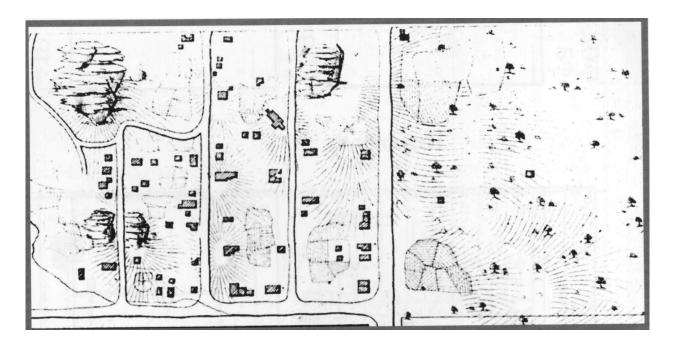
SENECA VILLAGE, A FORGOTTEN COMMUNITY: REPORT ON THE 2011 EXCAVATIONS



Diana diZerega Wall, Nan A. Rothschild, Meredith B. Linn, and Cynthia R. Copeland Institute for the Exploration of Seneca Village History, Inc. 2018

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A report submitted to NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission, the Central Park Conservancy, and the NYC Department of Parks and Recreation

Prepared by Diana diZerega Wall, Nan A. Rothschild Meredith B. Linn, and Cynthia R. Copeland Institute for the Exploration of Seneca Village History

2018

Cover illustration: Viele, Egbert L. 1856. Topographical Survey for the Grounds of Central Park, detail showing Seneca Village. The New-York Historical Society, NY.

Dedicated to the people of Seneca Village

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Archaeology is a team sport, and this project would not have been possible with the help of a great number of people. We are extremely grateful to:

Our Associate Director: Herbert Seignoret

Our Advisory Board: Alice Baldwin-Jones, Betsy Blackmar, George Brandon, the late Cornell Edwards, Joan Geismar, Venus Green, Leslie Harris, Jean Howson, Paul Johnson, Celedonia Jones, Cheryl LaRoche, Olivia Ng, Warren Perry, the late Roy Rosenzweig, Rodger Taylor, David Hurst Thomas, Eric K. Washington, Craig Wilder, Sharon Wilkins, Sherrill Wilson

For the excavations: The Central Park Conservancy, particularly Douglas Blonsky, Christopher Nolan, Maria Hernandez, and Matt D'Amico; John Krawchuk of the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation; Amanda Sutphin of the NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission.

For the report: The Central Park Conservancy, particularly Marie Warsh, Allie Davis, and Christopher J. Nolan, and Hunter Research, particularly Evan Mydlowski, Jim Lee, and Richard Hunter.

Our consultants: Bruce Bevan, Linsly Boyer, Brian Castriota, Lawrence Conyers, Emilia Cortes, Jennifer Dennis, Susan Jacobucci, Patricia Kenyon, Arnold Pickman, Matthew Sanger, Suanna Selby, Julia Sybalsky, Heather Trigg, Roelof Versteeg, Jessica Walthew, Adam Watson.

For support: The National Science Foundation (Award #1062796), *National Geographic*, the Durst Foundation, PSC-CUNY, the Friends of Cornell Edwards, and the City College Division of Social Science.

The students:

For the Soil Study: Debra Karstadt, Robert Kristek, Mary Kuhns, Meredith Linn, Shahirah Majumdar, Lizzie Martin, Amanda Murphy, Zinnia Rahman, Jenny Ruvulo, Hatem Samhan, David Silver, and Sarah Zimmet.

For the GPR: Heather Atherton, Jenna Coplin, Meredith Linn, and Lizzie Martin.

For data entry throughout: Denisse Fernandez, Frances Jin, Debra Karstadt, and Iciar Lucena

For documentary research: Kristi-Lynn Cassaro, Siobhan Cooke, Jessica Davis, Nina Finch, Ericka Haskin, Cornelia Jarvis, Yvette Kelley, Iciar Lucena, Nyla Manning, Marina Massey, Tyrah McGregor, Olivia Ng, Oscar Oliva, Kueita Saint Louis, Christina Spain, Christine Seeholzer, and Alicia Senia.

The Field Supervisors: Jenna Coplin and Meredith Linn

Students in the field and lab 2011: Ashley Anderson, John Anderton, Ariane Dandeneau, Ashton Dorminvil, Randy Henry, Madeline Landry, Victor Luna, Julianne Maeda, Nelson Sinchi, and Andrea Lee Torres

For faunal analysis: Sydney Pickens, Sarah Reetz, Amanda Rossillo

For reading and commenting upon a draft of the report: Celedonia Jones, Jessica Streibel MacLean, Amanda Sutphin, Marie Warsh, Sybil Young

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: SENECA VILLAGE AND THE SENECA VILLAGE PROJECT

This report summarizes the findings of the 2011 archaeological investigation of Seneca Village, a nineteenth-century middle-class, primarily Black community at New York City's edge. Located in today's Central Park between approximately 82nd and 89th Streets, with 8thAvenue (now Central Park West) to its west and 7th Avenue to its east (Fig. 1.1 - Appendix A), the village was established in the 1820s, when African-Americans began to buy land there and many of them built their homes there as well. At the same time, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church purchased land there for its cemeteries, as there was no more space available for cemeteries downtown. For the first 15 to 20 years of its existence, the village was composed primarily of African Americans, making it rather unique for its time, but in the early 1840s it became a mixed community when some Irish immigrants settled there. By the 1850s, the village was a thriving, well-established community (Fig. 1.2 - Appendix A) with a population of more than 200 people, approximately two-thirds of whom were of African descent. The rest were Europeans, mostly Irish who had emigrated to escape the Irish Potato Famine (1845-1852) (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992). It was bolstered by several institutions, including three churches and a school. The archaeological study of the village has as its intellectual focus the African-American members of the community, because archaeological research to date has not yet uncovered remains associated with the Irish community members.

The History of the Village

The village was founded in the shadow of emancipation, which came to New York State in 1827. After the American Revolution, many African Americans expected their lives to be transformed by freedom and equality. But the prospect of inclusion and full citizenship became more and more elusive. Even after emancipation, discrimination and outright oppression continued. Many African-American New Yorkers, concerned about attaining full citizenship, explored a multitude of strategies to achieve equality, a search that was structured by class, with members of different classes undertaking variable behaviors to reach this goal. As we shall see, most Seneca Villagers can be classified as middle class.

We believe that those who lived in the Village made their homes there because they wished to escape the racist environment prevalent in the densely settled area of lower Manhattan. Additionally, those who bought land there were probably motivated to do so at least in part because a few years earlier, an amendment to the State constitution had imposed a discriminatory \$250 property requirement (along with a three-year residency) for suffrage for African-American men (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:72-73), while gradually removing all property requirements for men of European descent. The land African-American men owned in Seneca Village helped them to fulfill their property requirement for suffrage.

Throughout its existence, even though the city was relentlessly moving uptown, the village remained beyond its edge. In the 1820s, when it was first settled, it was about three miles north of the city (Randel 1819-1820; Colton 1836), while by the time of its destruction in the 1850s, it

was about two miles to its north (Dripps 1851). But even though it was outside the city, the village was laid out on the New York City grid.

The land where the village was located was not prime real estate; it included many rock outcroppings and although it included high ground, part of it was also low and damp (Randel 2011 [1819-1820]; McNeur 2014:208). It was situated in the middle of the island, north of the area where urbanization had begun. Development was uneven in upper Manhattan. The east side was developed first, aided by the creation of the New York and Harlem Railroad, which opened in 1834 and ran up 4th Avenue, allowing Yorkville at 86th Street to become home to skilled workers. But the upper west side was slower to develop; the Hudson River Railroad was built only in the late 1840s (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:62). Furthermore, ambience on the west side had already been marred by the Croton Aqueduct system, built between 1837 and 1842, with its aqueduct which provided an "impassable barrier" for much of the west side, as roads crossed it only "at rare intervals" (Peters 1907:82).

The Croton water system also impinged on Seneca Village itself. The reservoir must have exerted an overbearing presence in the village. Its rough-hammered masonry walls were an imposing 30 feet high in places (Koeppel 2000:215) and were 20 feet wide at the top. The reservoir itself extended over seven blocks, from 79th to 86th Streets, and from 6th to 7th Avenues (Tower 1843:114). Furthermore, pipes carrying the water from Croton to the reservoir ran through the village, down 85th Street between 7th and 8th Avenues (Dripps 1851; Viele 1865; but see Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:62).¹ In addition to the disruption experienced when the pipes were installed, the continued presence of both the reservoirs (the receiving and distributing components) and the pipes must have been intrusive, symbolizing the power of the government over life in the village (Palus 2010).

At first, the village grew relatively slowly: By 1829, there were only about nine houses there, according to city tax records. These same records indicate that 1840 saw a total of 25 buildings. It grew even more quickly in the 1840s and early 1850s, resulting in a total of over 60 buildings making up the village in 1856, when Sage (1856) surveyed the village in preparation for its destruction. The village's rapid growth was spurred both by the arrival of European immigrants, mostly Irish, and by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, which resulted in the kidnapping and conscription of free blacks into slavery. New York, because of its merchants' commercial ties to the south and their fears of secession, was supportive of the law, and suspected fugitive slaves had no rights in court and could not defend themselves against accusations. As a result, Blacks began to leave downtown New York City (with some of them presumably coming to Seneca Village) and for the first time since the American Revolution, the city's African American population plummeted (Harris 2003:272-275).² In 1855, Seneca Village had a population of well over 200 people, about two thirds of whom were African American (more than 30 households) and the rest European, mostly Irish (NYSC 1855 - **Appendix I**).³

We can use the listings in the 1850 Federal census to draw a profile of the African Americans who lived in Seneca Village in that year. Over half of them were born in New York State, though some came from the Chesapeake, some Southern states, and New England, and one from Haiti (USBC 1850).⁴ Many were relatively affluent - well over half of the heads of households who

lived in the village in 1850 owned real estate, equaling one fifth of the population of 71 African Americans who owned real estate in the entire city of New York (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:70).

The African Americans of Seneca Village seem to conform to the criteria that historian Leslie Harris (2003) noted in defining the Black middle class in the 19th century. She has pointed out that class differentiation among African Americans was not based on the nature of work as it was among European Americans. For European American men, middle-class status depended in large part on their occupations, particularly working in non-manual jobs, while for European American women it was defined by devotion to the home or domestic life (the cult of domesticity) and not taking part in the cash economy at all. But because they were shut out of the non-manual workforce, factory work, and skilled jobs, Black men tended to work either in service jobs or as unskilled laborers, while their wives and sisters either worked as domestics or took washing into their homes. Many middle class African American men, however, frowned on domestic work for themselves because it was looked on as demeaning "women's work." Instead, they respected manual labor.

We see this in looking at the men of Seneca Village: almost two-thirds of them worked as laborers while only 13% of them worked in service jobs (Wall et al. 2008; USBC 1850).⁵ Rather, status among Black men was defined by education and participation in moral reform activities (Harris 2003:120), values which we can see expressed by Seneca Villagers. Many were apparently firmly committed to a moral community centered on a church because, as mentioned above, there were three churches in the village, which had a population of more than 200 people in 1855 (NYSC 1855 - Appendix I).

And as the 1850 Census shows, they valued education, both for themselves and their children. Nearly two thirds of the men could read and write and as for the children, almost three quarters of them "had attended school within the year."⁶ They presumably went to Colored School #3, which was housed in the basement of one of the churches. Furthermore, three quarters of the older children (between the ages of 12 and 16) had also "attended school within the year," underlining the value of education, as attending upper school must not have been easy – we know of no high school in the area (USBC 1850; after Wall et al. 2008).

In addition, the Sage (1856) Central Park Condemnation Map provides some information about the buildings that made up Seneca Village, and, in so doing underlines the middle-class nature of the community. Most of the denizens of Seneca Village lived in substantial houses. The vast majority of the residential buildings (i.e., not counting outbuildings, such as sheds) – 33 out of 51 – were frame houses, more than one story tall (Sage 1856) and not the "shanties" that were demeaningly ascribed to them by their White contemporaries (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:69).⁷

In the 1850s, the City decided to construct Central Park in an area that included Seneca Village. It took the land through the right of eminent domain, evicted the residents – roughly 1600 people for the area of the park as a whole (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:60) – and razed their homes. Although landowners were compensated for their loss, many felt the compensation was inadequate (as shown in the Affidavits of Petition [New York City 1856]) and of course renters were not compensated at all. After having existed for over a generation, the village was subsequently erased from the landscape and lost to popular memory.

Seneca Village is important because its history and its residents do not conform to the conventional historical narrative of Central Park, New York City, or even of the United States. Most Americans underestimate the presence and significance of Blacks in the North and particularly in New York City before the early 20th century. They are also unaware of the existence of middle-class African Americans in New York in the 19th century. This project helps to expand the American narrative so that it is both more accurate and more inclusive. It challenges current misperceptions by calling attention to the presence of a Black, middle-class community in the heart of today's New York City. The village's location in what is now Central Park, an iconic landmark, further draws attention to it. Millions of people visit the Park each year, and the presence of the real material traces of this community in the ground beneath their feet has the potential to be a powerful catalyst for contemplating the integral roles of African Americans in the City's history. Similarly, the continued presence today of two of the churches that were located in Seneca Village (All Angels' and African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church) link the present and the past closely together.

This study of Black Seneca Villagers is an addition to a growing number of archaeological studies of African Americans who were free rather than enslaved and did not live on plantations in the south but rather in urban areas and/or in the north. These studies have been conducted in (for example) Boston (Landon 2007), Annapolis (Leone 2005; Mullins 1999, 2001; Warner 1998), Indianapolis (Mullins 2008, 2006), Sacramento (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992), West Oakland (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004), Dallas (Davidson 2004), and New Philadelphia (Fennell, Martin, and Shackel 2010).

Research Questions

We began our archaeological study of Seneca Village with several research questions in mind. Our initial question was whether archaeological traces of the village, such as living floors and other sub-surface features, still survived in the ground. We answered this question positively: we recovered architectural, stratigraphic, and artifactual remains from the village. The knowledge of their presence has already helped the Central Park Conservancy and the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation to manage the Seneca Village site area in the park more carefully and meaningfully, and the Conservancy is encouraging archaeologists to consider what more they could learn about the lives of Seneca Villagers. Some other site-specific research questions we considered include the study of the original topography of the site area and exploring the landfill and determining its points of origin.

