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Cover: Artistic rendering of Fort Germanna by Isabel Griffin based on an 18th-century description and historic research.

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Editor's Note:

The first *Quarterly Bulletin* of 2022 is a thematic issue containing six articles about research efforts by the Germanna Foundation to explore the complex history of Fort Germanna and the Enchanted Castle and related sites, and to make their work accessible to the public. I want to thank Dr. Eric Larsen for assembling these papers and submitting them for the *QB*. There have been several thematic issues of the *QB* over the years, highlighting diverse research topics at several major sites, but this format could be used to explore other sites and topics across Virginia. If you have ideas for a thematic issue, or a set of articles you think would work– such as a conference session- please contact me.

Thane Harpole

May 2022

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Isabel Griffin graduated from VCU arts in 2019 after working for Dr. Bernard K. Means' Virtual Curation Laboratory for nearly 3 years. Thanks to Dr. Means and Dr. Eric Larsen, Isabel was able to enjoy a deep foray into the niche world of archaeological illustration. Though she is now working as a full time commercial studio artist in Carrboro, North Carolina, her passion for archaeology remains alive and well.

Eric Larsen is Director of Archaeology for the Germanna Foundation. Larsen graduated with a BA from the American University with a concentration in History and Anthropology and a MA and PhD from the University at Buffalo in Anthropology. Larsen has worked 30+ years primarily in the Mid-Atlantic, working on numerous sites including African-American neighborhoods and several 19th- and 20th-century urban sites. He can be contacted at elarsen@germanna.org

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WIDENING CONTEXT FOR THE ENCHANTED CASTLE SITE: CURRENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT GERMANNA

By Eric L. Larsen, Ph.D.

Introduction

In 1989, Doug Sanford (1989) provided a synthesis of archaeology of Germanna and Alexander Spotswood's Enchanted Castle for this *Quarterly Bulletin*. Excavations continued through the University of Mary Washington under his direction until 1995. Excavations were resumed in 2016 when the new stewards of the 62-acre property at Germanna (in the northeastern portion of Orange County, where Route 3 intersects with the Rapidan River) began a new research effort around these collective sites.

Sanford's (1989:97-8) synthesis outlined three "site complexes"—Fort Germanna, the Enchanted Castle, and Civil War activities. In the mid-1980s, Historic Gordonsville, Inc. (HGI) conducted a Phase I shovel test survey of the property. This survey identified 31 sites across a near 87-acre survey area (some of which included Germanna Foundation property on the south side of Route 3 – from the current Visitors Center building down to the Rapidan River). After the survey, archaeology primarily focused around Alexander Spotswood's Germanna mansion – the "Enchanted Castle." The footprint of the 5-part structure connected by hyphens was explored over the next 10 years. After that, a lack of funding ended excavations at Germanna. The sites were protected but little studied over the next 20 years.

The Memorial Foundation of the Germanna Colonies in Virginia (aka the Germanna Foundation) lobbied to take over stewardship. The 62-acre property encompassing the Fort Germanna/Enchanted Castle Site (44OR0003) was transferred to the Germanna Foundation in November 2013. A protective conservation easement was granted by the Foundation on the site in December, naming the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) as the easement grantee. In November 2014, the Germanna Foundation hired an archaeologist and in March of 2015 adopted a 5-year plan for renewing archaeological investigations of the property (Larsen 2015). That first summer was spent implementing a long-term stabilization plan for the Enchanted Castle remains (Larsen 2017).

Since 2016, the Germanna Foundation has partnered with DHR and the Virginia Commonwealth University's (VCU) Field School with Dr. Bernard Means. Through this partnership, Germanna Archaeology has renewed excavations at Germanna, pushing excavations beyond the footprint of Spotswood's mansion. The current project seeks to reexamine these sites through a combination of new excavations and reinterpretations of heritage collections. The project seeks to further define Germanna's archaeological resources, make them available for interpretation and public use, as well as preserve and protect them for future generations.

The current project hopes to illuminate more of the wider cultural landscape of Germanna. We've considered the "Enchanted Castle" to have seen enough excavation to enable preliminary interpretations of the early Georgian house. Other cultural features outlined by Sanford (1989) – the 1714 fort, public buildings associated with Germanna being county seat of the newly formed Spotsylvania County, and the variety of associated support buildings will hopefully be examined and added to the understanding of Germanna as an early 18th-century colonial settlement. As we've begun moving away from the mansion, we've uncovered artifacts that point to many different peoples of Germanna. These include: the Manahoac (and other indigenous peoples), the English settlers, German-speaking immigrant settlers, and enslaved Africans and African Americans who labored at Germanna.
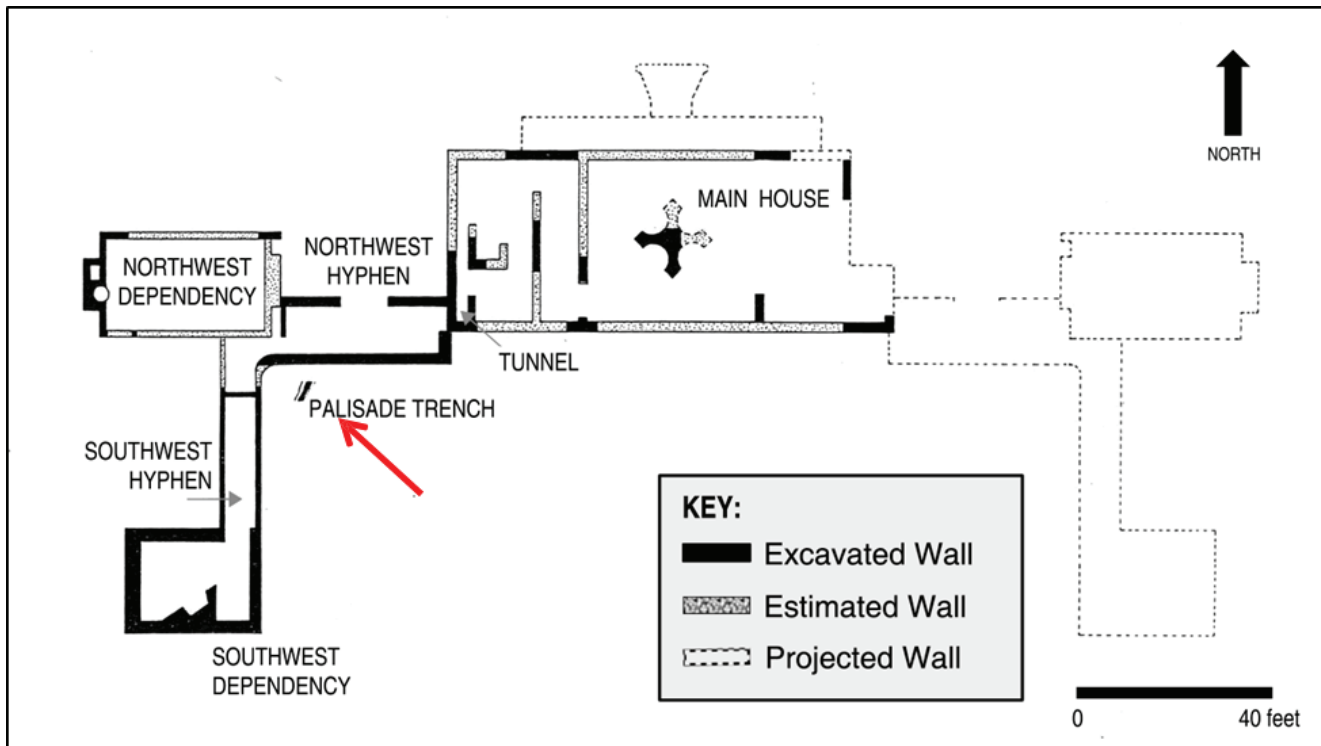
Figure 1. Archaeologically determined footprint of Spotswood's Enchanted Castle. Location of palisade trench marked near the angle formed by the Northwest and Southwest Hyphens (DHR Collections).

The "Enchanted Castle" brought attention to Germanna – it is the center of prior archaeology and the basis for the property's listing on the National Register. The house saved and preserved these sites from 20th-century development. Now Germanna is working to place the house in a wider temporal and geographic context. The sites that comprise Germanna provide a marvelous opportunity to examine the interactions of the variety of peoples that lived on the Virginia frontier during the initial steps out of the Tidewater region.

Historical Context for "Peoples of Germanna"

The name, *Germanna*, is a mash-up of "*German*" and "*Anne*" -- "*German*" for the group of 42 men, women, and children who came from Siegen in what is today western Germany and "*Anna*" to honor the Queen of England at the time that the settlement was first established. The Germans were emigres from areas of today's southwestern Germany – a region caught up in the repeated French invasions during the 17th- and 18th-century European Wars (i.e. the Nine Years War (1688-97) and War of Spanish Succession (1701-14)). These particular immigrants were brought to Virginia and settled in a palisaded fort along the Rapidan River. This was the 1714 Fort Germanna. Over the following four decades this small, peripheral settlement of colonial Virginia would see significant changes to the cultural landscape.

Today the Germanna Foundation sponsors the Germanna Archaeology Project. The Foundation was organized in 1956 out of both a curiosity of the origins of colonial Virginia's settlers AND the interests of the descendants of the Germans who settled at Germanna. Since its beginnings – days well before any involvement with archaeology -- the Foundation has been connected with the migrations that brought small groups of Germans to settle on Virginia's colonial frontier. The Foundation is in part, a descendant group. The recent inception of the Germanna Archaeology Project maintains as one of its primary objectives, investigations to learn more about the German settlers. As is the case with archaeology, however, excavations regularly turn up evidence of the variety of human populations that made their way to and from Germanna. Germanna's past, of course, includes many peoples and many migrations.

Renewed excavations began in May of 2016, when the Foundation partnered with VCU through Dr. Bernard Means and his field school. An overarching goal of the renewed archaeology has been a search for additional evidence of the palisade trench first found by efforts of the Department of Preservation, Mary Washington College, in 1992 (Sanford 1993; Barile, Moroney and Hatch 2009). A small trench feature (with

indications of riven posts) was found tucked within the angle formed by the west hyphens of the Enchanted Castle (Figure 1). Additional evidence of the palisade trench eluded subsequent efforts until excavations ended in the 1990s. Germanna Archaeology has taken up searching for additional evidence of the 1714 Fort as a way of defining what would be a significant and early structure on the Germanna landscape during the period the Germans occupied the site.

New unit excavations have tended to test beyond the footprint of the Enchanted Castle. The project has yet to find further evidence of the 1714 Fort, but has encountered artifacts and landscapes that point to the occupations that preceded and followed the Fort. We continue to build a sense of the changing cultural landscape of historic Germanna.

Archaeology has provided new evidence of the variety of peoples represented at Germanna. There is of course, thousands of years of occupation of Indigenous peoples at this place. This was changed by the cultural entanglement brought by English colonial interests through the development of the colony of Virginia. The English transformed the landscape as part of their efforts to expand the colony through building structures and reorganizing the land itself. The German-speaking immigrants were brought into the English colonization efforts and became part of the process. Lastly, there is evidence of the forced migrations of enslaved Africans whose labor was extracted to make these changes. These are the peoples of Germanna.

Indigenous Peoples
Over the course of early English explorations of the Chesapeake and its tributaries (1607-1609), John Smith learned of the Manahoac Indians living above the fall line of the Rappahannock River (Rountree et al. 2007:296-98). Five towns were noted as associated with the Manahoac – *Mahaskahod* was said to be located on the south bank of the Rappahanock just above Fredericksburg, *Hassinungoa* was near the confluence of the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers, *Tauxsnitania* was located upstream on the Rappahannock along the westward bend, *Shackaconia* was located on the Rapidan River near the present day Germanna Bridge, and *Stegarake* was on the Rapidan west of the junction of Madison, Greene, and Orange counties. Despite historic knowledge of these villages, only limited archaeological research has been done within the upper Rappahannock and Rapidan river basins.

Some scholars (Rountree et al. 2007:296) believe the town of Shackaconia to be located downstream from the current Rt. 3/Germanna Bridge (the bridge located nearby the Foundation's Fort Germanna Visitor Center). Others suggest that Shackaconia was located just upriver and on the opposite bank of the Rapidan from Fort Germanna – an area today known as Fox Neck (Nash 2014:74).

German born traveler, John Lederer, ventured into Virginia and the Carolinas' Piedmont lands in 1670. Lederer suggests the Manahoac settlements described to Smith were no longer inhabited at the time of his explorations (Lederer 1672). What happened to Virginia's "interior Indians" (as opposed to the coastal Indians that interacted with the Jamestown settlement during the first 100 years of the colony) has been a source of speculation since anthropology's and Americanist archaeology's beginnings early in the 20th century. Ethnographer James Mooney characterized the Manahoac as "wandering hunters" (1907:21), highlighting a loose connection with the land in terms of settlement and food production. This lack of anchoring to the land, something the colonists grasped as justification for their own acquisitions, perpetuated a colonialist-centered history of the Piedmont region.

Reanalysis of Piedmont Native histories have begun to problematize the accounts of "empty lands." The history, as often the case when one looks closer, grows increasingly complicated. Others after Mooney noted pressures on the Manahoac that preceded English contact. Pressure came from peoples to the north (Bushnel 1935:13). This, no doubt, is a significant component of the story. However, this too, has been used as fodder to perpetuate the unavoidability of colonialism.

Recently, Jeff Hantman (2018:138) described a transformation characterized with a 'rise and fall' perspective "into one in which dispersal was a successful and adaptive response to colonialism" (compare this with Kurt Jordon's (2008) reanalysis of Seneca history and archaeology). This is a thought-provoking attempt at adding agency to the participants' motives and the calculus of circumstances.

Were the Manahoac gone? By the time Spotswood set up Fort Germanna along the Rapidan in 1714, the English perceived lands that had been largely emptied - indeed, the few mentions of Virginia Indians in written sources no longer mention the Manahoac.

What had happened with the Manahoac remains unclear. Some speculate that they joined other Siouan speakers (including Monacans) to the south along the James River (Swanton 1987:148). Byrd reports that they had united with the Saponi and Occaneechi (Swanton 1987:149; Berland 2013:211). The work of archaeologists has been influenced by these sources and shows up in their speculations on what happened with the Manahoac (Mouer 1981;

Figure 2. Exterior surface of a blown bottle fragment with heel at the bottom (Germanna Archaeology).

Hantman 1993, 2001; Nash 2014). Some more recent work has begun to explore the idea of persistence (Nash 2014, 2018; Hantman 2018; Benge 2019). Perhaps the people who were once identified as Manahoac made a strategic choice to merge with another affinity groups (for example, the Saponi, who do find further mentions in the histories of Germanna – see, for example, Benge this volume).

Sanford and Parker's (1986; also Sanford 1989) archaeological survey identified a handful of pre-colonial sites in this study area. These have seen no further examination since being identified and listed. No significant pre-colonial sites or archaeological resources have been systematically studied to date in and around Germanna. Precolonial artifacts, of course show up in the archaeological record. Fish traps have been noted downriver from where the fort was located (Trout 2004:22). A handful of lithics have been recovered through recent excavations (Larsen and Jones 2021). A presence is undeniable; however, the narrative around this past needs further examination.

The current project has begun to encounter evidence of Indigenous peoples after the settlement by Europeans -- post "cultural entanglement" (Panich and Schneider 2022:7). Historians have noted stories of continued Indigenous presence from the colonial records – for example the account of the "Sawney Affair" in the Court Records of Spotsylvania County (Miller 1985:26). This account is of a "riotous two-day visit" in 1724 by Sawney, identified as a Saponi, who came to Germanna with a message for Spotswood. Spotswood was away in London at the time. Sawney is reported to have gotten drunk at the nearby Finlason's tavern, and subsequently thrown out after an altercation. Then he is said to have tried to climb into a window of Spotswood's mansion in an attempt to pursue "Katina, the Indian servant" of Spotswood.

Benge (this volume) has found further instances of Native Americans in the Germanna narrative. It is noteworthy that many of the available accounts for Indigenous presences at Germanna come from court records or in cases brought against the Indigenous people in and around Germanna.

Other than the court records or newspaper accounts of cases, there is little to no regular indication of continued "presence" in and around Germanna after the 1714 fort is removed. This is certainly a form of "erasure" that is part of processes seen in colonialism (Wolfe 2006). When Indigenous people are mentioned, it is only in cases where they are accused of breaking laws and/or disturbing the peace. This sets them as "others" against the powers that be. While this needs further consideration and development, for now, it is increasingly clear that Indigenous peoples continued to be present at Germanna.

Another piece of evidence recalls the Sawney story. 'Katina, the Indian servant" is found occasionally mentioned in historic accounts of visitors – if only briefly or obliquely (e.g. Byrd 1966:137). Only recently, the Project noted that "Catina" is listed in Alexander Spotswood's probate Inventory taken after his death in 1740 (OCWB 1741:185). She is listed among the enslaved individuals being counted toward Spotswood's estate. Further research suggests Katina was subsequently sold to the Thornton family and served as nurse for them for the rest of her life at Fall Hill (on the Rappahannock near Fredericksburg). Again, this presence was in front of us, but we've failed until now to recognize its meanings. We, as archaeologists, have begun to question our expectations (and/or our assumptions) as to the continued presence of Indigenous peoples at Germanna. As we do, new evidence confronts us.
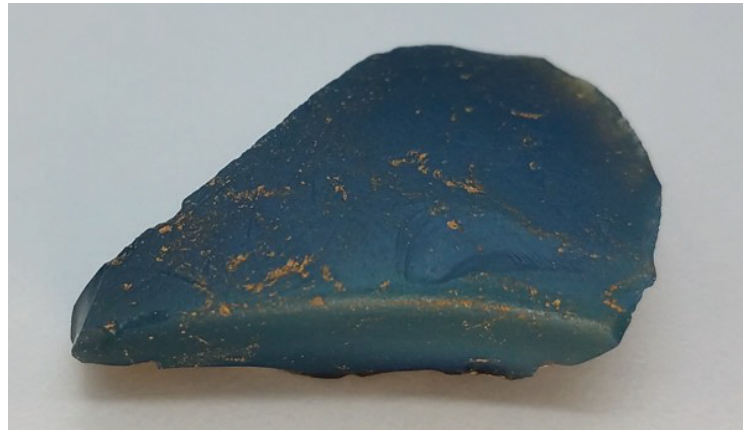
In the first year of renewed excavations at Germanna, archaeologists recovered a fragment of a blown olive glass bottle. The fragment itself came from the thick portion nearing the base of the bottle, but only included a bit of the "heel." One would naturally identify it as a body/base fragment of a wine bottle. While it was on the table ready to be cataloged, we looked at it once again. With further inspection, it appeared the bottle fragment had been shaped – really it showed the typical signs of lithic flaking (Figures 2 and 3; Larsen and Jones 2021). This second glance suggested the original object had been modified into what would have served well as a scraper. In light of the early 18th-century economy that included a brisk market in deer and other animal hides, could this be a tool that could well be expected from a peripheral settlement such as Germanna? This second look – coupled with "finding" documentary accounts – reminds us that we need to keep long-term Indigenous presence in mind (see Russel 2022).

