deetz, 1973: 32,33) Use of ceramic storage vessels had also increased, however. Unlike the imported tablewares, these were often produced in local factories. The few examples of storage vessels in this assemblage are of local manufacture and made chiefly of stoneware, which was both more expensive and more durable than earthenware.

A high incidence of tablewares coupled with a low occurrence of storage wares has been linked to low socio-economic status (Otto 1976: 218,219). In this assemblage, however, the table wares include a wide variety of specialized serving pieces and many transfer-printed wares, which would probably have been more common in prosperous, fashion-conscious households. The rather high incidence of tea wares (16.5% of sherds) and chamber wares (13.1%) also suggests at least middle class status. (Otto, 1976: 219) The imbalance in the ratio of storage wares to table wares in the archaeological record may instead reflect the durability of the storage vessels, rapidly changing fashions among the table wares and perhaps simultaneous possession of more than one set of table dishes by wealthier inhabitants of Carlyle House. The pattern might have become still more marked because of the frequent change in tenants; as each family left they probably carried with them their finest goods and their serviceable stoneware vessels. The prevalence of stonewares over earthenware storage vessels may be further evidence of prosperous owners though the storage ware sample is too small to be a reliable indicator.

More baffling is the pattern of vessel forms present among the tea wares. For the transferwares the ratio of cups to saucers is close (ten cups, seven saucers) but the

hand-painted pearlware sherds include far more remnants of saucers than of cups. There are three cup fragments and one saucer fragment in the common cornflower pattern, but eight saucers in various bold "peasant" designs (most of them nearly complete vessels) with no matching cup fragments at all. This seems still more surprising when one considers that cups are more vulnerable than saucers, and were produced in greater quantity. A standard tea set of the early 19th century included two cups per saucer, one tea cup and one coffee cup. (Whiter, 1970:)

Comparing these two ceramic types which comprise most of the teaware sample raises yet another question; why do transferwares and bold-painted pearlwares, considered by many to represent different classes of society, occur together so abundantly in this assemblage? Ivor Noel Hume, discussing the brightly colored floral patterned pearlwares, states "they belonged in village homes rather than in aristocratic town houses". (1969: 395) In a study of archaeological indicators of status differences on a Georgia plantation site, John Otto cites high percentage of transferwares as an indicator of prosperity and fashion consciousness. (1976: 192) Yet these two ceramic types dominate the decorative wares in the assemblage from AX3B. (Only the plain whitewares, mostly chamber pot fragments, form a greater percentage of the total ceramic sample.) There are several possible explanations for this juxtaposition. Hand-painted pearlwares, though decorated in what were considered peasant designs, were fairly important in the export trade. (Whiter, 1970: 139-140; Watkins, 1968: 142-143) They were produced in potteries throughout Britain (Whiter, 1970:) and were often of fine workmanship (Noel Hume, 1969: 395)

Tea set forms were produced in this ware as well as common table vessels. It seems reasonable to suppose that they enjoyed some popularity among the more prosperous classes, at least here in America. The hand-painted pearlwares found at Carlyle House are, indeed, chiefly tea wares, with one brightly painted chamber pitcher. Poor families

would more likely have possessed ordinary table wares--versatile bowls, mugs and some plates. On the other hand, transferwares, though more abundant in wealthy homes, are not always absent from poorer sites. The distribution of these wares increased particularly towards the mid-19th century as the technical process became cheaper and more widely practiced (Otto, 1976: 204, ff.) [Insert - Geo. Miller--transfer prices consistently high than painted wares]

In general, the wares in this deposit represent not sets of matching dishes, but a wide variety of unmatched, roughly contemporaneous wares which may have been bought singly or in small sets. This pattern of accumulation suggests less wealthy users who could not afford to buy a whole set of dishes, or perhaps several short term occupants whose refuse was somehow mixed. As the preceding discussion indicates, the ceramic assemblage from AX3B does not exhibit any single pattern which lends itself to clear interpretation. Instead, the very inconsistency and diversity of patterns lend credence to the attribution of these artifacts to all the 19th-century occupants of Carlyle House. If the artifacts had resulted from a single family's tenancy one would expect to see patterns fitting together in a consistent way. Here the patterns are diverse, with evidence of wealth on one hand, low income or little care for fashion on the other.

There is scant archaeological evidence of the extreme poverty implied in the 1841 description of Carlyle House as a tenement. The high percentages of table, tea, and chamber wares in the ceramic sample suggest prosperity. It is lack that characterizes poverty in the archaeological record, however, absence or scarcity of possessions. In a mixed occupation such as this one the negative evidence of poverty is easily covered by traces of the more prosperous occupants, creating a bias towards wealth. In spite of this, and though we know that at least some of the inhabitants of Carlyle House were well-off, there are few very fine, expensive ceramic pieces in this assemblage. The dominance of transfer printed wares implies fashion consciousness but the abundance of

hand-painted decoration on teawares may indicate lower status or simply independence of taste or a local mode (Otto, 1976: 192). The fact that most of the teawares are of earthenware, not porcelain, suggests that the users were not extremely wealthy. It is possible that the Herbert family (the only occupants known to have been wealthy) had suffered financially during those years. Sarah Herbert had been widowed for 8 years and at her death the house and property were sold in order to pay her brother-in-law's debts. It is also possible that finer wares were used here but lasted because they were more carefully treated and were removed as each family vacated the house. The plainer table wares in the collection, white wares and blue and green shell-edged wares, may represent everyday dishes of the wealthier inhabitants or the sole dishes of the less well-off occupants of Carlyle House.

In summary, the ceramic assemblage from AX3B gives no conclusive information about the inhabitants of Carlyle House, but does provide circumstantial evidence for attributing the artifacts to several families rather than just one. The mixed assemblage makes sense as a product of the complex, rapidly changing pattern of occupation on the site. Some of the ceramics may have belonged to the Herberts. Others, particularly those later than 1830 in date, almost certainly belonged to the mysterious tenants of the house between 1827-1848. Future documentary research may reveal more of these people and permit a closer correlation of the artifacts to them. In an ideal archaeological deposit traces of short-term occupation by many families would be left in shallow, stratified layers which would allow relative dating of the artifacts. Here, the entire deposit seems to have been intermingled, indicating that all the artifacts were deposited in a brief period. This makes it more difficult to relate the artifacts to specific phases of the house's occupation, but supports the theory that the objects were thrown into the well shaft shortly before, or at the time of Green's remodeling activities.

Glassware and other artifacts: Analysis of the glassware and other non-ceramic

artifacts from AX3B is interesting, but adds little that is new to our knowledge of the site. Those artifacts which can be dated are from the first half of the 19th century. This supports the mean ceramic date of 1831-33. One pressed glass blown in the pattern known as "Roman Rosette" (Innes, : 234,251) crossmends through all the levels of the shaft, suggesting that they were all deposited in a short period of time.

Among the glasswares, table wares were most numerous. The majority of these were tumbler or flip fragments, some plain, some panelled, a few with cut designs in the Pittsburgh style of ca. 1830. The plainer styles cannot be closely dated. Other pieces include decorative bottles, among them two square decanters with traces of painted enamel decoration, and cruets possibly formed by the blown-three-mold technique in common use from 1820-1840 (McKearin).

Pharmaceutical glass was the next largest category of glassware represented. Many vials and bottles were found in the sample in various styles, from what may be a free-blown, bulbous "chestnut" bottle (a type most common in the 18th century) to rectangular blown-in-mold bottles of the mid-19th century with inscriptions including some which might have read LONDON MUSTARD and ESSENCE OF PEPPERMINT. (See Chapter 5, AX3C) (The reason for the predominance of these small bottles is not clear but the figure for the number of vessels present is certainly too high. The thin-walled bottles shatter easily into many tiny pieces which are nearly impossible to reconstruct. Some which had survived burial were unfortunately broken in the archaeology lab when a table collapsed.) A "whimsy", a small hat formed from olive green bottle glass, was also found.

A few beverage bottles were found in the shaft. Several of these had partial inscriptions but only one could be identified. LYNCH & CL.../NEW YORK probably refers to Lynch and Clarke, bottlers of mineral water from Congress Spring, Saratoga, New York ca. 1811-1833 (McKearin and Wilson, :234-236).

Comparatively few wine bottle fragments were recovered from shaft AX3B. One

slender green bottle neck bears a marked seal which reads LAROSE. The type of bottle it came from is abundant among the artifacts from shaft AX3C. Similar bottles, some with seals, were also found during the excavation of the 500 block of King Street in Alexandria (personal communication, Ms. Kathy Beidleman, Alexandria Archaeology Research Center.) Another marked wine bottle is included in the assemblage which bears the inscription J F HOFFMAN & SONS. ROTTERDAM around the base. This bottle may have been formed using a Ricketts ring mold, a device invented in 1821 and widely used. (Jones, 1971: 67) Another wine bottle inscribed I.F.HOFFMAN & SONS, ROTTERDAM was recovered from shaft AX3C. Other wine bottle fragments from AX3B were not distinctive. A few bore traces of mold lines on their shoulders, indicating the use of the three piece hinged mold in their manufacture. Such molds were first used ca. 1810. (Lorraine, 1968: 43)

Flat glass fragments, probably window glass, were also present. Many of them were cut in narrow strips. The excavation notes mention "glaziers' glass trimmings" and "pane glass" scattered in some of the lower layers. The cut scraps of glass may well be a glazier's trimmings, particularly if the well was filled at the time of James Green's renovations. Many of these fragments were found in an unnumbered group marked "Laborers' Find". This may mean they were discovered in the initial exploration of the top of the shaft, so they could also be part of a later disturbance in the shaft fill.

Other architectural scraps were found, especially in the lowest layers of the shaft. The surviving artifacts are not as abundant as the excavation notes imply, but mortar with plaster, bricks and brick bats, a few nails, a slate tile and some dressed sandstone fragments are present in the sample.

Personal artifacts recovered include two tobacco pipe bowls molded with the Masonic emblem (See Chapter 5, Shaft AX3C) and other plain kaolin bowls and stems, a copper coin with its inscription completely worn away, an antler or bone walking-stick handle, and some simple five-hole bone buttons. *(ca. 1800-1865. Noel Hume, 1969: 90,91) Also found

were a small iron shovel head (like a fireplace shovel), polished marble slab fragments, possibly from a washstand or table, a hand-wrought copper alloy spike or nail and an ornate copper alloy disc.

Summary: The artifacts from AX3B indicate a 19th century fill date for the shaft, probably ca. 1830-50. Some of the artifacts are older than this. The many crossmends from all levels indicate, as Mr. Muzzrole suggested, that the shaft was filled within a short period of time. It was probably kept clean and in use until that time. The filling may well have occurred during the renovation and expansion of the Mansion House Hotel between 1848-1859. It certainly occurred no later than this as the wall of the terrace construction was built over it at that time. The original use of the shaft is uncertain. Whether for perishable food storage or a water well, it would have become obsolete when the terrace construction began.

The artifacts themselves are a confusing mixture of fine and common goods. They probably represent refuse from Green's many predecessors in the Carlyle House. As the fill seemed to have been deposited all at once, the artifacts may have been stored in the attic or elsewhere in the house and discarded by Green after he took possession of the property. It is possible, however, that the objects were thrown into the well earlier. Some of the ceramic and glass objects from AX3B match artifacts recovered from AX3C, the large privy well which was located near the old stables where the bank building now stands. The suggestion of relationship between these two wells seems to reinforce the attribution of the artifacts, at least in part, to inhabitants of the Carlyle House. It also prompts caution in drawing conclusions about status or other cultural concepts from the artifact distribution in any one well deposit. If these two trash deposits are related, there may be more, yet undiscovered. Each represent only a portion of the total refuse from the 18th and 19th-century households on this property.

There were many inhabitants on the Carlyle House property during the first half of

the 19th century. Most of them are nameless for the documentary record of this period is very sparse. This study has provided incentive for careful examination of the early 19th-century history of Carlyle House, and much new information has been uncovered, but many unanswered questions remain.

Ceramic Wares Present in Shaft AX3B

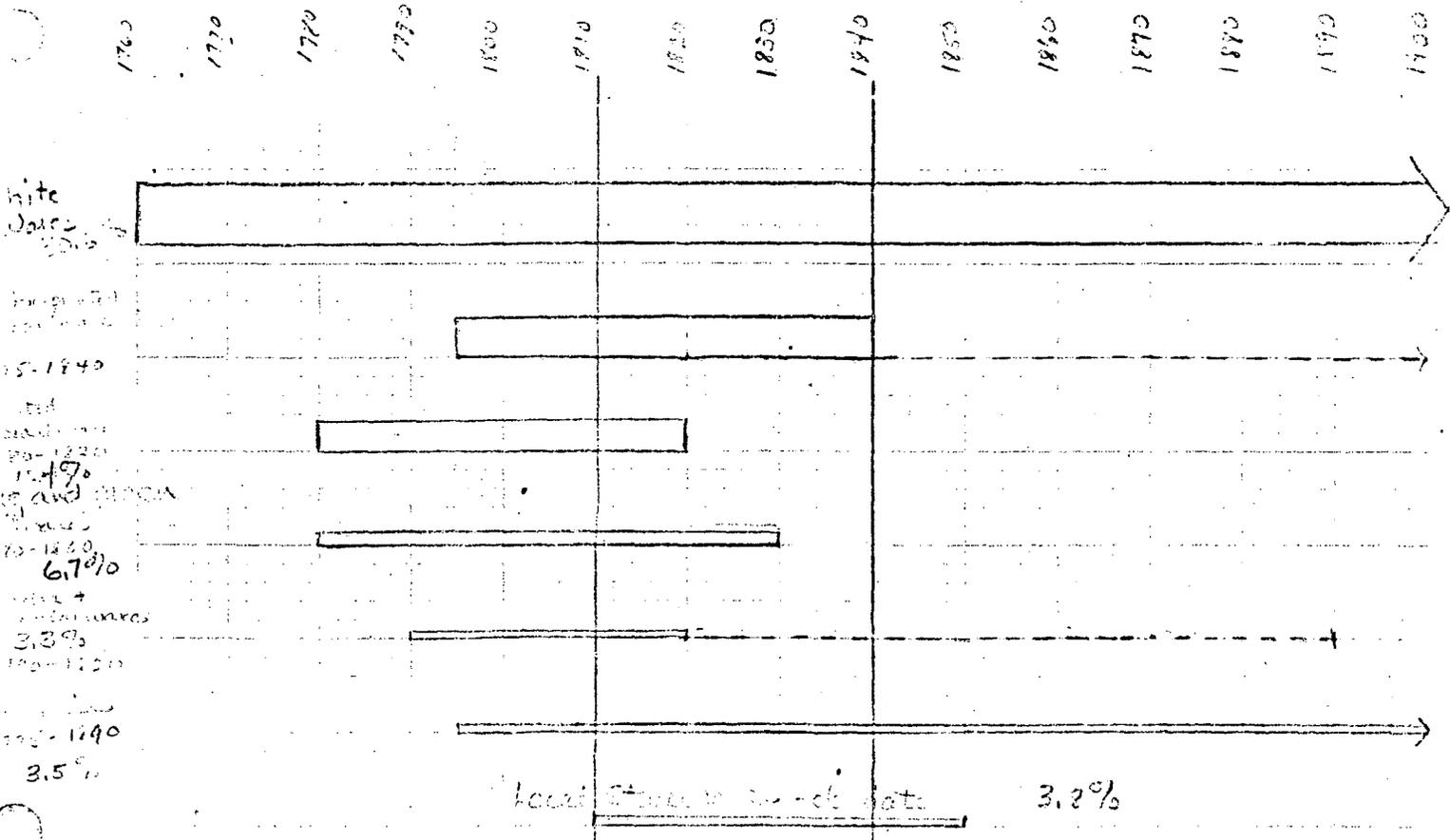
Ware	Sherd Count	%	Vessel Count	%
Plain white wares	504	30.6	426	40.6
Blue transfer-printed wares	339	20.6	184	17.5
Pearlware, hand-painted	253	15.4	122	11.6
Blue and green edged wares	111	6.7	67	6.4
Local salt-glazed stoneware	62	3.8	16	1.5
Decorated white wares	60	3.6	34	3.2
Bone China/European porcelain	58	3.5	37	3.5
Annular and Mocha wares	54	3.3	44	4.2
Colored transfer-printed wares	49	3.0	21	2.0
Unglazed earthenware	32	1.9	26	2.5
Drab yellow ware	29	1.8	8	.8
Refined Leadglazed earthenware	21	1.3	9	.9
Pearlware, plain, ribbed	20	1.2	20	1.9
Refined earthenware, miscellaneous	18	1.1	13	1.2
Lead glazed earthenware	12	.7	9	.9
Oriental porcelain, blue and white	5	.3	5	.5
Salt-glazed stoneware, beer bottles	3	.2	2	.2
White salt-glaze	2	.1	2	.2
Glazed stoneware	2	.1	2	.2
Tin-enameled earthenware	2	.1	2	.2
Total	<u>1648</u>	<u>99.3</u>	<u>1049</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Functional Type Distribution of Ceramic Vessels in Shaft AX3B