We were also interested in exploring other aspects of what it meant to be a member of a middleclass Black community in mid-19th century New York City. Archaeologists, including those mentioned above, have recently begun to focus on the ways in which African Americans have used material culture to express class, racial, and ethnic identities. Identity for middle-class African American New Yorkers in the 19th century, like all identities, was composed of many intersecting strands. Historian Leslie Alexander (2008) has suggested that groups such as those residing in Seneca Village were conflicted as to their identities as "Americans" and "Africans." Although some harbored the dream that they could achieve equality as Americans by assimilation through moral uplift, others did not think this was possible. Many of the latter looked to their African roots and some even considered emigration to Africa or Haiti. We believe that some Black New Yorkers established Seneca Village as an autonomous Black community because they felt equality and assimilation within American culture were not realistic goals in the racially charged antebellum climate. Alexander (2008:160) believes that for its Black residents, Seneca Village not only provided a respite from discrimination, but also "embodied a series of ideas [about] African pride and racial consciousness, the creation of lasting Black institutions, and the … attainment of political power." So we were trying to understand if and how African American residents created and expressed their identities through their preferences in material culture and practices that might leave material traces (such as foodways), and if those identities were primarily African, American, or African American.

We were interested in using the material culture of Seneca Villagers to begin to explore this issue of "African" and "American" and middle-class identities along with other questions related to the construction of race, class, and gender among the African-American population in New York in the 19th century. This is the period that saw the beginnings of these systems as we know them today. Archaeologists have observed how material culture is mobilized, often in complex and inconsistent ways, to make statements about the affiliation of individuals and groups with the categories to which they have been assigned and/or with which they choose to identify. Objects do not simply reflect an identity; instead, people make choices about the things they use to express desires, belonging, and rejection. In other words, we might say that people use objects to construct class and other social categories. These objects, in turn, act back upon their users, by enabling them to carry out practices necessary to create and perform identities as well as by evoking more personal memories attached to particular objects by stimulating multiple senses. The relationship between people and things is complicated and recursive.

We wanted to explore how Seneca Village residents constructed their identities and expressed them materially. We wanted to see how Seneca Villagers made their houses their "home," and if and how they used domestic goods, such as dishes, or material alterations of their house or yard to create and communicate not only ethnic or racial identity, but also class identity.

In Chapter 3 of the present report, we begin this study by examining consumer patterns in, for example, the dishes villagers chose to serve their meals, as well as in their cuisine (as indicated by organic remains such as animal bones and seeds) and access to different kinds of health care (seen in medicine bottles and the remains of plants that may have been used in folk remedies) (Linn 2010; 2014; Wilkie 1996). We compare the dishes used by Seneca Villagers with those used by some contemporary members of the White middle class who lived in Greenwich Village. In the future, we hope to compare the assemblages from the Seneca Village site with those from other Black middle-class and working-class communities. These comparisons will allow us to consider similarities and differences between the material culture used by different groups in an attempt to understand what these patterns mean. Comparisons also require us to consider whether the presence of similar artifacts in several different communities implies imitation, emulation, or other processes, and whether the presence of different artifacts used in similar

cultural arenas indicates resistance or simply different but politically neutral cultural meanings assigned to the objects.

Project Background

The story of the Seneca Village project begins in 1992, with the publication of Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar's *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*.⁸ They devoted a chapter in the book to describing the area that was to become the park before it was created, and they featured Seneca Village in this chapter. It was they who brought the village back into modern memory and inspired the Seneca Village project.

In 1995, educator Cynthia Copeland, then of the New-York Historical Society, began to use Seneca Village in programming for middle- and high-school teachers to provide a case study for using primary historical sources in the classroom (Martin 1995). Copeland had worked at the African Burial Ground's Public Education and Information Center before coming to the Society and was well aware of the power of archaeological study in attracting under-represented minorities to the study of history. Soon thereafter, she and Grady Turner began to curate an exhibit (*Before Central Park: The Life and Death of Seneca Village*) about the village at the Society.

In 1996, Diana Wall and then-City-College student Herbert Seignoret attended a workshop on researching the village led by Copeland at the N-YHS. Wall had first heard about the village in 1993, when she read an interview with Blackmar where it was discussed. She was enthralled by the story of the village. She had just begun teaching at the City College of New York and thought the archaeological investigation of the village could be a wonderful project for incorporating undergraduates into archaeological research. She was also interested in exploring the archaeology of the African-American experience in New York City, her research area. She contacted the Central Park Conservancy in 1993, but at that time they were not interested in having an archeological study in Central Park, so Wall put the project on hold. Later on, some of Wall's students at City College worked with Copeland as interns on the exhibit. The exhibit, on display from 1997 to 1998, was critically acclaimed (Haberman 1997; Martin 1997; Ramirez 1998). Wall and Copeland began to explore the possibilities of an archaeological project at the village.

In 1997, archaeologist Nan Rothschild of Barnard College joined the study; she and Wall had worked together on various archaeological projects over the years. So Copeland, Rothschild, Seignoret, and Wall organized the Seneca Village Project (now the Institute for the Exploration of Seneca Village History, a 501(c) 3 organization) in 1997 to bring the village into the mainstream of American history. The project includes three integrated components: research, education, and commemoration. Project members were actively involved in working towards the erection of a sign commemorating Seneca Village on the site in Central Park; the sign was dedicated in 2001. Furthermore, all of the research components of the project have included educating students.

Also in 1997, the directors formed an Advisory Board to help supply direction as the research continued. Board members have included scholars who have studied aspects of New York's African-American and Irish history and community members who are concerned about the village as well as representatives from the Manhattan Borough President Scott Stringer's office, All Angels' Church, and Mother A.M.E. Zion Church. The Advisory Board proved especially helpful in assisting the project directors when it was time to get permission from the Conservancy and the Parks Department to conduct excavations in the park.

The Research Program

Over the years, the Institute conducted several phases of research on Seneca Village as we explored the possibilities of excavation. In 1997, Bruce Bevan, a leading figure in North American archaeological geophysics, conducted a one-day remote sensing survey on the site of the village and suggested that there was in fact the potential for archaeological resources to be present there. He also discussed which forms of remote sensing might be the most appropriate for research in the Park and specifically ruled out magnetometry because of the salts used to clear roadways in winter. Based on his assessment, the directors began to plan a long-term project with the goal, first, of determining whether or not there were in fact archaeological traces of the village intact at the site, and if so to excavate a sample of them.

Our first step was to use historical records to find out as much as we could about the site and the people who lived there. Olivia Ng (1999), then a Columbia University undergraduate, compiled a summary of what was known about the village and the people who lived there for her senior thesis. Then, during the summers of 2000 and 2001, we received support from the National Science Foundation's Research Experience for Undergraduates program to work with students in scouring the archives, looking at many different kinds of records, including maps, affidavits, census, church, tax, and death records. The students identified whether residents owned their homes or rented them; their ethnicity, race, and occupations; their family composition; the amounts they paid for taxes; and other information about the Seneca Villagers, including their compensation for eviction. They found data on life-cycle events from church records. They transcribed the data from these sources into a database.

This phase was carried out in conjunction with an exploratory survey of various remote sensing techniques, such as electrical resistivity and conductivity, and ground penetrating radar, to see which would be most appropriate for the park. This part of the effort was led by Roelof Versteeg, a geophysicist then at Lamont-Doherty, Columbia University. Based on this study, Versteeg determined that ground penetrating radar would be the most appropriate technique for the park area.⁹

After completing the database derived from historical documents, the next phase of study began in the fall of 2004, when we worked with students and geoarchaeologist Suanna Selby, then of New York University, and took corings to examine the soils at the site. The goal here was to determine whether or not there were naturally-formed, intact layers of soil from Seneca Village that survived the creation of the park in the 19th century and the subsequent use of the area. We placed the corings in locations where old maps (in particular the Sage map of 1856 and the Egbert Viele map of the same year) showed us there had been houses and where a modern soil study (Warner and Hanna 1982) suggested little soil disturbance. Selby identified three kinds of buried soils: those that were native to the Park and two types that were probably fills, one from Long Island and one from New Jersey. She determined that there did in fact seem to be some natural layers, specifically along the south side of 84th Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues and along Seventh Avenue, as these streets would have extended into the park (Selby 2005). Her research narrowed the scope of any potential excavation to a limited number of areas with in situ soils.¹⁰

Based on this information, we worked in the summer of 2005 with archaeological geophysicist Lawrence Convers of the University of Denver who conducted ground penetrating radar (GPR) at the site (Convers 2005). The rationale behind using this non-invasive technique at Seneca Village was to determine whether or not there were possible archaeological features (such as building floors or privy shafts) in the areas where Selby had found what appeared to be intact soil layers, and also to see if possible burials could be seen in the area of the church properties in the village. The project leaders felt it was very important to determine whether intact burials still existed within the Village, so they could be marked for protection; we had no intention of excavating them. Convers identified eight areas within the six grids he tested that appeared to contain archaeological features that could be from Seneca Village, including several possible building floors, a privy shaft, and several middens (or garbage dumps), as well as several grave shafts in the area of African Union Church (Convers 2005). This information from Convers defined the places where we wanted to dig, but first we needed to get permission to do it from the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation and the Central Park Conservancy. As we mentioned, we had assembled an Advisory Board. Board members Celedonia Jones, Manhattan Borough Historian Emeritus, and Sharon Wilkins, Deputy Borough Historian, were extremely helpful in guiding us through the long process of getting permission to excavate, a negotiation that lasted from 2005 to 2011.

Preparing for the Excavations

Finally, in 2010, it became apparent that we would in fact be able to excavate, so we began to raise money to support the excavations and the analysis of the results. We were fortunate to receive another grant from the National Science Foundation through its Research Experience for Undergraduates program, and one from National Geographic. We received additional support from the Friends of Cornell Edwards, the Columbia Institute for Social and Economic Theory and Research, the Durst Foundation, the Richard Gilder Foundation, and the Professional Staff Congress of the City University of New York.

We also needed to recruit undergraduates to do the actual excavating. We advertised through local colleges and universities and were pleased to receive over 60 applications to fill the nine positions that we had. We had to make very difficult decisions in choosing the interns. The students we selected came from The City College of New York, Barnard College, Fordham University, and New York University. We also had one student from Holy Cross University who was funded by the Catholic Archdiocese of New York. In addition, we hired two experienced

archaeologists as field supervisors, Meredith Linn (who had also been part of the soil coring and Conyers GPR teams) and Jenna Coplin.

We planned to use the results of the GPR as a guide in deciding where to dig. Several weeks before we began the excavations Conyers came back to the site and refined the GPR testing with new equipment (Conyers 2011); he identified a total of 6 promising areas. We decided to dig in each of the areas that Conyers thought looked promising. They were located in four grids: All Angels', Transect 3, Transect 4, and Pinetum South, the same areas that had been identified as promising by soil coring in 2004. (The names we used to designate each of these areas originated from Selby's (2005) map of the soil corings, and they were retained for both the 2005 and 2011 GPR surveys and the 2011 excavation.) Conyers also identified five graves in the area close to African Union Church; we recorded their locations and shared them with the Central Park Conservancy in order to protect them from disturbance.

The Excavations

The 2011 excavation project had three components: one week in the classroom, eight weeks in the field, and four weeks in the lab. We began in late May in the classroom. The students got to know each other and the supervisors, they attended classes led by historian Leslie Harris (of Emory University), and they also were introduced to the craft of fieldwork and record-keeping. Alison Wylie, a specialist in archaeological ethics, and archaeologist Cheryl LaRoche (of the University of Maryland, formerly of the African Burial Ground project) held seminars with the students later on in the project, when we were in the field.

We went into the field on Tuesday, June 7th, and remained there for 8 weeks. Our goals were two-fold: To ground-truth (or test) the ground penetrating radar and to retrieve a sample of the material culture of Seneca Village. Following the fieldwork, we spent 20 days in the lab where students washed and labeled artifacts and made preliminary identifications. They were able to complete all of this work in the allotted time. During the lab period, each student also wrote a paper and created a poster on some portion of the recovered material. The posters were presented at a public open house for the Seneca Village Project at the site on the 24th of August. It was a very successful event. More than 300 people attended; they interviewed the students, who were standing with their posters (**Fig. 1.3 - Appendix A**), and viewed a few of the artifacts we had discovered. In addition, staff gave several tours of the site to interested visitors.

After the completion of the formal portion of the project, lab work continued part-time at City College for about three years. Some of the original students and other students, mostly from City College, as well as field supervisor Linn, continued working on the database and more detailed processing of artifacts. During that time, we mounted two exhibits on the project: *Unearthing Seneca Village* in the Tunnel Gallery at Barnard College (2012) and *Seneca Village: Unearthing a Forgotten Community* in Cohen Library at City College (2013). Most recently, we have been working on this site report.

All in all, the results of the project were very positive. We discovered the foundation wall and interior deposits associated with the home of William Godfrey Wilson and Charlotte Moore

Wilson and their family.¹¹ Wilson was the sexton of nearby All Angels' Church. We also found a buried A Horizon, the ground surface the villagers walked upon, which occurred, relatively undisturbed, throughout much of the site, particularly behind some of the homes on 84th Street.¹² Preservation at the site was remarkable for such a heavily used public space. We suspect that this preservation was due, at least in part, to the extensive rock (schist) formations that lay throughout the Seneca Village area, including Summit Rock, which would have made major land alterations difficult. The prior presence of the Reservoir would also have inhibited landscaping. The Central Park Annual Reports note that the creation of the Park in the area of the Village mainly involved laying out a few roads (the drive and the transverse) and pedestrian pathways (Marie Warsh, pers. comm. 2018).

What follows is a report on the excavations. It begins with an account of the field and lab work, stratigraphic interpretations, and area findings (Chapter 2). Chapter 3 then discusses features, landscape and artifacts that were discovered during the course of excavation. It is followed by a conclusion, containing an overview of our interpretations.

CHAPTER 2: THE EXCAVATIONS AND ARTIFACT PROCESSING

Once we were in the field, we used the results of the GPR and the soil corings as guides in deciding where to dig. The GPR had identified the presence of possible archaeological features in four different excavation areas: the All Angels' area, Transect 3, Transect 4, and Pinetum South.¹³ The radar also identified the likely presence of burials in the African Union transect, which we did not have plans to excavate. We systematically conducted archaeological testing in each of the other four areas. In addition, we placed a test unit in the African Union area away from the burials and near the location of a Seneca Village home to see whether there were important deposits still extant there. The following includes a description of our field and laboratory methods, the results of our excavations in each of the excavation areas, and the stratigraphy within each of the excavation units.