Germanna Archaeology is only at the very beginning of this line of questioning. We need help and consultations to formulate meaningful questions. The intent is to honor descendant communities and their wishes for the collections and interpretations.

Figure 3. Interior surface of bottle base, with signs of conoidal fractures and pressure flaking along the bottom edge. Likely re-used as a scraper (Germanna Archaeology).

English Colonial Expansion

Concerned with the Virginia colony's state of defenses, Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood devised a scheme to defend the frontier and Virginia's interests. In 1714, two forts were built along the frontier: Fort Christanna along the Meherrin River to the south and Fort Germanna on the Rapidan River to the north (Figure 4). These forts also served as a means for colonial expansion and development.

Fort Christanna became a center of occupation for Virginia's tributary Indians. Settled by Rangers, the fort contained a school for Indian children and a regulated center for trade. A village was set up near the fort (Neale 2014; see also Beaudry 1979 and 1981). For a short time, Fort Christanna was a center for Native American relations in colonial Virginia.

Initially, Fort Germanna was also intended to serve as an interface for Native peoples. Spotswood had set aside lands between the James and Rappahannock Rivers for the Tuscarora that had agreed to become tributary Indians of the Virginia colony (La Vere 2013:175). These Tuscarora, however, chose not to settle this area but instead moved north and settled among the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) in New York.

Lt. Governor Spotswood proceeded with the northern fort, but changed its nature. Spotswood settled the fort with German-speaking migrant families that he, himself sponsored. Spotswood wrote the Lord Commissioner of Trades in July 2014, "I have placed here [at Germanna] a number of Prodestant [sic] Germans, built them a Fort and finish'd it with 2 pieces of Cannon and some Ammunition, which will awe the Stragling partys of Northern Indians, and be a good Barrier for all that part of the Country" (Spotswood 1882:70).

During the latter half of the 1710s, Spotswood was personally involved in Virginia's expansion to the west. He began building a timbered structure for himself at Fort Christanna, but abandoned that when the Council ended colony support in 1718 (Hazzard and McCartney 1979; Beaudry 1979). While working on the "handsome house" at Christanna, Spotswood was also beginning to accumulate lands around Fort Germanna for himself (this taking place after his "Golden Horseshoe" expedition in 1716).

The final years of Spotswood's term as Lt. Governor would be clouded by a consistent antagonism between the Governor, the Council, and the House of Burgesses. Spotswood's acquisition of tens of thousands
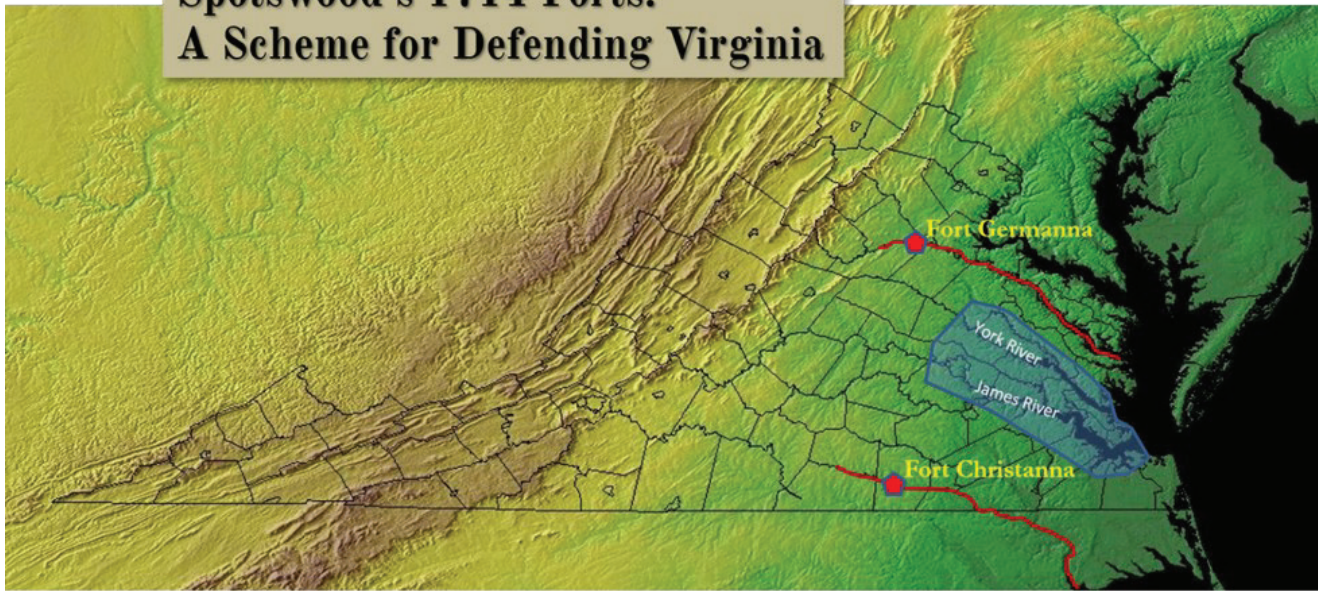
Figure 4. Spotswood's 1714 Forts guarding the western edge of colonial Virginia's settlements around the York and James Rivers (Germanna Archaeology).

of acres of land in the west and his mounting, somewhat-personal ventures connected with the two forts caused constant disparagement of his role in the colony. His most vociferous critics were the established Virginia gentry and included William Byrd II and Philip Ludwell II.

Early in the 1720s (after abandoning the house at Christanna), Spotswood began construction on a personal home that would serve as the center of operations for his recently acquired, vast land holdings west of the fall line of the Rappahannock. The mansion he built at Germanna would come to be called the "Enchanted Castle." Current archaeology suggests that the Enchanted Castle was built over a segment of the fort's palisade wall. By implication, Spotswood seems to have had at least a portion of the fort removed before starting construction of his Germanna home.

Spotswood's actions as Lt. Governor of the Virginia colony had pushed the western boundary of settlement by hundreds of miles. He also instigated radical changes in the economy, population, and transportation systems of north-central Virginia. The Lt. Governor, himself, pushed the House of Burgesses to organize two new counties for Virginia. One county was Brunswick in southern Virginia (where Fort Christanna had been located). The other surrounded Germanna. This county came to be named for him: Spotsylvania (Felder 1982:13). Spotsylvania County was formed from part of Essex County, which once contained the majority of northern Virginia, and extended west to the Blue Ridge Mountains (Joyner 1999:13). The new county contained the "Leaseland" (what is today Fredericksburg), Massaponax Wharf, Spotswood's Tubal Iron Works, and Germanna (Felder 1982:13). Within one year of the establishment of Spotsylvania County, 150,000 acres were patented within the county. Over half of those patented acres belonged to Spotswood himself (Felder 1982; Mansfield 1977; Wayland 1989).

In 1722, Spotswood was pushed from his position as Lt. Governor. Replaced and without the use of the Governor's Palace, Spotswood no longer had a home in the capital at Williamsburg. He chose to take residence at his house in Germanna and concentrate on the further development of the area. In his "retirement," he continued developing his lands and estate, including Germanna: "He has Servants and Workmen of most handy-craft Trades; and he is building a Church, Court-house and Dwelling-House for himself; and with his Servants and Negroes, he has cleared Plantations about it, proposing great Encouragement for People to come and settle in that uninhabited Part of the World" (Jones 1724:47). Early archaeological efforts at Germanna focused on Spotswood's mansion. Germanna Archaeology's renewed efforts have moved away from the footprint of the Enchanted Castle. However, our efforts continue to encounter evidence of Spotswood's occupation of the site. Most units contain fragmented brick that were part

of the Georgian home. Abundant and pervasive, this artifact type reminds us of the scale of change introduced by Spotswood's building project. Blanchard (this volume) explores some of this evidence that proves an essential part of Germanna's stories.

Spotswood was instrumental in placing the county seat for the newly formed Spotsylvania County at Germanna. The Virginia government allocated £500 to build a courthouse (see Arford-Horne, this volume), church, prison, pillory, and stocks, and residents built their own homes and other commercial buildings. The first session of court was held that summer of 1722. One of the first orders of business was to grant a license to John Finlason for a tavern. Finlason ran the tavern out of his home from 1722 until 1728 and hosted most of the incoming court officials during sessions at Germanna (Miller 1985).

The once small fort community grew into a small village over the course of the 1720s. Historian Ann Miller (2013) writes of several transportation improvements made during this period. Noting that roads became the primary means of travel in the Piedmont, Miller found the road to Germanna among the earliest roads leading westward. Many of the area's subsequent roads connected with this Germanna Road or extended farther west beyond Germanna. Miller (2013:17-18) also writes of a ferry across the Rapidan River near Germanna Ford. The meeting of the Spotsylvania Court in November of 1722 approved George Harley as the first ferry keeper at Germanna. This improvement helped accommodate the increase settlement and traffic during this period of growth.

The iron industry that had prompted Spotswood's scheme to settle the Siegerlanders at Fort Germanna, finally came into being during the 1720s. The original plan, however, experienced significant changes over subsequent decades. Perhaps the most fundamental change came when the German emigres sponsored by Spotswood completed their terms and moved on to settle lands of their own.

German Immigrants

As stated above, one of Germanna Archaeology's objectives is to find additional evidence of the 1714 Fort. If the perimeter can be established on the current landscape, archaeologists hope to locate homes and buildings used by the fort's initial inhabitants, the Germans settled there by Spotswood.

John Fontaine, the young Irish Huguenot friend of Alexander Spotswood, visited Fort Germanna in 1715. His journal entry for November 21, 1715 (in Alexander 1972:88) provides the best eye-witness description of Fort Germanna available to date. While brief, Fontaine's description gives significant detail for the fort's physical layout:

> …we walked about the town which is palisaded with stakes stuck in the ground, and laid close the one to the other, of substance to bear out a musket shot. There is but nine families and they have nine houses built all in a line, and before every house about 20 feet from the house they have small sheds built for their hogs and hens, so that the hog stys and houses make a street. This place that is paled in is a pentagon, very regularly laid out, and in the very centre there is a blockhouse made with five sides which answers to the five sides of pales or great inclosure. There is loop holes through it, from which you may see all the inside of the inclosure. This was intended for a retreat for the people in case they were not able to defend the pallisadoes if attacked by the Indians. They make use of this Blockhouse for divine service. They go to prayers constantly once a day and have two sermons a Sunday. We went to hear them perform their service, which was done in their own language which we did not understand, but they seem to be very devout and sing the Psalms very well…. We got from the minister a bit of smoked beef and cabbage, which was very ordinary and dirtily drest (Alexander 1972:88).

This description provides detail of the shape and layout of the fort and its defensive structures. A closer reading also provides glimpses into a community that inhabited the fort. We learn of the homes and of the families that lived there. There is mention of domesticated animals that these families relied upon – hogs, hens, and cattle. Fontaine even describes religious services taking place in the blockhouse. All of these are peeks into the fort's everyday – very unique – community.

While Germanna Archaeology has not yet located additional evidence of the fort or its structures, we have participated in imagining what this community may have looked like. The Germanna Foundation

sponsored an artist rendering of the fort to help tell this story. Griffin (this volume) worked with archaeologists to create a drawing of life in the fort. The project considers this as "experimental archaeology" that will hopefully be tested through future finds.

The immigrants who first settled the fort came from a region known for mining and iron industry. While these protestant Germans were settled primarily as a "barrier," Spotswood set the group to searching for iron ore and with starting up an iron industry for the region. By 1716, records suggest that the search had begun (Alexander 1972:102 and 108).

The first German immigrants were obligated to serve Spotswood for four years. This first group ended their term and then moved away to acquire lands of their own in Fauquier County. Spotswood must have been satisfied with the outcome from this first group (though he had yet to establish an iron industry in Virginia) because in 1717, he brought a second group of Germans to live and work at Germanna.

This second group was too large to live within the fort and so began settling the surrounding area. Spotswood paid for the transport of this second group, under somewhat shady circumstances. The immigrants believed they were headed to Pennsylvania (the destination of the majority of German immigrants during this period). Instead, they found themselves indentured to Spotswood and settled at Germanna for a period of seven years. This second group completed their years of service and like their predecessors, moved west beyond Spotswood's landholdings to settle lands of their own in Madison County.

Can archaeology illuminate some of this ethnic enclave's experiences settled on the edge of Virginia's settlement? Can we learn about the daily life of indentured servants? Can the archaeology assist in filling in details of this past for this particular descendant community?

African Diaspora

Between 1724 and 1729, Spotswood returned to England to settle several personal matters. Primarily, he sought to establish firm title to his Virginia lands and clear up tax issues. While in London, Spotswood proved that he had imported over 300 white settlers into Virginia (including the 1714 and 1717 groups of German speaking immigrants settled at Germanna). This clarified and sealed his claim to his vast land holdings (Vann and Dixon 1961:28–29).

When the German servants completed their terms of service, Spotswood lost their labor toward his multiple operations (iron and plantations). Spotswood needed to find other means to fill the labor needs. As was common in colonial Virginia during this period, he would turn to an enslaved labor force – one forcibly brought over from Africa. This enslaved labor force would work at Spotswood's 21 plantations as well as with the iron furnace that was up and running by the 1720s. Work for the iron furnace would include the harvesting of trees and the making of charcoal fuel to feed the furnace. There is no doubt that this enslaved labor was essential to all of Spotswood's interests.

In the 1730s, William Byrd of Westover came to visit Spotswood at home. During this visit, Spotswood shared with Byrd that more than 80 of his slaves had run off during the period he was away (Byrd 1966:133). Eighty is a significant number. That they represented just the number that ran away during Spotswood's absence gives us a better sense of the size of Spotswood's interests. Since his return from London, Spotswood had been working on remedying the oversight and reestablishing profitable iron production.

At the time of Spotswood's death in 1740, probate records list 17 names associated with the Germanna mansion (OCWB). Spotswood's reliance upon enslaved labor is clearly visible in the records associated with Spotswood's "Mine tract" which listed 100 individuals essential to the iron industry taking place on these lands (Spotsylvania County Records). Again, enslaved Africans are clearly part of the stories of Germanna. The archaeology of Germanna sites includes these lives as well. The 2021 field season found a subfloor pit in the southwest dependency of the Enchanted Castle (Figure 5). The small sampling of this feature turned up bone, burned corn cob, and peach pits as well as the more expected ceramic and glass finds. This feature needs further sampling, but it is a tantalizing picture of what likely included enslaved Africans' lives.

Archaeologists regularly find remains from these lives – the men, women, and children who lived and worked at Germanna. These have not always been recognized. Documenting the substantial manor house that Alexander Spotswood had built on the edge of the colony is quite important – this is a unique and influential structure for Virginia. However, the objects and remains of daily life need to be reassessed and interpreted as reflecting the lives of those individuals who were brought to the colony and forced to labor in building and operating the mansion and surrounding community. These remains and the lives connected to them need to be recognized and included as part of Germanna's stories.

Figure 5. Sampling of a subfloor pit identified in front of a hearth in the southwest dependency of Spotswood's "Enchanted Castle" (Germanna Archaeology).

At this current moment (writing this in early 2022) – Virginians have been experiencing a range of reactions around the murder of George Floyd, of reverberations of numerous protests, and recent reactionary grievances around "critical race theory." Every day, there are repeated indications that this nation continues to find race a central issue. In this environment, it is vital that the archaeologists and historians account for what's found in the historical and archaeological records. Germanna's stories include the stories of forced migration and enslavement of Africans. Failing to recognize or acknowledge this would be a furtherance of the erasures that have already occurred.

Germanna does not present the typical organized plantation site – the hierarchy of space organized power and agricultural tasks. Yes, we have a prominent mansion that operated with labor of an enslaved workforce, but the agricultural lands and the mine tract that were the engines of Spotswood's income were far away from Germanna. Can we recognize and acknowledge the lives of the enslaved here in this small village that included municipal buildings and related businesses? Can we call attention to African and African-American presences through the labor and craft present in the aspirational community called Germanna? Like the search for Indigenous peoples, the project needs help and consultations to formulate meaningful questions. We, again, must honor descendant communities and their wishes for the collections and interpretations.

Conclusion

As the Germanna Archaeology Project proceeds with examining this complex series of sites relating to the first half of the 18th century and of colonial life on the edge of empire, we work with the intent of dealing with the complexity of the past that presents itself. Recent years have proven tumultuous. The past, represented through the archaeology of Germanna sites, is equally complex. Because we are a relatively new program, we have little baggage that needs to be reorganized. However, this doesn't make the interpretations and conversations around the past easy. There is work (contentious work) to be done.

We have the problem of juggling the above identified descendant communities. In the preservation and museum worlds, there is an ongoing tension over "who gets a voice" in speaking of the past. We know that past relationships were built on inequity. Does that have to be true for the present? Today's landscape seems rife with fears. Can we create an environment where all can speak? We as a nation seem to be debating this very issue. It seems as though the divisions between us still hold sway.

Only by balancing multiple stories can public historians/public archaeologists deal with the complexity of pasts at historic Germanna. If we wish for diversity and equality in our lives today (*and I believe that the majority of us today believe diversity is good**), we must hold these pasts out for all to see and hear. Historic Germanna, a small community at the edge of empire, was comprised of many people under competing circumstances. Can telling the multiplicity of stories present in historic Germanna help us in living together today?