Function	Sherd Count	%	Vessel Count	%
Tablewares	591	35.9	374	35.7
Teawares	272	16.5	100	9.5
Chamber wares	216	13.1	85	8.1
Food Storage	55	3.3	12	1.1
Garden pots	32	1.9	26	2.5
Unknown	482	29.2	452	43.1
Total	1648	99.9	1049	100.0

*your unknowns
are so high,
should be
clear in
text. why?*

Date Ranges Major Ceramic Groups in Fill, AXSB



Need a key, explain dotted lines, arrows

Add beginning/ending dates either by day or note

I can't read this, so can't comment.

GLASSWARES--SHAFT AX3B

Function category	Vessel shape	Sherds	%	Vessels	%
<u>Tablewares:</u>	Tumblers or Flips				
	Bases, plain	29		25	
	Bases, decorated	35		13	
	Bases, or poss. bottles?	4		4	
	Fragments, prob. from tumblers	25			
	Wineglass	1		1	
	Decanters				
	enamel decoration	15		2	
	plain	9		3	
	Fragments, prob. from decanters	2			
	Cruets and condiment bottles				
	blown-three-mold	7		2	
	pattern molded	1		1	
	Bowl				
	Pressed	10		1	
Bowl? plain, rolled rim	<u>3</u>		<u>1</u>		
Total:	141	26.4%	<u>53</u>	46.5%	
<u>Wine Bottles, green</u>					
	necks	8		8	
	bases	14		10	
	Demi-john base	4		1	
	Fragments, prob. from wine bottles	40			
Total:		<u>66</u>	12.3%	<u>19</u>	16.7%

Continued-

GLASSWARES--SHAFT AX3B (Continued)

Function category	Vessel shape	Sherds	%	Vessels	%
<u>Pharmaceutical/</u>					
<u>Commercial</u>					
<u>Bottles:</u>	Vials & Small bottles				
	lettered	13		5	
	unlettered	37		21	
	Fragments, prob. from vials	68			
	Small "chestnut" bottle	3		2(?) (Poss. 1)	
	Beverage bottles	5		4	
	Fragments, prob. from beverage bottles	4			
	Blue bottles, poss. wines?				
	Section	9		1	
	Necks	3		3	
	Bases	5		3	
	Fragments	11			
	Wide-mouthed jar or bottle	1		1	
	Whimsey, hat	1		1	
		<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total:		160	29.9%	41	36.0%
<u>Architectural</u>	Window glass	92	17.2%		
<u>Unknown</u>	Unidentified, possibly hurricane chimney with flat rim?	22	4.1%	1	-.9%
	Miscellaneous sherds	54	10.1%		

Total sherds: 535
 Total vessels: 114
 (estimated)

AX3C Final Report, Draft 2

AX3C was a deep shaft sunk between the Bank of Alexandria building and the north wall of Carlyle House. The fill demonstrated beyond question that it had been used as a privy. As the shaft reached far below the water table it may have been intended as a water well originally. Approximately 22.38 feet deep and 8 feet in diameter, the circular shaft was lined with bricks laid without mortar in stretcher formation, on a wooden curb foundation. No explanation has been found for the unusually large size. The shaft was closed by a brick dome overlaid by a concrete slab. This dome had been damaged and the original deposit disturbed. (Information on the excavation of shaft AX3C is drawn from Bierce, Restoration Report, Chapter on Archaeological Investigations, "Bank Well", and Kemper, Memo: "Excavation of Bank Well--Carlyle House Site", and from conversations with Mr. Bierce in 1978 and 1979.)

When the privy was accidentally discovered in January of 1975 during trenching for utility lines, construction for the restoration of Carlyle House was well under way. The pressing construction schedule limited time and money available for exploration of the shaft, and in the midwinter weather, excavation of wet fill was a daunting prospect. It was decided to fully excavate the shaft but the investigation was strictly a salvage project. The upper layers of fill, about 2/3 of the depth of the shaft, were removed with heavy machinery. More careful excavation was begun when the excavations started to note 19th century artifacts in the fill. At this depth the shaft was flooded as it reached below the water table, so the remaining fill was removed in buckets and washed

through screens to collect the artifacts. No attempt was made to distinguish stratigraphic layers.

An 1838 plan ~~drawing~~ of the bank building and yard shows a large privy structure near stables and a "sinking of 4 or 5 feet" a little to the north. (Robert Mills, 1st Story of Banking House-Alexandria-D.C.) ^{See figure 2.} Feature AX3C probably corresponds to either the privy or the depression. "Shallowly placed fragmentary masonry foundations" found south of the shaft may be remnants of the privy structure. (Bierce report, p. 14)

See figure 2. ~~In the 19th century,~~ ^{These} additions, ^{which} joining Carlyle House and the Bank of Alexandria building, enclosed the site of the old privy. (Between 1855 and 1859 several annexes were built to expand space for the Mansion House (Newton's) Hotel.) (Alexandria Gazette, 1855-1859. See historical summary in chapter one of this report.) Shaft AX3C was apparently located within the walls of the annexes, near the abutment of an addition parallel and adjacent to the bank building with a wing connecting the north wall of the Carlyle House to this addition. The perpendicular wing was torn down early in the 20th century, while the addition on the bank building remained standing until 1973. In the absence of exact maps of the excavation it is impossible to determine which of these annexes enclosed the shaft or when the dome over the shaft was first re-opened. Bierce and Kemper have suggested that the shaft was capped at the time the annexes were built. This seems reasonable and evidence from the artifacts in the fill seems to support the theory. Kemper further suggests that the deposit was disturbed

ca. 1920 when the wing adjoining Carlyle House was demolished (see above) but this hypothesis is less well-founded. According to Bierce the brick dome may date from the 19th century while the concrete slab was probably laid early in the 20th century. (Excavation report, p. 14) As examination of the shaft closures was cursory (Bierce, personal communication, 1979) and no records or samples were kept from the substantial amount of fill excavated mechanically any theories about the closing of the shaft or disturbances to the deposit must remain speculative.

FILL: The contents of the upper two-thirds of the deposit in shaft AX3C will never be known. It is regrettable that in their haste the excavators neglected to screen the waste pile from back hoe for artifacts, ^{including some documentation, either individual} ~~or in some other way preserve a record of~~ ^{evidence. The material is scattered throughout the upper layers} ~~this portion of the fill.~~ Their estimate of ~~a~~ 20th century date for the ^{fill} material is not documented and cannot be considered reliable. The lower third of the fill, which was screened, contained more artifacts than all of the other excavated shafts on the property combined. ^{While the backhoe was used for the excavation work far from ideal,} If the well had not been excavated this material would have been destroyed by ^{subsequent} the restoration activities. Most of these artifacts date from the first half of the 19th century. According to Kemper this 19th century fill "consisted of earth, organic waste, soiled straw, apparently from a stable, and a great quantity of wood fragments from old buildings and scraps from new construction as well. Many trimmers from new mouldings turned up as well as several pieces of plaster cornice, matching that which exists still in the main banking room of the Bank of Alexandria."

(The plaster cornice referred to was removed during the 1911-12 restoration of the Bank of Alexandria building.) ^{but a few} ^{pieces of} ^{brickwork} ^{were} ^{found} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{well} ⁱⁿ ¹⁹⁷⁹

("Excavation of Bank Well--Carlyle House Site, Memo to Mrs. Beth Sundquist, NVRPA, July 22, 1975. On file.)

In the moist environment of the "organic waste" many wood, leather and bone artifacts were preserved, along with seeds and other plant remains. A great variety of ceramic and glass sherds were recovered which suggest a date range for the deposit of 1795-1850. Transferwares from the period 1795 to 1840, Chinese export porcelain painted in underglaze blue (ca. 1800-1830) and blue and green-edged pearlwares (ca. 1780-1830) are the ceramics most abundant after the plain white earthenwares. Fragments of many wine bottles were recovered and an assortment of glass table wares and pharmaceutical bottles. Some metal objects were also found in the deposit including furniture hardware, cans, buttons, thimbles and pins and a dented pot (probably a chamber pot) of an unidentified white metal.

The broad time span covered by the manufacture dates of ceramics and glass from the excavation suggests they were deposited over a period of many years. Indeed, some of the ceramic types present were not popular after 1820 or 1830, while a few would not have been available before around 1840. Such discontinuities in the artifact record are further evidence of an extended period of deposition. Use of the shaft as a privy probably would not have interfered with disposal of trash there at the same time, especially in such a large, deep pit as this. In fact, "privy wells", brick-lined shafts filled with long-term gradual deposits of artifacts and fecal matter mixed, occur commonly on 19th century sites in Alexandria. Although no distinct strata were observed by the salvage excavation crew, it is this author's belief that shaft

Ceramic Wares Present in Shaft AX3C

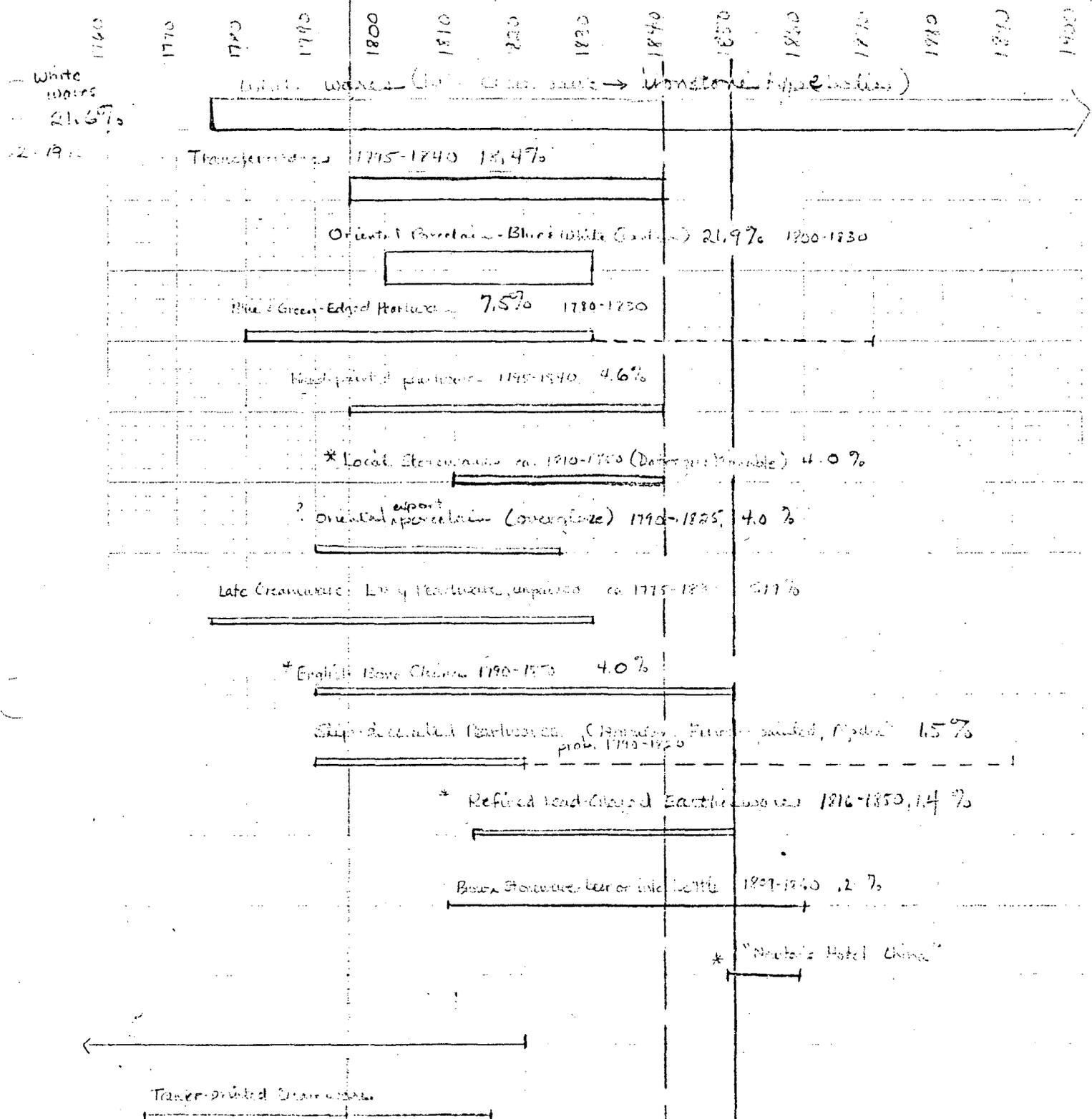
Ware	Sherd Count	%	Estimated Vessel Count	%
Whitewares	1207	21.6	80	9.8
Transfer wares	1031	18.4	144-166	20.4
Chinese Porcelain (blue & white)	1225	21.9	94	11.6
Blue-edged pearlware	314	5.6	68	8.4
Green-edged pearlware	106	1.9	23	2.8
Hand-painted pearlware	257	4.6	88-97	11.9
Salt-glazed stoneware (local)	221	4.0	20	2.5
Chinese export porcelain (overglaze decoration)	223	4.0	30	3.7
Late creamware, early pearlware	278	5.0	21	2.6
Refined lead-glazed earthenware (teapots and lids)	79	1.4	16	2.0
Bone china, painted	123	2.2	24	2.9
Bone china, plain	72	1.3	26	3.2
Bone china, luster	30	.5	8	1.0
Coarse Lead-glazed earthenware	99	1.8	28	3.4
Unglazed earthenware (garden pots)	29	.5	12	1.5
Salt-glazed ink or beer bottle	12	.2	1	.1
Mocha/annular slip decorated pearlwares	84	1.5	20	2.5
Porcelain pitcher	14	.3	1	.1
Transfer & Overglaze pearlware	30	.5	3	.4
Refined lead-glazed earthenware (British)	17	.3	1	.1

(Continued)

Ceramic Wares Present in Shaft AX3C (Continued)

Ware	Sherd Count	%	Estimated Vessel Count	%
Drab yellow ware	28	.5	5	.6
Utilitarian Porcelain & Porcelain wares (including 2-4 Newton's Hotel vessels)	36	.6	24	2.9
Creamware, black transfer printed	28	.5	3	.4
Miscellaneous wares	50	.9	42	5.2

AKSC 10000, 0.017
 Range - 1795-1850



1. Dates of major factories dates from 1790-1850
2. Dates of major factories dates from 1790-1850
3. Dates of major factories dates from 1790-1850
4. Dates of major factories dates from 1790-1850

Functional Type Distribution of Ceramic Vessels in AX3C

Function	Sherd Count	%	Vessel Count	%
Tablewares	2373	42.43	296-304	37.4
Teawares	882	15.77	211-216	26.6
Chamber Wares	683	12.21	32-50	6.1
Food Preparation and Storage	298	5.33	43	5.3
Garden	29	.52	12	1.5
Unknown	1328*	23.74	188**	23.1
Total	<u>5593</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>783-813</u>	<u>100.0</u>

* Of unknown fragments, 526 are almost certainly tablewares (including 364 blue and white porcelain plate fragments), 39 are probably tea ware fragments, 159 are probably chamber pot fragments.