Part 1: Field and Laboratory Methods

Field Methods

We excavated two different kinds of units: One consisted of test cuts, which were usually oneby-one-meter square. Some were made larger, to explore finds made in the excavations, while others were smaller "quad units," 50 cm by 50 cm, which allowed us to obtain a more extensive sample of features such as the buried A Horizon uncovered in Transect 3. The other units were shovel tests, round units which began at around a foot in diameter but were often enlarged. The latter were used to determine the presence or absence of features, such as a stone foundation wall or a ground surface, as well as within test cuts to determine the depth of bedrock and whether or not further excavation within the test cut was warranted (Fig. 2.1 - Appendix A).

Our excavation tools included both shovels and trowels, as well as brooms, dustpans, and root clippers. Unless otherwise noted, we screened all of the soil from the test cuts through onequarter-inch wire mesh, but did not screen the soil from the shovel tests, except in ST 1, 3, 4, 5.

To record the excavations, we allocated an alpha designation to each test cut, beginning with A and continuing through W, and a numerical designation to each shovel test, beginning with 1 and continuing through 18. In addition, each context excavated was given a number: we started with 1 and continued through 255.¹⁴ A context consisted of what excavators interpreted in the field to be a stratum or level within a stratum, which they determined primarily by a change in soil color or texture. Strata identified in the field were assigned Roman numerals and levels were assigned lower case letters (e.g., IIa or Vb). Additionally, strata not completely excavated at the end of the day were given new context numbers and a new level letter upon resuming excavation the next morning. The numbering of most of the 50 cm by 50 cm quad units and the shovel tests was somewhat different; they were given a single context number for each unit, with strata and levels designated with a decimal and an Arabic number (e.g., 222.1 is the first context excavated in TC S, its first field stratum and level [Ia]).

In the field we used Munsell color chips to describe the soil color(s) of each level. In the text below, we use Munsell descriptive terms that correspond with the numbers of the color chips,

whereas in the profile and planview drawings, we include the specific Munsell color numbers. A provenience sheet was filled out for each context excavated. Profiles or section drawings were made for each of the test cuts and planviews were drawn in the course of the excavations, as required. We also took photographs of each level when appropriate, and of final profiles and planviews. And we made a map of the site, showing the elevations and the locations of each of the excavation units along with park features (**Fig. 2.1 - Appendix A**). Matthew Sanger did the mapping for the project with a total station; he came to the site weekly to map the excavation units as they were dug.

Our site datum was a point on a large rock formation in the center of the project area (with GPS coordinates 40.78261-73.96863). There were several subsidiary data for areas that could not be mapped from the initial datum and these served for groups of test cuts in the different site areas (in some cases there were two area data). The site datum was also tied into several permanent features in or adjacent to the park, such as nearby streetlights and cornices of buildings on Central Park West. The elevation datum was taken at the site datum, which we arbitrarily designated as 100 meters above sea level for ease of calculation, and each test cut had its elevation taken in relation to the site datum or an area datum. An area datum was established when the site datum was not possible to use because of sight lines (Table 2.1 - Appendix B). Then, the test cut elevation was determined by either subtracting its height from the site datum (100 m) or the area datum, if it was lower than 100 m. If the test cut elevation was higher than the 100 m site datum or the area datum, then its height was added to that elevation. This measurement technique provided the elevation for each specific test cut. In the field, the elevations and closing depths for each test cut were measured from that test cut's datum. Here, in the report, initial elevations of each test cut are reported in reference to the site or area datum at the NW corner of the test cut, but we give the depths as "bgs", ("below ground surface") of the different strata within the test cut as measured from the ground surface for that test cut.

Each context excavated was assigned an artifact bag. Most of the artifacts excavated in each context were placed in that bag, which was clearly labelled with context information. Fragile iron objects were placed in labeled boxes and wrapped in tissue paper to protect them. Some categories of artifacts were discarded in the field. These included ubiquitous non-diagnostic artifacts such as brick, coal, unidentified flat pieces of iron, mortar, and ash, which were weighed with the weight recorded on the provenience sheet. Obviously modern artifacts that were found in the sod and humus layers, such as bottle caps, soda can tabs, etc., were also recorded and discarded, although the modern artifacts from a few contexts were retained as samples.

In order to protect both the site and the public, each weeknight we covered the open units with plastic sheeting capped with sheets of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch plywood and surrounded them with snow fencing. We also had a security guard present on the site overnight during the week, to protect the open units. At the request of the Central Park Conservancy, we backfilled any open units on Fridays, so they would not be hazardous to the public over the high-traffic weekends, and dug them out again on Monday morning. Also at the Conservancy's request, we did not cut any roots that were larger than $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter.

Artifact Processing

On the few rainy or very hot days that we had during the field season and after the fieldwork was completed, the crew worked in the lab. There, they cleaned and processed the artifacts for analysis and storage. The crew performed much of the initial cleaning and tabulation of artifacts, but more in-depth analysis continued after the summer project ended. Cleaning procedures included washing the more stable artifacts (e.g., ceramics, glass, and shell) and gently drybrushing the less stable artifacts (such as the metal and organic artifacts such as bone and leather).

Then some of the artifacts – ceramics, glass, pipes and small finds – were numbered, using a compound number consisting of the Site Number, *9531* (acquired from New York State), and the context number. Objects that were later determined to be significant (see below) were subsequently labeled with a unique artifact number, preceded by "CV" for "ceramic vessel," "GV" for "glass vessel," or "S" for "small finds." To avoid potential confusion, CV numbers were assigned numerically beginning with 1, and GV numbers were assigned numerically beginning with 500.¹⁵

These different kinds of numbers were inked onto the artifacts themselves, using black ink, or, if the artifacts were dark, white ink. If the artifact was porous, e.g., unglazed earthenware or bone, a coat of nail polish was applied underneath the ink to protect the object. The numbers were then covered with clear nail polish. Artifacts that were too fragile or too small to write upon were placed in plastic bags or rigid containers with paper labels bearing site, context, and, if applicable, artifact number.

Storage

For the most part, the artifacts were then sorted by material, placed in plastic bags with like materials and labeled with their provenience information, and stored in a larger plastic bag containing the other artifacts recovered from the same context. These bags were then organized in storage boxes by context number. There were several exceptions to this general rule, however.

- First, some of the more fragile artifacts were sent to conservators at the Conservation Center at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University, while two additional objects, the shoe and the roasting pan from the Wilson house, were conserved by two independent conservators. See Appendix G for information on the conservation procedures. The conserved metal artifacts are stored in airtight plastic boxes containing bags of silica in order to control humidity. The boxes of the artifacts that were conserved at NYU are labeled NYU IFA Conservation Boxes 1-3. The boxes containing artifacts conserved by independent conservators are labeled Bins A-E.
- Second, fragile iron (possible) roofing, that displayed attributes we believed to be diagnostic and a sampling of nails are stored in plastic boxes labeled SV Boxes 1-3. Inside, these artifacts are wrapped in acid-free tissue labeled with context numbers.

• Third, artifacts assigned a unique ceramic vessel, glass vessel, or small finds number were placed in their own labeled plastic bag and boxed by object type and in numerical order of artifact number.

The "location" column in the artifact databases should note if an artifact is stored in any location other than in a context bag, but the general rule is that if an artifact had been assigned a unique artifact number, if it had been conserved, or if it is fragile, it is likely to be stored in a special location.

All of the artifacts from this excavation are permanently stored at the New York City Archaeological Repository: Nan A. Rothschild Research Center.

Tabulation

Analysts looked through each bag and box of artifacts and, using paper worksheets, tabulated them. The data from the worksheets were then entered into 10 Excel databases sorted by material and/or function: Architectural, ceramics, curved glass, discarded artifacts, faunal materials, floral materials, fuel, small finds, tobacco pipes, and unidentified artifacts. Each database has line entries for each type of artifact from each context, and supplies basic information such as object type, material, decoration, color, number of like items from the same context, etc., in columns.

Categories of information (columns) differ somewhat depending on the material (e.g., items in the architectural database were weighed, ceramics were not; the faunal database includes a column about species, others do not, etc.). Some of the heavier, less informative artifacts (such as brick, coal and mortar) had been recorded by weight and/or count in the field, and then discarded. The data about them were transferred from the provenience sheets to the database in the lab. The 10 separate databases were later combined into one master artifact-level database, the General Artifact Inventory Database (Appendix H).

Additional Analysis of Ceramic Vessels, Glass Vessels, and Small Finds Objects

In addition to the artifact-level database mentioned above, which catalogs all of the artifacts found at the site, there is a second combined database that records further analysis of some artifacts on the vessel or object level. These include some of the ceramics, curved glass and "small find" artifacts from the Wilson house (SCs 6B-D) and the buried A Horizon (SC 6A) that were assigned the unique artifact numbers mentioned above.

Objects were assigned these numbers on the basis of the following protocol (illustrated here using ceramics, but the same process was applied to curved glass and small finds): The crew supervisors and PIs analyzed the stratigraphy to determine which context numbers corresponded with the Wilson House in AA and the buried A Horizon in TR 3. Analysts then pulled out all of the ceramic sherds from those contexts and mended them in order to determine the number and types of ceramic vessels in each excavation area. Analysts often found crossmends between sherds found in nearby contexts. Each of these mended vessels was examined to determine

whether or not it could be part of another mended vessel. If it was determined to be unique, it was assigned an artifact number. The same process was applied to single unique sherds. If a sherd was determined to be diagnostic in some way (i.e., its decoration or ware type or vessel form could be determined) and if it could not possibly be part of another vessel, it too was assigned a CV number.

Each object that was assigned a unique artifact (CV) number underwent additional analysis to determine more information about its date of manufacture, place of origin, size, use, etc. These data were recorded on separate "Ceramic Vessel," "Glass Vessel," and "Small Find" worksheets and then entered into separate Excel files, where each vessel/object had its own line entry. Later these databases were combined into a single object/vessel-level database, the Object/ Vessel Database (**Appendix H**). Additionally, all of these artifacts were photographed; each photograph is numbered by the artifact number and the sequential number of the photograph, e.g., if there are three photographs of CV 1, they would be labeled CV 1.1, CV 1.2, and CV 1.3. This additional analysis allowed us to use vessels and unusual artifacts to more finely interpret Seneca Villagers' ways of life.

Using the information from the analysis of both the stratigraphy and the artifacts, we organized the contexts into "strata clusters," sets of contexts and strata which were related to the same event, such as "the occupation of the Wilson house," "fill," or "the 19th century A Horizon." We did this in order to relate the strata to each other and also to the history of that part of the site – to the events that had taken place there in the past and which contributed to the formation of the archaeological record. Thus, "analytical context" or "interpretive context" are synonyms for our use of the term "strata cluster."

The Results of the Excavations: The Strata Clusters¹⁶

The excavations and the subsequent analysis of the artifacts revealed the presence of several sets of features or strata clusters (SC) in the four main excavation areas that were tested. These are, in reverse chronological order of their deposition:

A. Deposits reflecting current and recent past park use, found throughout the site. These include:

- SC 1: the sod and its root mat, and
- SC 2: the underlying layer of humus

B. SC 3: Late 19th and 20th century features, including:

- SC 3A: the fill from the reconstruction of portions of the park, as well as
- SC 3B: several additional features, such as metal pipes and their trenches (TCs O and L), and
- SC 3C: a manhole cover and associated catch basin (TC H) ca. 1919.

C. SC 4: Features associated with the creation of the park in the late 1850's and early 1860's, such as:

- SC 4A: the fill deposited in the course of park construction (found in virtually all of the excavated units), and
- SC 4B: terracotta drainage pipes and their associated trenches (TCs F and W), installed around 1860.

D. SC 5: *Interface between fills associated with the creation of the park and the buried A Horizon* (a buried layer that included a former ground surface possibly associated with the occupation of the village, and objects that appear to have been lying on the buried A Horizon ground surface). Few separate contexts were excavated as SC 5 and most artifacts found associated with the buried A horizon were included either with it or with the lowest layer of fill above.

E. SC 6: Features associated with Seneca Village. These include:

- SC 6A: the possible buried A Horizons encountered in TR 3, TR 4, and All Angels', which may have been the ground surface during Seneca Village's occupation,
- SC 6B: Deposits associated with the demolition of Seneca Village, including demolition and domestic material found within the foundation wall of the Wilson family house as well as above and between layers of flat iron sheeting (interpreted as possible roofing material),
- SC 6C-6E: the deposits associated with the Wilson family's house in the All Angels' site area. The latter include:
- SC 6C: some demolition and more Wilson-family-related domestic material found below the metal sheeting; these objects were presumably left behind by the Wilsons inside their house,
- SC 6D: the house-use stratum just above the sub-soil and/or bedrock, which contained small objects presumed to have fallen through the floorboards in the Wilson house while the Wilsons lived there,
- SC 6E: the foundation wall and associated builders' trench of the house itself, ca. 1849-1852.

F. SC 7: Naturally deposited post-Pleistocene soils

G. SC 8: Bedrock

Table 2.2 (Appendix B) summarizes the correlation between field-assigned context numbers and our subsequent interpretive strata cluster designations.

We now briefly describe each of the test cuts excavated, aggregated by excavation area. As mentioned above, we defined four such areas for testing before beginning work, based on the GPR and soil boring data. The areas are: All Angels', Transect 3, Transect 4, and Pinetum South (**Fig. 2.1 - Appendix A**). As noted above we did not conduct systematic archaeological research in the African Union transect, but placed one shovel test there. In addition the GPR noted the presence of burials.

Part 2: The All Angels' Transect

We began our excavations in the All Angels' transect (Figs. 2.2a and b - Appendix A), named in reference to its close proximity to the village's Episcopal church of the same name (Sage 1856; Viele 1856).

The All Angels' transect was located in a roughly triangular area bordered by a foot path to the north, natural schist outcroppings and the West Drive to the east, and the 85th St Mariners' Gate entrance ramp to the West Drive to the west; the two last-mentioned roads merged together, forming a V, to the south. We did not initially plan to begin our work here; we had planned to begin in Transect 4 because we believed it would be a good place for inexperienced students to be trained in excavation techniques. However, the week we planned to begin, the Park was hosting a concert by the popular music group the Black Eyed Peas, and security was a primary concern. Conservancy personnel requested that we begin in the All Angels' area, the area farthest away from the Great Lawn, where the concert was to be held. It turned out this was a fortunate decision. The GPR in the All Angels' area indicated a cluster of sub-surface objects, possibly a midden, in an area in the hollow of the bedrock. It turned out that in fact the GPR had picked up the stone foundation walls of the house where William Godfrey Wilson, the sexton of All Angels' Church, lived with his wife, Charlotte, and their children (**Fig. 2.3a, 2.3b, and 3.2 - Appendix A**). It was a very important find, and because we began excavating in this area early in the field season, we had ample time to explore it.