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* A Pew Research Center Report from May 2019, found "more than 6 in 10 say racial and ethnic diversity has a positive impact on the country's culture (https://news.jrn.msu.edu/culturalcompetence/2019/05/21/americans-value-diversity-disagree-on-how-to-achieve-it/;https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2019/05/08/americans-see-advantages-and-challenges-in-countrys-growing-racial-and-ethnic-diversity/.

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THE NATIVE AMERICAN NARRATIVE AT FORT GERMANNA

By Amanda E. Benge

Fort Germanna was originally built in 1714, and settled with German colonists brought to the New World by Governor Alexander Spotswood. The fort was later dismantled, and Governor Spotswood built his manor home, the Enchanted Castle. Alexander Spotswood lived there for several years before his death and the eventual abandonment of the property. In recent years, the Germanna Foundation has begun a pursuit to uncover the lost history of the original colonists. While those stories are important to understand and research, there are missing chapters in that narrative that need to be pursued as well. The purpose of this research is to identify Native American presence at Fort Germanna and the Enchanted Castle. This will be done by analyzing the materials recovered from the Germanna site and using that information to interpret the presence of Native Americans during the colonization of the area based on the work done by the Germanna Foundation.

I first wanted to identify what tribes lived in this area traditionally and how colonization affected migration and occupation before Fort Germanna was built. In the Virginia Piedmont region there are several tribes, the ones closest to Orange County being the Saponi and the Tutelo (Figure 1). These native groups often migrated throughout the piedmont regions, but in 1685 they moved from Virginia all the way down to North Carolina in response to consistent raids and attacks from neighboring Iroquois and hostile colonists (Woodard et al. 2017; Gamble 2013). The Saponi and Tutelo tribes blended with other Siouan speaking tribes in North Carolina to better protect themselves from hostile forces (Gamble 2013). These unified tribes include the Saponi, Tutelo, Manahoac, and Occaneechi, to name just a few. There is some debate on what tribes were involved in the merger, but these tribes may not be the only ones that banded together.

This was a time of uncertainty and turmoil; the beginnings of the Tuscarora War were threatening to boil over in North Carolina. It was in 1708 that combined tribes were welcomed back by Governor Spotswood to relocate, once again, from North Carolina to Virginia (Woodard et al. 2017). And with the war brewing between Iroquois and settlers, they accepted his offer and moved near modern day Emporia. Spotswood needed a way to keep the conflict from coming to Virginia, so he used hired militia and volunteers from the native tribes to secure the border. To further this effort and to secure safe trade in the area, Governor Spotswood was able to get funding to construct two forts that would help facilitate Indian trade: the first, Fort Christanna near the Meherrin River, and the second, Fort Germanna further north near the Rapidan River in 1714. Unlike her sister fort, Fort Germanna does not have concise records about the occupation of tribes in or near the fort.

There are records to indicate that some portion of the Saponi did travel northward from Fort Christanna to inhabit the lands controlled by Spotswood (Bushnell 1993; Grinnan 1898). In one such account, William Bohannon came and made oath that:

Figure 1. Map of tribal territories in the region.

> "about 26 Saponey Indians, who inhabited Col. Spotswood's land in Fox's Neck (near Germanna on the north side of the Rapidan River) go about and do a great deal of mischief by setting fire to the woods and more especially on the 20 day of last April, whereby several
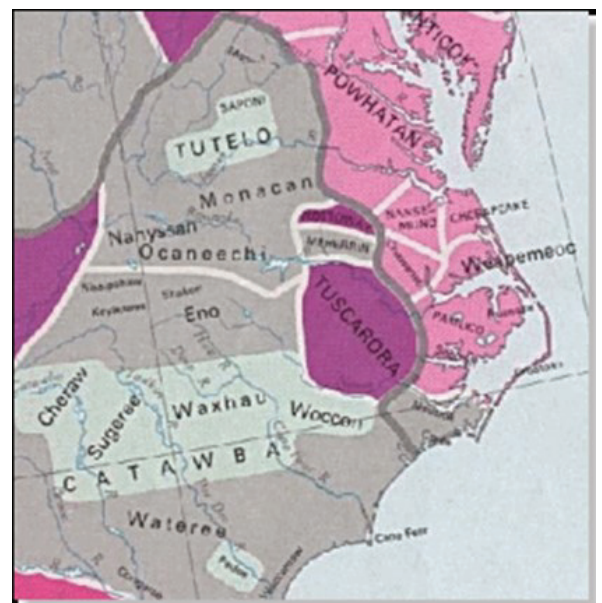
farrows of pigs wee bunt in their beds, and that he verily believes that one of them shot at him the same day, the bullet striking a tree within 4 feet of him, and that he saw the Indian about 100 yards from him, no game or any sort being between them, and that said Indian after firring [sic] his gun stood in a stooping manner, very steadily so that he could hardly discern him from a stump, and that the said Bohannon has lost more hogs than usual since the coming of the Indians" (Grinnan 1898).

There are other records of Saponi and Tutelo presence in the area on Governor Spotswood's land, but these records are not detailed. There seems to be a consensus that some tribes did migrate north to Germanna. Some Saponi groups went as far as New York and others continued to travel south to Catawba where they joined with the local tribes (Woodard et al. 2017; Williams n.d.; Gamble 2013).

There is another account I feel should be included because it is the only description I found in my research that identified a Native American who lived on the Germanna site. When Alexander Spotswood was given the title of Lieutenant Governor, he was "gifted" a Native American servant girl named Katina/Catena/Wirginia (Maxwell 1850). When he relocated to Germanna he also took her with him to serve as maid and nanny to his four children (Maxwell 1850). It is unclear from where she was taken or from what tribe she was from, but it was rumored that Katina was a Sioux Indian princess. She lived and worked for Spotswood until his death and then was willed to the Thorntons at Fall Hill mansion. She lived and worked for the Thornton family until her death in 1777 (Maxwell 1850; Dickinson 2014). There are some local legends that her ghost continues to haunt the grounds. Of this I cannot comment, but there are two accounts that do mention Katina directly. One is from William Byrd II, who mentions that he was impressed by her and gives Katina the largest tip he has ever given a servant (Dickinson 2014). The other account is from the Spotsylvania County court records, of a servant sent to the Enchanted Castle to deliver mail to the Governor, but upon his arrival he demanded for Katina to be brought to him so he may kiss her. He was swiftly kicked out of the manor, but not before destroying all the mail he was to deliver to the Governor. His rash actions landed him in the county court (Dickinson 2014). Katina is the only Native American figure that I found that could be tracked throughout her life and death who lived at Germanna/the Enchanted Castle.

Figure 2. Chalcedony graver recovered in 2016 (Site 44OR0003 Context 49; The Germanna Foundation).

What evidence is there of Native American occupation at the Germanna site? The Germanna Foundation has been hosting an internship and field school for the past several years starting in 2016. These excavations have revealed very few Native American artifacts, and all were recovered in different years and from different locations across the site. In 2016, a single chalcedony graver was recovered from the plow zone in Context 49 (Figure 2). A graver is a common tool used by Native Americans for a variety of activities, including engraving on bone or wood, puncturing holes in animal skins, and so on. Chalcedony is not an uncommon stone type to find within the mid-Atlantic region and was a popular material to make into tools. The graver was recovered from an obviously disturbed context, which reduces the amount of information we can draw from it.

In the following year, 2017 interns Kara Jonas and Ben Snyder discovered a quartzite Savannah River point in Context 56, Feature 26

Figure 3. Quartzite Savannah River point recovered in 2017 (Site 44OR003 Context 56; The Germanna Foundation).

(Figure 3; Projectile Point Identification Guide 2019). This feature was initially thought to be part of the fort wall because of its angle and proximity to the original palisade trench found by Mary Washington College excavations. However, this theory was later disproven when a utility line was found at the bottom of the trench. As heart breaking as this revelation was, it also means this point came from a disturbed context as well. So, we must treat it much the same as the point from 2016.

In the same year, less than a hundred feet away, field school student Kristin Egan found a quartz Rossville/Piscataway Point in Context 53 on the north end of the line of units dug by the field school students (Figure 4). The point was identified by Dr. Bernard K. Means. Both types of points date to the Late Archaic/Early Woodland periods (Projectile Point Identification Guide 2019). This gives us a sense of when it was made, but no other tools or flakes were found with it. So, this is more likely an isolated event rather than evidence of an occupation. This is the only Native American artifact on the site that was not recovered from an obviously disturbed context, but we cannot make any significant speculations with such a small sample size.

Figure 4. Rossville/Piscataway point recovered in 2017 (Site 44OR0003 Context 53; The Germanna Foundation).

Unfortunately, there is a severe lack of Native American artifacts and records associated with the Germanna Foundation's excavations that can be used to draw any concrete interpretations about their time here. We do know that some Saponi/Tutelo relocated to the Fort Germanna area when Fort Christanna was closed. However, we do not have any records to support that until the Orange County Court records in 1740. I believe that additional investigation is required to find evidence of Native occupation of the land granted to Governor Alexander Spotswood. Based on the difficulties the field school has had finding evidence of the other palisade walls, we may need to rethink what are considered the boundaries of Fort Germanna. Perhaps then we will find where the Native people lived and how they survived in colonial America.

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DRAWING ON THE PAST:
ILLUSTRATING 18TH-CENTURY GERMANNA

By Isabel Griffin

Introduction

  In the summer of 2017, I set out to reimagine Fort Germanna with the help of Dr. Eric Larsen, the journal of John Fontaine, and archaeology done by the Germanna Field School. I created a final illustration (Figure 1) to serve as signage at the Fort Germanna visitor center.

  During the summer of 1714, nine families of German indentured servants migrated to Virginia to inhabit Fort Germanna. John Fontaine's description of his 1715 visit is the only firsthand account of Fort Germanna in existence. An illustration created in the 1950's is based on that text (Holtzclaw 1964:6; Figure 2).

  These pieces of information from Fontaine's description are most relevant to my illustration:
- The Germans consumed beef and cabbage.
- The pentagonal fort had palisades that could withstand a musket shot.
- There was a central pentagonal blockhouse (complete with loopholes) whose sides "answered" the sides of the palisades.
- There were nine houses built in a line, with hog sties in front of each house creating a street between them.
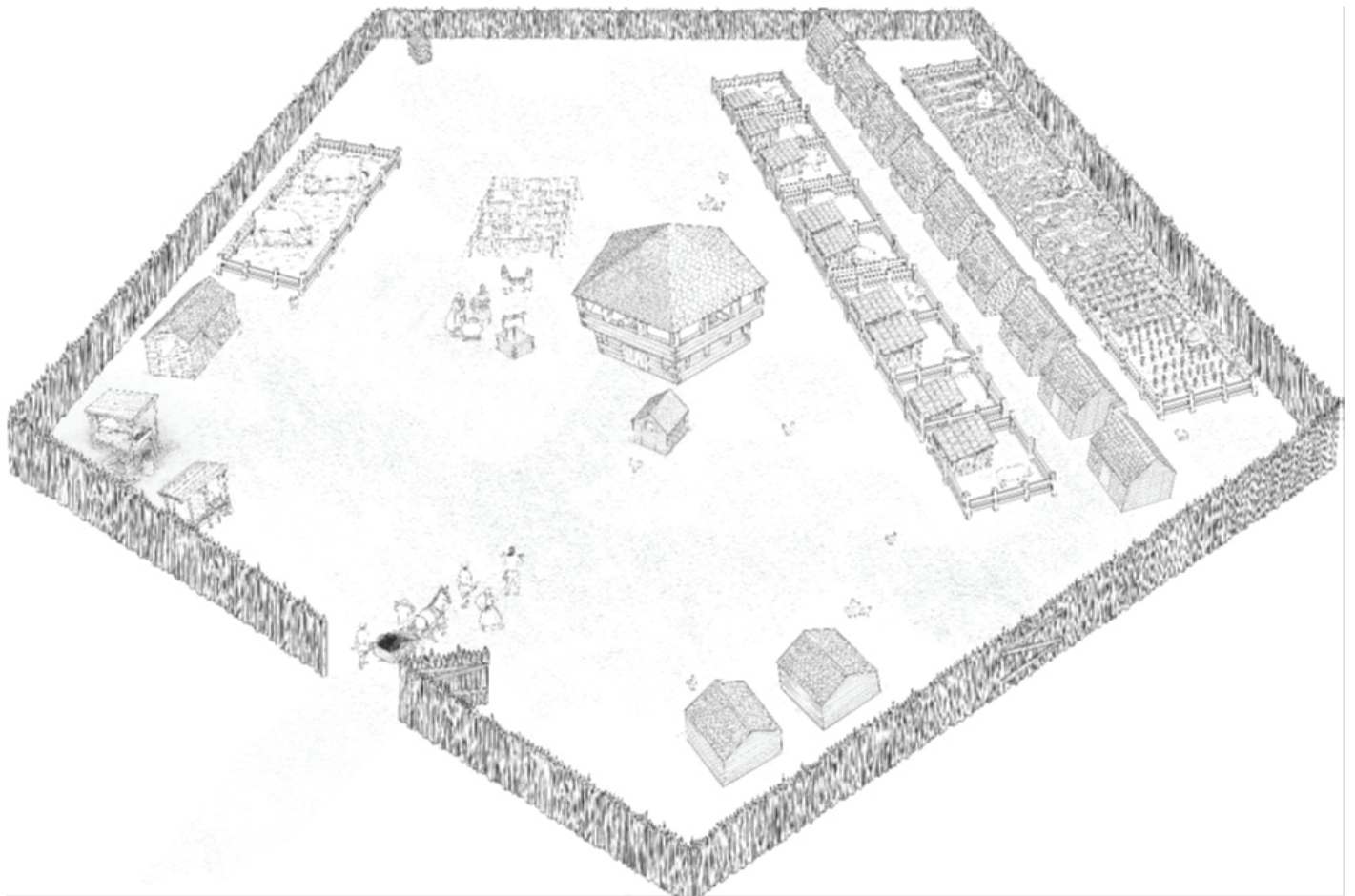

Figure 1. Artist rendering of Fort Germanna (All figures by author, unless noted).
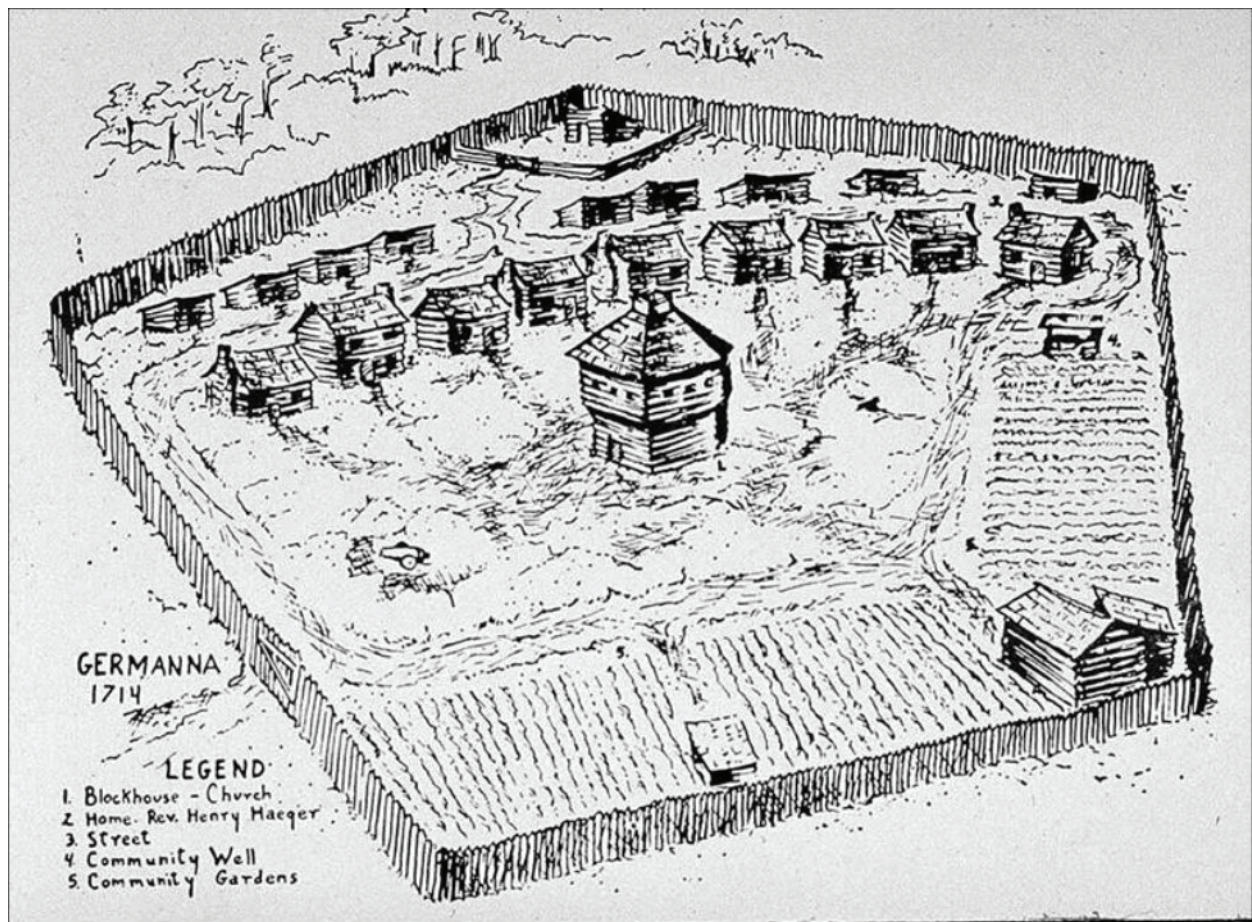
Figure 2. Previous illustration of the fort at Germanna, appearing in Holtzclaw 1964.

Layout

From here, Dr. Larsen and I speculated layouts that fit Fontaine's description. Since the archaeology of Fort Germanna is still in its infancy, we had to take a lot of creative license. Much of the final footprint of the fort is pure conjecture (Figure 3). In addition to the blockhouse, nine dwellings, pig pens, and palisades, Dr. Larsen and I chose to include a fenced-in garden, a bake oven, a well, a privy, a corral and stable, a forge, a powder magazine, and two warehouses.