** This figure is based on estimated vessel count. See Table

This is much closer to our mid 19th C component

AX3C was just such a privy-well. If a more careful and thorough excavation of the site had been possible, the stratigraphic arrangement of the artifacts might have yielded much more information about this period, a time of change in the history of the Carlyle House property.

CERAMICS: The ceramic assemblage from AX3C contains 5593 sherds which represent an estimated 780-820 vessels. Table wares were the most numerous class of identifiable vessels, forming 37.4% of the total ^{estimated} vessel count. ^{* Note.} Tea wares made up 26.6% of the vessel count while chamber wares (chamber pots, pitchers, basins, and a toothbrush dish) comprised 6.1% of the ^{total} sample. Garden pots and vessels for the preparation and storage of food were present in much smaller numbers (5.3% and 1.5% respectively). The original vessel forms of the remaining sherds could not be identified. (See Table)

Manufacture dates for the ceramic styles present span the entire first half of the 19th century and part of the 18th century as well. (See graph, Fig.). The earliest ceramics present are a few pieces of creamware with black, overglaze transfer printed decoration (ca. 1765-1815). The most complete of these is a pitcher with two scenes and an inscription titled "The Sailor's Adieu". Several mugs and other vessels in late creamware or early pearlware are also present (ca. 1775-1830). Some of these are decorated with colored slips in various designs known as annular, finger-painted or mocha. Others, of similar shape and style, are unpainted but have broad ribs or foliate handle terminals and cordoned bases.

In this sample
* ~~Because~~ there were large numbers of ^{small} sherds which could be identified by ware but not ~~by~~ mended.
To correct the bias these would introduce in a maximum vessel count like that used for ceramics from AX3B, an estimated vessel count ~~was calculated~~ ^{average} sherds per vessel for each ware ^{was calculated} into the number of unmatched sherds.

See Tables

The collection is typical of assemblages from 19th century sites on the east coast of North America consisting chiefly of imported British refined earthenwares and locally produced coarse stonewares and earthenwares. (Cf. Jelks, Edward. Archaeological Explorations at Signal Hill, Newfoundland. 1965-1966, and Deftz, James. "Ceramics from Plymouth, 1620-1835" in Ceramics in America (Ed. Quimby) pp. 30-35, Fig. 6) Chinese export porcelains (both table and tea wares) and English bone china tea wares ^{are} ~~seem unusually~~ abundant in this sample. Their prevalence may indicate that residents of middle to upper-class status occupied the site. ~~but~~ *In the 19th century porcelain became widely available and ceased to be a status indicator.*
~~An exhaustive survey of all available archaeological literature for the period would be needed to confirm this hypothesis. (Such a study would be very time consuming, and is beyond the scope of this project.)~~ *but it was still the most expensive type of ware available. (1850-1870, etc.)*

Plain white earthenwares covering the whole range of late creamware through pearlware to ironstone and "granite china" type bodies are ~~naturally abundant~~ ^{plentiful}. These consisted chiefly of chamber pots and plate fragments. Many of the plain plate fragments may be from the centers of blue or green-edged pearlware vessels. A few plate bases were marked, ~~(see Appendix~~ ^{identified factory} ~~marks)~~. Fragments of 19 white earthenware chamber pots and one deep, tapered close stool pan were found. 159 fragments which did not mend were probably from similar chamber pots. Each pot varied slightly in body color, glaze, rim treatment and overall proportions. Other chamber pots recovered from the shaft included one decorated with colored slips in the styles known as "annular" and "finger-painted", (Noel Hume, 1969: 131-132) one transfer-printed in blue, and one plain, grey salt-glazed stoneware pot which was probably manufactured locally.

Next to the white wares, transfer-printed earthenware vessels predominate. Fragments of more than 140 to 166 vessels are present in a tremendous variety of forms. Except for one group of black transfer printed tea wares, nearly all of these are printed in blue. A few isolated pieces are printed in brown, purple, green, maroon, or yellow. The entire ceramic sample includes an unusually large number of nearly complete vessels. The transfer-ware assemblage includes many examples from matched sets. Several plates and a tureen in the post-1810 "standard" version of the popular willow pattern were recovered. (Noel Hume, 1969⁷²: 247-9) These could have been purchased all at one time but the pattern was widely available for a long time. Slight differences in printing quality, body and glaze and a few specimens with differing factory marks imply that some of the plates at least were bought piecemeal or perhaps by different households. A few examples of willow pattern variations were also found. A 6" plate with the less common moth element in the border is marked "Davenport" and was manufactured between 1793-1810. A small stone china bowl from the Spode factory (1815-30) is also present. (Noel Hume, 1973: 276, 247 . Godden, 1964: 279, #3351)

Matching plates, bowls and serving vessels in three other blue transferware patterns are present. These were probably purchased as sets. Pieces of 14 plates, 1 soup bowl, 3 smaller bowls, an oval serving dish and a gravy boat were found with identical border designs (scaled to fit the vessel size) and coordinated central pictures of scenic British landscapes printed in a rich, deep blue color. (The author has seen fragments with the same border print excavated from other Alexandria sites in the Alexandria

Archaeology Research Center collection.) Each vessel bears a printed mark with the factory name, "RILEY" and a title which identifies the scene pictured. The Riley brothers, Richard and John, worked in Burslem, Staffordshire, from 1802 to 1828. (Godden, 1964: 540)

The six scenes included in this assemblage are:

Cannon Hall, Yorkshire	three 9" plates
Taymouth Castle, Perthshire	one 9" (?) plate: three 10" plates
Kings Cottage, Windsor Park	six 7" plates
Goggerdan, Cardiganshire	one soup bowl, one small bowl
Dalguise, Perthshire	one oval serving bowl
Kelmarsh Hall, Northamptonshire	one gravy boat

Some unmarked fragments of vessels with different unidentified scenes were also found. ^{Make this of footnote 1} [Decorative arts sources list as part of this series other views which were not included in the assemblage:

Hollywell Cottage, Cavan; Kingsweston, Gloucestershire; Bickley, Kent; The Rookery, Surrey; Bretton Hall, Yorkshire; and Denton Park, Yorkshire. (Moore, ^NH., 1948 : 283, and Coysh, A. W. ^{1971:} Blue and White Transfer Ware 1780-1840)]

Most of the vessels appear very similar in color, glaze and quality of printing. Only the gravy boat shows subtle differences: the blue is harsher and darker, the lines of the engraving more distinctly visible. Perhaps this piece was bought separately as a replacement or supplement to the set. ^{shallow} Two ^{or trays} oval dishes in this same pattern series were excavated from shaft AX3B inside the Carlyle House vault. These probably will not crossmend with any of the fragments from AX3C. Although of the ~~same shape and~~ pattern they differ strikingly from the AX3C examples in ^{two} ~~a few~~ respects. Both of these dishes have shallow grooves around the undersides of their bases and they bear the impressed mark RILEY-10 rather than printed marks which include the pattern names. A standard willow plate 8"

in diameter was found in AX3C, printed in blue with yet another of the Riley factory marks, the words Riley's Semi-China encircled by an oval strap or garter. (Godden, 1964: 540; #3329).

Also excavated were eighteen plates imprinted in very pale blue with an exotic scene of a large urn in a garden by a lake on which floats a small boat. The plates are in two sizes, 11" and 8" in diameter and the pattern differs slightly not only in scale but in details on the different sizes. The printed mark "No. 7" on these plates probably refers to the pattern number. ^{H. 1836 and 1838 pattern were excavated from shaft AX3B} A large oval platter of similar pattern marked T. Mayer. Longport was probably manufactured 1836-1838, the years Mayer worked at Longport. (Godden, 1964: 423) The platter design contains the same elements as the No. 7 plate pattern but their arrangement is reversed, the connecting elements of the border are in a slightly different style and the quality of the color (a darker, harsher blue on a less bright white background) and the printing are quite different. While these vessels may have been bought to use together, they were probably made in different factories or at different times. Popular designs were freely imitated by other manufacturers.

"Oriental Scenery" is the title mark of another transfer pattern represented in AX3C, a similar exotic view with picturesque boats, pillared buildings, and human figures. Several fragments from blue-decorated plates in this pattern were found. ^{Some plate fragments decorated in this pattern were found in shaft AX3B as well.} ^(and shaft AX3B)

All the transfer patterns excavated from shaft AX3C fell into four major subject categories which reflect the influence of 19th century romanticism on popular taste: 1) exotic, often Oriental or pseudo-Oriental scenes, 2) rural or pastoral scenes,

3) naturalistic fruit and floral designs and 4) sentimental grave-yard scenes. Often elements from two or more of these categories were combined, especially in the use of floral sprays and leafy garlands in border designs for nearly all patterns. Exotic and rural scenes were the most abundant.

More than half the transfer printed fragments recovered ^{from RGS} were from table ware vessels; plates, platters, bowls, tureens, a gravy boat and some mugs. ~~Many of the vessel forms introduced at that time are still manufactured for modern dinner services, though decorative styles and body composition have changed considerably.~~ Transfer printed tea wares are also abundant in the collection. Four teapots, three teapot lids, a cream pitcher and fragments of 23 cups and 19 saucers were found. Nevertheless, there is little evidence of complete, matched tea services. There was only one sizable group of matching transfer-printed tea cups in the shaft — four cups, ^{and} ~~with~~ fragments, ^{of} ~~from~~ up to seven saucers printed in black. While most of the other cups excavated had matching saucers, they were of many different patterns, only one or two cups per design. Occasionally a mug or "can" was found which matched a particular tea cup pattern.

Only a few transfer-printed chamber vessels were found, a chamber pot, a basin and fragments from at least three pitchers. One pitcher, nearly complete, is printed in brown in a delicate sprigged design. The transfer paper seems to have been pieced in narrow strips to fit the irregular vessel shape, creating a patchwork effect. Another pitcher has a bold, pale blue design of fruit and flowers. The third is mostly plain with blue-printed rim and handle borders. The remaining transfer printed fragments

*Check for more like
this in the collection
of RGS
There are many fragments of this*

were too small to identify by vessel or function.

Some inhabitant of the Carlyle House property seems to have possessed one or possibly two dinner services of Chinese export porcelain painted in underglaze blue design. (ca. 1800-1830) (Noel Hume, 1969: 262-263; South, 1975: 210) The vitrified ware had shattered into an incredible number of tiny fragments, (hence the high sherd count) but hours of patient matching by volunteer workers finally revealed 50 plates, 8 soup plates, 1 bowl, a shallow nut dish, ^{or spoon tray} a tureen with molded boar's head handles, 3 large platters, and a large shallow serving dish or trays. (See Table) Most of these were decorated with rather carelessly drawn and colored pictures of a Chinese house and bridge with a willow tree in the foreground (usually to the right), water and mountains in the background. The border was, in most cases, a blue band with diagonal hatching and scallops. A few pieces including the nut dish ^{or spoon tray} were more carefully drawn with intricate detail and lattice or cell borders. One porcelain bowl of an entirely different style was also recovered. It is hemispherical with a deep foot rim. The bowl is 7" in diameter at its mouth and 3" tall. The body has a bluish cast and the exterior surface is decorated with abstract designs in underglaze blue. A diamond-shaped mark is painted on the underside of the base.

Two basic plate shapes emerged, octagonal and circular with a slightly crimped rim. The plates came in a range of diameters: 10, 9, 7 3/4, 7 1/2, 7, and 6 1/4 inches. The two shapes may indicate two separate purchases, different dinner services or simply variations in manufacture with no significance for cultural interpretation. The vast number of pieces in this ware seem to suggest

The vast number of pieces in this ware seem to suggest a large-scale production, possibly for export to the United States. The octagonal shape is particularly distinctive and may be a mark of a specific manufacturer or workshop. The underglaze blue design is characteristic of the period and style.

Blue and green-edged pearlware vessels also formed a large percentage of the table ware sample. Flatwares, plates, platters, and shallow serving bowls, are the vessels most often found in this type of ware and this collection is no exception. Forty-one plates, 8 soup plates, 8 platters and 3 oval serving dishes trimmed in blue were found. The smaller green-edged pearlware group included 13 plates, 2 soup plates, 1 platter, and 1 or 2 oval serving dishes. When blue and green edgewares were first produced in the 1770's, they were apparently expensive, high status wares. Prices gradually dropped as demand increased and production grew cheaper. After 1830 their popularity declined. By the 1850's they had become cheap, low-status wares. (Miller, George L., Some Notes on Blue Edgewares. Unpublished paper, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland. 1973.) The edgewares from shaft AX3C vary somewhat in details and quality of rim treatment and body. While some may have been purchased as a set many of the vessels were probably bought individually perhaps over an extended period of time. The white earthenware bodies of the plates were considerably scratched and stained. The porcelain and transfer-ware plates were less damaged. James Deetz, in a report on ceramics from Plymouth, Massachusetts, suggests a correlation between these scratches and patterns of use. Such signs of wear, he suggests, may indicate that the damaged plates were used daily while less scratched plates were saved for special occasions or served a chiefly decorative function. (Deetz, 1973: 33) This seems highly possible, particularly when comparing blue and green-edged pearlwares with the

transfer-wares which have similar pearlware bodies. Porcelain bodies are much harder and would have been more resistant to scratching.