The Wilson House

We began with Test Cuts A, B and C, in the area suggested by the GPR. These units were a meter apart, straddling a north-south line. TC A, furthest north, was aligned with TC C furthest south, TC B was between them and a meter to the east (Figs. 2.2a and b - Appendix A). Each unit began as a one-by-one meter square, but as the crew began to uncover household-related rubble and foundation wall remnants very close to the surface, TC A was extended by a meter to the north and TC B by a half meter to the west. Ultimately 7 test cuts (A, B, C, M, N, R and S) were excavated in the All Angels' area, all but one (TC N) in conjunction with the house to explore its related deposits. Thirteen shovel tests (numbers 6-18), which were variable in size, were also opened there in order to determine the perimeter and extent of the house by locating the corners of the foundation walls.

Test Cuts A, B, C, M and R were all at least partially within the Wilson House and shared fairly consistent stratigraphy. When considered together, the stratigraphy of each of the test cuts in the All Angels' area suggests a narrative of the construction, occupation, and demolition of the Wilson house. We develop this narrative in Chapter 3. Test Cuts N and S were opened outside of the Wilson house in order to investigate the Wilsons' yard (TC S) and a neighboring house (TC N), and thus their stratigraphy differed from the others in the All Angels' transect. Both Test Cuts N and S yielded a possible buried A Horizon, but we could not confirm it in either case and neither contained many artifacts conclusively associated with Seneca Village.

TC A and A North Extension (Planview 2.1 and Profiles 2.1a and b - Appendix D, C)

The one-by-one m unit TC A and its northern extension had a more complex stratigraphy than the other test cuts in the All Angels' transect, because TC A included deposits from the inside of the Wilson house, from its northern foundation wall, from its builders' trench outside the wall, and from the outside yard area. The initial unit was subsequently extended northward another meter (TC A North Extension) over the wall to the exterior of the house. This combined one-by-two m test cut thus contained two different sequences. TC A contained house interior and foundation wall-related layers, while TC A North Extension contained the builders' trench and house exterior-related layers (**Planview 2.1 – Appendix D**).

The opening elevation of the northwest corner of TC A was 1.416 m above the site datum. The sod and humus layers were similar throughout the combined test cut and consistent with the rest of the test cuts in the All Angels' area. SC 1 (cx. 3,19) was the sod and its root mat that the crew removed using a shovel and trowels. The sod extended to a depth of 2 to 4 cm below ground surface (bgs). This layer was composed of very dark grayish brown sandy silt. It contained only recent artifacts presumably left behind by Central Park visitors. The crew kept a representative sample of these modern artifacts.

The humus layer (SC 2; cx. 6, 21), a dark brown silty clay, was about 4 cm thick and contained an array of modern and 19th century artifacts also presumably left behind by park visitors, including a piece of solarized glass (c.1865-1920) (Lockhart 2006:54).

Between 5 to 10 cm bgs, the crew encountered a new layer, which we later determined was park construction fill (SC 4A). In the southern half of TC A (cx. 8, 12, 17), this soil was a lighter and more orange-colored silty sand and was about 20 cm thick. In the northern extension (cx. 22, 25, 29), the layer was composed of brown silty clay and was about 25 cm thick. Most of the artifacts contained within these layers dated to the 19th century, although a couple, probably intrusive, dated to the 20th.

The reason for the difference in soil color and texture between these layers of fill soon became apparent when excavators discovered a portion of the Wilson house's northern foundation wall (SC 6E) at a depth between 10 and 15 cm below the present-day ground surface, running east-west through TC A (cx. 12) and cutting into TC A North extension's southwest corner. The foundation was composed mostly of local schist, with some river stones and broken bricks, all held together with mortar (**Fig. 2.3a and 3.2 - Appendix A**). It thus made sense that the fill looked different on the interior versus the exterior of the Wilson house.

On the exterior side of the foundation wall, and beneath the fill associated with the park's construction (SC 4A), loose (i.e., no longer mortared together) stones and brick fragments began to appear at about 30 cm bgs (cx. 29, 30). After encountering these loosened stones and bricks in the other test cuts inside the Wilson house (TCs B, C, M, and R) and finding the foundation to be intact in a number of shovel tests, we determined the stones were displaced remains of the Wilson house's stone stem wall, and thus part of the demolition strata cluster (6B).¹⁷ Displaced bricks and stones can be seen in the walls of the test cut (**Fig. 2.3a -Appendix A**). The park

construction crew appears to have knocked down the Wilson house's stem wall during their demolition of the house, sending some of the stones to the outside of the foundation and others to the interior of the house. They seem to have left the below-ground portion of the foundation wall found in TCA undisturbed.

At about 35 cm bgs, there was a soil change from strong brown to dark yellowish brown sandy silt that characterized the rest of this layer. This appeared to be a demolition layer containing debris from the Wilson house (and possibly its yard; SC 6B; cx. 32, 33, 38, 40). Artifacts found in this layer included fragments of mortar, glass, iron nails and tacks, iron sheets, smoking pipes, and redware. This stratum (SC 6B) was between 20 and 25 cm thick on the exterior side of the wall.

On the interior side of the wall, the demolition layer was encountered at about 30 cm bgs (SC 6B; cx. 17, 35, 39).¹⁸ The soil was brown sandy silt with a greater density of stones than the fill layer (SC 4A) above it, and it contained fragments of iron sheeting approximately 18 cm by 18 cm by a few mm thick in size. We later found much larger pieces of these flat iron sheets in TCs B and M and hypothesized it was roofing material, possibly tinplate (Gayle and Look 1992:12), from the Wilson house. Excavation on the interior of the foundation wall was stopped at 48 cm bgs, because this area became very difficult to excavate (it was small and had a high density of stones), and because the stratigraphy inside the wall was beginning to look like that in nearby TC B. Before closing, excavators found several pieces of green bottle glass, likely from a single wine bottle that could date to the mid-19th century, and thus might have been left behind by the Wilson family. If excavation had continued in this area of the test cut, the crew presumably would have encountered the deeper Wilson occupation deposits (SC 6C, and possibly SC 6D) uncovered in TCs B, C, M, and R.

Excavation in TC A and TC A North Extension on the exterior of the wall continued, however, allowing the crew to recognize a builder's trench composed of loose dark yellowish brown silty clay filled with brick and stone rubble on the northern side of the wall (SC 6E, cx. 40, 45). This trench extended northward about 20 cm from the northern edge of the foundation wall and down to sterile subsoil and loose schist (SC 7) at a depth of about 84 cm bgs.

To the north of the trench, the crew did not discover a buried A Horizon that would indicate the SV ground surface. Instead, they encountered soil that was redder than in previous layers, very sandy and sterile (cx. 44, 45), beginning at about 60 cm bgs, which was thought to be subsoil. This same soil was also found underneath the builder's trench, and was excavated to a depth of about 88 cm bgs, where the crew found that the foundation wall itself rested on top of crumbling schisty bedrock (SC 8).

TC B and TC B West Extension (Profiles 2.2a and b - Appendix C)

TC B was a one-by-one m unit located one meter to the southeast of TC A. The opening elevation of the northwest corner of the test cut was 1.456 m above the site datum. TC B was contained entirely within the Wilson house. It was one of the more challenging to excavate as it contained numerous tree roots in upper levels as well as stones from the house's stem wall and

layers of thin iron sheets (possibly roofing) that preserved a number of large, fragile iron artifacts (including a roasting pan) that do not normally survive in archaeological deposits in the northeast. TC B was extended 50 cm to the west in order to remove the roasting pan and other artifacts lodged within the western wall of the test cut.

The upper layers of TC B were similar to TC A and to the other test cuts in the All Angels' transect. The sod layer (SC 1; cx. 2, 34) was about 4 cm thick. The humus layer (SC 2; cx. 5, 9, 34, 36) ranged from 5 to 10 cm thick and was composed of dark brown sandy silt. Within both of these levels, modern artifacts were uncovered, including a quarter dated 2001. Like TCs C, M and R, which were also contained entirely within the Wilson house, TC B contained thin lenses (about 2 cm thick) of very dark gray fine silt in SCs 1 and 2, possibly a result of decaying organic matter like tree roots. It was in SC 2 that large tree roots were the most numerous; the crew respected the guidelines set forth by the Central Park Conservancy and did not cut any roots thicker than a half inch, as noted above.

Below the humus layer and beginning at 15 to 20 cm bgs in TC B and 10 cm bgs in TC B West Extension, was a layer of fill from the construction of the park (SV 4A; cx. 9, 11, 36). This layer ranged from 15 to 25 cm in thickness in different parts of the test cut. Like the SC 4A layers in TCs A, C, M, and R, it was composed of yellowish brown sandy silt. Temporally diagnostic artifacts contained within this fill dated to the 19th century and were similar to those in the next stratum below.

Next encountered was the layer formed by the demolition of the Wilson house which presumably contained a mix of material from the Wilson house, the surrounding yard, and some fill (SC 6B; cx. 13, 15, 18, 37, 42, 126). It extended from between 35 and 40 cm bgs in some parts of the test cut and to a depth of about 45 cm bgs in others. Here, this stratum consisted of a layer of dark yellowish brown sandy silt, containing inclusions of small clumps of white clay, numerous larger ceramic pieces (like large pieces of stoneware crocks and a redware handle of a small pitcher), along with a piece of slate, nails, fragments of bone, seashell, glass (including one blue bead), coal, mortar, brick, and stones lying immediately on top of, next to and under large, thin layers of iron. This iron undulated in the level and covered almost the whole western quarter of TC B. There was also a strap-shaped piece of thicker iron more than 20 cm long that might have been a barrel hoop (cx. 37). The temporally diagnostic artifacts here in SC 6B all date to the middle of the 19th century and are likely mostly objects once used by the Wilson family.

Shielded underneath the largest and deepest layer of metal sheets and beginning at a depth of about 45 cm bgs was another layer of demolition materials (SC 6C; cx. 23, 28, 31, 126,¹⁹ 129, 152), a 15 to 30 cm thick layer of strong brown sandy silt, filled with mid- 19th century artifacts that were almost certainly used by the Wilsons when they occupied the house. These artifacts included large fragments of Chinese export porcelain, yellowware, stoneware (including a beer bottle), and blue on white transfer-printed refined earthenware, glass (including a small colorless whole medicine or perfume bottle), and metal objects (including part of a curry comb and what appeared to be a handle of a small pail). Air pockets created by the sheets of metal lying on top of stones and bricks without fill soil in between were present in this layer (in cx. 23, 129, and 152). Underneath layers of metal sheets in the western wall of the unit, at about 50 cm bgs, the

crew was surprised to discover (in cx. 28) a large, two-handled rectangular iron roasting pan with an iron tea kettle, large fragments of a green glass bottle, and a white-glazed redware vessel, possibly a French ointment pot, inside it (Fig. 2.4 - Appendix A).

It was in order to excavate the roasting pan that TC B was extended 50 cm to the west, revealing stratigraphic layers and artifacts above the level of the roasting pan that were similar to those in TC B, as previously noted in the descriptions above. A major concern was how to conserve the roasting pan and its associated artifacts, so just before reaching the depth of the roasting pan, we backfilled the entire combined unit while we awaited a consultation from conservators from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. We thought this was necessary because, despite our best attempts to protect the iron from the change in environment, a couple of days of exposure to sun had already visibly weakened it. We covered the exposed portion of the roasting pan with several centimeters of soil. Then we placed overturned buckets into the rest of the test cut and overlay them with a web of lathe from snow fences. On top of that we placed plastic sheeting and then backfilled the test cut.

About 3 weeks later, we re-excavated the test cut and found the roasting pan to be well preserved in the same condition in which we had re-buried it. Under the supervision of Jennifer Dennis and Emilia Cortes, conservators from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the crew carefully removed the roasting pan and kettle by excavating underneath them (cx. 126). This was possible because the pan sat on top of several rocks with spaces between them. The crew then wrapped cellophane and casting tape (both the traditional cloth and plaster variety and some of the quicker-drying fiberglass type) around the artifacts to support them. Once the bandages hardened, crew members lifted the pan and its contents into a specially-prepared plastic box that was taken to the museum for conservation (see **Appendix G** for a description of the conservation measures).

While excavating the pan and leveling the test cut after its removal (cx. 126, 129, 152), crew members found more artifacts related to the Wilson household, including flat pieces of lead, scallop and oyster shells, shoe leather, a cut-glass candlestick fragment, ceramics (including a large piece of stoneware), fragments of coal, brick, mortar, and another part of the curry comb. In this level (cx. 129) we also found the only piece of seemingly worked wood recovered at the site. It was about 25.4 cm in length and badly preserved.

At the bottom of SC 6C, and at about 72 cm bgs, the strong brown soil became grittier, composed of sandy silt mixed with weathered schist, and smaller fragments of ceramics, glass, mortar, coal, and brick were recovered. The small size of the artifacts and their location atop and within the first few centimeters of subsoil suggest they were objects that fell through the floorboards and made up a sub-floor deposit (SC 6D; cx. 142). This layer, 6D, was more clearly present in TCs M and R than in the other test cuts inside the Wilson house foundation.

Below this layer was the sterile subsoil layer (SC 7; cx. 149), a combination of dark reddish brown and strong brown schisty sand beginning at about 75 cm below the ground surface. This subsoil layer was about 10 cm thick, as determined by probes, and below that was bedrock (SC 8), beginning at about 85 cm bgs.

TC C (Planview 2.3 and Profiles 2.3a and b - Appendix D, C)

TC C was a one-by-one m unit and the third and southernmost test cut opened on the first day of fieldwork. The opening elevation of this test cut's northwest corner was 1.316 m above the site datum. TC C turned out to be located within the walls of the Wilson house, but its stratigraphy was somewhat different than that of the other test cuts there (TCs B, M, and R). The explanation for these differences apparently had to do with both tree root behavior and site formation processes. TC C contained a greater number of thick tree roots than the other units, and also a thicker Seneca Village demolition layer (SC 6B), along with a thinner layer related to the Wilson household (SC 6C). It did not contain the metal sheets that capped the Wilson-related layers (SC 6C) in other test cuts. It also yielded fewer artifacts overall. The southeast portion of the TC was not fully excavated because of the density of stones and bricks, later interpreted as wall fall. Therefore, only the northwestern half of the TC was excavated to the depth of SC 6C and below. Otherwise, the upper levels of TC C resembled those of TC B.