SketchUp

Once we had a footprint that made sense, I created a 3D model of the fort in SketchUp so we could explore the possibilities of perspective (Figure 4). When we started the project, Dr. Larsen mentioned his qualms with the aerial view of the 1950's illustration. No one would have seen the fort from that angle, he argued. We wanted to make our illustration more immersive and relatable than the previous one. However, we ended up opting for an aerial view to showcase the iconic pentagonal palisade and blockhouse. We figured that the addition of characters would make our interpretation feel warmer than the preexisting one.

Visualizing the Inhabitants

Once we chose a perspective, I took a screenshot and began sketching in characters and non-architectural details (Figure 5). I used this screenshot as a map that informed the perspective from which I would draw the characters.

Characters

Creating characters to inhabit the fort was my favorite part of this project. For me, envisioning them going about their daily tasks brought Fort Germanna to life. My character designs are based on illustrations of working-class Germans of the 17th century by Léon Bonvin, Johan Zoffany, Nicolas Bernard Lépicié, Francis Wheatley, and others. I first drew the characters out on paper, then scanned them and placed them in the scene (Figures 6 and 7).
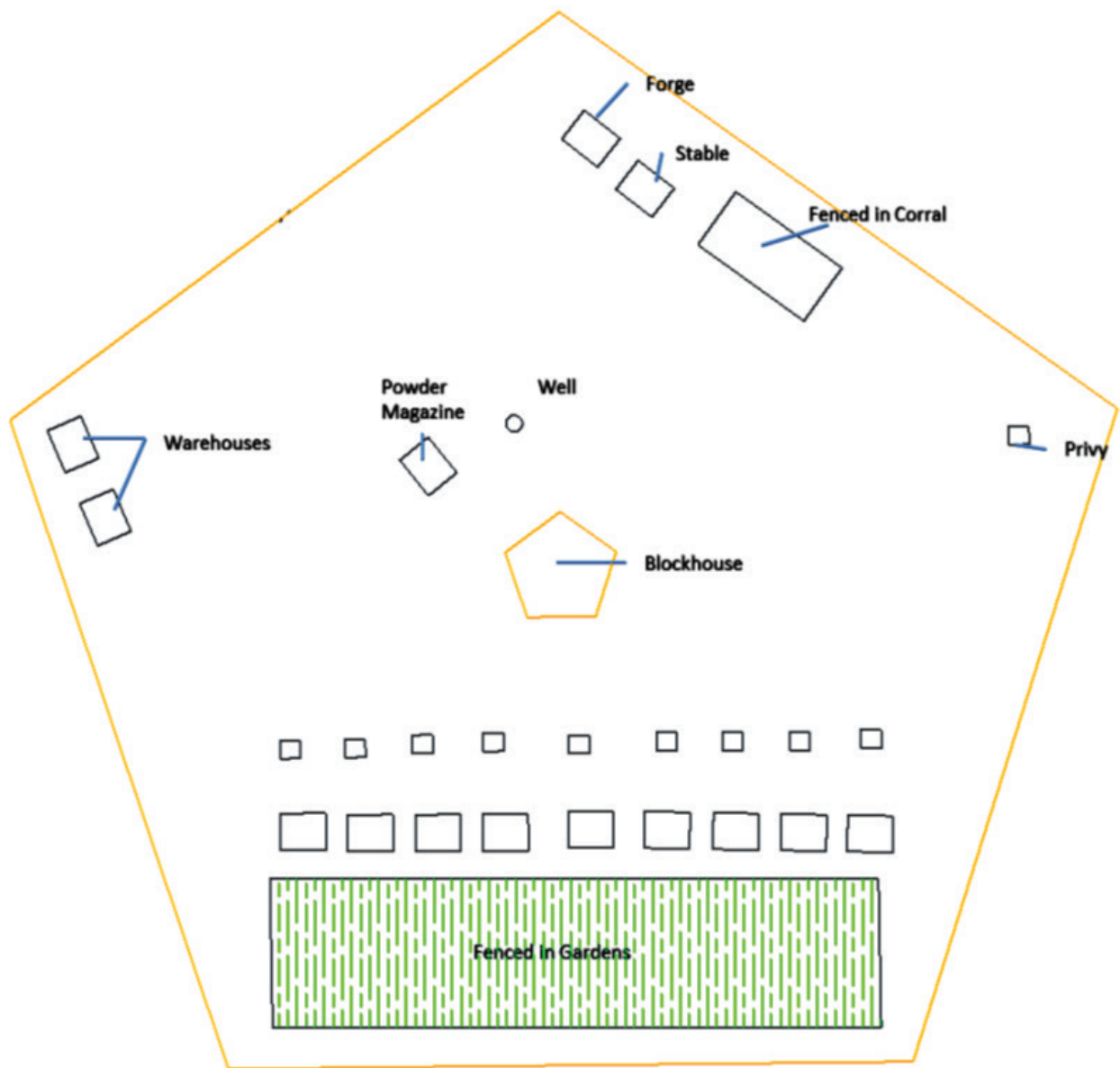
Figure 3. Conjectural layout of the fort based on Fontaine's description.

Chores

Unlike the English, clean clothes mattered to the Germans. And laundry was no small feat. Wood had to be gathered for fuel, water collected and heated, soap had to be made, and then of course there is the work of washing, scrubbing, and drying the clothes. This would likely be a communal task, requiring a fire pit not far from the well, a big cauldron of water, and possibly clotheslines (Figures 8 and 9). This was women's work, and children's help would be enlisted as needed. Other chores around the fort included but were not limited to: harvesting the bounty from the garden (Figure 10), tending to livestock (Figures 11 and 12); and ironwork (Figures 13 and 14). The men would have collected iron ore from a nearby mine. Iron was processed and then worked at the forge. Knowledge of ironwork was the main appeal for Alexander Spotswood's investment in Fort Germanna.

I placed my drawings of the fort's inhabitants on top of the screenshot and began tracing the architectural elements. Then I began the tedious process of digitally inking everything so that the final illustration would be the proper resolution and have cohesive line-weight. The stamp tool and custom brush alphas saved me a lot of time on textures (Figure 15).
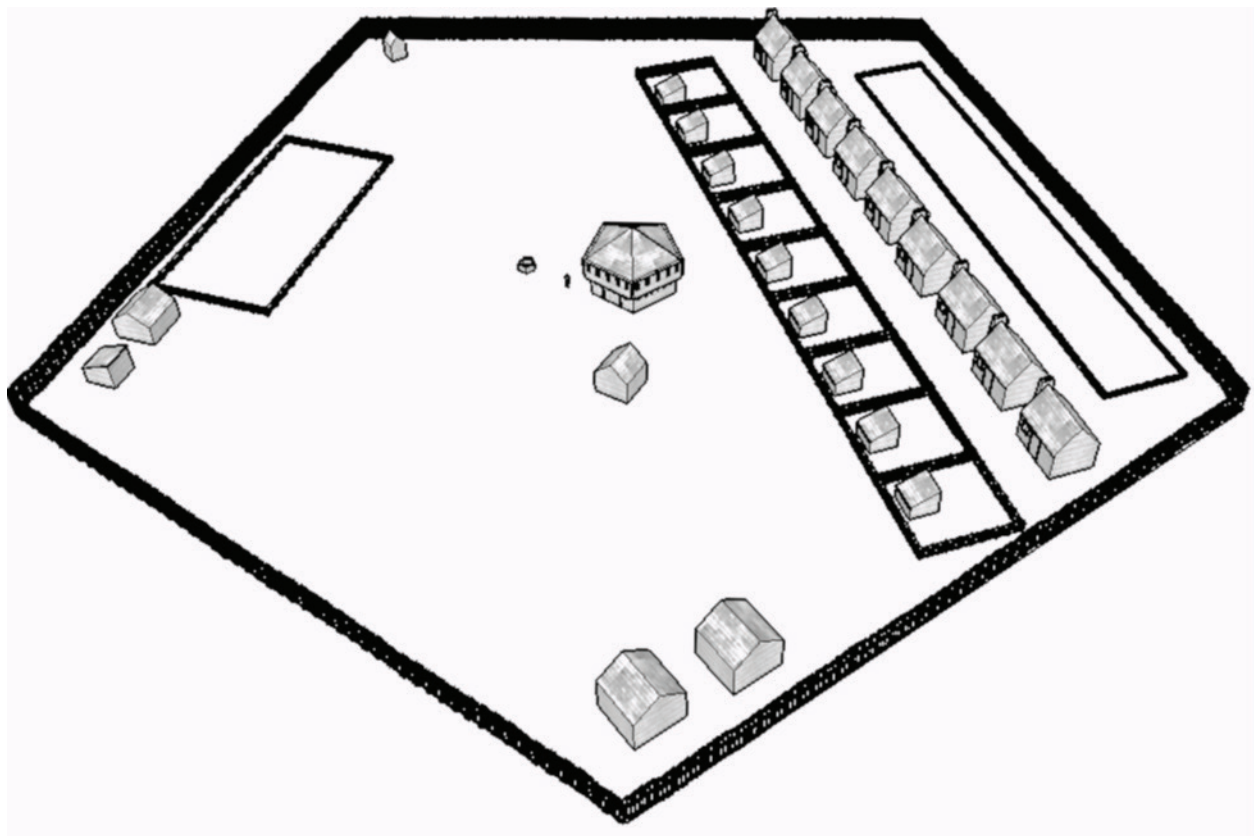
Figure 4. 3D model of the fort using SketchUp.
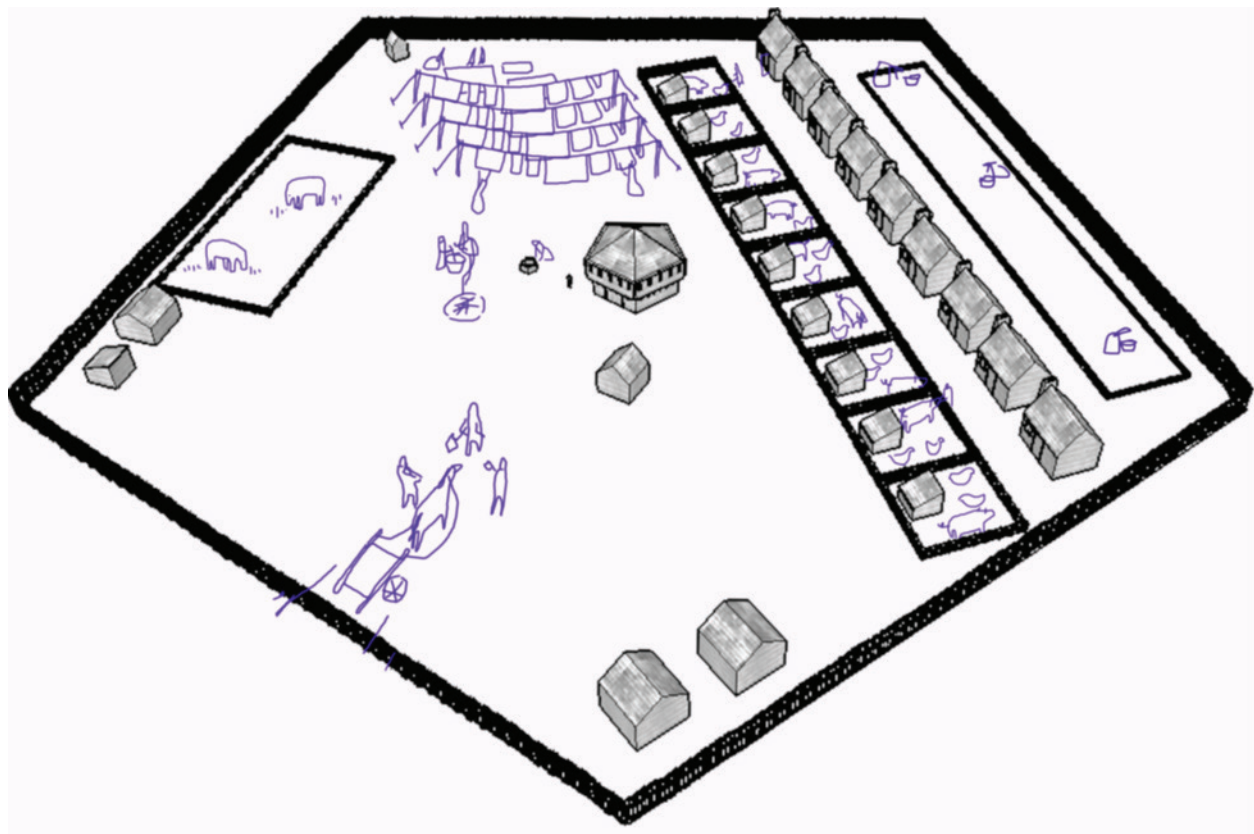
Figure 5. 3D model with characters and other details sketched in.

Figure 6. Sketches of scenes at Germanna: a woman gardening.
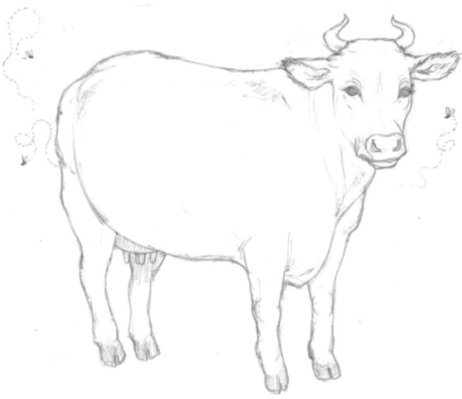
Figure 7. A cow and a woman carrying vegetables.

Figure 8. Laundry drying on clotheslines.
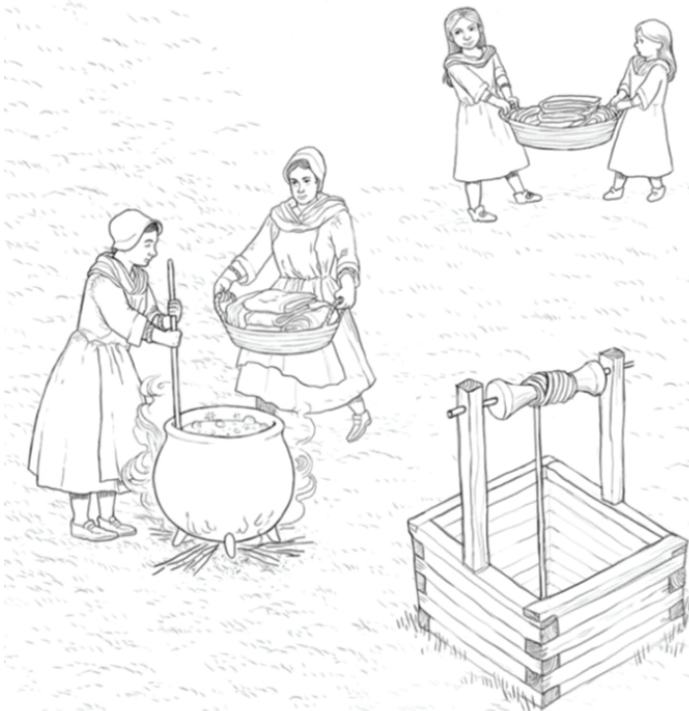
Figure 9. Woman and children cleaning clothes.

Figure 10. Harvesting crops in the garden.
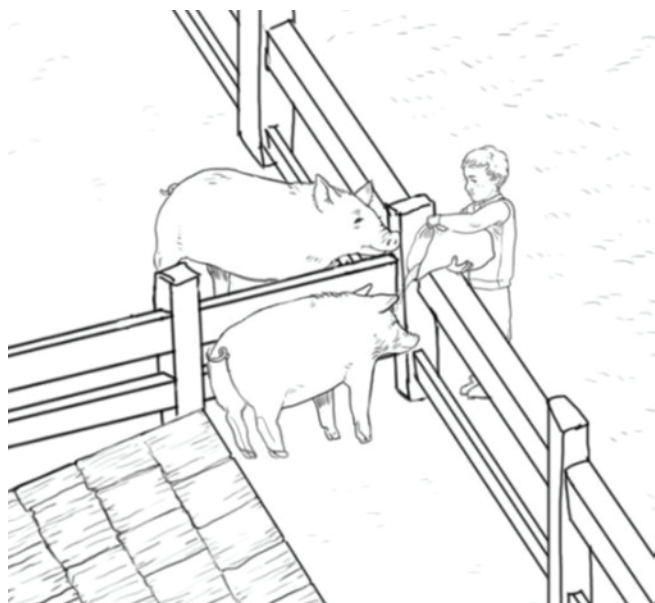
Figure 11. Tending to pigs.
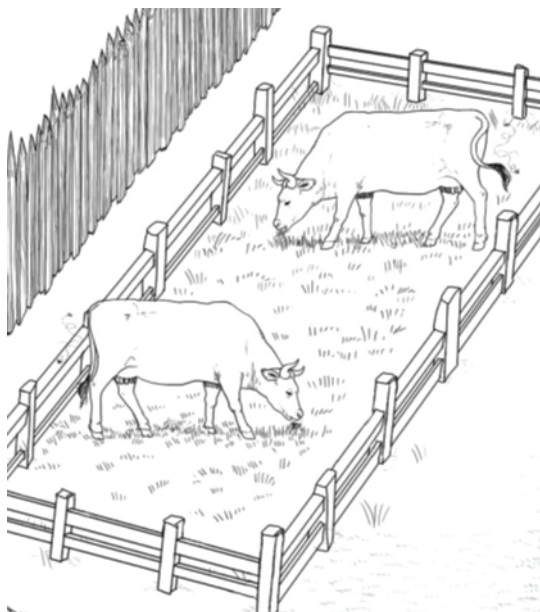
Figure 12. Cows grazing.
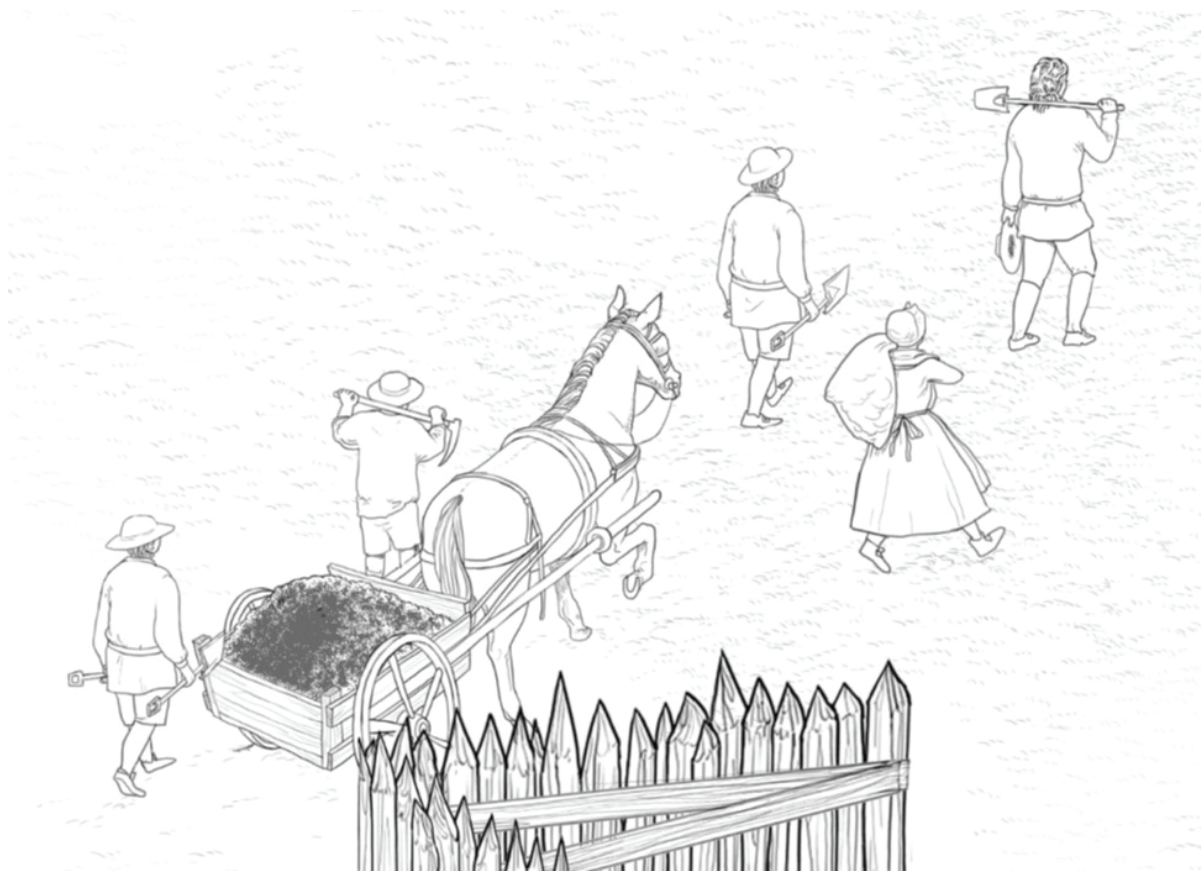
Figure 13. Bringing iron ore to Germanna.