As is clearly indicated from the figures cited above, the bulk of the tablewares from AX3C were flat forms in three types of ware: blue transfer-printed earthenwares, Chinese export porcelain painted in blue and white, and blue or green shell-edged pearlwares. Only one other table ware group occurred in significant numbers, late creamware or early pearlware hollow forms, both plain white and slip decorated. ^{or banded wares.} These vessels probably date from 1790-1815, a period when creamware and pearlware were being produced simultaneously (Noel Hume, 1973: 232-240). (The plain wares may be earlier.) ^{than the decorated wares.}

The unpainted wares include one baluster-shaped pepper pot (cf. example illustrated in Van Renssalaer, 1966: 341), two large pitchers and one small cream (?) pitcher, a set of graduated hemispherical bowls and eleven mugs. The large pitchers and some of the cylindrical mugs are decorated with broad, horizontal bands, shallowly cut, possibly on a lathe. Other mugs are plain except for graduated cordons at the base. Six mugs have slender strap handles with molded leaf terminals, one has a more elaborate square cornered handle. The small pitcher is identical to the cordoned mugs except for a triangular spout set at 90° from the handle.

The plain white mugs are very similar in size and shape to the slip decorated mugs in the sample. These cylindrical mugs (at least 6 were found) are trimmed in the color banded and

mocha styles produced chiefly in the first quarter on the 19th century. The colors and designs on each mug are different. Two bowls and a chamber pot decorated in this style were also excavated. These wares are generally considered to have been inexpensive, utilitarian ceramics. (Van Renssalaer, 1966: 340.)

Fragments of three smashed open work baskets were found. These creamware or pearlware fruit baskets were made in many factories early in the 19th century. (Godden, 1965: 32, fig. 59, 194 fig. 339.)
 Wedgwood's catalogue of 1790 and 1817 picture these forms among other categories.
 The most ornate of the three baskets is highlighted with green. Its base is molded in a basket-weave pattern. A tray or stand of the type used under these baskets, also molded and trimmed with green, was recovered from shaft AX3B. (Mason, 1965, 100 plate 24.)

Other table wares from AX3C are isolated examples of various ceramic styles, many of them from a slightly later period. A small plate decorated with a transfer printed scene colored in overglaze enamels may date from the second quarter of the 19th century. A cream pitcher exhibiting similar decorative techniques was probably made ca. 1830-40. The flower and fruit design appears uniformly dark brown but the pigments, damaged in the ground, were probably once bright hues. During this period children working in pottery factories hand colored the transfer printed design outlines just as earlier, in the Orient, unskilled painters filled in outlines sketched by artists on Chinese porcelain. (Jefferson Miller II, personal communication.)

A few pieces of the yellow-bodied ware trimmed with light blue dendritic designs (produced by a technique similar to that used for mocha wares) were found. In contrast to this sturdy ware which was produced into the twentieth century, is a lavender porcelain pitcher with a relief molded hunt scene in applied white clay. Wares of this type, inspired by Wedgwood's jasper wares, were produced from 1805 -

to the 1830's.

One small group of sherds demands special attention, heavy, hard-paste porcelain with the printed legend "Newton's Hotel". Fragments of a plate and a fluted bowl were excavated from shaft AX3C. Other fragments were found on the surface elsewhere on the property. The heavy white porcelain with garish border stripes of green and magenta resembles modern institutional crockery. A.G. Newton was proprietor of Green's Mansion House Hotel from 1849 to 1859 and we know from news articles of the time that the Mansion House was also known as "Newton's Hotel" during that time. (Alexandria Gazette and Directories of Business, Alexandria.) It is intriguing to note that the earliest known American production of this type of porcelain was ca. 1870. The hotel service may possibly have been imported from France or Germany. (Susan Myers, personal communication.) Coarse and plain as it seems today, this personalized ware may have been expensive and elegant in the 1850's.

Tea wares were the most numerous functional class of ceramics after the table wares. In addition to the transfer-printed cups, saucers and teapots mentioned previously the privy contained remains of Oriental porcelain and English bone china tea service, along with brightly painted pearlware tea cups and saucers. Also present were nine teapots and seven teapot lids with refined red earthenware bodies coated with clear or black lead-glaze. This assortment of tea wares shows even more clearly than the table wares the rapid changes in fashion during the first half of the 19th century. These changes show up in the composition of the ceramic bodies, in the evolution of a wide range of vessel forms and most of all in surface ornamentation. At the turn of the nineteenth century tea bowls or cups were

hemispherical with a simple foot rim. Some had handles, others were without. Saucers were fairly shallow with curving sides and no cup well. As the century progressed ceramic manufacturers

developed new forms, often more ornate. Both handled and handleless cups were still produced. Some of these forms, such as the "London shape" introduced by Spode in 1813, are still popular today. While cup forms vary considerably in the assemblage, only two basic saucer shapes were noted; the shallow curved form and a deeper form with straight, slanting sides (see figure). Matching saucers for the London shape cups are almost all of the latter shape. The deep saucers accompanied other cup shapes too. Saucers for some of the late tea wares in the collection (plain bone china and ironstone and other late white wares) do have the now standard cup wells.

The earliest tea wares from AX3C are of Oriental export porcelain from the period 1790-1825. These are painted with simple floral designs in overglaze pigments which are now mostly black and brown with traces of gilt. The colors may have been black, sepia or pastel shades originally. The assemblage contains remnants of six recognizable tea bowls, two slender, handled cups which may have been for coffee or chocolate, fourteen saucers in the shallow shape, and one larger saucer-like vessel which may be a teapot stand. Many different patterns in the same style are present with slight variations in border treatment and design. The most common motif seen in this collection is a central pot or basket filled with flowers surrounded by a simple border design of swags, scallops, or floral sprays.

During this same period English manufacturers were producing bone china tea wares in very similar designs. One saucer of this type, very like the saucer illustrated in plate 441 of Godden's

Illustrated Encyclopedia of British Pottery and Porcelain (p. 251), was found in shaft AX3C. Its decoration closely resembles the most common pattern of the Oriental porcelain tea wares in the AX3C assemblage.

Two "London shape" cups and five deep saucers of white bone china painted in a dainty floral pattern were excavated from the privy. The pattern, called "cornflower" was very popular and widespread. It was used throughout Europe on many different wares. (J. J. Miller,^{II} personal communication.) Pearlware fragments in the same pattern were also excavated from AX3C. The shape of the bone china cups indicates a manufacture date after 1813.

The Smithsonian Institution National Museum of American History has in their collection a bone china cup virtually identical to the Carlyle House examples, which shows the original colors: bright blue and green. On the excavated fragments the pigments have been altered and damaged to varying extents by chemical action in the ground. The porcelain body may also have been discolored in some cases. Some of the fragments are quite white while others are a pinkish-buff color. A larger cup or bowl (with handles) has intricate molded decoration in addition to the painted cornflower design.

Another, later group of bone china tea wares was excavated. These are very ornate in shape and decoration, a style of the 1850's. (J.J. Miller, personal communication.) The saucers are deep, with sloping sides. The cup shape is fluted and tapers in an ogee curve from a wide mouth to a narrow base. The cups were made without handles. Their surface decoration is an elaborate pattern of full-blown roses painted over a delicate transfer printed scrollwork ground design. The colors look reddish-brown now but were probably polychrome originally. Four saucers, three cups and some odd fragments were found in this pattern.

Miscellaneous bone china tea wares in the sample included a few bowls and some miniature plates (possibly cup plates or butter ^{plates} pats) as well as cups and saucers. Some of these wares are painted or transfer-printed and painted, others are plain or molded in fluted shapes. Many of the unpainted pieces seem later in style with cup wells in the shallow saucers, though the cup forms are much the same as the painted examples.

As described earlier in the report there were a number of transfer-printed tea wares in the sample. Transfer-printed wares were very fashionable in the early 19th century. It is not clear whether these wares were considered as elegant as bone china wares or whether they represent lower status or everyday dishes. ^{at the 1850's} The presence of four tea-pots in similar styles is puzzling. They may have been used by different households inhabiting Carlyle House and the other dwellings and shops on the property.

Pearlware cups and saucers from the feature, hand painted in bright colors, were almost certainly cheaper and less stylish than the wares described above. Some of these, probably the earliest pieces, are painted free-hand in restrained designs of naturalistic leaves and flowers or geometric patterns. Their colors are chiefly soft greens, browns, orange and gold or yellow. The cups are generally hemispherical, the saucers shallow. ^{These included a} ~~These wares are very attractive.~~ A group of miniature cups and saucers ~~are particularly appealing~~ with simple gold-colored (not gilt) borders edged with green and tiny sprigs painted on the sides.

Other vessels are painted in brighter colors with bolder, more stylized designs. Some are blue on white while others are colored in a palette which includes green, blue, black, magenta, gold and sometimes other colors. The patterns vary. Most of the cups are in the

London shape and the saucers are deep with slanting sides. These bold-painted wares are of the same type as the hand-painted saucers and chamber pitcher excavated from shaft AX3B. They have been commonly found on North American sites (Jelks, 1973:63-65 and Otto, 1976: 162.) and were important in the trade from Britain. (Watkins, 1968: 142-143; Whiter, 1970: 139-140.) They may date from ca. 1820-1840, possibly earlier. (In excavation notes from the Carlyle House project these wares are called "Gaudy Dutch". According to Mr. Miller and Ms. Myers of the National Museum of American History this is a misnomer. Gaudy Dutch refers specifically to a less common ware which imitates Imari-type porcelain.)

A small pitcher, possibly for cream, has been included with the pearlware tea wares though it does not really fit in the same category. This pitcher, molded in the shape of a cow, may be an example of "spatterware". It has a mottled or sponged decoration in green and orange.

In addition to the four transfer-printed teapots recovered from AX3C, no fewer than eight teapots and seven lids of refined red earthenware were recovered. One of these is probably British. It is drum-shaped and decorated with engine-turned grooves in the manner of the dry-bodied redware teapots produced late in the 18th century. (See Godden, 1965: 9, plate 17 and Noël Hume, 1969: 121.) The body is coated with clear lead glaze and, though highly fired, is probably too porous to be considered stoneware.

The other teapots and all of the lids are examples of American-made vessels which were being produced in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts from 1810 to possibly as late as 1850. These wares

are currently being researched by Ms. Susan Myers, Curator of Ceramics at the National Museum of American History, who identified these examples. Several of the teapots from shaft AX3C are nearly complete. Few complete examples are known. One of the pots is round-bodied with a reeded spout. It resembles a teapot attributed to Thomas Haig of Philadelphia (ca. 1830). (Myers, personal communication.) The glaze is clear, the overall pot a shiny ginger-color. The only other trim is a single ring of molded beading on the body and another on the lid. Though only one round-bodied pot was found two of the circular lids were recovered. Ms. Myers believes the pot may have been produced in Philadelphia^a. The other seven pots are all exactly the same shape, rectangular with molded ribs and sharp shoulders. Their reeded spouts are similar to the spout of the round pot. Marked examples which resemble these are known from two pottery manufacturing sites in New Jersey. (Myers, personal communication.) Some of the vessels have clear glaze, others a black lead glaze which was apparently more common. Knops of the teapot lids vary. These teapots, so similar, so plain and so numerous lead one once again to the questions: Why so many teapots? What status do they suggest? and Who would have used them? It is very tempting to attribute them to the hotel era but Green did not acquire the property until 1848. As far as is known, that was the very end of the period during which these lead glazed tea pots were produced. While it is not impossible that the teapots were purchased for the hotel it seems more likely, considering his concern for modality and elegance, that Green would have purchased the most current wares available. We know from a travel account of 1841 that Carlyle House was used as a multi-family dwelling. It's possible that the teapots were common and inexpensive enough to have been owned by these poorer families.

The sheer numbers of tea wares in this assemblage and the wide variety of styles clearly reflect the wide spread popularity of tea drinking which by the 19th century reached well beyond the upper classes.

In contrast to the assemblage from shaft AX3B, the privy excavation yielded a number of coarse earthenware and stoneware vessels. The lead-glazed earthenwares include fragments of several shallow milk pans, a small, wide-mouthed jar and two tiny, narrow-necked bottles with bulbous bodies over a narrower cylindrical base. The clay bodies of all these vessels are light colored, buff to pink. Most of the milk pans are glazed on the interior surface with dark iron oxide lead glaze. Two pans have a lighter ginger colored glaze with yellow trailed slip stripes under the glaze. Susan Myers suggested that these wares might have been produced by Abraham Piercy, an Alexandria potter who worked at the turn of the 19th century. No firm attribution can be made without extensive study of known Alexandria wares. The only unglazed earthenwares from the site were two flower pots and eleven fragments. These are roughly similar to the garden pots excavated from AX3B.

More salt-glazed stonewares were recovered. These were also locally produced. Five vessels were marked H. Smith & Co; Smith was apparently a distributor, not a potter. Though he purchased the Swann pottery of Alexandria in the late 1820's, Swann may have supplied marked wares to Smith before that time. One jug is marked SMITH/
ALEXA D.C. which restricts its date between 1801 and 1846, the years Alexandria was a part of the District of Columbia.

Vessel forms in salt-glazed stoneware recovered from privy AX3C include 3 milk pans, 4 jugs or pitchers, 4 large pear-shaped bottles with narrow necks, 3 wide mouthed pear-shaped jars and 2 cylindrical

crocks, Most of these were grey, tan or orange with bold, blue painted decoration. One undecorated grey stoneware chamber pot was recovered unbroken.

The only ^{example} example of British utilitarian stoneware was an ink or beer bottle marked Denby Potteries, Derbyshire. This factory opened in 1809. (Godden, 1964: 89-90, #474.) The mark includes the name J. . . .OURNE , probably Joseph Bourne who headed the factory from 1833-1860.

The ceramics excavated from privy shaft AX3C are a mixed assemblage including both common and moderately expensive wares. While there are many sherds of porcelain and bone china wares in the group, they are all of the most common widespread patterns, simple hand painted designs or mechanically produced decoration. No pieces of extremely fine quality were found like the elaborate gilt and polychrome painted wares which one might expect to see in a wealthy household.

The majority of the ceramics were table wares. There were also many sherds of chamber pots and pitchers but they represented fewer vessels. Tea wares were abundant while storage vessels were present in fairly small numbers. The proliferation of table and chamber vessels is typical of the 19th century. (Dietz,

This author believes that the AX3C fill represents gradual deposits by several families. This theory is suggested by the known history of the property in the 19th century. Ceramic evidence which supports it includes the broad span of the ceramic date ranges, the mixed quality of the sherds, and the presence of many different patterns of table and tea wares. The abundance of non-essential teawares also suggests some of the inhabitants were prosperous. The ready availability of a great variety of ceramic wares at this time, however, makes it inadvisable to refine too strongly on their presence as economic status indicators.