The uppermost layer (SC 1; cx. 1) was a thin stratum of sod and moist black soil that contained recent park-related debris discarded in the field. The humus layer (SC2; cx. 4, 7) began just a few centimeters below the ground surface and ranged from about 3 to 8 cm deep. It consisted of moist strong brown and reddish brown silty sand and silty clay. It also contained 20th century material like a metal can tab and a piece of plastic as well as small fragments of potentially 19th-century artifacts such as iron, coal, a shell, colorless and green glass, redware, and a button.

The park construction fill layer (SC 4A; cx. 10) began at depths ranging from 10 to 15 cm bgs and was made up of dark yellowish brown silty clay. This layer ranged from about 15 to 25 cm thick and contained a greater number of 19th-century artifacts than the previous layer.

The underlying layer containing material from the demolition of the Wilson house (SC 6B; cx. 14, 16, 20, 24) began between 25 cm and 35 cm below the ground surface when the soil became less compact and less sandy than in SC 4A and changed in color to include yellowish brown and dark yellowish brown mottles in a field of dark yellowish brown clayey silt. This layer again contained architectural refuse presumably from the house, like stones, nails and brick and mortar fragments, and one piece of possible window glass. The southeastern half of the test cut contained many stones, most of which the crew left in place, suspecting that they might be part of a wall, although later it was determined that they were part of the wall fall. Also present in this layer were pieces of coal, whiteware, and fragments of two large blue-on-white Chinese porcelain vessels that presumably were used by the Wilsons.

The layer associated with the Wilson household (and capped by iron sheets in TCs B, M and R) (SC 6C; cx. 26, 27) was encountered at a greater depth in this test cut than in the others, beginning at approximately 60 cm bgs. The soil in this layer was yellowish brown and dark yellowish brown. Artifacts in the upper portion were sparse and included a few nails, fragments of brick, coal, mortar, glass, and flat iron. Still within this layer, beginning at a depth of about 65 cm bgs (cx. 27), the density of mid-19th century artifacts increased.

At about 74 cm bgs, the soil changed to a dark yellowish brown grainy silty sand characteristic of the subsoil (SC 7; cx. 27). It is possible that a thin lens of the house occupation stratum with the small objects that presumably fell through the floorboards (SC 6D) existed in this test cut because there were many small fragments of artifacts found just above the subsoil (e.g., tacks, ceramics and coal). Excavators dug until they discovered bedrock (SC 8) at a depth of 80 cm bgs in the northwestern portion of the test cut (cx. 27).

TC M and M North Extension (Profiles 2.4a and b - Appendix C)

The one-by-one m TC M was the first test cut opened after a few weeks' hiatus in the All Angels' area during which the team was excavating in other transects while we awaited assistance from conservators to remove the "roasting pan" and its associated artifacts from TC B.

TC M was located to the southwest of TC B and to the northwest of TC C, just adjacent to it (Figs. 2.2a and b). The opening elevation of TC M's northwest corner was 1.351 m above the site datum. After reaching bedrock in TC M, a one m by 0.5 m north extension was added to this unit. The stratigraphic profiles of TC M and TC M North Extension were similar to one another and to that of TC B, in that there were extensive "sheets" of iron separating the fill and demolition layers (SC 4A and 6B) from the layers most securely connected with the Wilsons' occupation of the house (SC 6C and 6D). These metal sheets were present throughout much of TC M and M North Extension, except for the southern fifth of TC M, such that the stratigraphic profile of the southern wall of TC M relative to all of the test cuts in the All Angels' area and contained the most artifacts. More of the unusual, large air pockets were found in this unit, under the metal sheets (SC 6C; they were also found in TC B; see above). Leather shoe soles were found as well as one nearly complete small fabric and leather shoe were found within these air pockets (Fig. 2.5 - Appendix A).

The sod layer (SC 1; cx. 139, 185) was about 5 cm thick and was composed of very dark grayish brown sandy silt. It contained recent artifacts. The layer of humus began at about 5 cm bgs and ranged from 4 to 10 cm in thickness (SC 2; cx. 144, 188). It was composed of dark grayish brown sandy silt with artifacts dating to the 19th and 20th centuries.

The fill layers associated with the park's construction (SC 4A; cx. 146, 150; 189, 191) began about 15 cm bgs, and comprised a thicker layer than most (ranging from 15 to 20 cms). They were composed of a few centimeters of dark yellowish brown sandy silt lying atop olive yellow very fine sandy silt. This stratum cluster was encountered several centimeters closer to the surface in the northeast corner of the unit. It contained 19th century artifacts, including fragments of annular/ dipt ware (blue, white, and black striped) and salt-glazed stoneware.

The layer interpreted as having been formed when the Wilson house was demolished, just above and within multiple layers of metal sheets (SC 6B; cx. 164, 168, 192), began with a soil change and greater concentration of metal fragments and sheets at a depth ranging from 30 to 40 cm bgs. In this area, SC 6B was composed of dark yellowish brown sandy silt. In the center of the unit was also a metal artifact that initially appeared to be a bucket and which was excavated as a large

piece with surrounding soil to be further analyzed in the lab. It turned out that this "bucket" was simply a curved metal strap (possibly a barrel hoop) lying atop fragmented layers of metal sheets. Other artifacts contained in this level were a mixture of architectural remains (including metal nails and tacks and bricks), likely from the house's demolition, and domestic artifacts (such as a leather shoe sole, and fragments of ceramics, glass, coal, and oyster shells).

SC 6C, the layer underneath the lowest level of metal sheets (cx. 164, 170, 174, 194, 198, 204, 207, 214), began about 45 cm bgs and ranged from about 5 to 10 cm in thickness. This layer has been interpreted as a level containing artifacts that remained in the Wilson house after they vacated the property, which was capped with the metal sheets that might have been the remains of tinplate (Gayle and Look 1992:12) roofing. The air pockets found in this layer and noted above appear to have been created when the metal sheets were thrown on top of the bricks and stones from the partially demolished foundation wall and chimney of the house. These pockets suggest that the crew building the park did not put much fill soil into the house before putting down the metal sheets. These voids might have been enlarged by rodents tunneling into the wreckage after the demolition of the house, as soil samples contained traces of rodent feces and a raspberry and a pokeberry seed that each appear to have been chewed by a rodent (cx. 198 in TC M Extension) (Jacobucci and Trigg 2012:24).

The soil in this layer (SC 6C, resulting from the Wilson occupation) was similar to that in the stratum above (SC 6B, resulting from the demolition of the house): a dark yellowish brown sandy silt. The soil was more compacted but also contained air pockets. Artifacts in this layer, apart from the metal sheets, included larger than typical fragments of ceramics (including a piece of a light blue-on-white transfer-printed teacup, likely manufactured between 1818 and 1867 [MAC Lab 2015a], part of a lid from a blue on white hand-painted Chinese export porcelain dating between 1785 and 1835 [Mudge 1962:208], and fragments of stoneware). Fragments of Ceramic Vessel 12, an ironstone/ white granite gothic molded bowl, also discovered in this layer, crossmend with other fragments found in the same stratum cluster (SC 6C) in TC B. Another unusual artifact found in this layer was the nearly complete fabric and leather shoe (Small Find 4), mentioned above, which might have belonged to a child. There was also what appeared to be a rectangular iron box or pan (Small Find 46) measuring approximately 8 by 10.5 by 2.5 inches. This was removed in several pieces (as it was very fragile and was fused to metal and stone underneath it) (**Fig. 2.6 - Appendix A**). An animal bone was found underneath the pan and is visible in the field photograph.

The "under the floorboards" layer (SC 6D; cx. 174, 179, 181, 204, 207) was distinguished from its overlying layer both on the basis of a soil change and the types of artifacts uncovered. This layer began approximately 55 cm bgs and was about 10 to 15 cm thick. The soil in this layer was darker and considerably more mixed (yellow brown mottled with very dark grayish brown). It contained much more coal, charcoal, cinder, brick, and mortar (more than 9.1 kg) than other layers and had a coarser texture because of these inclusions and some mixing with the schisty subsoil below. Artifacts from this level were all small. They include a three-cent coin stamped with the year 1852 (cx. 174; Small Find 74), many nails (including square-cut nails), buttons, a copper alloy eye (from a clothing hook and eye), cut bone, a ball clay pipe bowl, a piece of hard rubber, and glass fragments (including flat red glass and green embossed bottle glass determined

in the lab to have composed a bottle of "Old Dr. Townsend's Sarsaparilla" [TPQ of 1849; Glass Vessel 522], which was locally produced in New York City [Fike 1987:220]). The deepest parts of SC 6D were composed of charcoal and coal mixed with subsoil.

A layer of sterile subsoil (SC 7; cx. 181, 207), a dark reddish brown and strong brown schisty sand, began at about 70 cm bgs and was excavated to about 75 cm bgs. Chaining pins were used to determine the depth of the subsoil and the location of the underlying bedrock (SC 8) in the area; the latter was located at various depths between 7 and 20 cm below the base of the excavations.

TC R and R North Extension (Profiles 2.5a and b - Appendix C)

The one-by-one m TC R was opened shortly after TC M in order to further explore the interior of the Wilson house. TC R was located about a half a meter to the west of TC M, and was the westernmost test cut in the All Angels' area (Figs. 2.2a and b - Appendix A). The opening elevation of the northwest corner of both TC R and R North Extension was 1.376 m above the site datum. TC R was similar in its stratigraphic layers to TCs B, C, and M, but did not contain as much metal as TC M, nor any air pockets, nor as many stem wall stones as TC B. It was also difficult in TC R to distinguish between SC 4A (park construction fill) and SC 6B (Wilson house demolition), because there was no observed soil change between these levels. In addition, there was no convenient layer of iron sheeting (only a few smaller fragments) distinguishing SC 6B from SC 6C, the underlying layers of demolition strata within the foundation wall and below the metal sheeting. Another unique aspect of TC R and R North Extension is that they contained more than 70 bricks, which we surmised to be the remains of the house's chimney (Fig. 2.7 - Appendix A).

In the northern portion of TC R, demolition rubble, (SC 6B) consisting of brick and mortar, was discovered beginning just underneath the park construction fill (SC 4A). This rubble was initially left in situ and the southern part of the test cut excavated first to understand the stratigraphy. Then, a 50-by-100 cm northward extension was opened to follow the rubble. Once the north extension was excavated to the layer of the rubble (SC 6B), the extension and the original TC R were excavated in unison.

The sod layer (SC 1; cx. 210, 235) in TC R and R North Extension was like the others in the All Angels' area: It was just a few centimeters thick, composed of dark gray brown sandy silt, and contained artifacts from the recent past.

The humus layer (SC 2; cx. 212, 216, 235) began a few centimeters below the ground surface and ranged from 5 to 10 cm in thickness. It was composed of grayish brown sandy silt and contained a mixture of 19th and 20th century artifacts.

The park construction fill strata (SC 4A; cx. 217, 219, 237, 238, 239) began at a depth of about 10 to 15 cm bgs and were deeper in TC R than in the north extension. They ranged from about 15 to 25 cm thick and contained soils of several slightly different colors, depending on their location within the units, from dark grayish brown to brownish yellow to very pale brown sandy

silt. This stratum cluster (SC 4A) contained 19th-century ceramics, including stoneware and blue and white transfer-printed wares, and no obviously 20th-century materials.

While it was not possible to distinguish a soil change between the park construction layers (SC 4A) and the layer containing demolition material from the Wilson house (SC 6B; cx. 225, 227, 230, 234, 240, 242, 245), the latter was indicated by the artifacts: architectural rubble (presumably from the house itself) composed of a mixture of chimney bricks, mortar, and a few foundation stones discovered in the northern part of TC R and in the entirety of the northern extension. This rubble began to appear in large concentrations at about 35 cm bgs (cx. 225, 240). These bricks and mortar fragments were tightly packed with little to no soil in between them in some parts of the unit. By the depth of about 50 cm bgs, the rubble continued, and what little soil there was in the layer changed to include many more fragments of mortar, such that it looked like a grayish brown mortary sand. Interspersed with the rubble were small architecture-related artifacts like nails and flat glass, along with cinder, coal, a glass button, a bone button, a metal belt buckle, and a large stoneware fragment with blue decoration (resembling a fragment found in TC M), all likely left by the Wilsons.

When the rubble layer was initially uncovered, the crew excavated the southern part of TC R first, where the bricks were initially fewer (cx. 227). There, and in the northern half of TC R (cx. 230), they found some iron sheets, but these sheets did not span a large portion of the excavation unit to neatly separate SC 6B and 6C as in TCs B and M. Underneath the metal sheets, the brick and mortar rubble that was part of the Wilson house demolition layer (SC 6B) became even more dense, such that in one 10 to 12 cm thick context (cx. 245) beginning at a depth of about 55 cm bgs, the crew removed 70 whole or partial bricks and an additional 46 fragments, weighing a total of about 217 pounds (or more than 98 kilos).

Underneath the bricks, and about 63 cm bgs, a few larger artifacts were discovered that were likely objects the Wilsons left behind inside their house (SC 6C; cx. 245) which were then capped, in most of the other Wilson house test cuts, by the metal sheets during park construction. Artifacts in this layer in TC R included a bone handle (likely part of a toothbrush), two glass buttons, a piece of hard rubber, and a buff-bodied stoneware jar lid.

Within a couple of centimeters of the top of this demolition layer (SC 6C), the crew noticed a soil change to a strong brown and dark reddish brown schisty sand mixture and smaller artifacts, resembling what had been identified in other test cuts as the "under the floorboards" layer (SC 6D; cx. 248, 249, 251). In TC R, this stratum (SC 6D) began at depths ranging from about 65 cm bgs in the southern part of the unit to about 71 cm bgs in the northern part, and ranged from 2 to 4 cm thick. It contained nails and tacks, buttons made of metal and bone, and other small artifacts.