Blockhouse

The blockhouse was originally intended to be a place for the Germans to retreat to and defend themselves, should they ever have to. However, being devout Protestants, the Germans mainly used the blockhouse for worship and services. Fontaine mentions attending one of the services and being unable to understand the Psalms because they were sung in German.

Our rendition is based on the 17th-century blockhouse reconstruction for Plymouth Plantation. From the outside it appears to have a second story, but from the inside it looks more like a platform for several cannons with a pavilion-like roof (Figure 16).

Dwellings

The nine dwellings are modeled after the log cabin reconstructions at Montpelier. We can't be sure what these buildings looked like at this juncture, so we decided to depict them as timber structures because: a) the fort was probably not built to last, and b) the visual differences between log dwelling and post-in-ground construction methods would be minimal, especially once covered by clapboard (Figure 17).

Figure 14. Iron forge and bread oven.

The short sides of the houses were gabled with the roof peak running between them, and likely finished with wood shingles. The long side facing the hog sty would have a door in the middle of it and windows to let
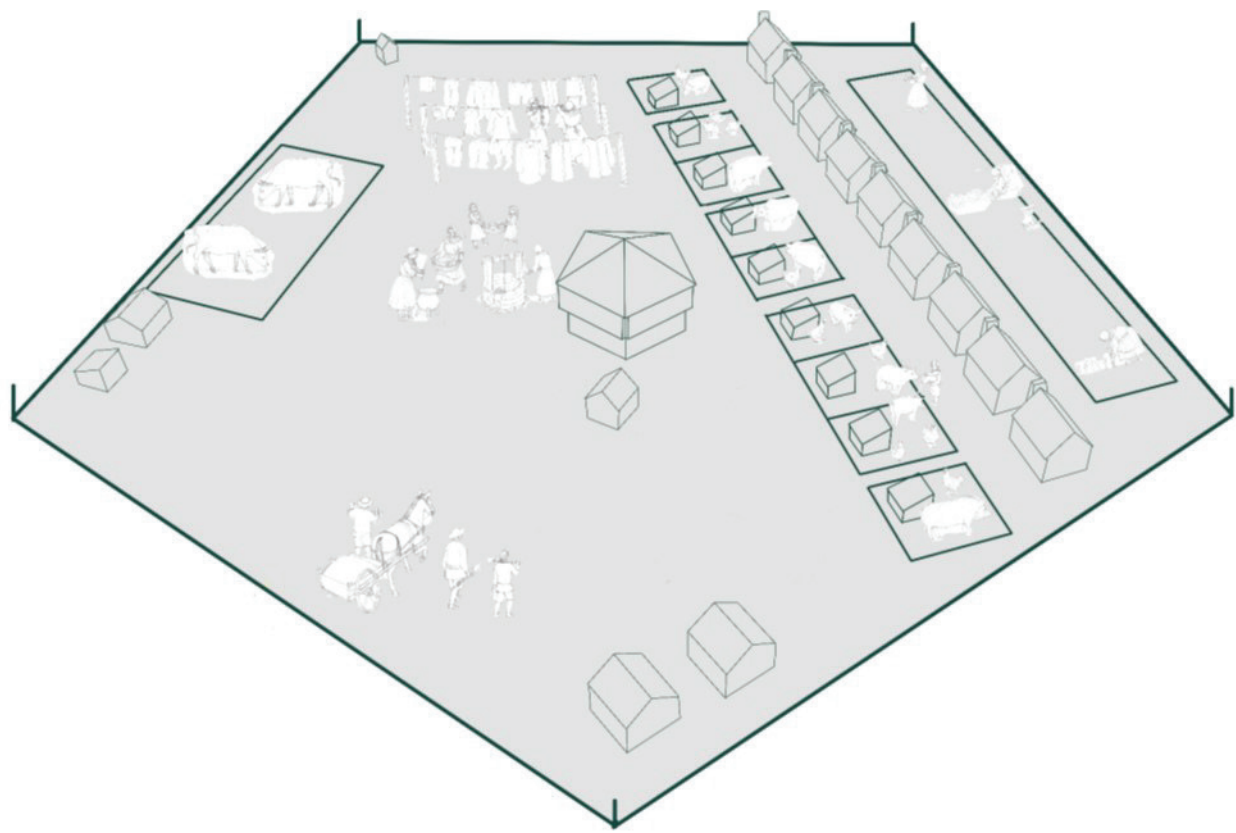
Figure 15. Combining all the various elements into one drawing
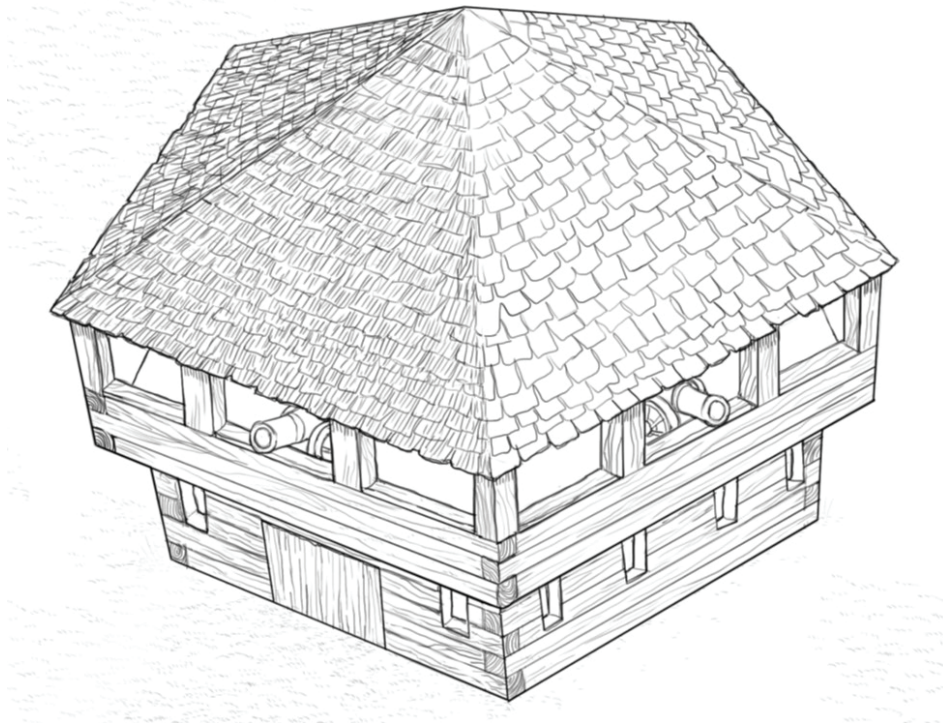
Figure 16. The blockhouse.
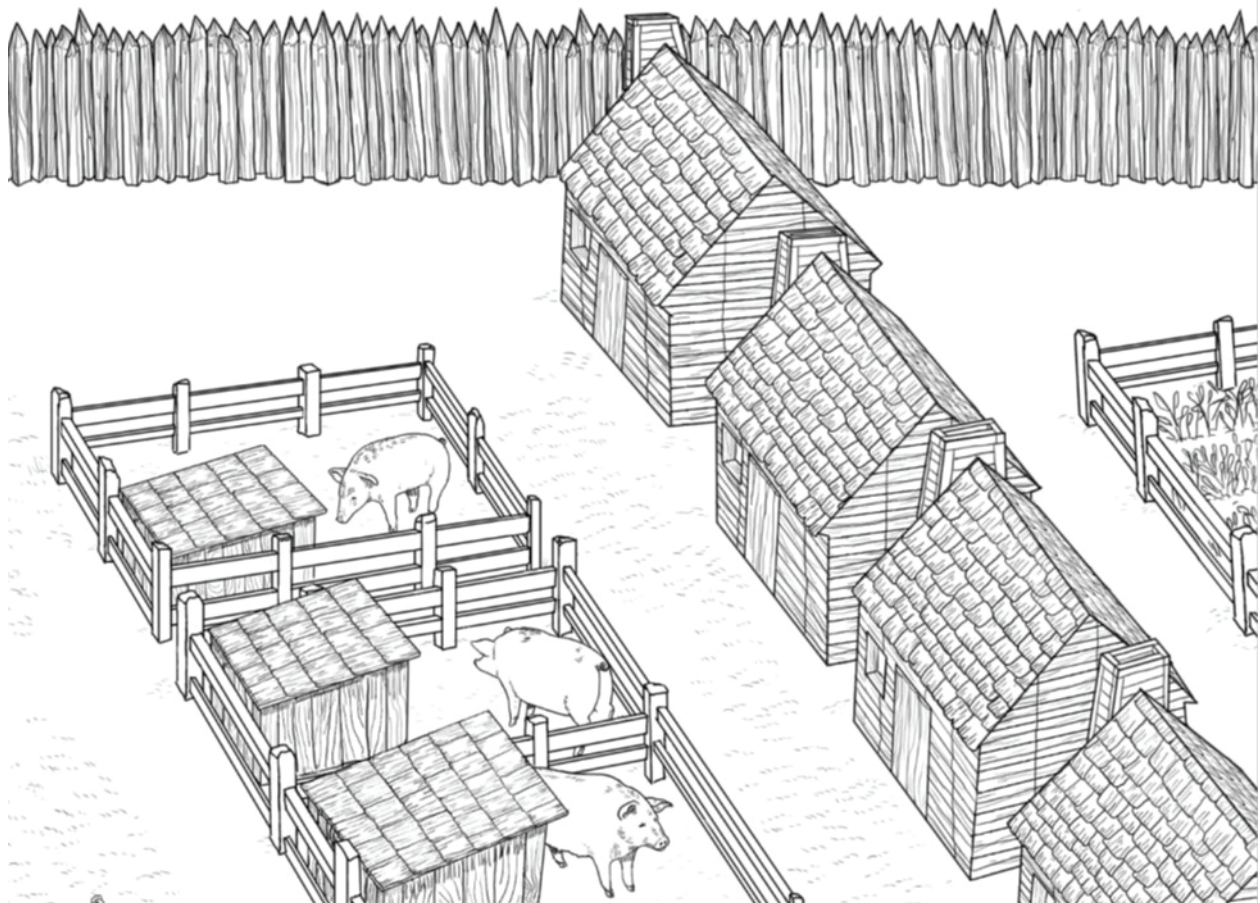
Figure 17. The dwellings.

in light. Each house also had a chimney so that the families could boil their own water and cook their own meals.

Together, I hope these speculative details capture the imaginations of visitors and encourage them to immerse themselves in a world that once was. Illustrations are a great way to promote intrigue.

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BRICK AND MORTAR:
STUDIES OF STYLISTIC DESIGN AT THE 18TH-CENTURY ENCHANTED CASTLE

By Brittany Blanchard

The Germanna Foundation offers archaeological field technician internships to college students and recent graduates so that they may practice and improve upon fieldwork skills while excavating at the 18th-century Fort Germanna site. This opportunity allows interns to work closely with students enrolled in Virginia Commonwealth University's (VCU) archaeological field school in a setting where interns can help teach techniques necessary for archaeological excavation while learning about Virginia's historical past together. While searching for evidence of the historic Fort Germanna in a landscape owned and controlled by Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood, archaeologists also encounter aspects of his personal life and homestead near the Rapidan River.

During the summer of 2018, field archaeologists, students, and volunteers excavated 14 test units along the northern perimeter of the remnants of Alexander Spotswood's personal manor— "the Enchanted Castle". The work took place under the supervision of Site Director, Dr. Eric Larsen, and Assistant Site Director, Samantha Taylor. This article reflects upon Spotswood's estate while focusing on architectural discoveries during excavation and how they can be interpreted as stylistic choices for the early frontier manor. The specific focus encompasses brick and mortar uncovered from two test units at the eastern edge of the 2018 excavation block (Figure 1).

Archaeologists rely on background research to better understand the artifacts uncovered during excavation so that they may connect these pieces of history to events that have helped shaped their presence as physical evidence of the past. It helps to view who and what influenced events in the past and compare artifacts to others discovered in similar settings. Excavating architectural material that once made up a portion of the front façade for Spotswood's personal manor motivated questions about the wider history of this landscape. Examination of these architectural objects stimulated several questions including: why do the recovered bricks show a lack of uniformity in shape and color? How were the bricks laid in place? What made this particular home stand out among others in the region?

Figure 1. Test units at the northern excavation block. The two test units circled in red contained the examined architectural components (Fairfield Foundation for Germanna Archaeology 2018).

Looking at Spotswood's past and influences that may have shaped his choices provides a context for understanding the archaeology at the Enchanted Castle. Born in Tangier, Morocco in 1676 to Catharine Mercer and Dr. Robert Spotswood, young Alexander Spotswood moved to England where he proceeded to graduate from the Westminster School in London. He then spent 17 years serving in the British Army when "he was rewarded with the post lieutenant-governor, commander-in-chief, and vice admiral of the colony of Virginia" (Hood 2019). Primarily centered in the then capitol, Williamsburg, Spotswood aided in the design and construction of several formal structures in Virginia. He served as an architect and chief contractor responsible for completing the Governor's Palace, as well as the College of William and Mary. He assisted in the construction of Bruton Parish Church and Williamsburg's Powder Magazine. According to M. Kent Brinkley and Gordon W. Chappell who co-wrote *A Williamsburg Perspective on Colonial Gardens*, Spotswood:

> "… undertook at great expense the task of building a monumental garden at the governor's mansion. For elegance and extravagance, nothing in the colony exceeded the governor's gardens…For Spotswood, gardens were synonymous with civilized and elegant living, and his garden designs were traditionally formal, geometric, and well balanced. This is the conclusion we can draw from a copperplate engraving discovered in 1929 by a Colonial Williamsburg researcher in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, about 190 years after it was originally executed" (Brinkley and Chappell 1995).

Considering these experiences, Spotswood was able to practice architectural and landscape design in the expanding Virginian colonies while materializing ideals of a more elegant lifestyle typical of English gentry. Spotswood recognized what sophistication looked like, and had learned how to apply those concepts in a new area with limited access to European commodities. These opportunities aided in generating ideas for his future personal residence so that it might reflect "Britain's majesty and sway" (Olmert 2014).

During the 17th century, the ideas of classical Greek and Roman architecture based on symmetry was brought to England and spread to colonies in America by the 18th century. This style of construction has been identified as Georgian architecture. These were formalized, well-balanced buildings that required mathematic ratios to achieve even proportions. Typically, a Georgian structure includes uniform stone or brickwork with evenly spaced doors and sashed windows, a hipped roof, pronounced chimneys, and decorative elements such as a pediment situated above the entrance (Figure 2). Pattern books produced in England became available to guide architects through the necessary components while individuals could embellish upon the design to suit their preferences. In 1722, Spotswood was recalled from his post in Williamsburg. He returned to England where he married Butler Brayne. By 1729, he returned to Virginia with his family to settle in Spotsylvania County in what

Figure 2. Example of Georgian architecture (Jeffery 2017).

is now known as the Enchanted Castle (Hood 1978). The Enchanted Castle was the elaborate, Georgian-inspired manor that functioned as his personal residence. This structure was largely abandoned after Spotswood's death in 1740. The home was later consumed by a fire around 1750. There are no known plans or drawings and only a few written descriptions of the manor remain. Much of what is known today about the Enchanted Castle has been learned through archaeological excavation paired with historical analysis (Figure 3). During the 2018 excavations, the team came across a small segment of this historic manor and built upon those re-imaginings while looking at intriguing artifacts that functioned both as supportive structural components for the house as well as decorative adornments intended to incite an emotional response.