It seems likely that some of the ceramic artifacts belonged to the Herbert family. Their occupation of the property falls well within the ceramic date range. While the privy was probably on property that belonged to the Bank of Alexandria from 1803-1835, it seems likely it was used in common by various dwellers on the lot. It is probable that some of the artifacts belonged to the Herbert's close neighbors,

tenants in the bank building and other buildings on the lot

Substantial numbers of the ceramic artifacts date to the era after Sarah Herbert's death in 1828. These clearly belonged to other property inhabitants of whom little is known. The quality of some of the later ceramics suggests that some of these people were also fashion conscious and moderately well-off, while a contemporary travel account records poor tenants inhabiting Carlyle House in 1841. The drop in quantity of ceramics of the later period (ca. 1840) may reflect the poverty of later inhabitants and declining activity on the site before James Green bought the land.

The presence of Newton's Hotel china in the well demonstrates that it was closed after 1849. There are so few ceramics from this time or later it seems likely the shaft was closed only shortly after the hotel's opening. The absence of late artifacts cannot be proved for shaft AX3C however, because of the loss of artifacts from the upper levels excavated by machine.

Shaft AX3C - Draft 2 Insert

Glass summary:

The abundance of glass sherds in the AX3C artifact assemblage reflects a general increase in availability and use of glass in the 19th century. (Otto, 1976:221) Again, the variety of wares and the long span of their date ranges suggest a gradual deposit. The greater concentration of materials from the middle period of this time range (ca. 1810-1840) seems to suggest that this era saw a peak in activity on the site (or at least in use of the privy for dumping). The few early pieces, such as the cut glass bowl and the earliest of the wine glasses may be hold overs from an earlier period while the scant later wares may reflect the decline of activity on the property. On the other hand, this apparent clustering may be a function of other factors: increase in American glass production and cheaper wares in the 19th century, broad date ranges for some glass artifacts and narrow ranges for others, and loss of the upper fill layers during excavation.

The presence of many cut glass tablewares and the relative scarcity of distinctively American molded and pressed decorative glasswares in the assemblage may be a clue to fashion and trade patterns in Alexandria or perhaps to the individual taste of the property's inhabitants. The tumblers and wine glasses described by this author as "Pittsburgh-type" could have been made either by one of the few early American producers of cut glass or by manufacturers in England or Ireland. Wares produced in the Pittsburgh factories deliberately emulated British glass, especially during the first quarter of the 19th century. Lowell Innes in his study of the Pittsburgh glass factories states: "Irish, English and even French designs...were followed throughout the [19th] century and at first were commonly interchanged." (Innes, 1976: 111)

Pittsburgh's glass factories were well-established and the fine quality of their wares was acknowledged early in the 19th century. Most of their trade seems to have

been with the Ohio valley states, however. Overland transportation costs and British trade subsidies insured that the import trade would prevail on the East Coast at least until the second quarter of the 19th century. (Innes, :25-26, 38-40) Merchants' advertisements in the Alexandria Gazette from 1790 to 1810 specifically mention English, German and Dutch glass wares. (Gadsby Tavern Museum glass research files.) None specify American wares which would seem to suggest that the cut glass wares from the Carlyle House features may indeed be imported wares. However, many of the ads fail to identify the origin of any of the goods offered for sale.

The Carlyle House examples bear striking resemblance to the common Pittsburgh factory styles pictured in Innes' study. (1976: 108-149) Patterns represented in the Carlyle House collection include strawberry diamond and fan, roundel and blaze, cut diamond diapering, other blaze designs and cut flutes. These are, for the most part, standard, conventionalized patterns which were widely used early and continued to be applied over a long period. Use of the roundel, possibly adapted from German designs, is closely associated with Pittsburgh glass. (Ibid.:140) Pittsburgh wares could have been sold in Alexandria as Bakewell, one of Pittsburgh's chief manufacturers, is known to have had a distribution center in Philadelphia (among other cities) and field agents as well. (Ibid.:) It's possible that the selection of Bakewell's factory to produce glass services for two United States presidents, Monroe in 1817 and Jackson in 1829, might have strengthened the appeal of Pittsburgh wares in Alexandria, then a part of the District of Columbia.

Circa 1820-1840 American factories were producing innovative molded wares, blown-three-mold and pressed lacy glass. (McKearin, 1948: 240,332) Examples of these wares, predecessors of mass-produced pressed glass, are few among the AX3C glass table wares. Only one example of pressed lacy glass, at most seven vessels of blown-three-mold glass and a single pressed and blown glass lamp or candlestick base were found. This lack implies that such wares were not readily available in this area or unpopular or both.

If the Carlyle House property inhabitants relied on imported wares into the second and third quarters of the 19th century, the absence of American molded glass is understandable. Innes suggests that blown-three-mold and lacy glass weren't produced in bulk at Pittsburgh either. The ornate blown-three-mold and lacy patterns seem to have been more popular in New England than in the Mid-West. (Innes, 1976: 177) On the other hand, this lack may simply indicate differential survival of cut and molded wares. Through time fewer blown-three-mold and lacy glass wares were produced as they were probably made only during a 20-25 year period.* It is also possible that more examples could have been found in the upper levels of the privy fill. It would be interesting to compare this collection with glass wares from other 19th-century Alexandria excavations to see what they reveal of trade and fashion patterns.

*[Note: Lowell Innes notes two theories concerning early pressed glass production. The first theory, held by James Rose and presented by McKearin in American Glass is that the earliest period of pressing (including use of combined pressed and blown techniques) passed quickly into lacy glass production, which then formed a major part of early glass pressing. Innes' own belief is that early production of plain pressed pieces continued longer and lacy glass production began later than has been generally accepted. (Innes, 1976: 231-232)]

The lack of later press-molded glass in the collection supports a first half of the 19th century date for the deposit. The artifact assemblage contained two or three pressed bottles and three machine-pressed table vessels, two of which are demonstrably early (the lacy glass salt and the combined-form lamp or candlestick base)(refer to the previous note). The many panelled tumbler bases might be pressed, but most of these have pontil scars suggesting they were hand-formed. According to Lorrain (1968:39) pressed glass was common in American homes by 1845. It seems likely that either the trash deposit was less used (though not entirely closed) after this time or that most later materials in the deposit were removed by the machine excavation.

It must be noted, however, that blown glass remained prominent in general glass manufacturing and competitive with pressed glass up to 1850. (Innes, 1976: 231)

The most abundant glass vessels in the AX3C assemblage are the wine bottles and tumbler bases. The comparative sturdiness of both of these types of glassware was probably a significant factor in their high survival rate in the deposit. It seems clear, however, that a substantial amount of wine or other liquor was stocked on the property. The bottles vary in date, but most were probably made in the first half of the 19th century. While the wine bottles might have come from the hotel cellars, most of them date from before the hotel's opening. Bottles were re-used, so the possibility they were used in the hotel should not be ruled out, but it is as probable that the bottles date from previous inhabitants.f

Neither the abundance of wine bottles nor the presence of large numbers of other commercial bottles which may have held blacking, snuff, medicines, and other substances is unusual on a 19th-century site.

Bottles constituted the principal commercial product of a large percentage of the glass houses operating in America from the late 18th century through the second quarter of the 19th. Medicine vials and bottles, another staple product of the late 18th- and early 19th-century glass houses, were made by the thousands.

(McKearin, 1948: 430-431)

The invention of the food canning process by Appert, a Frenchman, in 1810 increased the use of glass bottles and jars in the home.

The high percentage of tumblers may be partly due to lower cost or their versatility as drinking vessels. Stemwares and decanters may have been more expensive, but quality and decoration varied so greatly this is difficult to determine from documentary sources. (Lanmon, 1969: 22, 30-46) While many of the tumblers are in matching designs, few of the wine glasses match, suggesting they were bought individually. It is also possible that some of the "tumblers" had applied handles. Tumblers may have been used for liquor, mugs for punch or lemonade. Some barrel-shaped cups, more common than straight-sided

mugs, were also found in AX3C. (Innes, 1976: 132, fig. 187, 133-134)

Innes warns against assigning too early a date to fine examples of American cut glass such as the Carlyle House wares may be. Before 1830, he notes, few American factories produced cut glass and their wares were very expensive. (Innes, 1976: 149) Nevertheless, in shaft AX3C these pieces are associated with many more first quarter 19th-century wares (including the ceramics) than later wares. Late 18th-century wares are also present. A few matching pieces of cut glass were found in shaft AX3B located close to the Carlyle House. Hence, many of the cut glass tablewares from shaft AX3C may well have been used by the Herberts between 1780-1827. While cut glass wares have been found on poor sites (Otto, 1976: 235) their presence generally denoted wealth in the early 19th century. (Noel Hume, : 193)

GLASSWARES--SHAFT AX3C

Function category	Vessel shape	Sherds	%	Vessels	%
<u>Tablewares</u>	Tumblers or Flips				
plain, cut, or engraved	Bases, plain	50		48	
	Bases, decorated	40		24	
	Fragments: rims	77			
	body	48			
		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	Total tumblers:	215		72	
	Stemwares	37		20	
	Fragments	5			
		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	Total stemwares:	42		20	
	Mugs & punch cups	17		5	
	Fragments	6			
		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	Total mugs:	23		5	
	Decanters or bottles	6		4	
	Stoppers	2		2	
	Small bottle	2		1	
	Large, cylindrical vessel	1		1	
	Bowl, cut glass	4		1	
<u>Tablewares</u>					
blown-three-mold	Bottles	19		2	
	Bowl	11		1	
	Salt	5		1	
	Fragments	10			
<u>Tablewares</u>					
pattern molded	Bowl	2		1	
	Unknown	2		2	
<u>Tablewares</u>					
pressed	Salt (lacy)	3		1	
	Salt (blue)	2		1	
		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	Total Table Wares	384		115	

Continued--

GLASSWARES--SHAFT AX3C (Continued)

Function category	Vessel shape	Sherds %	Vessels %
<u>Non-Tablewares</u>			
Lighting			
	Base to lamp or candlestick	2	1
	Lamp fonts ?	5	2
	Smoke guard ?	1	1
		8	4
Total lighting:		8	4
Child care			
	Nursing bottle	3	1
Writing			
	Inkwell (plain bottle glass)	1	1
		1	1
	Inkwell (blown-three-mold)	5	1
Unknown	Fragments	223	

BOTTLES--SHAFT AX3C

Wine bottles

French?	Necks (Type I)	13
	Bases	4
American or English	Necks	
	Type II, III (applied string rims)	8
	Type IV - VII (hand-tooled collars)	11
	Type VIII (possibly formed with lipping tool?)	5
	Type IX - XIII (probably formed with lipping tool, post-1840)	38
		—
	Total Necks:	62
	Bases, hand-formed kick-up	106
	Bases, molded kick-up (Ricketts mold?)	4
		—
	Total Bases:	110
	Bottles, nearly whole	2
	Miscellaneous fragments	559
Case or Gin Bottles	Vessel sections	3
Demi-john or carboy	Necks	8
	Bases	3
	Miscellaneous Fragments	8
Apothecary Jars or other large bottles, green	Necks	3
	Bases	2
	Miscellaneous Fragments	31
Apothecary Jars or other large bottles, clear	Vessel section	1
	Necks (Mouths)	4
	Bases	4
Wide-mouthed jar, blue	Vessel Section	1

Continued--

BOTTLES--SHAFT AX3C (Continued)

Pharmaceutical/ Commercial bottles	Lettered	7
	Unlettered: Whole	5
	Necks	19
	Bases	22
	Fragments	7
Unidentified bottles	Funnel-shape necks	5
	Related bases	4
Other bottles pâle blue glass	Bases	2
	Fragments	2
Flasks, molded, 7 oz.	Whole vessels	2
Miscellaneous fragments		254

GLASS: The glass assemblage from shaft AX3C includes a large number of wine bottle fragments, a diverse collection of pharmaceutical and commercial bottle fragments, many tumblers or flips, several stemmed wine glasses and pieces of 2 decanters, a few vessels formed by the blown-three-mold technique, parts of glass lamps or candlesticks and one side-hole nursing bottle. Most of the glass which can be dated was probably manufactured in the first half of the 19th century.

A large percentage of the clear glass fragments from the privy are discolored with a black or brown deposit. This discoloration is commonly found on glass from privy deposits. It may be caused by a precipitate from lead in the glass composition or possibly by other chemical reactions which occur in the ground. (Noël Hume, 1968: 19.)

BOTTLES: Wine bottle necks and bases from shaft AX3C were grouped and catalogued separately for the most part. (In this report the designation "wine bottle" is used to denote the common dark green or amber bottles used not only for wine but also for many other beverages.) There is only one whole bottle in the collection, and two or three nearly whole bottles. It was judged too time-consuming to try to mend the wine bottles as neck and base features are the most diagnostic. Most of the fragments in the assemblage are of dark green glass, a few are amber or amber-green. As excellent discussions of the history and techniques of glass manufacture can be found in readily available sources that information has been omitted from this paper. (See McKearin, 1948; Lorrain, 1968; Otto, 1976.)

Bases were examined for signs of manufacture techniques described by Olive Jones in the article "Glass Bottle Push-ups and Pontil Marks"

(Historical Archaeology, vol. 5, 1971: 62-73). Jones discusses two classes of markings on bottle bases: those caused by the tool used to form the "push-up" or "kick" (indentation of the bottle base) and those caused by empontilling, holding the bottle on a rod at the base while shaping the lip by hand. The two kinds of markings may appear in a variety of combinations. Bottle bases from AX3C display several of these.

One base shows a very distinct quatrefoil impression which indicates use of an iron rod with a split end to form the push-up. Forty-two other bases have similar but less distinct tool marks which may be quatrefoil or circular. All of these bases have broad, rough pontil scars with sand embedded in the glass and sometimes glass chips. These indicate use of a sand and glass tipped pontil. According to Jones, sand pontil marks are common on English-type wine bottles (Jones, p. 69.). The quatrefoil marks have been found chiefly on bottles "in the English tradition" such as those described by Noel Hume (1961: 95-105, types 12, 15, 21, 22) which date from the 1720's into the 19th century. (These may include American-made bottles.)

Jones describes another distinctive style of push-up which seems to have been formed with a special multi-piece conical tool. Thirty-four of the wine bottles bases from shaft AX3C ^{seems to} may be of this type. They strongly resemble her description and illustration. Jones suggests that such bottles were probably produced during the second and third quarters of the 19th century. (Jones, 1971: 67, fig. 12d.) All of the AX3C examples of this type show traces of the use of a sand and glass-tipped pontil.

Twenty-two of the wine bottle bases from AX3C had high, humped push-ups with broad, rounded peaks. These extend from 1 1/2" to 3 1/4" inches above the resting surface of the base (most are 2" or 3" high). Such push-ups generally have traces of excess glass trapped in the narrow openings of the push-up near its top. The glass may be left from using a pontil tipped with molten glass to hold the bottle. Often the glass residue forms a ring around the inside of the kick with a clean circular hole in the center. This hole suggests the bottles were empontilled on the blow-pipe itself, using the glass left on the tip after the bottle was broken off as the holding agent. Jones remarks:

These ring-shaped marks are found on case bottles, champagne bottles, flasks, medicine bottles and other small vials, but they are not found after 1720 on the dark green glass "wine" bottles manufactured in the English tradition illustrated by Noel Hume (1961: 100-101)...Certainly it (this empontilling technique) was still being used in the United States in the 19th century (McKearin, 1970: 89-91).