The subsoil layer, SC 7, was not excavated, but its appearance underneath SC 6D at a beginning depth ranging from 69 to 74 cm bgs was noted in cx. 249 and 251. The subsoil was identical in this unit to the others inside the Wilson house. It contained schisty sand that ranged in color from strong brown to dark reddish brown and was devoid of artifacts. This test cut was not excavated

to bedrock, but we surmised, based on the pattern in other test cuts, that bedrock was only a few centimeters away.

Shovel Tests 6-18 – Locating the Walls of the Wilson House

All of the shovel tests were irregular in shape. Their placement and shape were determined by the expectation that they would recover information about the placement of one or more of the Wilson house walls. Initially soil from these tests was screened but then it was simply troweled out without screening, and stratigraphy was recorded. See **Figs. 2.2a and b (Appendix A)** for locations. Only unusual artifacts are mentioned as most Shovel Tests had modern artifacts close to the surface and 19th-century materials below them.

ST 6 was located inside the northeast corner of the house, about 0.5 m south of the north wall. It was aligned along a northeast-southwest axis and was 46 cm northwest-southeast and 67 cm northeast-southwest. It had a humus layer, followed by a yellow-brown sandy silt. It was excavated to 36 cm in the northern portion and between 18 and 22 cm bgs to the south. An extension to the northeast was 40 (E-W) by 130 cm (N-S), and was excavated to 34.5 cm bgs. It contained some stones that were thought to be part of the Wilson house wall.

ST 7 was located along the east wall of the house protruding into the house, and was about 3 m south of the northeast corner of the house. It was 78 cm northwest-southeast by 38 cm northeast-southwest and was excavated to 151-158 cm bgs. The second stratum was a compact yellow-brown clayey silt. Soil was not screened. ST 7 was extended to the east to try to locate the east wall. The final dimensions, including the extension, were 90 by 38 cm, and some large rocks and mortar were located at the southeast end of the shovel test, which was interpreted as part of a wall, perhaps the eastern wall of the house. It was deeper (60 cm) than the other wall remains.

ST 8, about 50 by 50 cm, was located along the north wall of the house, less than 1 m to the west of ST 6. The second stratum was a yellow-brown sandy silt, about 36 cm deep. It was extended to the northeast and a wall with mortar and bricks was found at about 40-43 cm bgs. This was likely part of the north wall of the house.

ST 9 was opened very close to, and east-southeast of, ST 6, along the Wilson House east wall, and along a northwest-southeast axis. It was about 50 by 75 cm. The soil in this ST was not screened. It was dug to 55 cm bgs and only some loose rocks were found, although it was in the area where the northeast corner of the house could be expected to be.

ST 10 was opened one m south of ST 7 extension to try to find the continuation of the east wall. It was aligned from northwest to southeast, 110 cm long and 35 cm in width. No soil was screened and wall remnants were found at about 36/40 cm bgs.

ST 11 was placed between the east wall of TC C and ST 10. It was 55 by 60 cm, aligned east-west. Its soil was not screened, and it was dug to 52/61 cm with no wall remains confirmed.

ST 12 was located parallel to ST 10, and more than a meter south of it. It was 115 by 50 cm, aligned northeast to southwest and located the east wall of the house which was 55 cm wide and 28 cm bgs. Soil was not screened. The rocks in the wall were held together with mortar.

ST 13 (not on map) was located between ST 9 and ST 7 extension, to their east. It was meant to determine if the wall corner could be found there but the results were inconclusive. It was about 30 by 50 cm, aligned east-west. It was excavated to a depth of 52-55 cm on the west and 28 cm bgs in its northeast corner. Some mortar was recovered, and it was noted that the soil was hard to trowel. No soil was screened.

ST 14 was a 70 (northeast-southwest) by 95 (northwest-southeast) cm test placed to the west of TC A which uncovered the northwest corner of the house. Soil was not screened. There were stones with mortar, and in the northwest corner it seemed as though the wall rested on bedrock (at 58 cm bgs). Other corners were excavated to 34-44 cm.

ST 15 was placed where we thought that the southeast corner of the house might have been. The soil was quite sandy and no wall or rubble was found. Its location was determined by measuring 21.11 feet, the north-south dimension of the house according to Sage (1856) from the possible northeast corner. It was excavated to 35 cm bgs. Soil was not screened.

ST 16 was placed about one m north of ST 15 along the east wall, looking for further evidence of the wall. The soil looked similar to that found in TC S, outside the east wall (see below). It was not screened, no evidence of the wall was found, and excavation stopped at a depth of 32-36 cm bgs.

ST 17 was placed just north of ST 16. It was 90 cm (northwest-southeast) by 137 cm (northeastsouthwest, with the extension), and it included part of the southern wall and the southeastern corner of the structure. The wall consisted of stones held together with mortar, and it was approximately 48 cm in width. Soil was not screened. The second stratum was the typical yellow-brown sandy silt and was dug to 33-43 cm bgs. A small portion of the shovel test (on the northern edge) was determined to be in the house interior. The eastern edge of the wall was not found but it was probably nearby.

ST 18 was placed along the western edge of TC R, at its northwest corner. It was hoped that it would reveal the western edge of the western wall, and it was successful. It was also designed to learn more about the concentration of brick and mortar in the western part of TC R. Soil was not screened, and it was excavated to a depth of 20-28.5 bgs on its western edge and 3 cm bgs in the northeast corner

We were able to locate the probable southwest corner of the wall, abutting a tree, so it was not possible to dig there.

All in all, the shovel test program implemented to determine the location of the foundation wall of the Wilson House was successful. The wall was encountered in 9 of the 13 shovel tests. They

showed that the footprint of the house was similar to that depicted on Sage (1856), 21.11 feet north-south by 19.8 feet east-west.

In addition to the test cuts and shovel tests used to explore the Wilson home, we placed two additional test cuts in the All Angels' area.

TCS

The 50 x 50 cm unit TC S was opened in order to explore the eastern area outside the foundation wall of the Wilson house. It was to the east of TC C and was the easternmost test cut in the All Angels' area (Figs. 2.2a and b - Appendix A). TC S, similar to many of the quad units in Transect 3, was smaller than the typical test cut, as noted. It was hoped that this test cut might reveal a buried A Horizon that was part of the Wilsons' yard. We believe we did recover this feature, although the results were not completely conclusive.

Like the 50-by-50 cm units in Transect 3, TC S was recorded differently in that all the layers in the test cut were given the same main context number (cx. 222), followed by a decimal point and another Arabic number to indicate the unique archaeological context (in terms of field stratum and level) excavated (e.g., 222.4). Also, a new datum was established for this test cut because the datum for the other test cuts was too far away to obtain reliable measurements. The opening elevation of the unit's northwest corner was 1.3668 m above the site datum.

The sod layer (SC 1; cx. 222.1) was typical for the All Angels' area. It was approximately 2 cm thick, composed of dark grayish brown sandy silt, and contained one iron nail. The humus layer below (SC 2; cx. 222.2) was composed of light olive brown sandy silt and contained only a few artifacts, likely dating to the 20th century: 2 pieces of iron, 1 metal jack, and 2 small pieces of coal. This layer began about 2 cm bgs and was approximately 9 cm thick.

The underlying park construction fill layer (SC 4A; cx. 222.3) was similar to that in other units in the area in that it was composed of soft, crumbly yellowish brown sandy silt. It contained fewer artifacts compared to the others, however, with only a few small glass and ceramic sherds (brown glazed and white), 1 metal tack, and 1 tiny bone fragment. This layer began at about 10 cm bgs and ranged from 10 to 12 cm thick.

A slight change in soil color and a more distinctive change in texture occurred about 21 cm bgs (cx. 222.4) that might indicate the presence of SC 6A, the Seneca Village-era buried A Horizon. This layer of sandy silt was slightly yellower in color than the layer above it. It was also more compact and contained more schisty gravel, but only a few artifacts: 3 small pieces of unidentifiable iron and 1 small flat glass sherd.²⁰ Both its compactness and its relative lack of artifacts suggest that this possible buried A Horizon might have been subjected to yard sweeping. We discuss this possibility in Chapter 3. This layer was about 10 cm thick and sat atop sterile schisty soil characteristic of the subsoil in the area (SC 7), which appeared at a depth of 33 cm bgs.

Probing TC S with chaining pins determined that the subsoil layer continued for about 21 more centimeters and that bedrock (SC 8) was approximately 54 cm bgs in the eastern half of the test cut.

TC N (Profiles 2.6a and b - Appendix C)

We excavated one additional test cut in the All Angels' area which did not contain deposits related to the Wilson house. The one-by-one m unit TC N was opened in order to determine if any remains of the house next door to the Wilson's, indicated on the Sage map (1856), were still present. TC N was located approximately 6 meters to the south of TC C and west of TC R, and down a small slope from the area where the Wilson house had been, based on modern park topography. It was the southernmost test cut in the All Angels' area (**Figs. 2.2 a and b** - **Appendix A**). It was similar to TC S, the other test cut outside of the Wilson house, in that the upper layers (SC 1, 2, and 4A) were like those other test cuts in the All Angels' area (TCs A, B, C, M, and R) in soil color and type, except that these layers in TC N contained fewer artifacts than the others.

The opening elevation of the northwest corner of TC N was 1.316 m above the site datum. The sod layer (SC 1; cx. 155) was 1 to 3 cm thick and composed of a very dark grayish brown sandy silt. It was devoid of artifacts, except for one modern penny. The underlying humus layer (SC 2; cx. 156), also composed of very dark grayish brown sandy silt but containing a greater density of pebbles, began at about 2 cm bgs. It ranged from 7 to 8 cm in thickness and contained 20th century artifacts, all of which were discarded in the field.

The park construction fill layers below (SC 4A; cx. 158) were distinguished by a soil change to yellowish brown sandy silt at about 9 cm bgs, that changed to a slightly darker yellowish brown sandy silt at about 16 cm bgs. Both layers contained relatively few artifacts, including fragments of ironstone/ white granite, blue-on-white transfer-printed whiteware, and several fragments of unglazed redware that formed Ceramic Vessel 37, a flowerpot.

The demolition layer (SC 6B; cx. 159) was present beginning at approximately 23 cm bgs and was composed of a several centimeter-thick layer of yellowish brown sandy silt, slightly lighter in color than SC 4A. This layer (SC 6B) was different in TC N than in the other test cuts in All Angels' in that it contained far fewer artifacts, only a handful of fragments of glass, metal, brick, coal, and ceramic. At the bottom of this level, the crew noted an increasing number of pebbles.

A thin layer of the Seneca Village buried A Horizon (SC 6A; cx. 163) might have been present in this test cut. Beginning at an approximate depth of 30 cm bgs, excavators noticed that the soil changed in color to strong brown sandy silt. This change was not noted during profile drawing, however. Like the possible buried A Horizon layer (SC 6A) in TC S, this layer in TC N contained very few artifacts, only 3 small nails and 3 pieces of slag.

By about 33 cm bgs, the characteristic gold and reddish schisty subsoil (SC 7; cx. 167) of the area began to appear. The crew excavated this sterile soil for several cm, to about 40 cm bgs. A

chaining pin was then used to determine the location of the underlying bedrock (SC 8). It was found to begin at a range of 47 to 56 cm bgs.

The All Angels' area was one of the two most productive parts of the site that we excavated in terms of revealing traces of Seneca Village. The assemblages associated with the Wilson family provide insights into both the ways of life of a middle-class African-American family in the mid-19th century and the methods of construction of the Wilson house. We discuss these findings more fully in Chapter 3. The other particularly productive area was Transect 3.

Part 3: Transect 3

The soil borings and the GPR indicated that a large area called Transect 3 contained several sets of possibly-intact archaeological resources. The area was bounded by West Drive on the west, the Bridle Path on the east (these two thoroughfares abut each other to the north of the transect), and a rock outcropping to the east and south (Figs. 2.1 and 2.8 - Appendix A). In one part of this area, on the south side of 84th Street (as it might extend into the park), the soil corings (Selby 2005) uncovered historic artifacts in association with a buried organic soil layer which was identified as a possible buried A Horizon, and the GPR done just prior to excavation picked up a buried flat feature, interpreted as a possible basement floor of a house. Other features identified in the preliminary testing in the area included what appeared to be a possible privy and several artifact concentrations (Conyers 2005, 2011).

The Northern-most Units in Transect 3: The Buried A Horizon

TCs D, D East Extension, and K (Profiles 2.7a and b - Appendix C)

We began to explore this area by opening TC D, a one-by-one m square. The modern ground surface at its NW corner was 0.352 m below the site datum. At a depth of around 40 cm bgs the excavators encountered the top of a large rock which, when ultimately exposed, was revealed to be 45 cm long; we expanded the test cut twice to the east (first as TC D East Extension, which was one-half-by-one meter, and then TC K, another one-by-one m square, in order to uncover it. It is probable that this large rock was what the GPR had identified as a possible basement floor. The stratigraphy of these three units is discussed here together. These test cuts revealed a possible buried A Horizon.

The uppermost layers (SCs 1 and 2) consisted of the modern sod and brown sandy silty humic layer (TC D cx. 46, 49; TC D East Ext. cx. 78, 81; TC K cx. 102) which was approximately 10 to 30 cm thick and extended to a depth of 10 to 30 cm bgs. As expected, in addition to artifacts that could well date to the 19th century, these layers also contained relatively modern objects such as a light bulb, which was uncovered in TC K (cx. 102). The humus was underlain by two to three layers of dark yellowish brown sandy silt fill (SC 4A) in different parts of the combined unit (TC D cx. 50, 53; TC D East Ext. cx. 83, 85,86, 91; TC K cx. 111). Although all were described as consisting of dark yellowish brown sandy silt, these layers were slightly differentiated on the basis of color or texture. They extended to a depth of approximately 30 to 35 cm below grade and together were about 20 cm thick. These layers yielded a TPQ of the

1840s, based on the presence of sherds of flow blue (cx. 53, 111) and yellowware (cx. 86), pottery types that were introduced in that decade. Discovered in the lowermost layer of fill (SC 5) was our most dramatic artifact, a light blue transfer-printed teapot in fragments that when mended produced a nearly complete vessel (**Fig. 2.9 - Appendix A**; cx. 53, 57; designated Ceramic Vessel 80). This artifact rested atop the buried A Horizon.