VCU's field school instructor, Dr. Bernard Means, also runs the Virtual Curation Laboratory at the college's campus. This lab has developed a methodology for 3D scanning and digitally preserving artifacts, which may be replicated through 3D printing and used for educational purposes. The first test unit explored in
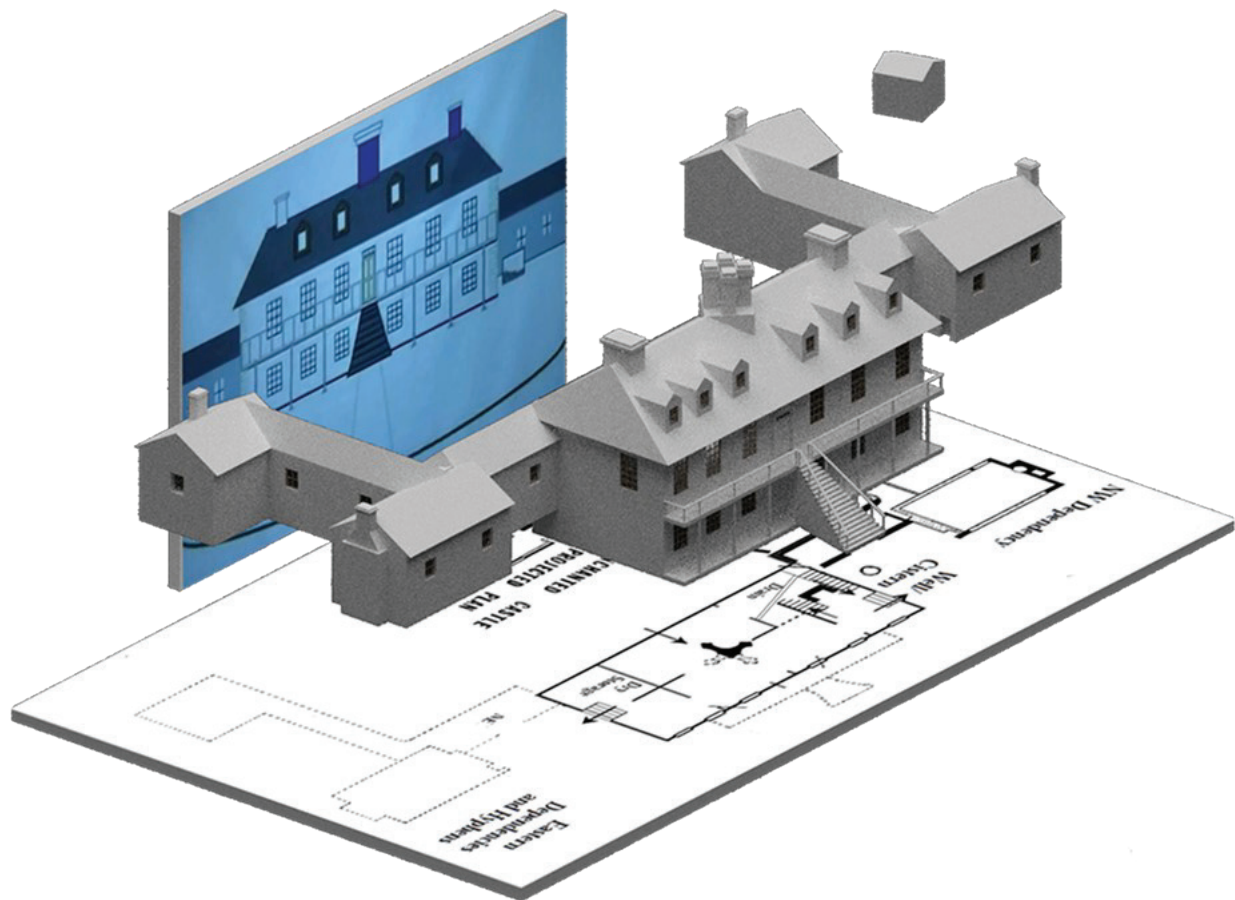
Figure 3. This 3D replica of the Enchanted castle was generated using archaeologically identified floor plans and 2D CAD drawings (Trickett 2017).

this paper contained a brick that was selected to be scanned and printed at the lab. At the time it was chosen, it was thought to be just an ordinary representative example of the thousands of handmade bricks being recovered from the excavation units. After it was scanned and printed, Laura Galke (Small Finds Analyst for the George Washington Foundation at the time), examined the brick replica and identified an odd but significant shape to this particular brick. When viewed from one side, the brick forms a wedge (Figure 4). This brick would have needed a specialized mold for its manufacture.

This specialized brick was made to serve a singular purpose. When replicas are stacked upon each other, they form a 28-inch space large enough to serve as an archway framing a door or large window (Figure 5). Utilizing a specialized mold to create this design aligns with evidence uncovered during the 1980s field school held by Mary Washington College when an archway for a tunnel was exposed during their excavations. This may suggest that Spotswood allocated resources to enhance the indoor design of his household. and it is possible that he would have applied similar patterns to the manor's exterior. The rounded arch design had been employed by masons under the Roman Empire and was incorporated into Georgian architecture adding elegance and balance to a structure. This element appeared in architectural stylebooks during the period and can also be seen at the historic Peter Tuft house built in Medford, Massachusetts during the 1680s, which exemplifies how the design was subtly integrated with Georgian architecture.

Figure 4. Wedge-shaped brick selected for virtual curation (Germanna Archaeology).
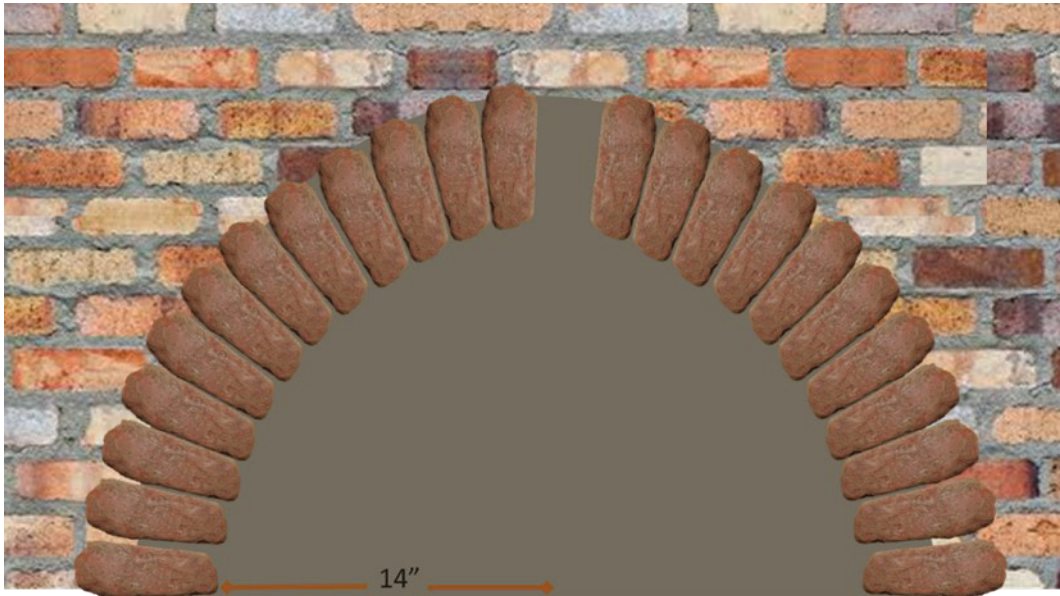
Figure 5. Digital replicas of the wedge-shaped brick stacked upon each other form an archway (Germanna Archaeology).

The second unit explored for this article contained a mass of brick and mortar rubble directly under the topsoil and protective fill. This was labeled Feature 40 and the unit contained 1,463 handmade brick and mortar elements. The brick portions ranged from whole to fragmented and 226 of those pieces were glazed. As they dried over a few days after excavation, the glazed bricks turned from deep blue-green grey to a sparkling lighter blue mottled with a darker olive green. This effect would have been impressive after a rainstorm or on a dry, sunny day if the glazed bricks were incorporated as decorative elements on the manor's façade (Figure 6). Glazed bricks used for stylistic purposes can been seen in Flemish bond patterns where glazed headers are dispersed among red stretchers. The glazed effect was created by stacking bricks in a kiln so that those closest to the heat source would vitrify. In an article for the Institute of Classical Architecture & Art's blog, Calder Loth writes that:

> "In colonial Virginia and neighboring colonies, brick kilns were normally fueled with oak. The potassium in oak produced a chemical reaction with the clay resulting in the clear blue-gray glazes on the headers" (Loth 2011).

During the colonial period, oak was a readily available but valuable commodity for several industries ranging from ship building to barrel making.

Analyzing the architectural components found in this unit led to the identification of a three-and-a-half-inch mortar fragment. When comparing this piece to an image of mortar joints in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, it was easy to see strong similarities with the tuck point finish (Figure 7). The caption for the image describes this as the "most expensive finish" which seems fitting to have appeared on Spotswood's manor (Carson and Lounsbury 2013). The purpose of this joint style is to give the appearance of fine and even masonry. It is achieved by smoothing mortar so that it is flush with the adjoining bricks. Then a brick jointer tool with a thin blade is used to impress a line in the mortar so that a putty mortar can be 'tucked' into the slot created and trimmed to create a ribbon effect running between the bricks. According to master bricklayer, educator and author, Gerard Lynch in the article "Tuck Pointing":

Figure 6. Glazed brick excavated from Feature 40 (Germanna Archaeology).

Figure 7. Mortar fragment with a tuck point finish (left) excavated from Feature 40 (Germanna Archaeology), and (right) tuck point joint example shown in *The Chesapeake House* (Carson 2013).

"Tuck pointing in England probably evolved from continental influence during the late 17th century, where it is to be seen in the Netherlands, Flanders and parts of France, such as Normandy" (Lynch 2019).

One of the goals for conducting research at this site is to locate historic Fort Germanna's palisade walls. The fort was approved by Spotswood around 1714 and it was constructed as a massive pentagonal shaped structure, measuring 300 feet per side. Four to six years later, the fort was taken down and replaced with the Enchanted Castle around 1720. During the 1990s, while archaeologists excavated the Enchanted Castle, possible evidence of a palisade wall in a linear feature was discovered beneath the foundation of Spotswood's manor, which may have marked the boundaries of Fort Germanna. The series of test units placed during the 2018 fields season were laid out in an alignment that would ideally intersect with another segment of that palisade feature. In order to find it (or not), a layer of brick rubble needed to be removed to expose the former living surface. While a continuation of that linear feature was not identified, what was revealed at the base of one of the units on the east end of the line was pretty amazing. One and a half feet below surface was an intact lined pathway with glazed and unglazed brick laid in a herringbone pattern (Figure 8).

Dating back to the Roman Empire, this zigzag pattern was incorporated in Rome's roadways. The shape allows lanes to be manipulated so that they will form slight curves that will wrap or bend gracefully along a path. This pathway runs parallel with the front of the house. Leading alongside the front of the manor, this path could have traveled to side dependencies or into a landscaped garden situated before the front entrance. Several of the western units in the excavation block revealed irregular features that maintained a circular shape and have been interpreted as possible pits for plantings.

Impressively, Spotswood was able to conceive a massive idea for his manor which required precise execution through the agency of individuals able to uphold his architectural standards while working in a vast land rich with Virginia clay and native trees near the Rapidan river. The archaeological evidence of his grand homestead supports the notion that it would have stood out among the landscape as a symbol of English refinement brought to these lands. It consisted of popular, yet expensive design work

Figure 8. Herringbone patterned pathway at the base of Feature 40 (Germanna Archaeology).

suitable for a gentleman of high class with its elegantly uniform floor plan and manicured formal gardens. Architectural artifacts compared to examples of Georgian structural design indicate that Spotswood would have had the financial means to construct a monumental residence that would have allowed visitors to recognize that an individual of importance occupied this land.

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SEARCH FOR THE FIRST SPOTSYLVANIA COUNTY COURTHOUSE

By Kelly Arford-Horne

Abstract

In the late summer of 2021, archaeologists at the Germanna Foundation turned their attention to a neglected stone foundation nestled into a U-shaped depression on a bluff overlooking the Rapidan River (Site 44OR159). The foundation was first identified in the 1980s by archaeologists working with the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology (VRCA) on a salvage project at the site of Alexander Spotswood's Enchanted Castle house (c. 1721) and the historic town of Germanna. Working against an encroaching deadline imposed by impending development, the archaeologists with VRCA excavated a single trench along the southern edge of the depression, uncovering what appeared to be a portion of a stone foundation. The artifacts recovered from the trench, along with the location of the site in the vicinity of the historic town, led them to believe the possible foundation could be associated with the first Spotsylvania County courthouse (c. 1722). With the threat of development eliminated after the purchase of the property by a preservation organization, investigations at the foundation effectively came to a close for the following decades. Then, in 2021, as a part of the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the formation of Spotsylvania County, archaeologists with the Germanna Foundation renewed excavations of the structural remains with the goal of clarifying their association with the courthouse. While new excavations at the site are just beginning and there is ample research left to do, the hope is to eventually learn more about the historic town of Germanna and the courthouse, which held a significant influence over lives and communities in early 18th-century Spotsylvania County. The following article summarizes research, results, and goals for initializing investigations around the search for the first Spotsylvania County courthouse.

Introduction

Historic Germanna is located in central Virginia inside a horseshoe bend of the Rapidan River in what is now Orange County. Much of the focus of archaeological excavations at Germanna has been on resources dating to the early 1700s including Alexander Spotswood's Enchanted Castle house (c. 1721, Site 44OR0003) and Fort Germanna (c. 1714, Site 44OR0003), which briefly housed a group of German immigrants (Barile 2005; Barile et al 2009; Hazzard 1984; Larsen 2018; Sanford and Parker 1986). Recently, archaeologists have turned their attention to a stone foundation thought to be associated with the first Spotsylvania County courthouse, which was constructed in Germanna in the early 1720s. This was a time when diverse cultures (from Africa and Europe and established Native American groups) were encountering each other for the first time and were in the process of working through the complicated order of social relationships. The courthouse played a key role in these critical interactions as the central venue where decisions were made that reflected upon and upheld the way in which this emerging society valued individuals within the community. While this was true across the colony, it is especially interesting for a site like Germanna, which captures a time when many of those statuses and values were still in the process of being established.

While written documents from the time and location can provide a great deal of insight into these social workings, the hope of Germanna Archaeology is that archaeology has the potential to expand on that base and shed light on the finer details of those relationships. Because explorations of this resource are only just beginning, written sources and comparisons with related sites around Virginia are guiding excavations. The primary goal of archaeological investigations will be to identify structures within the town of Germanna with a specific focus on locating the site of the first Spotsylvania County courthouse, which archaeologists speculate may have already been found.

History of the Courthouse at Germanna

Throughout his tenure as Lieutenant Governor, Alexander Spotswood expressed concern for the protection of English colonists against attacks from Native American groups to the west of the colony. His
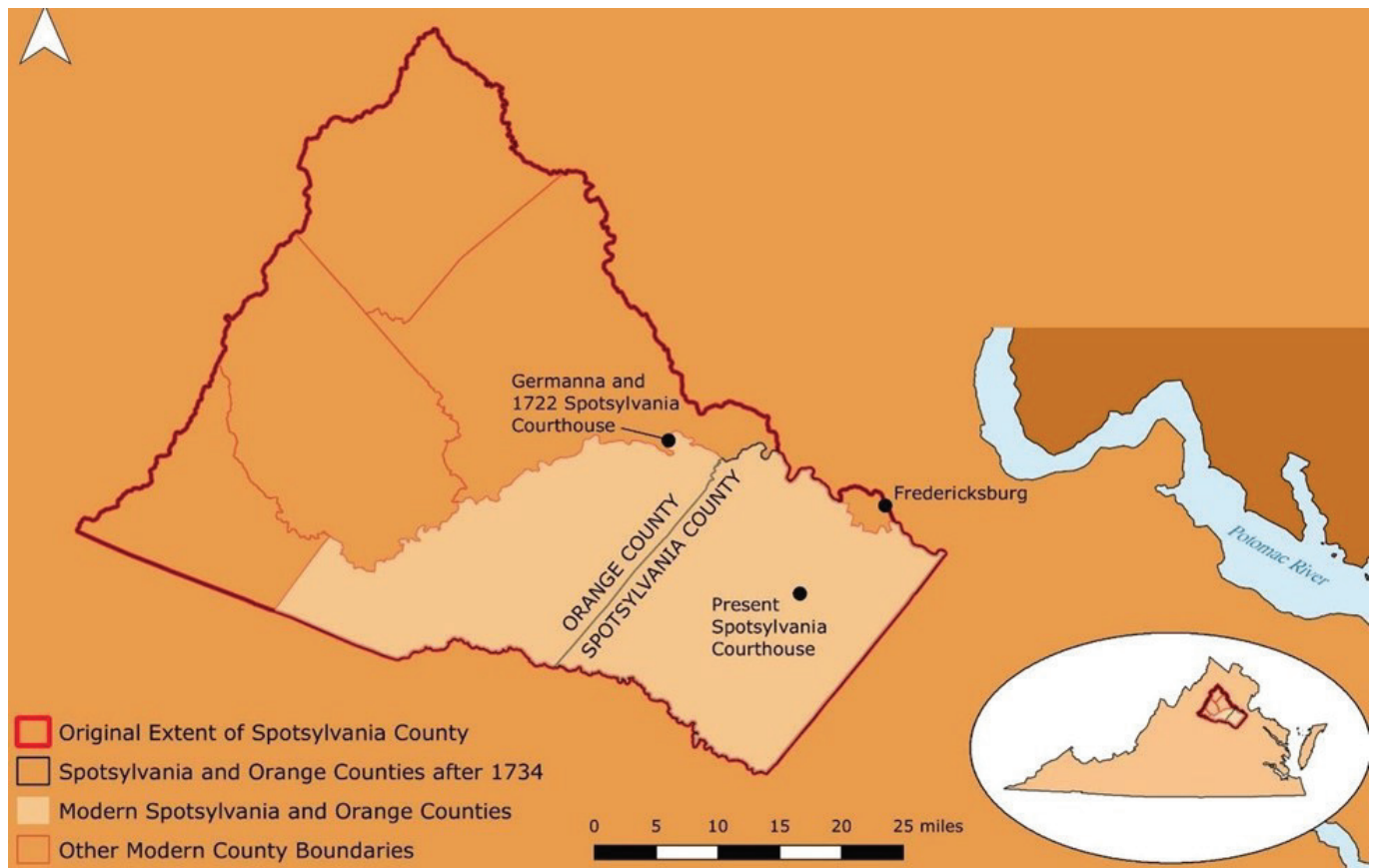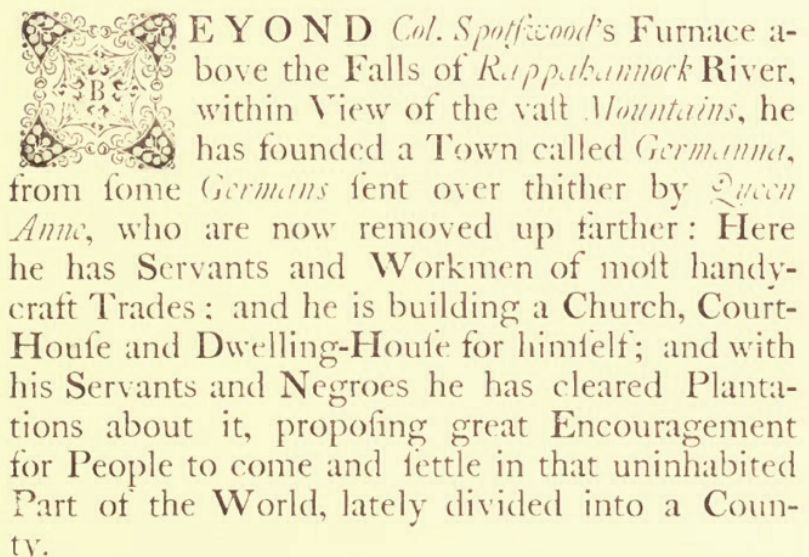
Figure 1. Map showing the location of the courthouse at Germanna (c.1722) and county boundaries (Sources: Spotsylvania County, US Census Bureau, Google Maps, Germanna Archaeology 2021).