Notice, these bottles would have to be of American or Continental manufacture, not English.

Four of the AX3C bases which show the ring-shaped scar are of thin, lighter green glass and narrower in diameter than other bottle bases. These, and possibly others, are probably from French bottles with distinctive necks which will be described later in this report.

Five of the wine bottle bases from AX3C seem to be mold formed. Their resting areas are flat rings with regular, dome-shaped push-ups. Three of them have sand-tipped pontil impressions, implying that their necks and lips were hand finished. These bottles may have been made in molds of the type invented by Ricketts in 1821. ^{Such} These molds were widely used in glass factories. (Jones, 1971: 67.) One of these bottles has a raised molded inscription around the perimeter of the

of the base: I. F. HOFFMAN & SONS - ROTTERDAM -. A similar marked base was excavated from shaft AX3B. *Gravels de deper...*

A variety of wine bottle neck styles dating from the late 18th century through the first half of the 19th century are included in the assemblage from privy AX3C. With the exception of some bottles which seem to be French the necks were identified and dated by comparing them with two bottle typologies, McKearin's in American Glass (1948: 424-425) and Noel Hume's in "The Glass Wine Bottle in Colonial Virginia" (1961: 99-105). These bottles were probably manufactured either in Britain or in America. Two of the bottle necks have scratched or roughly engraved marks which may be numerals.

Wine bottle necks from this feature seemed to fall into fourteen types. The designation "Type I" was assigned to a group of elongate, slender necks with string rims applied a little below their lips. These lips are sharp and unfinished; they seem to have been left just as they were after snapping them off the blowpipes. The glass of these bottles is very thin and light olive- or amber-green in color. They are similar to a bottle neck excavated from AX3B with a seal marked "LAROSE". Bottles of this same type from other Alexandria sites are in the collection of the Alexandria Archaeology Research Center. They are probably French-produced wine bottles which may date to circa 1830-60. (*Edward Napoli, personal communication*).

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Ten bottle necks are almost certainly of this type and in color and thinness of the glass they resemble four of the bases with high push-ups and glass-ring pontil scars (see above). Two necks differ slightly in design; the lip of one is tooled to a slight bevel

while the other is thicker and a little shorter. They have been classified "Type I transitional" and are probably French, but may possibly be early English-type necks of Type II (cf. #8, plate 221, McKearin, 1948: 424).

Type II necks also have applied rims with hand-tooled lips. They are heavier, darker and more squat than the Type I necks and most have the pinched appearance characteristic of bottles from the late 18th and early 19th centuries. (Noel Hume 1961: 105). They are most likely from bottles similar to McKearin's Type 9 (1948 plate 221, p. 424) dated circa 1790-1810. They could also be from earlier bottles (ca. 1750-1770) like McKearin's Type 7 or Noel Hume's Type 19 (1961: fig. 5, p. 101), but at least one example which retains part of its shoulders had a slimmer body. The one neck of Type III is probably from the same time period and may simply be a variant of Type II. Its narrow, flattened rim is applied some distance below the lip. The lip has been thickened with added glass and tooled down to form a wide bevel.

Types IV and V show the beginnings of a transition toward the sloping, collared lip which developed later. The lips of these necks were thickened (as in Type II) and tooled down flush and partly blended with the string rims. Type IV slants away from the bottle (AX3C-1581, 1582) mouth while the lip of V has nearly vertical sides. Both of these necks most closely resemble No. 9 in the McKearin chronology and Nos. 21 and 22 in the Noel Hume series. The Type V neck retains its cork and is encrusted with a flaky, tan chemical deposit.

Type VI bottle necks have wide, sloping collar-type lips overhanging the applied rings which are now broader and sometimes flattened

or rounded. Both collar and ring seem to be hand-formed with irregularities in shape and a clearly visible division between the two parts. Shoulders of some of these bottles exhibit a faint horizontal mold line, possibly from a one-piece dip-mold, ~~possibly~~ ^{formed} from the three-piece mold introduced in 1810. (Lorrain, 1968: 37,38, 43). According to McKearin the broad, sloping lip on wine bottles first appeared around 1820 (1948: 425). Noel Hume's article, however, pictures a bottle which seems to have this feature (1961: 101, No. 21, fig. 5) that he dates 1770-1790.

Types VII, VIII, and IX have broad slanted collars over flattened, or beveled rings. In some cases the collars are very regular, as though they were formed with the specially designed lipping tool (see below). The rings on some of these necks, however, clearly were applied by hand. They tend to be irregular and are sometimes cleanly separated from the collar above. Perhaps they were made by a transitional technique.

Bottle necks categorized as Types X and XI resemble Types VI - IX in shape but they are more regular. They may have been mechanically formed by the use of a lipping tool which came into use sometime before 1850. (Lorrain, 1968: 40). These have a double collar similar to the collar and ring configuration of previous types, but probably formed all in one piece. The collar of Type X is slimmer and more nearly vertical than the earlier shapes. Type XI necks have broader, rounded collars. Types XII - XIV include a double-collared neck on which the main collar is straight rather than slanted, and three bottles with no ring below the sloping collar. One of the latter is on the neck of a nearly

complete bottle 3 1/8" in diameter and an estimated 6 1/2" tall. The neck is only 1 3/4" long, with its cork still in place. The base is missing.

The one complete wine bottle in the assemblage, which also retains its cork, is of dark amber-green glass, 4" in diameter at the base, 5" tall to the shoulder with a total height of 9". The neck is of Type III with a thickened, down-tooled mouth and a separate, narrow, applied ring. (cf. McKearin, 1958: 427-428, Types 7 (1760-70) and 9 (1790-1810).) The rounded push-up of the bottle has an indistinct tool-mark at its peak and a scar characteristic of the use of a sand and glass tipped pontil.

In addition to the many common wine bottles recovered from shaft AX3C, eight necks and three bases to large capacity bottles known as demi-johns or carboys were found. These were probably of the common "chestnut" shape and with smaller bottles of the same shape, were over a long time span up to the mid-19th century (McKearin, 1948: 429). Four of the necks have an irregular glass rim applied flush with the mouth. One has a broad, steep sloping collar common after 1810-1820. (McKearin and Wilson, 19⁷28: 257). Two of the necks have slightly wider, flared mouths with a string rim applied 1/2 - 3/4" below the unadorned lip. One of these contains a cork. The mouth of the eighth neck is broken off.

Two nearly whole case bottles and fragments of at least one other are included in the AX3C sample. These are square in section and tapered to the base with short necks and everted rims. They are considered of early date and were probably made on the Continent. (McKearin, 1948: 430). Bottles of this type were used in the late 18th century to hold Holland gin. (Noel Hume, 1969: 62). They

probably were not restricted to this use and date however. One of the case bottles has on its base a glass ring-shaped pontil scar (caused by using the blowpipe as pontil) superimposed on an undisturbed cross-shaped mold-line very like one illustrated in Jones' article (1971: 71, fig. 14).

Fragments of three to five heavy-green bottles of another type were also recovered from AX3C; three mouths, two base sections and miscellaneous small fragments. The bases are cylindrical, 5 1/4 " to 5 1/2" in diameter with very shallow kick-ups which show traces of use of a sand and glass-tipped pontil. Two short, wide-mouth bottle necks may belong to these same vessels. One is 2 1/4" in diameter at the mouth, the other is 3" in diameter. Both have rolled rims. One has numerals scratched in curly script on the neck exterior, just above the shoulders: 2-15 1/2. The third bottle neck has broad shoulders but the neck is short and narrow with a flat, applied rim. The interior of this neck may have been ground to form a seal with a glass stopper. It, too, is inscribed with numerals: 2-4 1/2. The markings may indicate capacity. These bottles may be apothecary bottles or some other type of container.

Some large containers of clear glass (now discolored black) were also excavated from this privy. Two of these are very large jars, slightly narrower at the base than at the shoulders, with a short, wide neck and plain rim. One of these vessels is nearly half complete. When whole it measured approximately 14" tall, 6 1/2" in diameter at the base, 7"-8" at the shoulders and 4 1/4" at the mouth. The neck was about 1 1/2" long. This jar had a shallow push-up with a large,

concave pontil scar (possibly from a glass-tipped pontil?). Jars of this type may have been used for preserves or medicines. A very similar jar complete with its tin lid is on display in the Stabler-Leadbeater Apothecary Shop Museum. It is thought to be original to the Alexandria shop and probably dates from the late 18th or early 19th century, (Don Slaugh, curator, personal communication). A cylindrical bottle base 5 3/8" in diameter and a short narrow neck fragment with everted rim and broad sloping shoulders, ^{and} and probably part of the same vessel. Fragments of three similar bottle bases with shallow push-ups are also in the collection. The two complete bases have irregular (glass-tipped?) pontil scars. A mouth and shoulder piece, 2" in diameter, was part of a smaller jar which may have been used for preserves, snuff, or blacking. Several fragments from clear, square-sided bottles were also recovered. These may have been designed to fit into a medicine chest or liquor case.

A large number of small bottles used for medicines and commercial preparations are included in the glass sample. Thirty unmarked vials of various shapes and colors were found. Most of these were free blown, a few show faint mold lines. They were probably blown into full-sized hinged molds. These vials cannot be dated: they were widely produced throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. (McKearin and Wilson, 1978: 288). Lettered bottles formed by blowing into full-sized : inscribed piece-molds, are more informative. These were produced in American after 1800, and somewhat earlier in England. (McKearin and Wilson, 1978: 288). A small,

clear and rectangular ink bottle labelled PERKINS SUPERIOR I-DEL-
BLE (indelible) INK was produced in a two-part hinged mold (post-1840? -
Lorrain, 1968: 43) but the mouth is applied by hand. Hand formed lips
were less common after 1850 when both lipping tools and molds which
included the lip finish were available (McKearin and Wilson, 1978: 288,
Lorrain, 1968: 43). A slender, rectangular vial marked "ESSENCE OF
PEPPERMINT / -HE / -GSPATENT" probably dates from the period 1815-1850.
The popular preparation it contained was considered "A very excellent
remedy for sickness and faintness at the Stomack, flatulence , cramps,
vomiting, &." (McKearin and Wilson, 1978: 288-290.)

A larger bottle, tall, square in section, with chamfered corners
and a short, wide neck bears on its sides the inscription LONDON MUS-
TARD. These bottles were produced in many American factories in the
late 18th and 19th centuries for a popular brand of English mustard.
Mustard was a common household staple used for both seasoning and
medicinal purposes. (McKearin and Wilson, 1978: 262-263.) The
most complete example of this type of bottle from AX3C is of clear
glass, discolored brown. It was formed by blowing into a full-
sized mold as the interior of the bottle shows an exact reverse
(incuse) image of the raised lettering on the outside. A similar
bottle of green glass rather than clear was apparently formed in
a pressing mold machine as the interior surface is smooth with no
impression of the molded lettering on the outside. These pressing
machines were patented in 1827. (Lorrain, 1968: 43.) The mold-
blown bottle may be but is not necessarily earlier. Fragments of
at least two other bottles in this shape were recovered. Both the

"Essence of Peppermint" vials and the "London Mustards" are distinctive and numerous enough to have warranted special attention by writers on glass. Pieces of other less known bottles with partial labels were found, one blown-in-mold and three pressed. One of these is opaque white glass. Many more unlettered bottle fragments were found. These are hard to identify or date.

Five long funnel-like necks of light, blue-green blown glass (probably free-blown) are from bottles of undetermined function. Three slender bases (1 3/4"-2 1/8" in diameter) with shallow push-ups and glass-tipped pontil scars may be related.

Three unusual early bottles in the collection are worthy of note. One, a small condiment or toiletry bottle, seems to be made by the blown-three-mold technique which was used between 1820-1840. The bottle has a long, slender neck which flares to a wider body. The glass is clear with purplish iridescence. The bottle's elaborate molded decoration resembles the Baroque type (G-V) or Arched type (G-IV) patterns described by McKearin (1948: 259-260) with leaves on the neck and within the [?] arched panels of the shoulders. The bottle neck has a hand-tooled lip.

Another very delicate small bottle may be even earlier. It was probably pattern molded (shaped in a mold then expanded) with swirled ribbing. The diamond-pattern design may have been formed by double ribbing but the ribs seem swirled in opposite directions rather than having one group of vertical ribs. (McKearin, 1948: 30.) The tiny pear-shaped bottle base is of paper-thin, pale green glass and stands on an uneven, applied, pedestal-foot.

A pitkin-type flask of the late 18th or early 19th century was recovered almost in its entirety. This, too, was pattern molded with 15 vertical ribs. The transparent blue-green glass vessel has a flattened ovoid shape with flared sides and a slender neck with unfinished mouth. The molded ribs extend to the pontil mark on the base. The pontil scar is a ring of glass probably caused by a blowpipe-pontil. This flask most closely resembles the Midwestern style pitkin described by Mc Kearin and Wilson (1978: 328-333).

Two whole, 7-ounce clear glass flasks of very late appearance (late 19th or 20th century) were found with the other artifacts from AX3C. These were press molded with the capacity marked near their bases. The mouths were finished in the mold. Both bottles have corks in place which show no signs of damage or dirt and the bottles themselves were dusty but not soiled as most of the AX3C artifacts. It is possible these bottles were from the upper, dry levels of the privy or that they became mixed with the artifacts somehow while they were in storage. Two definitely modern vessels, a "Miller High Life" beer bottle with its paper label intact and a jar with traces of instant coffee inside, were discarded. These bottles almost certainly were mixed with the artifacts somehow after the excavation.

Table ware and miscellaneous glass artifacts:

Though there were far fewer tablewares from AX3C than bottles, the assemblage is substantial. Bases and fragments of tumblers or flips (short, wide cylindrical drinking vessels) formed the major

portion of assemblage. Of 72 tumblers, 48 bases are undecorated, at least on the part of the vessel which was preserved. Twelve vessels were panelled tumblers which may have been formed by cutting or by a molding process. It is difficult to distinguish the two. Six vessels have cut panels around the base with fine cut ornament in a style characteristic of Pittsburgh factories, ca. 1830. Similar vessels were produced in the 18th century ^{and early 19th} in England and Ireland. The most common pattern found in AX3C was "strawberry-diamond and fan". Other patterns combined these elements with roundels, blazes and diamond diapering. Four tumblers and two smaller ovoid vessels were cut with slender pointed, closely spaced flutes. One distinctive, nearly complete tumbler is very heavy, cut with alternating broad panels and groups of deep, slender flutes.