Below the fill, and at a depth of around 35 cm bgs, a layer of grayish brown very grainy sandy silt, underlain by a layer of dark brown sandy silt, was uncovered throughout most of TC D and D East Extension and some of TC K (TC D cx. 57, 70, 65; D East Ext cx. 92; K cx. 117, 118, 121). We have interpreted these as a buried A Horizon (SC 6A) which ranged in thickness from 2 to over 10 cm, being uniformly thicker on the southern side of the units (**Fig. 2.10 - Appendix A**). This stratum was very rich in artifacts, particularly domestic ones. Resting on this layer in TC D was a lens of ash (SC 5; excavated with cx. 57) visible in the south wall, which was also artifact rich with both domestic items and architectural materials, and included a hard rubber comb, a kind of comb first made in 1851 (cx. 57; designated S 70 in the Small Finds database; Ace 2017). Some of the artifacts consisted of large fragments, suggesting that they had not been exposed in the A Horizon for long. Many of these artifacts are presumably from objects left behind after the removal of the Seneca Villagers when they were evicted and their homes razed in the late 1850s.

Peeling back the buried surface, excavators encountered a looser, softer dark yellowish-brown sandy silt which passed through screens readily and which was underlain by other similar layers. Artifact density was light as compared to the overlying buried surface and decreased notably with depth. These layers began at a depth of around 30 cm bgs and continued to a depth of at least 70 cm bgs, where the excavations were terminated. They have been interpreted as the natural subsoil in the area (SC 7; TC D cx. 66, 73, 76; TC D East Ext cx. 93; TC K cx. 128, 131, 134). Sterile soil was confirmed by a shovel test placed in TC D that extended down to approximately 230 cm bgs (cx. 137).

Based on the discovery of the buried A Horizon, we decided to do additional testing in this area to determine the extent of this feature and to acquire a larger sample of it. We opened a number of test cuts to explore it further: TCs G and O, and quad units P, Q, T, U, V, and W (**Fig. 2.8** - **Appendix A**). We also excavated a number of shovel tests (STs 1, 2, 3 and 5) in order to locate an artifact-rich stratum which Selby had discovered with the soil corings (2005:32-33). It appeared to be either an ashy E Horizon (a leached soil horizon that generally occurs between A and B Horizons), or an anthropogenic feature such as a basement or part of a builder's trench (Selby 2005: 34-35). We thought that this deposit might have been associated with the buried A Horizon. Alternatively of course it could have been part of the fill from the park's construction.

One of our concerns was how to recognize a buried A Horizon. Several criteria seemed relevant, but most important was the presence of a darker organic layer on top of a buried B Horizon which tended to be lighter in color (Selby 2005:22). Furthermore, it might exhibit the presence of artifacts oriented so that their axes were parallel to the surface of the buried A Horizon. The size of artifacts was not, however, a deciding factor in a case like Seneca Village. There, the pieces of glass or ceramic vessels at the top of the horizon might be quite small, from

having been trodden on over a period of years, or they might be in large fragments, from things that were discarded at the time of the villagers' removal that were then covered relatively quickly with layers of fill as part of subsequent park construction. Additionally, there might be a great number of artifacts, if the houses or activities of villagers were located nearby, or there might be relatively few, if villagers had not lived nearby or if those who did live nearby practiced the custom of sweeping their yards (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of this practice).

TC G (Profiles 2.8a and b - Appendix C)

TC G was a one-by-one m square unit that was opened a meter west and a half a meter north of TC D; its northwest corner was at an elevation of 0.272 m below site datum. It was placed as part of the effort to determine the extent of the buried A Horizon exposed in TCs D, D East Extension, and K. The unit's stratigraphy was similar to that exposed in those test cuts. Sod and a modern very dark brown humic layer were removed (SC 1 and 2; cx. 68 and 69) as well as an underlying, similar-appearing layer of late 19th to 20th century fill (SC 3A, cx. 72), which contained a toy lead soldier. It was hollow, indicating that it had been made by Britains' hollowcasting technique, introduced in 1893 (Collectors Weekly 2015). Together these three layers extended to a depth of 5-15 cm. Beneath that layer was a thick layer of dark reddish brown sandy silt fill, presumably related to the construction of the park (SC 4A, cx. 75). Towards the top of this layer, the artifacts were small in size, while those found deeper in the unit were of mixed sizes, suggesting those on top had been subjected to heavy traffic after the fill was in situ. The fill extended from 5 to 37 cm bgs.

Beneath the fill at the depth of 25 to 33 cm bgs was an artifact rich, more organic layer which we interpreted as the buried A Horizon. It was similar to that layer as it was uncovered in TC D and its associated units, described here as a dark brown sandy silt (SC 6A; cx. 77, 82). This layer extended from 45 to 70 cm in depth and was around 5 to 10 cm thick. Here this layer also contained fragile artifacts in large fragments, including the mouth of a glass bottle that remained intact (cx. 77) as well as pieces of ceramic dishes and cups. Their survival suggests that these artifacts were exposed only relatively briefly, during the period when the houses of Seneca Village were being demolished and before the fill was added. There was also a great deal of architectural material in this stratum, evoking the razing of the homes of the Seneca Villagers after their removal. This layer rested on top of a layer of darker brown silty sand identified as the transition to sterile subsoil (SC 7; cx. 84), which began at a depth of around 40 cm bgs. Also of interest, the unit lacked the soft, looser soil noted in the combined TC D units. Beneath this layer was a layer of dark yellowish-brown silty sand subsoil which was almost completely sterile (SC 7, cx. 89). It extended beyond 75 cm bgs, where the excavations were terminated.

TC O and TC O Extension (Profiles 2.9a-c - Appendix C)

Test Cut O was placed further to the north and on higher ground than the other test cuts in Transect 3. It was originally situated to see if the buried A Horizon extended up into this area. However, when the overlay of the modern park over Sage's maps of the village in the 1850s (1856) became available, it showed that these units were likely placed inside the footprint of the home of George Webster and his family (Fig 2.11 - Appendix A). The house was one of the more substantial ones in Seneca Village. It was two stories tall with a basement and had an ell extension at the rear. Once we became aware of the unit's location, we wanted to confirm that we were digging inside the Webster house, presumably in their cellar hole. And if we were, we wanted to see whether or not there were deposits there as rich as those we had found inside the Wilson house in the All Angels' area, described above.

TC O began as a one-by-one m square located 4 meters north of the southern base line shared by TC D and TC K. Its southeastern corner was 3.5 m west of TC G's southeastern corner. The elevation of its northwest corner was .0536 m below site datum.

TC O as a whole was excavated to a depth of around 50 cm bgs; below that, the excavations were confined to the northeast quadrant of the unit; this quadrant was taken down an additional 30 cm, and at the bottom of the quadrant we excavated a shovel test down an additional 21 cm. A chaining pin stuck into the ground at the bottom of the shovel test encountered something hard at a depth of 9 cm; this was probably bedrock. The unit was extended by another one-by-one m unit to the northeast, with the northeast quadrant of TC O superimposed over the southwest quadrant of TC O Northeast Extension (see Fig. 2.8 - Appendix A) in order to get a better grasp of the stratigraphy and to explore several large stones uncovered at the base of the unit – some of the crew thought they had been worked and were artifacts, whereas others thought they were naturally shaped and naturally deposited.

Below the sod and humic layers (SC 1; cx. 161, 195; SC 2; cx. 162, 196) (which were about 10 cm thick) were two layers of 19th century fill (SC 4A), probably deposited at the time of the creation of the park – all of the artifacts included in these layers could well date to the mid-19th century. The first was a yellowish brown sandy silt (cx. 165, 199), which was about 10 to 12 cm thick, which overlay a stratum of light yellowish brown sandy silt (cx. 169 and 206), which reached a depth of 30 to 40 cm bgs.

Below these layers of fill was a layer of brownish yellow fine silt (cx. 175, 180, 182, 208, 211, 215, 218). This layer was located in the same stratigraphic position and was of a similar soil description to the buried A Horizons in some of the other units, but it differed from them in that it was very irregular in thickness – it ranged from around 2 to 20 cm, suggesting it had been disturbed. There is more evidence of disturbance described below.

This layer contained quite a few artifacts – in TC O alone it contained 112 ceramic sherds, similar to the 91 sherds in the buried A Horizon in nearby TC G, but the layer in TC G contained many more nails – 248 – than the one in TC O – only 32. Almost all of the datable artifacts in this layer in TC O could have been made in the early to mid 19th century. There was one, however, which dated to the 20th century. This was a portion of a bottle which was embossed on its body just above the base with the letters: "registere.../contents 6.5..." Bottles with specific capacity or volume information are likely to date to 1913 or later (Lindsey 2017), but certainly no earlier than the turn of the 20th century. The bottle came from cx. 208 in TC O Northeast Extension, and in this same layer a modern metal pipe was found laid in the southeast corner. It is likely that this artifact was introduced when the pipe was laid, presumably in the

20th century. Unfortunately, the pipe's trench was not evident in the layers above. However, despite the presence of this artifact, which was intrusive, it is likely that this layer is in fact the buried A Horizon, albeit in a somewhat disturbed state.

Below this layer, at the depth of around 65 cm bgs, the natural subsoil was encountered (SC 7; cx. 184, 186, 221, 224). Here, the subsoil was similar to that found throughout the area and was described as different shades of olive yellow and yellow brown sandy silt which became finer with depth. It was decidedly lighter than the overlying layer, adding support to the interpretation that the latter was a buried A Horizon. Most of the unit was excavated to a depth of around 50 cm, while the quadrant located in both the northeast corner of TC O and the southwest quadrant of TC O Extension was excavated to a depth of 95 cm bgs.

All in all, the data from this test cut do not support the interpretation that the test cut was excavated in the cellar hole of the Webster house. Rather, the lack of extensive demolition debris from the house and the fact that a dark, possibly organic layer overlay layers of lighter soil similar to subsoil in other parts of the site suggest that the unit contained a buried A Horizon that lay over natural subsoil. This interpretation is open to several possible explanations. The Webster house may not have had a full basement or it even may have had no basement at all, indicating that the Sage map is in error. Alternatively, there may be a fairly large degree of error in our superposition of the Sage maps over our site map and modern maps of the park and the units may have actually been placed in the yards *behind or beside* the Webster house or behind the house next door.

The Quadrants: TCs P SW Quad, TC Q SW Quad, TC T SW Quad, TC U SW Quad, TC V SW Quad, and TC W SW Quad

After the excavation of TCs D, K, G, and O, a series of excavation units was placed to discover the extent of the buried A Horizon (Fig. 2.8 - Appendix A). Designated as TCs P, Q, T, U, V, and W, these units were one-quarter the size of the regular meter squares, measuring only 50 cm on each side. They were placed at the southwest quadrant of full meter squares with the same letter designation; only the southwest quadrants of these units were excavated. Here, all quarter units are referred to by the test cut letter for brevity. With one exception, each quarter unit was given a single context number for the whole unit, as noted above for TC S in the All Angels' area, with strata within the context noted by a number after a decimal point. The exception is TC P, which was allotted a total of 2 context numbers.

TC P SW Quad (Profiles 2.10a and b - Appendix C)

TC P, whose elevation at the northwest corner was .392 m below site datum, had the same stratigraphic sequence as TCs D, G, and K. Its western border was aligned with the western border of TC G, and its southwest corner was 2 meters south of the southwest corner of TC G. The sod (SC 1; cx 177) and underlying humus layer (SC 2; cx. 178.1), together approximately 7-10 cm thick, overlay two layers of 19th century fill (SC 4A; cx. 178.2, .3), which were described as a dark yellowish brown sandy silt, with the overlying layer being darker. These

were probably deposited when the park was created because the artifacts included in the layers dated to the mid-19th century or earlier. Together, these layers were about 25 cm thick.

Below them was the possible buried A Horizon of brown sandy silt, in this case with a dense deposit of coal, about 9-12 cm thick (SC 6A; cx. 178.4), which in turn was underlain by virtually sterile subsoil of yellowish brown clayey silt which became lighter and finer with depth (SC 7; cx. 178.5, 6). The excavation of the subsoil was terminated at a depth of about 75 cm bgs. Boundaries between deposits were so clear in TC P that pollen samples were taken from the unit for analysis. Artifacts were oriented horizontally at the interface between the 19th century fill and the buried A Horizon, suggesting the burial of these objects during park construction, and included large gothic ironstone/ white granite plate fragments that mended together (Fig. 2.12 - Appendix A); plates such as this one became popular in the 1840s (Wetherbee 1996:9).

TC Q SW Quad (Profiles 2.11a and b - Appendix C)

Using our superposition of the Sage map over the site map, it turned out that this test cut was probably located in the area of the ell extension behind the Webster house (Fig. 2.11 - Appendix A). The southwest corner of TC Q was 2 m west of the southwest corner of TC G, sharing the latter's southern line and extending north. Its northwest corner was .342 m below the site datum. Below the sod and humic layers (SC 1; cx. 203.1, and SC 2; cx. 203.2), which together were about 10-12 cm thick, were three layers of fill, consisting of a layer of yellowish brown silty sand underlain by a layer of brownish yellow sandy silt, which in turn was underlain by a layer of light olive brown sandy silt (SC 4A; cx. 203.3, 4, 5), which extended down to depths of 35 to 55 cm bgs. This fill was apparently deposited at the time of the park's creation, as the artifacts in it were of types that were introduced no later than the mid-19th century.

The possible buried A Horizon here was identified just below the fill (SC 6A; cx. 203. 6, 7) and was described here as a dark yellowish brown clayey silt. It varied in thickness from 10 to 20 cm and extended down to about 55 to 60 cm below grade. It was noted as less dark than the same layer in TC P and only a few artifacts were described as lying flat at the interface. The datable artifacts in this stratum too were of types that had been introduced during or before the mid-19th century. Both the fill and the underlying buried A Horizon contained quite a bit of coal in comparison with most of the other test cuts. An underlying subsoil consisting of a stratum of brownish yellow clayey silt was excavated to a depth of approximately 65 cm bgs (SC 7; cx. 203.8, 9, 10). This soil became lighter and finer with depth, as in other test cuts in the area.

Although, as mentioned above, this unit was apparently placed in the ell extension of the Webster house, like TC O, it showed no evidence of this structure. This could be due to any of several possible reasons, one of which we mentioned above in discussing TC O: there might be a fairly large degree of error in our superposition of the Sage maps over our site map and modern maps of the park and the units may have actually been placed in the yards *behind or beside* the Webster house or behind the house next door. Alternatively, it is possible that the

construction of the ell extension required little ground disturbance and did not impact on the A Horizon in this area. Support for this explanation lies in the fact that there is a somewhat lower density of artifacts in the buried A Horizon layer in this unit than in any of the others that were close to the Webster house (TCs D, K, G, P, T), suggesting that the area might have been covered by the extension (see Table 3.1 - Appendix B). The soil layers encountered were very similar to others in the area.