hope was to maintain a positive relationship with those groups and he created Fort Germanna and its sister fort, Fort Christanna, in 1714 in an attempt to establish a visible presence along the western edge of English settlement. In 1721, Spotswood and the General Assembly officially solidified that presence with an act that formed separate counties around the two forts. The act established Brunswick County around Fort Christanna and, surrounding Fort Germanna, Spotsylvania County was formed from portions of Essex, King William, and King and Queen Counties (Figure 1). Both counties were allotted five hundred pounds to construct a church, courthouse, prison, pillory and stocks (Hening 1820:77). In Spotsylvania County, the General Assembly gave Spotswood the authority to hire the labor and provide the materials for the project and also granted him the liberty to choose the location of the new county seat. At the time Spotswood was in the process of constructing a new home at the former location of Fort Germanna, which the Germans had recently abandoned. His elaborate Georgian-style house would come to be known as the Enchanted Castle and Spotswood chose a location next to this home for the setting of the church and courthouse. During his travels through the area in the early 1720s, Hugh Jones noted the extensive construction at Germanna and wrote that Spotswood had engaged "…Servants and Workmen of most handycraft Trades; and he is building a Church, Courthouse and Dwelling-House for himself; and with his Servants and Negroes he has cleared Plantations about it…" (Figure 2; Jones 1724:59). Spotswood had instigated massive changes to the population and environment along the Rapidan River, and the courthouse at Germanna was emerging right at the center of that transformation.

While the first session of court for the newly formed Spotsylvania County was held in August of 1722, records suggest court proceedings were held inside a room of the Enchanted Castle until Spotswood formally surrendered the courthouse to the county in April of 1724. At that time Spotswood reported that he had completed construction of the buildings, "…all but a little plastering over the justices bench… and little remaining to be done to the prison pillory and stocks…" (Miller 1985:24; Spotsylvania County Will Book A:67). He also released to the county the room above the prison for the use of the justices and jury but did not surrender the room used as the clerk's office. While the magistrates of Spotsylvania County thanked Spotswood, "for building so fine a courthouse," their enthusiasm for the new building was short-lived. Complaints to the General Assembly about the location of the courthouse started almost immediately after its

completion. Spotswood owned tens of thousands of acres surrounding Germanna and court officials and patrons alike resented the long travel distances through his property. In the eyes of many of the justices the new town of Fredericksburg presented a more ideal location for the county seat and in 1732 they drafted a bill for the relocation of the courthouse away from Germanna (Shepard 1979). The first court session in Fredericksburg was held in August of 1732, although the construction of the new courthouse was not completed until several years later.

Figure 2. Excerpt from Hugh Jones' _The Present State of Virginia, 1724_.

What did the courthouse at Germanna look like?

While no drawings or detailed descriptions exist, there are other approaches we can take when attempting to discern what the courthouse at Germanna may have looked like. We know the courthouse was constructed under the direction of Alexander Spotswood, who was an individual with a well-developed interest in architecture. By the time the courthouse was under construction, he had participated in the design and creation of several prominent buildings in Williamsburg. He was also in the process of constructing his private home at Germanna. There is potential for the comparison of the courthouse with Spotswood's house and other buildings constructed under his management. In addition, we should take into consideration the resources available for the construction of the courthouse which, in terms of labor and materials, were relatively abundant for Spotswood. Using what we know about Alexander Spotswood and the resources available to him we can begin to understand the conditions under which the courthouse was constructed. That information, in conjunction with comparisons to contemporary courthouses, presents us with a decent assortment of possibilities for the appearance of the first Spotsylvania County courthouse.

Although comparisons with contemporary courthouses can be extremely useful, challenges arise when attempting to select a suitable structure for comparison with the courthouse at Germanna. The early 18th century was a period of transition regarding the appearance and importance of public buildings and there was great variation in design throughout the colony (Lounsbury 2005). While the earliest structures specifically designed to hold court were almost always frame, mimicking other domestic and agricultural buildings seen throughout the rural Virginia landscape, by the early 18th century some counties were taking steps toward the erection of more formal and permanent brick buildings for their courthouses (Lounsbury 2005). Where the first Spotsylvania County courthouse at Germanna falls within that transition is currently a mystery. We do know that the second courthouse, which was constructed in Fredericksburg in 1736, consisted of a large, rectangular brick structure with a side building and added rooms for private meetings (Felder 2000:89; Lounsbury 2005:119; Spotsylvania County Will Book A).

There is also information regarding earlier courthouses in two of the three counties Spotsylvania was formed from, which were identical frame structures constructed under the direction of the craftsman Larkin Chew (Fleet 1988:318; Lounsbury 2005:198, 346; Upton 1992:24). Larkin Chew was a large landholder in the area (and ardent opponent of Spotswood in later years) and one of the early magistrates for Spotsylvania County. The courthouses Chew undertook to construct in King and Queen (c. 1700) and Essex (c. 1702) Counties consisted of frame structures measuring 45 by 22 feet with a 10-foot pitch (Lounsbury 2005:198, 346). Although Chew was likely living in Spotsylvania County when the courthouse was constructed, we do not know if he played a role in its creation and whether the Germanna structure would have followed a similar design. During a heated dispute toward the end of Spotswood's Lieutenant Governorship he described Chew as a "common carpenter" whom he had employed for wages, suggesting he may not have trusted Chew with such a significant responsibility in his county (Felder 2000:240). Frame courthouses, like those constructed by

Chew, were typically simple rectangular structures with entry doors along the long sides and the occasional incorporation of added rooms for private discussions between magistrates or juries (Lounsbury 2005:66). The fact that Spotswood specifically stated the magistrates and jury could make use of the room above the jail suggests the courthouse at Germanna did not include separate rooms for those uses and therefore was more than likely a simple one-room structure.

While these sources and comparisons help us to make a decent prediction about the basic design of the courthouse, we know less about the materials and techniques used for its construction. The traditional post-in-ground courthouses like those constructed by Chew and found in many counties around the colony could be made cheaply and quickly but were short-lived. Most needed significant repairs or complete replacement within 10 years after construction due in a large part to the rotting away of structural elements close to the ground. An improvement to the post-in-ground construction, which was becoming more popular in the second quarter of the 18th century, was a frame structure with a masonry foundation (Lounsbury 2005:97). Research suggests the church at Germanna may have used this type of construction. A 1724 grievance against Spotswood refers to the existence of the "foundation of a Church at Germana (sic)" implying the existence of something more substantial than a post-in-ground structure (Felder 2000:239; Palmer 1875:208). The above-ground portion of the church was frame and it was burned in 1732 when a new church was constructed at Great Fork (Byrd 1966; Miller 1985:17; Papageorgiou 2008; Davis 1983:8-10). It seems reasonable to presume Spotswood would use similar materials and building techniques for both the church and courthouse at Germanna, which were under construction at the same time.

Spotswood certainly had the labor and materials available for the construction of masonry foundations for these buildings. At the time of their construction, he was also in the process of, or nearly finished, constructing his private home at Germanna - a house that was elaborate enough to prompt William Byrd to describe it as an "Enchanted Castle" (Byrd 1966). He was ahead of his time in his use of local resources such as sandstone, slate, and schist for the construction of his house (Barile 2004; Barile et al 2009). Workers (servants and enslaved) quarried and transported stone to Germanna, made bricks, shaped stone, and assembled the foundations and walls of the Enchanted Castle. Spotswood also operated an iron works at Tubal, which likely produced the iron products used in his buildings. Archaeology at the Enchanted Castle has uncovered literally tons of these architectural materials. While there is little doubt that Spotswood maintained the labor and materials to construct extravagant public buildings, there are questions about how, or if, he would have used those resources. Spotswood was allotted a total of 500 pounds to cover the construction of three structures and the (probably low) cost of the stocks and pillory. By comparison, the courthouse at Yorktown alone (an arcaded brick structure) cost 1,022 pounds to construct in 1733 – more than double what the government allotted Spotswood for three structures 10 years earlier (Lounsbury 2005:45). The question then might turn to the level of importance Spotswood placed on the image of the courthouse as a symbolic piece of architecture.

The Enchanted Castle, crafted from the surrounding earth, was a clear and powerful symbol of the establishment of a more permanent English

Figure 3. Drawing of the exterior of the Powder Magazine in Williamsburg (Williamsburg Magazine Drawing 2022).

occupation of the newly formed county (Barile 2004). Likewise, we can expect that Spotswood knew the courthouse at Germanna would be a visible reminder of the crown and English authority for all cultures and individuals at the edge of English settlement. With the Enchanted Castle, Spotswood helped to usher in an era of Georgian architecture in private homes, but before that he was one of the key individuals who popularized a new, more formalized, approach to public architecture in Virginia (Barile 2004; Barile et al 2009). While serving as Lieutenant Governor, he oversaw the design and construction of several significant public buildings in Williamsburg including Bruton Parish Church, the Powder Magazine, and the Governor's Palace (Figure 3). Those structures, and others within the capital of the colony, were clearly a point of pride for Spotswood. In a letter to the Secretary of State in England in which he asked to display the King's royal picture in the statehouse as he had seen done in northern colonies he boasted, "…as there are here some of the best publick Buildings in America..." (Brock 1882:521). Spotswood wholly believed that architecture could and should be used as a signal of power and order (Barile 2004). By the time he was placed in charge of the construction of the courthouse at Germanna he not only had experience in the design of elaborate public buildings, but also seemed to possess an immense pride in, and talent for, formal architecture.

Not only was Spotswood an individual with a keen interest in architecture, he was also someone deeply devoted to the rule of English law. As Lieutenant Governor he presided over General Court and would have been accustomed to holding court in the impressive arcaded brick statehouse in Williamsburg. The arcaded design of the statehouse did, at least, influence the construction of several later county courthouses including the second Spotsylvania County courthouse in Fredericksburg (Figure 4; Lounsbury 2005:118). Like the statehouse, that courthouse was constructed of brick with archways along the front of the building and was ordered to be "finished in the best and handsomest manner" (Felder 2000:89; Lounsbury 2005). The interior was furnished with a canopied chair for the chief magistrate, wainscotting around the justice's bench, and a flagstone floor behind the lawyer's bar (Felder 2000:89; Lounsbury 2005). Although Spotswood did not play a part in its construction, this structure seems in keeping with what we might expect in a design from a Lieutenant Governor and an individual with a respect for the law and commitment to the crown.

Whereas there is little doubt that Spotswood understood the social and political significance of the new Spotsylvania County courthouse – he did strategically choose to position it next to his own house - there are questions about how he would have used his available resources. The act to create Spotsylvania County

Figure 4. Hanover County, Virginia Courthouse (c. 1737; HABS 1933). This structure is thought to resemble the second Spotsylvania County courthouse in Fredericksburg.

directed Spotswood to provide the labor and materials for the new buildings but contains no other details regarding its construction. During a period of transition and variability in design, understanding the background surrounding Spotswood as an individual may be the most important resource we have in attempting to distinguish the appearance of the courthouse. It will be up to archaeological investigations to provide the best insight into how Spotswood used his experience, talents, and resources to direct the construction of the courthouse at Germanna.

What have archaeologists found so far?

In 1983, archaeologists with the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology (VRCA) began salvage archaeology at the Enchanted Castle site (44OR0003) and other archaeological resources surrounding the house, including brief investigations in the area of the historic town of Germanna (Barile et al 2009; Hazzard 1984; Sanford and Parker 1986). At the time, a developer was threatening to dig up historic resources on the property to clear a space for a new residential development. The developer had already removed the foundation for the late 18th-century Gordon house and several of the associated outbuildings. He then planned to dig up the substantial brick and stone foundation for Spotswood's Enchanted Castle house. Archaeologists from around the state were called in to retrieve as much data as they could from the site before the destruction continued.

	Artifact	Count
Architectural	Brick	1
	Mortar	1
	Nails (most unidentifiable)	442
	Schist	1
	Slate	1
	Window glass	88
Ceramics	Creamware	4
	Pearlware	1
	Redware	3
	Slipware	2
	Tin glazed	3
	Porcelain	1
	Ironstone	2
	White Salt glazed stoneware	9
	Rhenish Blue and Gray stoneware	1
Bottle glass	Bottle glass (green or dark green)	76
Faunal	Animal bone	20
Pipe	Pipe fragments	11
Metal	Knife	1
	Lead shot	1
	Spike	2
	Flat metal	4
	Misc iron	39

Table 1. Summary of artifacts recovered during 1980s excavations at Site 44OR159.

It was during this time that archaeologists excavated a roughly shaped trench approximately 3 by 17 feet in size inside a U-shaped depression with cut stone visible on the ground surface (Site 44OR159; Hazzard 1984; Sanford and Parker 1986; Unpublished excavation records). The feature was located about three hundred feet to the west of the Enchanted Castle foundation and was within what was believed to be the boundaries of the historic town of Germanna. Due to the nature of the excavations, documentation of the work is limited but it is known that they identified what appeared to be a deep (at least seven feet below datum) dry-laid cut stone foundation. After the preservation group Historic Gordonsville, Inc purchased the property in 1984, rescuing the resources from destruction, archaeologists temporarily put investigations at the site on hold. Over the next few years archaeologists with the University of Mary Washington returned to excavate several more test units around the feature but it does not appear they identified more of the stone foundation.

Although documentation from salvage excavations at the site is incomplete, Germanna Archaeology does have access to most of the artifacts recovered from Site 44OR159 (located at the Hitt Archaeological Center on loan from VDHR). While contexts for the artifacts are very loose, they do provide general insight into the date and use of the feature. Artifacts recovered during excavations by VRCA and the University of Mary Washington consisted primarily of architectural materials including nails, window glass, a large roofing slate, and a large fragment of plaster (Table 1, Figure 5). They also recovered ceramics, pipe stems, and bottle glass. Artifacts dated to the early through late part of the 18th century with the exception of two possible fragments of ironstone, suggesting the foundation may have been constructed during the first half of the 18th

Figure 5. Sample of artifacts from 1980s excavations at Site 44OR159. Clockwise from top left: redware rim, pipe fragments, olive green bottle glass fragments, ceramic fragments, large piece of slate with nail holes (not to scale) (Courtesy of VDHR; photos by author).

century and backfilled much later (Hazzard 1984; Sanford and Parker 1986). Due to the location of the foundation and nature of the artifacts, archaeologists at the time speculated that the foundation could be related to the first Spotsylvania County courthouse.

Recent excavations at the site by Germanna Archaeology began in late September of 2021. One of the initial goals of reopening investigations was to determine the integrity of the site stratigraphy. Upon returning to the site, archaeologists first needed to clear out dense overgrowth, erosion, and a broken wooden frame that archaeologists had placed over the open trench more than 30 years ago (Figure 6). After cleaning up, excavations began on one 5x5-foot test unit adjacent to the 1984 VRCA trench (Figure 7). Digging was very slow due to the ground slope and the density of large, displaced cut stones, and the unit was not completed before the end of the excavation season. Artifacts recovered from the unit so far have mirrored those recovered during previous excavations (Figure 8). The dominant artifact from all excavations at the site (excluding cut stone) has been nails, most of which have been classified as either wrought or unidentifiable. The abundance of nails suggests the stone foundation probably supported a wooden structure above the ground. The steep slope surrounding the foundation indicates the building may have had an English basement, like the Enchanted Castle, with one story visible above ground, from the east side of the building, and two stories visible from the west. This would be an unusual design for a courthouse at the time and may require more research. While the unit was not yet excavated to completion and more in situ portions of the foundation were not identified, the site stratigraphy seems to be intact and Germanna Archaeology is optimistic about future excavations at the site.

Looking Toward the Future

As Germanna Archaeology continues excavations at the (presumed Courthouse) foundations, archaeologists will pay close attention to the architecture of the building for clues about its use and will attempt to determine its association with the first Spotsylvania County courthouse. Although document research does not indicate what materials were used to construct the courthouse, there is fairly good evidence that points to the structure having one, probably relatively large, room for court sessions while the justices and jury were allotted a room over the jail for private meetings. Based on comparisons with contemporary courthouses, archaeologists might also expect the courthouse to be approximately 20 by 40 feet with doors

along each of the long walls (Lounsbury 2005). Additionally, the structure is likely to have a masonry foundation and has the potential to be completely constructed of brick or stone.