Approximately 20-27 stemmed glasses including wines, rummers, and "syllaubs" or jelly glasses, and fragments of two to four decanters (2 necks, 2 bases) were recovered. Most of these are late 18th or early 19th century styles. A variety of designs are present. Fragments of three or possibly four matching wine glasses with ovoid bowls, slender fluted stems and an engraved monogram enclosed in a sunburst were found. A few of these stemwares were also decorated with cut designs in the Pittsburgh style. One graceful wine with a trumpet bowl and stem cut in hexagonal facets resembles a glass dated ca. 1790 ^{Fig. 140, Guide to Early American Cut and Leaded Glass (1969)} pictured in the Norfolk Glass Collectors' Book, courtesy Don Slaugh.

Ivor Noel Hume, dates this style 1760-1770. (1969: 190-191, fig. 64 XXIV.) Another glass which has a stepped and fluted bowl may date c. 1815. (Ibid, fig. 64 XXV.) One large heavy, plain glass with a capstan stem may be

a "rummer", a sturdy type of vessel commonly used in taverns. (Don Slaugh, personal communication.) Three jelly glasses, long-bowled, short-stemmed vessels of the type used to display jellies and syllabubs in dessert pyramids were found. A letter written by Lucinda Herbert (daughter of Sarah) in 1805 mentions such pyramids used in Alexandria parties. Two of the jelly glasses from AX3C are very plain but one has delicate swirled ribbing. Glass pyramids were popular from the 18th century into the early 19th century. ^{Arlene} ~~(Herbert, written communication)~~

Unstemmed drinking vessels included one threaded cylindrical mug, two plain barrel shaped mugs with applied handles and the two fluted, ovoid vessels without handles mentioned previously. ^{These may have been lemonade or punch cups.}

Five vessels of blown-three-mold glass from the period 1820-1840 were recovered. A heavy rectangular salt with diamond-diaper molded sides may be an early version of this type of glass, formed in a one-piece rather than a three-part mold. The heavy piece has a rayed base and is molded in a herring-bone pattern on the ends. The rim edge is crenelated, probably by cutting or grinding. (Watkins, 1939: 57-59, McKearin, 1948: 284). A bowl and a thin curved fragment which may be from a small bottle are molded in the same geometric pattern with a diamond sunburst motif (pattern G III-21 in McKearin, 1948: 255, plate 93). The shallow bowl with folded rim was probably formed in a bottle mold then expanded to its present size. A very tall, slender cylindrical bottle with an unbalanced base is probably from a castor set as it could not have stood alone. This bottle is molded in a swirled, ribbed design similar to McKearin's pattern GI-26 (1948: 248, plate 85). Finally, an inkwell of heavy, ribbed glass was probably

formed by the blown-three-mold technique. This complex vessel has one large and two small wells in its top. Another, much simpler inkwell was recovered from AX3C. It is blown of light green bottle glass and is no more than a tiny drum-shaped vessel with a small hole in the top.

Fragments of what may have been a 19th century side-hole nursing bottle were excavated from the privy. Records of the Stabler-Leadbeater Apothecary Shop in Alexandria include orders for such nursing bottles from the New England Glass Company in 1844. (Don Slaugh, personal communication.)

Two blown glass lamp fonts, the base to a lamp or candlestick and what may be a fragment from a hanging lantern smoke guard testify to 19th century lighting arrangements. The lamp or candlestick base is the most distinctive. Its stepped base is of pressed glass while the knopped stem above was probably formed free-hand. Such combination forms were probably produced between 1827-1835 (McKearin, 1948: 377-381, plates 189-192, especially 192: No. 6).

Another sample of early machine-pressed glass in the collection is an oval salt dish in the "lacy glass" style (ca. 1827-1850). (McKearin, 1948: 332 ff.) This attractive piece has a simple raised pattern of diamonds and scrolls on a stippled background. When the technique of fire polishing molded pieces to give a smooth finish became more common, the stippled lacy glass patterns were phased out. (Lorrain, 1968: 39.) A plainer oval salt of deep blue glass has a simple ray design on the base. It may have been cut but was probably machine-pressed. This vessel is the only colored glass among the tablewares (except for bottle glass).

One other piece worth noting is a large bowl or dish of cut glass. It resembles vessels produced in England and Ireland from the 18th century and occasionally made in America in the early 19th century. (McKearin, 1948: plate 10). The bowl is finely cut with diamond diapering, a fluted base and crenelated rim. This clear glass vessel has none of the dark discoloration found on most clear glass from the privy, but it shows some signs of deterioration and flaking.

Shaft AX3C General Summary Draft 2

Evidence from the artifacts in shaft AX3C indicates that the privy was used as a trash receptacle from late in the 18th century at least until ca. 1845-1850. The presence of sherds of china marked Newton's Hotel and building scraps which may relate to the renovations of the bank building suggest the shaft was not closed until after the opening of Green's hotel in 1849. Between 1855-1859, a wing was built over the site of the privy. It seems probable that the shaft was closed at that time but there is no evidence to confirm this. The artifacts from the upper levels, which might have yielded more data, were discarded after the top fill was removed by machine.

The time spanned by the artifacts saw many changes of occupants on the property. Throughout this period the urban lot contained not only the large house but shops, warehouses and other dwellings too. Ceramic and glass sherds in great quantities and of varying qualities (from plain earthenwares to porcelain and fine cut glass) probably reflect the multi-family occupation of the site.

Almost all of the artifacts are too late to have belonged to John Carlyle. The earliest may have been manufactured close to the year of his death, 1780. It is quite possible that many of the artifacts were used by the Herbert family, but lacking an inventory there is no way to establish this for certain. Ceramics of appropriate date include the Chinese porcelain dinner and tea wares, the Riley dinner service and most of the other transferwares, hand-painted pearlwares, plain and slip decorated cream or pearlwares, blue and green-edged pearlwares and the earliest of the bone china tea wares. The lead-glazed earthenware teapots, most of the plain whitewares and the early coarse earthenwares could also have belonged to the Herberts. The Victorian-shaped, rose patterned bone china, pieces decorated with combined transfer printing and hand-painted colors, and possibly the Smith stonewares are too late. Also, many of the wares which could have belonged to the Herberts were still being produced long after

their occupation of the property ceased in 1827. (See fig. graph) The Newton's Hotel "china" is clearly linked to James Green's occupation of the site, but no other ceramic artifacts can be firmly linked to that time period (1848-1880).

Nearly all of the glass tablewares excavated could have belonged to the Herberts. The pressed and blown candlestick or lamp base (dates 1827-1835), the lacy glass salt (1827-1850) and other pressed wares are post-1827, the year the pressing machine was patented. Some of the wine bottles and pharmaceutical bottles are also too late. They could have belonged either to the Green family or to some of the transition period inhabitants.

The organic and metal artifacts are harder to date, but these, too, suggest possible ties to the Herberts and to Mr. Green's early years on the property. The marbles and domino might have belonged to Sarah Herbert's children, and the wooden doll to one of her daughters. The buttons, toothbrushes and sewing accessories could have been found in any early 19th-century home. Building scraps seem to relate to Green's renovation of the bank building.

Some of the artifacts excavated from the vault well, AX3C and salvaged from behind the walls of Carlyle House itself during the restoration are closely related to objects from the privy well. These strengthen the supposition that the privy, although situated closer to the bank building or the earlier counting house and shops, was indeed used by the occupants of Carlyle House. Even so, it was probably used by others as well: Gurdin Chapin, bank cashier, lived in the bank building in 1807; Edmund Edmonds, a schoolteacher, lived in a small dwelling house on the lot, ca. 1789-1795; John Jolly, Randle and Mitchell, and other proprietors held shops in the counting house in the 1780's. These are just a few of the tenants who occupied buildings on the property from 1780-1848. Many of the artifacts probably did belong to the Herberts and can be taken with qualification to represent the types of belongings they had. Care should be used in interpreting the artifacts this way, however. The assemblage

cannot be considered representative of the wealth and tastes of a single family. Rather, it demonstrates the confusion and questions which inevitably arise when trying to decipher the archaeological patterns of a complex urban site.

AX3C Other Artifacts

In the moist privy environment a large number of leather, wood, and bone materials, textiles, seeds and other plant remains were preserved. These, with metal artifacts from the shaft, give more personal glimpses of the 19th century inhabitants of the property than ceramics and glassware alone can provide. Most of them cannot be closely dated, however, nor are they diagnostic for class or economic status.

Many of these artifacts fell into the category of personal or clothing-related objects. Most of the rather large collection of leather fragments were parts of shoes. Fragments from more than twelve shoes were recovered including two child-size shoes and three men's shoes. Also present was a leather pouch with a fold-over flap, a broad strap with some ^{ur}fin or felted material on one side, a bill-style hat brim, and a number of miscellaneous leather scraps and unidentified objects.

One leather button was also found, a large leather disc (1 3/8" diameter) with two central holes. Other buttons were of wood, bone, metal and shell. Common bone buttons were the most numerous group: 14 five-hole buttons (ca. 1800-1865, type 19, Noel Hume, 1969: 90-91), 11 bone discs with a single central hole (ca. 1837-1865, type 15, Ibid.) and two buttons with four holes each (1800-1865, type 20, Ibid.). Three small bobbin-shaped bone objects may be sleeve or cuff buttons or studs. Twelve shell buttons were found. Nine of these are only 3/8" in diameter. The other three are 5/16", 7/16", and 9/16" in diameter. A few of the shell buttons have ornamental notches but most are plain. Six wooden buttons or button backs were recovered, simple discs each with a single central hole. Ten metal buttons in various styles were excavated. Most

of these were flat discs with wireloop shanks. Two metal buttons are marked. One has a raised design of six-pointed stars. On the back is the inscription, only partly legible, ...T QUALITY - LONDON-. The other marked button seems plain on top, but its back is molded or stamped with the words SUPERFINE QUALITY surrounded by a pattern of ferns or leaves.

One clothing hook and two loops of copper alloy wire were found. Two wire rings may also have been clothing fasteners or possibly curtain rings. Six copper alloy pins were recovered. These had very sharp points and spherical heads. They measured 1 1/16" to 1 3/16" long. More pins were found stuck into a bottle cork. This makeshift pincushion is an evocative testament of the qualities of ingenuity and thrift in its user. Other needlework artifacts from the privy include a thimble and a number of wooden spools for thread. One metal fragment is probably part of a plain copper alloy buckle. Traces of more elegant accessories are present: two jewelry clasps, one gilt and one which may be gold, a decorative handbag frame with traces of gilt and a painted or lacquered bamboo fan stick. Even a few textiles were preserved in the privy fill. A large piece of red and gold silk, now very tattered and fragile, was recovered along with scraps of beige silk knit, black taffeta, cotton twill, and other fabrics.

Bone combs, tooth brushes and other brush handles suggest 19th century habits of grooming. The two combs are of the common double-edged variety used throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. According Ivor Noël Hume these combs "continued to be used by the poor until the very late nineteenth century ..." (1969: 174-175). He does not describe the combs used by wealthier folk in that period. Eight bone brush handles were excavated from AX3C in quite good condition. Five of these are

almost certainly toothbrushes which once had bristles ^{had} in place by wires threaded through the backs. One handle has the words SILVER WIRE engraved or impressed on the back. The other three brushes are broken at their heads but they may well have been toothbrushes too. One of these has two marks on the back: LONDON neatly impressed or engraved, and Wm. D. McGuire in script, printed or written in brown ink. Bone toothbrushes of this type are commonly found on 19th century sites. The state of dental hygiene early in the 19th century was graphically described by Sarah Herbert in a letter to her married daughter, Margaret Fairfax (Jan 22, 1805):

I hope you take care of your teeth--for my sake, endure the Bark dayly as a tooth Powder, for, indeed your teeth is geting very bad. Mine threaten'd at your age in the same way, & by cleaning them constantly since with bark, they are very little worse since that time. I am sure but for that I shou'd not now have one tooth in my head.

A reference to Margaret's toothbrushes left behind on a previous visit follows.

A less healthful activity, tobacco smoking, is represented by the presence of a few clay pipe fragments. Fourteen kaolin stem fragments, one of them ornately molded, and two molded white clay bowl fragments were recovered. These bowls are decorated with similar designs. The one complete bowl reveals the design to be the masonic emblem on one side with a motif of two facing birds on the opposite side. A bowl of the same type was excavated from shaft AX3B. Judging by these forms, these bowls could date from the mid-18th century through the nineteenth. The masonic emblem design was popular by the middle of the 19th century. (Noel Hume, 1969: 303-305.)

A slate pencil and some toys excavated from the privy attest that children inhabited the property. Whether these toys were enjoyed by the Herbert progeny or children from other families cannot be determined. Twelve plain clay and stone marbles are in the assemblage. At least one may actually be of white marble. The other balls are grey or black. Two of them may also be stone, the others are almost certainly clay. A bone domino with number dots on one face, the letter "F" on the other, still has traces of black paint in the dots and the incised letter. This may have been used in a children's game or in adult gambling games. (Noël Hume, 1969: 319) A small whistle of some white metal was also found. A lead disc with two central holes and a serrated perimeter may have been a "whirligig" toy. The disc would have been suspended on string. "By twisting the string and then pulling the ends tight the disc could be made to saw the air, creating a buzzing noise". (Noël Hume, 1969: 320.)

The head and torso of a carved wooden doll with brass or iron wire earrings excited much interest and speculation at the time of the excavation. Wooden dolls have been made for centuries and could^{easily} be made at home as well as in factories. Research ~~easily~~ indicates that this carved wooden doll which had pegged arms and legs most closely resembles early versions of the "Dutch" dolls common in the 19th century. These jointed wooden dolls originated from a cottage industry in the Gⁿoder valley in the Austrian (now Italian) alps. Early 19th century examples resemble the Carlyle House doll with carved busts and small features concentrated toward the center of the face. The features were probably painted as well as carved and the hair may have been painted too. A set of such dolls displayed in the London Museum belonged to Queen Victoria as a

as a child. These dolls are strikingly similar to the Carlyle House doll in body form and features. Other dolls of this type were dressed by adult ladies as pedlar dolls and fashionable pincushion dolls (ca. 1820). (Hillier, 1968: 72-75, 81, 86, 105. Coleman, 1968: 656 ff.)

A number of jointed wooden doll limbs were also found. These include what may be the arms and legs to the doll torso described. Though they seem disproportionately long, elongate limbs were a typical idiosyncrasy of the "Dutch" or "peg" dolls. (Hillier, 1968: 72.) The hands are carved with partly separated fingers and a fully separated thumb. The foot remaining on one leg was carved separately in a simple, stylized shape, and joined to the leg with a small peg. These limbs were apparently jointed at knees and elbows. Two arms from a much smaller doll were found, both damaged. One retains its carved hand. Four wood fragments which are only partly shaped may be unfinished doll limbs. If so, these may indicate that someone was carving a doll or dolls on the property or perhaps trying to repair a broken doll.