Artifactually, archaeologists will be looking for clues about the date, architecture, and use of the building. Artifacts from the courthouse would indicate a construction date within the first quarter of the 18th century and would support or, at the very least not contradict, its use as a courthouse. A cursory review of artifacts collected from other 18th-century courthouse sites within Virginia shows that artifacts are generally consistent with those found in association with domestic structures and typically include a variety of ceramics, bottle glass, pipe stems and architectural materials (VDHR 2022: Sites 44CC0408, 44FX0043, 44GL0119, 44GL126, 44HA0032, 44HN0217, 44LA0143, 44LD0549, 44NE0174, 44NH0099, 44PW0009, 44ST1113, 44VB0138, 44WM0034). While it is unlikely artifactual evidence will be found that points specifically to courthouse activities, there are materials that may lead to conclusions that the structure was not the courthouse. Other known structures in the town of Germanna included the jail, church (which burned), and an ordinary. Spotswood is also known to have employed a blacksmith, tailor, joiner, and shoemaker at Germanna, and structures related to those activities, and housing for the servants, are likely to be present in or around the historic town (Miller 1985:36, 47-49; Palmer 1875:208).

So far, nothing recovered during excavations at the foundation (Site 44OR159) suggests it is not associated with the first Spotsylvania County courthouse. A stone foundation is consistent with other structures under construction at the same time as the courthouse, including the Enchanted Castle. Documents indicate the church at Germanna also had a foundation, however, the church burned in 1732 and archaeology has not identified any signs of fire at the current site. Artifacts recovered from the site, such as tin-glazed earthenware and white salt-glazed stoneware, are also consistent with a construction date in the first quarter of the 18th century. Given what is currently known about this foundation and the other structures in the town – it seems a likely candidate for the courthouse. However, additional excavations at the site will hopefully provide information that will lead to more confident interpretations of the structure.

Conclusion

The task of locating the first Spotsylvania County courthouse has only just begun and archaeologists with Germanna Archaeology have a great deal of research and excavation yet to do. While the structure at Site 44OR159 may or may not be the first Spotsylvania County

Figure 6. Recent cleanup of 1980s trench showing a portion of the possible dry-laid stone foundation (Photo by author).

Figure 7. Recent excavations at Site 44OR159 (Mariana Zechini pictured; photo by author).

courthouse, it is likely within the historic town of Germanna. The more that is discovered about the town of Germanna, the better the understanding will be of what life was like for these individuals who were living in a time and place where English, German, African, Indigenous groups, and more were meeting and establishing the order of a new society. The first case heard inside the Germanna courthouse involved a Saponi man named Sawney who was charged under English law with, among other things, destroying the mail and disorderly conduct. Court documents also introduce us to children enslaved by English residents who came to court to have their ages adjudged, and countless indentured servants who learned they had not served their time and were not yet free. The German immigrants who settled at Fort Germanna also came to the courthouse to receive their naturalization papers. Freedoms were both given and taken away in this building. The foundation of the first Spotsylvania County courthouse, when

Figure 8. Sample of artifacts recovered during recent excavations at Site 44OR159 by Germanna Archaeology. Clockwise from top left: mouth-blown bottle glass fragments, slate fragment with nail, window glass, small fragment of porcelain, nails, mortar, and oyster shell (Photo by author).

it is found, contains within its walls stories from each of these groups. The hope is that by excavating the courthouse, we can learn more about the experience of these individuals and highlight their diverse and unique stories – all of which are equally valued and important to telling the story of Historic Germanna.

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PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE
FORT GERMANNA/ENCHANTED CASTLE SITE

By Samantha Taylor

One of the more recent heritage management movements in archaeology is the practice of public or community archaeology. Public archaeology can be defined as reaching out beyond the discipline to non-archaeologists in order to educate and share the importance of archaeological methods and studies. There are numerous approaches to involving the public in the archaeological process, though common approaches include site tours, formal education curriculum, and museum exhibits. In recent years, public archaeology has come to the forefront to convey the importance of historic preservation and National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) Section 106 practices. It has also been successful in promoting a more inclusive understanding of the past, focusing on Native American and African Diaspora sites.

The Germanna Foundation hosted its first field school season at the Fort Germanna/Enchanted Castle site in the summer of 2016, and with it came the first Germanna Archaeology Public Access Day. The first public access day was hosted on July 14th, 2016, which purposefully aligned with the annual Germanna Foundation Reunion for which dozens of Germanna colony descendants and foundation members travelled to Orange County, Virginia. The Germanna Archaeology Public Access Day was incorporated into the reunion itinerary, drawing many descendants to the event. This allowed for Germanna descendants, foundation members, and the local community to tour the site and interact with students and staff during the excavation process (Figure 1). The public access day provided an environment in which guests were able to witness the application of archaeological methods in real time, while also recognizing the utility of archaeology in uncovering information about the Germanna colony. The first field season also incorporated the Culpeper Trolley Tours into its schedule. This event, hosted on July 21st, 2016, enabled Germanna archaeologists to better reach the local community. Public archaeology continued at Germanna the following field season, with the foundation hosting a Public Access Day on July 14th, 2017.

In 2018, Germanna archaeologists sought to improve upon the Germanna Foundation Public Access Day in order to better fit the needs of students and guests alike. In order to do so, a set of goals was established to guide future efforts. These goals were inspired by public archaeology and outreach events such as AECOM's Digging I-95 project, community archaeology at New Philadelphia, and Indiana University of Pennsylvania's (IUP) Public Archaeology Day (Agbe-Davies 2010; AECOM

Figure 1. Photograph from the first annual Public Access Day at the Fort Germanna/Enchanted Castle site (Germanna Archaeology).

2014). The examples of successful public outreach in archaeology provided Germanna archaeologists with the foundation to engage both the community and descendants. Germanna archaeologists established the following goals: (1) to share the story of Fort Germanna and the Enchanted Castle with the public at large, (2) to share the importance of archaeology as a profession with the public at large, and (3) to encourage public participation in the interpretation of our shared past. These goals were intentionally kept broad so that Germanna archaeologists and students were able to focus on planning an event that conveyed larger, straightforward concepts to guests.

A total of three public access days were initially planned for the 2018 field school season: June 28th, 2018, July 12th, 2018, and July 26th, 2018. The purpose of planning multiple public access days was to gauge public interest in the events and encourage more diverse participation over the course of the field season (May-August). Several archaeology-related activities were planned for the Germanna Public Access Days. The primary activities were a self-guided tour of the Fort Germanna/Enchanted Castle Site and the chance to interact with the archaeologists during the excavation process.

During the event guests could freely walk the site grounds while reading informational signs describing the history of the site and previous archaeological endeavors. This signage focused on the history of the site and the context of Virginia's colonial frontier. Additionally, attendees were able to view the excavation of active units on the northern portion of the site and directly interact with students as they excavated and screened. This environment was meant to encourage guests to ask questions about the site and excavation methods. Guests were allowed to assist in screening dirt under the supervision of a student or staff member. Other activities included a "social media" raffle for a t-shirt, a scavenger hunt using 3D-printed archaeological tools, and a table showcasing various 3D-printed artifacts from Virginia Commonwealth University's Virtual Curation Laboratory. These events were used to reiterate the importance of methodology, public outreach, and the multi-faceted nature of archaeology.

The 2018 field season incorporated a feedback survey that guests were encouraged to fill out following their experience at the Public Access Event. This survey was directly inspired by Indiana University of Pennsylvania's Public Archaeology Day in 2017, which integrated a brief feedback survey into the day's activities. The purpose of the survey was to gather data regarding guest demography, outreach, and the success of the event in educating and entertaining the public. Guests were encouraged to fill out the survey after visiting each station to be rewarded with snacks and beverages. Germanna followed this example closely, changing questions and activities to better fit their approach and expected audience. Germanna archaeologists sought to determine the distribution of descendants and non-descendants. Previous public access days at Germanna were primarily directed at descendants, who constitute most of the Germanna Foundation's membership. However, the Foundation had begun shifting its focus to include a wider audience with a specific focus on the local community. Working towards engaging individuals with no direct connection to Fort Germanna or the Enchanted Castle was the primary motivation behind the feedback survey. Gauging the local community's current interest in the site was the first step in establishing a close relationship between the Germanna Foundation and the community.

A total of ten questions were included in the feedback survey (Figure 2). The first question asked which public access day the respondent attended. The purpose of this question was to determine which public access day had the most completed feedback surveys. The second survey question asked how attendants first heard about the public access event, enabling Germanna archaeologists to better understand the means by which the public received information about local events. The third question asked whether the respondent was a Germanna descendant. This question was integral in determining the ratio of descendants vs. non-descendants. The fourth question asked where survey responders had previously learned of archaeology. The purpose of this question was to determine how information about archaeology is normally distributed among the public.

The fifth question asked if the attendants had heard of the Germanna Foundation and if so, how long had they known about the foundation. This question was to determine the relationship between those attending the event and knowledge about the Germanna Foundation. The sixth question asked respondents if they believed the time and date made the event more accessible. The seventh question asked guests what their favorite activities were during the public access day. Similarly, the eighth question asked guests if they had

any suggestions for future activities. The ninth question asked guests if attending the public access day changed their perception of archaeology in any way. Lastly, question ten asked guests to draw or list something they learned during the public archaeology event.

A total of 85 people attended the 2018 Germanna Archaeology Public Access Days. Of the 85 attendees, only 19 guests filled out the feedback survey, indicating a 22% response rate. This low response rate indicates a lack of interest in filling out a feedback survey on behalf of the guests. The Public Access Day on June 28th, 2018 had a total of 20 attendants, only six of whom responded to the survey (30% response rate). The Public Access Day on July 12th, 2018 had 40 attendees, only seven of whom responded (17% response rate). The Public Access Day on July 26th, 2018 had 22 attendants and six surveys completed (27% response rate). The number of respondents was consistent despite the fluctuating number of attendants at each event. Two additional public access days were added to the schedule and scheduled for August 10th, 2018 and September 11th, 2018. The purpose of these additional events was to continue to gauge interest among the local community. However, these final two events had notably lower attendance (N=3, N=0). No feedback surveys were filled out on either of these public access days.

Germanna Public Access Days – Feedback Survey

1. Which Public Access Day did you attend? ☐June 28, 2018 ☐July 12, 2018 ☐July 26, 2018 ☐August 10, 2018 ☐September 11, 2018

2. How did you hear about this event? ☐Internet ☐Newspaper ☐Friend ☐Other:_____

3. Are you a(n): ☐Germanna Descendant ☐Community Resident ☐Student ☐Teacher ☐Other:_____

4. Where have you heard about archaeology previously? ☐School ☐Museum ☐TV/Media ☐Other:_____

5. Have you heard of the Germanna Foundation before? (Yes / No) If so, how long have you known about it?

6. Do you think the date and time of this event worked well? If not, how could it be improved?

7. What was your favorite activity?

8. Suggestions for future activities?

9. Did this event change your perception of archaeology or pique your interest in archaeology?

10. Draw or list something you learned today:

Figure 2. 2018 Germanna Public Access Day feedback survey form.

The second question in the Feedback Survey asked guests how they heard about Germanna's public access events. Most respondents (36%, n=7) indicated that they had heard about the event via the internet. This response was consistent with the advertisement for the event over Facebook. People who followed the Germanna Foundation or Germanna Archaeology Facebook pages were able to see details and reminders for the events. Thirty-one percent (31%, n=6) of guests answered that they had heard of the event directly through the Germanna Foundation. This includes foundation emails and the annual reunion itinerary. Fewer guests indicated that they heard about the event from the newspaper, friends, and other mediums. The overall response to this question indicates that public events are most successfully advertised through the internet and social media. This is especially true with Facebook's event pages, which remind interested and attending guests of the event and its time and location.

The third question aimed at learning a bit of demography and the identity of respondents. Guests were able to indicate whether they are descendants, members of the community, students, teachers, or other. Around 47% (n=9) of respondents indicated that they were descendants, whereas 26% (n=5) indicated they were members of the community. The rest of the survey respondents listed themselves as "other," apart from a single individual who did not answer the question at all. This question determined that many of the guests attending the events were descendants of the Germanna colonies. The disparity between Germanna descendants and community members at the event has been an ongoing issue for Germanna archaeologists.

While descendants are integral to the interpretation of the site, interest outside of the Germanna Foundation is necessary for the continuation of archaeological studies at the site. Understanding the balance between descendants and non-descendants is key to creating a unique, descendant-driven public archaeology initiative while also encouraging community engagement.

The next question included in the feedback survey asked guests where their previous knowledge of archaeology had come from. The choices listed included school, museums, TV/media, and other. Most guests (57%, n=11) indicated that they had heard of archaeology from more than one of the listed sources. More than 20% of respondents indicated that formal education – school – had been one of their sources. The overall response to this question indicated that most members of the public hear about archaeology through a variety of sources, indicating perhaps a more well-rounded understanding of the discipline.

Survey respondents were asked to indicate how long they had known about the Germanna Foundation. The purpose of this question was to determine how long descendants had been involved with the Foundation as well as gauging the local community's knowledge of the Foundation and the associated archaeological site. Thirty-six percent (36%, n=7) of respondents indicated that they had known about the Germanna Foundation for less than five years, while another 36% (n=7) indicated that they had known about it for over ten years. Fifteen percent (15%, n=3) of respondents indicated they had known about it for over five years. Two survey respondents did not respond to this question at all. The responses indicated that the majority of guests had previously heard about the Germanna Foundation. The correlation of this knowledge with the local community is not clear, but this may suggest a standing familiarity at least among those attending the events.

Survey takers were asked which activity at the public access event was their favorite. Activities planned for the events included speaking with archaeologists, interns, and students during the excavation process. Guests were encouraged to observe the excavation of the site and ask questions (Figure 3). They were also able to participate in screening soils under the supervision of students and interns, allowing them to directly involve themselves in the process of archaeology (Figure 4). Guests were also able to tour the Fort Germanna/Enchanted Castle Site via a poster-guided tour. Germanna archaeologists set up additional activities such as a raffle in which guests were encouraged to post photos of the site and their experience using the hash tag #iDigGermanna to enter themselves into a drawing for a free Germanna t-shirt.

3D-printed artifacts and tools were also incorporated into the event. Miniature tools (such as trowels, line levels, and cameras) were 3D-printed and given to guests, encouraging them to look for the real tools in use at the site and to ask archaeologists about the tool's contribution to archaeological methods. Lastly, Dr. Bernard Means from Virginia Commonwealth University's (VCU) Virtual Curation Lab (VCL) hosted a table displaying 3D-printed artifacts from across the globe. Visitors were encouraged to handle printed objects and ask questions. At this table, Dr. Means was able to discuss the importance of virtual curation and VCU's collaboration with the Germanna Foundation. Nearly a third of respondents (31.5%, n=6) indicated that their favorite activity was interacting with the students and interns and asking them questions about archaeology and the site. Five percent indicated they enjoyed seeing the site, five percent enjoyed the 3D-printed tools, and five percent indicated that they enjoyed screening. Two respondents did not answer this question.

Figure 3. Germanna Intern Sean Jones explains the season's excavations to a Germanna descendant (Germanna Archaeology**).**

The feedback survey asked guests if the event changed their perception of archaeology or piqued their interest in the discipline. Most respondents (73%, n=14) indicated that the event did raise interest or enhance their understanding of archaeology. Ten percent of respondents indicated that this event did not affect their interest or change their perception of archaeology. Three respondents did not answer this question.

The final question asked guests to draw or list something they learned about. Nine respondents, about 47%, did not answer this question. Those who did answer this question indicated a variety of interests such as the Enchanted Castle's brickwork (10.5%, n=2), site location (5%, n=1), excavation methods (15.7%, n=3), and 3D artifacts (15.7%, n=3). Guests most often listed these interests, as opposed to drawing them.

Figure 4. VCU Field School student Rebecca McGovern teaches a guest how to screen (Germanna Archaeology).

The feedback survey for the 2018 Germanna Archaeology Public Access Days was an experiment in receiving feedback from descendants and community members regarding public archaeology at the Fort Germanna/Enchanted Castle archaeological site. Going forward, the feedback survey should be specifically tailored to the interests and needs of descendants and guests. This includes a means of encouraging future guests to fill out the survey in the first place, as many guests did not. By gathering data from a larger sample, Germanna archaeologists will be able to make more sound observations regarding public opinion. It's possible that the survey should be better advertised in the event itinerary, perhaps even following a reward-based incentive (such as entering guests in a raffle or giving out snacks). Additionally, many respondents did not answer the last couple of questions on the feedback survey, possibly indicating that a shorter, more concise survey is necessary.

The 2018 surveys did provide Germanna archaeologists with valuable information. Respondents indicated that they find public access days both successful and rewarding. Germanna descendants represent the primary demographic, though word is getting out among the local community. More local advertising is necessary for garnering greater participation from non-descendants. Perhaps collaborations with local community groups and schools would be a means of accumulating more interest in archaeology at Germanna. Additionally, archaeologists at Germanna should continue to use the feedback survey to gather data and gauge public interest. Doing so will not only enable archaeologist to better tailor their events to the public, but it will allow future generations of archaeologists to continue improving events at Germanna.

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Afterword and Update from Eric Larsen, Director of Archaeology at Germanna

Taylor's details around the 2018 Public Archaeology Events and the Survey results that the project collected provide a snapshot of the Archaeology Program at that time. Public Access Days have continued since then. Each season Germanna Archaeology schedules at least three Public Access Days at our work sites. The 2020 and 2021 seasons were impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic, yet the project modified and continued offering these outdoor events.

Today, each Public Access Day regularly sees as many (or often more) visitors than were experienced over all five events scheduled in 2018. Word of mouth has allowed us to grow. The reach into the local community has grown as well and we regularly meet new visitors with each event. The demographics have changed. Attendance is no longer dominated by Germanna descendants (though they continue to be a part of these events). We increasingly see families that include young children. With that, Germanna Archaeology has developed many new hands-on activities to appeal to kids of all ages (though because of the pandemic, we've had to make these "hands-on" activities "no contact" and "take away").

Taylor's look at Germanna Archaeology's efforts towards a public archaeology, I hope shows the project's commitment to ideals of community access and inclusion. This article highlights several of the project's early active efforts toward outreach. We have learned from this. And we continue to learn and grow. Our community is helping us explore the site and ask new questions. There is much progress that needs to be made – such as greater inclusion of Indigenous and African-American descendant groups. An active, public facing program is helping us move in those directions.

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