Only a small number of non-ceramic kitchen or household artifacts were recovered. These included 3 scrub brushes and part of another, long-handled wooden brush. Some small, circular wooden caps may be from tube-like wooden containers of a type that were found in the wall spaces of the Carlyle House during its restoration. Miscellaneous tinned sheet metal fragments included 2 round lids, probably from glass jars or bottles and one rectangular lid possibly from a metal box. Nineteen wine bottle corks were recovered in addition to those still inside their necks. A single rim fragment from a cast iron pot was also found. A badly bent pot of unidentified white metal resembles a handled chamber

pot on display in the Castle Museum, York, England. A large baluster-shaped handle in the assemblage may have originally been attached to the damaged pot. An eighteenth century style scissors-type candle snuffer was recovered, its iron body badly corroded. Two bone handles and one of antler were probably from knives. A folding pocket-knife with iron blades and a handle with riveted plates, ~~which are~~ probably of bone, was also found.

Quite a few metal and wood furniture fragments were excavated from the privy. The wooden pieces include a twisted wooden bead or finial, a plain ball foot from some piece of furniture, 2 Windsor-type chair spindles (which may be unfinished) and a portion of a carved chair rail. The latter piece may also have been discarded uncompleted as the carving is merely suggested by faint, incised lines. Two straight pieces of wood joined perpendicularly with a pegged tongue-in-groove joint may be from a chair base frame. Many of the unidentified wood fragments may also be from furniture.

Brass hardware in the shaft included three identical, circular plate and ring handles. The plain rings are suspended from ornamental bolts at the lower edge of each plate. The plates, which may be stamped, have an attractive relief decoration of leaves and beading. The 3 handles were blackened and encrusted when excavated but they have been cleaned and treated against corrosion. They are complete with plates, rings, bolts and circular nuts, ^{and} they are in such excellent condition one wonders if they were ever used. Six more circular plates were found, some quite plain, others very ornate. A large oval brass plate with a fruit design in relief may be a bed bolt cover (Noel Hume, 1969: 288,289 #11). Two

simple bail handles were also found along with a small decorative finial and two large-headed brass tacks. None of the hardware has been conclusively dated but most of the plates seem to be relief stamped rather than cast. Some plainer hardware made of iron was also found; a wedge-shaped padlock, badly corroded, and an oval keyhole plate and an iron ball-tipped rod (possibly from a sliding bolt?), both painted black.

A broken wooden privy or close-stool seat found in the shaft may be all that is left of the original privy structure. Fragments of wood molding and tongue-in-groove panelling seem to be scraps from the cutting of larger pieces. A fragment of decorative plaster cornice molding is similar to that which was installed in the Bank of Alexandria building in the mid-19th century. These building remnants may date from James Green's renovations to the buildings on the property. Other architectural artifacts include four nails, a large iron strap and anchor (probably some type of fastener), 2 mortar fragments and a heavy, dark, cut stone slab which may have been part of a mantle^{shelf}. Some soft sheet metal fragments, probably lead, may have been used as roof "flashing", lead strips installed around chimneys^{eyes} and dormers as water protection (Bierce, p. 17, Archaeology chapter of Restoration Report).

One interesting artifact is a slender wooden board studded with brass tacks arranged in ornamental patterns. One face and all four edges are set with the tacks. The trimmed face bears traces of an unidentified black residue, possibly glue or decayed textile but the opposite face is plain and shows no evidence of attachment to another piece by glue or nails. A short piece of twine twisted from coarse,

reddish fibers, long, slender springs, wooden splints or matches burned at the tips and several partially shaped, unfinished wooden objects and scraps were among the other artifacts recovered.

Floral and Faunal remains:

There are surprisingly few animal remains in the assemblage from the AX3C privy. Nine animals bones and teeth were mostly pig remains. Fragments of 2 clam shells and one oyster^{shell} may have been food remains but eleven small shell and coral fragments probably were not. These may have been deposited naturally in the soil or perhaps gathered for ornaments. Seeds and other plant remains were more plentiful. Five fragments from at least two coconuts were recovered. One coconut was sliced neatly in half. Seventeen gourd shell pieces were also present. Quite a few seeds and nuts were found, including 125 possible cherry pits, 57 flat tear-shaped seeds which may be from watermelon, squash, pumpkins, or other gourds, a large number of tiny seeds resembling raspberry seeds, a few peach, plum or apricot pits, a whole chestnut and husk fragment, 2 walnut shells, one peanut and one almond shell. (The peanut and almond shells show remarkable little decay or discoloration. It is possible they are 20th century intrusions from the time of the excavation.) A few egg shell fragments were also found.

Summary and Conclusions AX3C:

Shaft AX3D Final Report, Draft 2

In the spring of 1974, Mr. Muzzrole excavated a brick-lined shaft in the basement of Carlyle House. The shaft measured 3'6" in diameter (interior) and 13' deep from the floor level. The walls of the shaft were dry-laid in stretcher bond. Remnants of a brick-lined drainage trough were found which led into the shaft from the south exterior wall of the house. This may indicate that the shaft was used as a cistern (Bierce, 13; Fauber-Garbee, IX-15). After excavation was completed, the shaft was filled with sand and sealed. Public rest rooms were later installed over the site.

No written record was kept describing the stratigraphy of this deposit. Some, if not all, of the artifacts were saved and grouped with level designations. These have been washed, numbered and a fairly detailed inventory made. A summary of the artifacts is included at the end of this section.

The artifacts consisted chiefly of utilitarian ceramics and commercial bottles which probably date from the latter part of the 19th century. Some architectural debris was also found. Bierce notes:

The finding of an early twentieth century tin can at the very bottom of the fill clearly establishes a fill date, which probably corresponds to the period in which the house was either first converted to museum use or the restoration which occurred a few years later.

This tin can was not found among the artifacts which were saved from shaft AX3D, so its date cannot be substantiated. Tin cans were invented early in the 19th century, however, so it could have been of an earlier date than suggested. (Terry Scharrer, Curator of Extractive Industries, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American

History, lecture Nov. 19, 1979 Senior Series) Research on the inscriptions on the commercial bottles in the collection might yield a closer date for the deposit. Date and interpretation based on the available artifacts should be approached with caution, however. The absence of the tin can suggests that other artifacts may have been lost or discarded as well.

Several large capacity ink bottles in the assemblage suggest a possible relationship to commercial record keeping, such as the hotel ledger. A crock, a milk pan and 3 storage jars of stoneware, with whiteware fragments, a canning jar and lid, demi-john and wine bottle fragments, and a lid which may be from a jam or marmalade pot all imply kitchen activities were taking place near the site. The documentary evidence adds little to confirm or deny these ideas. The hotel operated into the early 20th century, but the Carlyle House itself seems to have been unoccupied and largely ignored from the death of James Green in 1880 until early in the 20th century when a restoration attempt was made. (Fauber Garbee, 1980: III-11-14)

AX3D Artifact Summary:

Ceramics:

- Utilitarian white wares, fragments of 17 vessels including
 - 1 oval platter marked Edward Clarke, Turnstall Porcelain, Opaque with the Royal Seal of England (ca. 1865-1877, Godden, 893-894.)
 - 1 jar lid printed in red with inscription: "Seven Highest Premiums/ also/a/Prize Medal/at the/Worlds Fair/London 1851/ to/K. Bazin/Philadelphia/Awarded."

Utilitarian stonewares including:

- 1 crock with smooth, glossy glaze (possibly alkaline?)
- 2 or more salt-glazed jars with crescent handles and blue painted foliate decoration, marked with impressed inscription: W.K.W.H. LEHEW & CO. STRASBURG VA. 3 just beneath handle.
- 1 salt-glazed milk pan, grey body, marked E.J. MILLER
- 5 red-bodied salt-glazed stoneware fragments, probably from same vessel.
- 1 brown lead-glazed earthenware spittoon with molded decoration
- Fragments of another spittoon of lighter color, lead-glazed.
- 1 fragment drab yellow ware
- 2 blue transfer ware fragments
- 1 coarse earthenware fragment
- 1 tile, curved, brick-like, with stamped inscription: 9 HOT BASE.
- 1 utilitarian porcelain cup

Glass:

Commercial or pharmaceutical bottles:

- 22 whole or nearly whole bottles, many with inscriptions, most formed in two part molds, some with hand-formed necks.

Included:

Ink bottles, up to 5, bright green glass, ~~base~~ marked DESIGN PAT^d FEB 16th 1886. One retains paper label which identifies contents.

Herb bitters bottles, 4, with recessed panels, marked: HERB BITTERS /S.B. COFF'S/CAMDEN N.J.

Other bottle marks:

LEWIS YOUNG/ALEXANDRIA/VA (1)

ALFRED WRIGHT/PERFUMER (1)

TRELL/COCHRANE/BELFAST/DUBLIN (1, round bottomed)

RETURN TO/M^CCUEN & YOUNG/ALEXANDRIA/VA.

19 miscellaneous bottle fragments

1 Mason jar fragment

1 glass lid (for canning jar?) with patent dates between Feb. 12, '56 and Jan. 19, '69.

1 demi-john or carboy base

1 wine bottle base

2 wine bottle necks, 1 with wire from closure

62 fragments of green bottle glass, probably from wine^{bottles} or demi-johns

19 window glass fragments

1 lamp shade or chimney, clear, frosted glass with cut decoration, bulbous shape

AX3D Artifact Summary, cont.:

- 1 power line insulator
- 1 clear, fluted, glass fragment
- 1 base fragment, fluted, six-sided drinking glass
- 1 elaborate cut or molded stem to glass or other vessel
- 1 clear drinking glass or bottle fragment
- 1 round tumbler or goblet, pressed glass, clear, with circular "thumbprint" or roundel design.

Other Materials:

- 1 kaolin pipe stem fragment
- 1 bone object, worked to resemble knife or sword blade (possibly letter opener?)
- 2 brass escutcheon plates
- 1 brass ornamental disc, floral design, with wood chips and possibly glue(?) adhering to back, 2" in diameter
- 1 black marble slap fragment
- 1 copper alloy nail
- 1 slate (tile?) fragment
- 1 bag lead scraps, possibly "flashing"
- 1 fragment sand mortar with thin plaster layer
- 3 fragments mortar(?), possibly a concrete mortar
- 1 tile, concrete or mortar, one surface flat, one grooved, with beveled edges, 1½" thick
- 1 bag wall plaster and mortar fragments, sandy, light brown mortar with very white plaster.
- 3 large cinders, unidentified burned material.
- 1 oyster shell
- 2 animal bones

Final Conclusion - Draft 2

The four well excavations at Carlyle House do not present as unified a picture of the flow of history on the property as they might if the wells represented the refuse of a single family's occupation. Rather, they capture isolated tableaux of different eras. Nevertheless, the artifacts do represent known changes and trends in the occupation of the property through time and indicate some types of objects used by its 19th-century inhabitants.

What has the Carlyle House archaeology project achieved? Probably the most obvious result of the artifact analysis has been to determine how the artifacts could be used in the interpretation of Carlyle House. When these wells were excavated, the underlying hope was to uncover objects which had belonged to John Carlyle himself--tangible evidence of his taste and lifestyle. Unfortunately, none of the artifacts from the four wells can be proven to have belonged to John Carlyle. The scant ceramic and glass sherds from shaft AX3A are the right period, but they may have been transported from another site. They could be displayed in the house as examples of the type of wares Carlyle might have used, but not attributed to him directly. Artifacts from the other wells date from after John Carlyle's death.

The vault well (AX3B) and privy shaft (AX3C) artifacts can be considered to have been definitely associated with the property and date from the first half of the 19th century. Because of the vault well's proximity to the main house, its contents can reasonably be assumed to have belonged to the Herberts, Orlando Morse, or the later tenants of the house. These include various transfer pattern wares,

bold hand-painted pearlwares, white wares, local stoneware, some plain, cut and pressed table glass and pharmaceutical bottles.

The close relationship of some of the AX3B artifacts with objects from shaft AX3C strengthens the assumption that at least some of the privy artifacts were used in the main house. Though the privy may technically have been on Bank of Alexandria property, it was probably used commonly by inhabitants of both lots. Patterns and types of wares which were found in both shafts include the Riley transfer pattern wares and other transfer designs like the "No. 7" pattern, tumblers cut with the strawberry diamond motif and pearlwares hand-painted in bold designs. Association with the Carlyle House itself does not necessarily imply the Herberts owned these objects. Many are or could be of later date and so were probably owned by subsequent inhabitants of the house. Some of the AX3C artifacts were probably used by inhabitants of the other buildings on the property. Artifacts from shaft AX3D, inside the Carlyle House, probably relate to the house and surrounding hotel/lodgings late in the 19th century. The plainness of these wares contrasts strongly with the variety of the earlier artifacts.

Though it was disappointing to find no traces of John Carlyle's possessions in the wells, excavation and study of the later artifacts has focussed attention on the less known 19th-century history of the property. This period was a fascinating era of change and complex interlocking life patterns. The artifact analysis and research conducted for the archaeology project have revealed much new information. This will make it possible to fill in some gaps and present a more continuous, fuller interpretation of the Carlyle House

history.

Comparison of the Carlyle House artifacts with material from sites excavated under better controls, could yield more information about this site and support for theories of general cultural trends in Alexandria. The Alexandria Archaeology Research Center has been working on establishing recognizable cultural horizons in Alexandria from stratified features. (Katharine Beidelman, personal communication) It might be possible to compare AX3C materials with those horizons to try to reconstruct the probable deposition patterns in the privy.

Processing the artifacts from these four wells has made them more readily available for many possible research and interpretive functions. The relationship of these artifacts to Carlyle House inhabitants and their neighbors has been outlined above. While they are too late to illustrate objects from the target date of the restoration, 1780, these artifacts can be used in exhibits and educational programs which treat the 19th-century history of the property and of Alexandria in general. Artifacts have already been successfully used to enhance the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority's Junior Naturalist programs, special school tours and lectures.

These materials are potentially valuable for comparative studies of 19th-century archaeological sites in Alexandria and elsewhere. Parallels with other sites are known; similar materials have been seen in the Alexandria Archaeology Research Center laboratory. The excellent preservation of many of these objects makes them particularly suitable for display as well as study. The Carlyle House artifact

collection could be incorporated in future studies of the goods available in Alexandria shops, trends of local fashion or other topics.

Some comparative work has already been done. Susan Myers of the Smithsonian Institution Museum of American History has photographed the black and ginger glazed teapots from AX3C to include in her work on these wares. Geoffrey Gyrisco used the artifacts from shaft AX3A for his paper, An Archaeological View of Wealth and Poverty in Alexandria (1977). There is a wealth of material here which will be preserved and available for use by students of Alexandria history.

One known well or shaft on the property has not been excavated. The "garden well" is a circular, brick-lined shaft located not far from the northeast corner of the terrace of Carlyle House. Late 19th- and 20th-century artifacts were recovered from exploration of the topmost levels. They have been cleaned and are stored at Carlyle House. It's impossible to tell from these surface finds what the lower levels might yield--late materials at the top do not preclude the possibility of finding earlier artifacts below. While excavation of this well might be very valuable it should not be attempted without the supervision of a trained archaeologist and adequate safety precautions. This author also feels it would be advisable to wait until more of the results from the Alexandria Archaeology Research Center and the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology city-wide survey are available. As the well is located on protected park grounds it is, for the present, safe from disturbance.