TC T SW Quad (Profiles 2.12a and b - Appendix C)

The southwest corner of TC T was 2 m to the north of the southwest corner of TC G and its western border was aligned with the western border of TC G. TC T revealed a sequence of deposits similar to those described in the test cuts above. Its northwest elevation at ground surface was .1836 m below the site datum. The sod and very dark grayish brown silty humic layers (SCs 1 and 2; cx. 229.1) extended to a depth of 5 to 9 cm below grade. They overlay two layers of fill: a brown silt (SC 4A; cx. 229.2) underlain by some yellowish brown clayey silt (SC 4A; cx. 229.3, 4). Together these fill layers extended from around 5 to 30 cm in depth and had apparently been deposited at the time of the park's construction as the datable artifacts found in them were of types introduced no later than the mid-19th century.

Below them was the possible buried A Horizon, which here was a layer of yellow brown clayey silt (SC 6A; cx. 229.5, 6). It extended from around 30 to 40 cm bgs. However, unlike in the other units described above, this layer was not darker in color and therefore was less organic than those below it. Below that layer were two layers of clay-like naturally deposited yellowish brown subsoil which became sterile with depth (SC 7; cx. 229.7, .8). The unit was excavated to a depth of 55-60 cm bgs. The dates of the artifacts encountered in these layers support these stratigraphic interpretations.

TC USW Quad (Profiles 2.13a and b - Appendix C)

In TC U, the elevation of the northwest corner at ground surface was .542 m below the site datum. Its southwest corner was 2 m south of the southwest corner of TC P and its western border was aligned with the western border of TC P. The stratigraphy included a sod and a humic layer (SCs 1 and 2; cx. 228.1) which together were about 7 cm thick. They in turn were underlain by a layer of brown silty sand fill (SC 4A; cx. 228.2, 3) which was 15 to 20 cm thick. Below that layer was another stratum of fill which was also 15 to 20 cm thick and consisted of a yellowish brown sandy silt (SC 4A; cx. 228.4, 5). Both of these layers contained coal and architectural material, and since the datable artifacts had dates of introduction in the mid-19th century or earlier, we inferred that they were probably deposited at the time of the park's creation.

Beneath that layer of fill was a clearly-preserved buried A Horizon of dark yellowish brown clayey silt (SC 6A, cx. 228.6, .7) which began at a depth of 40 to 45 cm bgs and was 3 to 5 cm thick. Artifacts lay flat at the interface between the buried A Horizon and overlying fill. The buried A Horizon was recorded as almost 10 cm deeper here than in other areas, with the exception of TC O. It contained many artifacts, mostly domestic ones, including over a dozen

sherds. They were of types whose introductory dates fell during or before the mid-19th century. Two layers of subsoil were revealed under the buried surface in TC U, one of yellowish brown clayey silt, which was 17 to 20 cm thick, and the other, a layer of yellow clayey silt (SC 7; cx. 228.7, 8), which was excavated to a depth of about 70 cm bgs. The layers of subsoil were in fact lighter in color than the inferred buried A Horizon. As in TC T, the subsoil was more compact with less artifactual material than the overlying strata.

Test Cut V SW Quad (Profiles 2.14a and b - Appendix C)

TC V was approximately 3 m directly south of TC D, southwest corner to southwest corner, and extended 50 cm east of the line of TC D's west border. Its northwest corner was .642 m below site datum. TC V's sod and humic layers were about 10 cm thick (SCs 1 and 2; cx. 246.1); the latter consisted of a very dark grayish brown silty sand typical of that stratum in the area and peeled off the underlying fill layers. Under this were three layers of yellowish brown silty sand and sandy silt which together were c. 40 cm thick and extended to a depth of 70 cm bgs (SC 4A; cx. 246.2 - .6). Based on the dates of the artifacts they contained and their similarity to layers of fill encountered in other units, these layers were interpreted as part of the fill that was deposited in this part of the site when the park was created. The first was a layer of very dark yellow brown silty sand (SC 4A; cx. 246.2), about 10 cm thick, which was underlain by a layer of dark yellowish brown silty sand (SC 4A; cx. 246.3, 4, 5), 10-20 cm thick, which in turn was underlain by a layer of yellowish brown silty sand, around 10-15 cm thick (SC 4A; cx. 246.6).

Beneath this was a layer of brown clayey silt (SC 6A; cx. 246.7), which may have been the buried A Horizon, which here was about 10 cm thick. However, it remains unclear whether this layer was in fact an A Horizon. On the positive side, at the upper surface of this deposit, several small ceramic sherds lay flat, parallel to the surface. But the layer of soil under the putative buried A Horizon was darker than this layer and in fact was darker and coarser than any of the subsoil strata encountered in this area and may not have been subsoil at all. This underlying layer was made up of a dark yellow brown clayey sand which was culturally sterile (SC 7; cx. 246.8). The excavations were terminated at the depth of approximately 82 cm bgs. The dating of the artifacts from the fill and the possible buried A Horizon all point to the mid-19th century and consistently support the interpretation that these layers are associated with Seneca Village, its destruction, and the construction of the park.

TC W SW QUAD (Profiles 2.15a and b and Planview 2.15 - Appendix C, D)

TC W was placed 2 m to the west of TC U, southwest corner to southwest corner, in order to determine the extent of the ground surface area. The elevation of its northwest corner was .522 m below the site datum. The excavations revealed that the stratigraphy was unique in this area because it had been disturbed by the installation of a terracotta drainage pipe, which was encountered in situ at approximately 80 cm below grade (DSC_1151). It was similar in style and material to the pipe found in TC F and its depth is consistent with that of the drainage pipes put in while the park was being created (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:164-165), around 1860.

The uppermost layers consisted of the sod and a very dark gravish brown humus (SCs 1 and 2; cx. 247.1, 2) about 10 cm thick. They were underlain by a layer of dark yellow brown sandy silt, also about 10 cm thick (SC 4B; cx. 247.3), which may have been part of the soil used to fill the trench or a layer added as part of the creation of the park but after the drain system had been installed. Although there were relatively few artifacts in this context, all of them could have been made during or before the mid-19th century. This layer in turn was underlain by a very thick layer of slightly lighter yellowish brown sandy silt fill, approximately 55 cm thick (SC 4B; cx. 247.4-.7). Unfortunately, the artifacts in this trench were few, but they too were consistent with a mid-19th century date of deposition. We interpret this layer as representing the fill placed in the trench after the terracotta pipe had been laid, since the pipe was discovered towards the bottom of this layer. The deposits above the pipe were distinct from those in the rest of this part of Transect 3, indicating that TC W was excavated right through the trench that was dug for laying the pipe, and that (as was also true in laying the pipe in TC F) this part of the drainage system was installed after at least some of the fill used in the park's design was already in place. The pipe rested on the yellowish brown sandy clay subsoil (cx. 247.8) that was encountered towards the bottom of the unit, at a depth of 75 cm bgs. This unit, then, contained no deposits that were related to Seneca Village. The unit was excavated to a total depth of around 80 cm bgs.

The Remaining Units in Transect 3: TCs E, F and L

TC E (Profiles 2.16a and b - Appendix C)

There was one additional test cut in Transect 3 in which we found traces of the buried A Horizon. This was Test Cut E. Its southwest corner was located 6 m south and 14 m east of the SW corner of Test Cut D. Initially, we placed TC E, a one-by-one m square, in order to look for a possible privy shaft that had been identified by Conyers's GPR analysis. Unfortunately, it turned out that there was an error in locating this GPR anomaly, so that the unit was placed in the wrong location. Conyers later told us that, after additional experience with bedrock, he thought the anomaly he initially identified as a privy shaft was probably in fact simply an irregularity in the bedrock, and excavation revealed that the bedrock was indeed located at a relatively great depth. The unit was interesting for two reasons: it provided another sample of the buried A Horizon and it was one of few units in Transect 3 that went all the way down to bedrock and allowed us to examine the early post-Pleistocene deposits there.

The northwest corner of the unit was at .9571 m below the site datum. The first layers encountered were sod with underlying dark yellowish brown sandy silt humus (SCs 1 and 2; cx. 47, 48); together these layers were 5 to 7 cm thick. The date for these layers was provided by two pieces of plastic, one of which was a button or bead from the underlying cx. 48, showing that the layers were relatively recent, and were formed well after the destruction of Seneca Village. Below them were layers of fill interpreted to have been deposited at the time of the park's creation (SC 4A), which totaled approximately 30 cm in thickness. The uppermost layer was a yellowish brown sandy silt (cx. 51), which in turn was underlain by a stratum of dark yellow brown clayey silt (cx. 52, 54). The artifacts included in these fill layers consistently dated to no later than the mid-19th century. Interestingly, the artifacts included a high

proportion of architectural materials, especially iron nails, suggesting that the fill may have been obtained nearby, from areas where there had been wood-framed houses in the village. The 1856 Sage map shows a shed belonging to Sally Wilson in this area (Fig. 2.11 - Appendix A).

Beneath this lay a stratum of dark yellowish brown sandy silt which may represent the earlier buried A Horizon at the time of the Seneca Village occupation (SC 6A; cx. 54).²¹ In addition to being similar in color to some of the other buried A Horizons in other units, this stratum meets the most important criterion mentioned above for identifying buried A Horizons: it is darker and more organic looking than its underlying layer, which is interpreted as subsoil, (and than its overlying layer, too, for that matter). The artifacts support the interpretation that this was a 19th century A Horizon in that they reflect the land use in this area of the site in the mid-19th century. They include relatively high densities of fasteners such as nails, presumably from the dismantling of the nearby shed, but relatively light densities of the ceramics and tobacco pipe fragments that we would expect from an area used as a yard near a house, such as in the TCs D and K vicinity.

Below this layer was a lighter stratum of olive yellow clayey silt (cx. 55), the first of several layers of sterile subsoil (SC 7). The subsoil in this unit was unique at this site in that it exhibited unusual shades of grays, pinks, greens, and yellows and was much more clayey than that in other areas. We continued to excavate the entire unit to the depth of approximately 75 cm bgs (cx. 55, 59, 61), and then placed a shovel test in the southwest corner of the unit (cx. 63), which we excavated down to bedrock (SC 8), which we reached at 137 cm bgs.

These excavations in Transect 3 and in other parts of the site as well demonstrate the high state of preservation at the Seneca Village site. Traces of the buried A Horizon were found in all of the units except for those that were obviously disturbed or where we did not excavate deeply enough. We discuss the buried A Horizon more in Chapter 4.

Other excavation units (Test Cuts F and L and Shovel Tests 1-3 and 5) were placed in TR 3 to the south and east of the units described above in order to explore the rich components that Selby had discovered in her auger tests in 2004 and also, in the case of TC F, based on evidence supplied by the GPR.

TC F (Profiles 2.17 a and b and Planview 2.17 - Appendix C, D)

Test Cut F was a one-by-one m excavation unit in Transect 3. It was 15 m south of the grid northern baseline and 18 m east of the grid western baseline (**Fig 2.8 - Appendix A**). Its center was 17 m south of the north Transect 3 grid line and 20 m east of the grid's west boundary. The ground surface in the northwest corner was 1.2069 m below the site datum. TC F was excavated because the GPR suggested that there was a below-ground feature of interest, possibly a midden, located there. Initially the unit was typical of many units we excavated; modern surface strata were followed by 19th century deposits related to the construction of the park. As we went deeper, however, we encountered a trench which was associated with the placement of one of the original terracotta drainage pipes, similar to the one found in TC W.

The upper stratigraphy of the unit was similar to other units in this area. The sod layer of dark silt, approximately 3-6 cm thick (SC1; cx. 58), included some red, green and clear plastic, and glass. It was succeeded by a very dark greyish brown silty sand humus (SC 2; cx. 60), approximately 5 to 15 cm thick, which contained many pieces of glass and sherds, bricks, a pocket comb and a button. The presence of a recent artifact (the plastic comb) indicates recent deposition. The next stratum was a layer which we initially identified as a 19th century fill layer with material associated with the construction of the park. Composed of dark yellow-brown silty sand (SC 4A; cx. 62, 64, 71), it contained a great deal of ceramic material (more than 100 sherds in cx. 62 and 64, combined), many pieces of metal, including 40 nails and unidentified iron fragments, as well as coal, pipe stems, bone, glass and a button. Together, cxs. 62 and 64 were about 20 cm thick. The southwest corner of the unit in cx. 64 appeared to be a different soil; it was sandier and a bit more orange so that it was assigned a different context, 67, while the rest of the unit continued to be excavated as cx. 71 within SC 4A. The latter continued to have high artifact frequencies (as did cx. 62 and 64), including ceramics, metal (including 21 nails), and some brick, glass and a pipestem. It also contained many pebbles. The artifacts in this stratum cluster included whiteware, with some transfer-printed in the willow pattern, and pearlware, and were similar throughout and supported the interpretation that this layer was fill that was deposited for the construction of the park. The presence of so many nails suggests the possibility that houses with wooden components had been nearby and had been torn down during park construction. The Sage map (1856) shows two structures that could have been the source of these materials, one a shed belonging to Sally Wilson and the other, the house of Philip Dunn (Figs. 2.11; 2.13).

The trench fill in the southwest corner of the unit (SC 4B; cx. 67) was different from the rest of the unit in that it was softer than the overlying and adjacent soil. It contained an unusual amount of mortar which changed the texture but the color continued as dark yellow-brown sandy silt with pale brown mottles. It also contained ceramics and metal, and some glass and brick. And there were some atypical, highly weathered rocks, almost burnt looking. The southwest corner of the unit was excavated 14 cm down, and then another context was opened (cx. 74) and expanded to cover the entire unit, at about 81-95 cm below ground surface; it was taken down another approximately 10 cm. The soil was again a dark yellowish brown clayey sand. At the bottom of this stratum, in the southwest quadrant, a red terracotta clay drainage pipe appeared, running from northwest to southeast (Fig. 2.14 - Appendix A). The pipe and its trench were presumably part of the drainage system installed when the park was created, between 1858 and 1862 (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:164-165) (SC 4B; cx. 74). Apart from the pebbles and mortar, there were few artifacts found in the trench fill. The stratigraphy shows that, as in TC W, the trench for the pipe was dug through part of the fill, and that the drainage pipe was installed after, perhaps shortly after, at least some of the fill had been put in place. As the trench (SC 4B) continued (cx. 79, 80, 83), the pipe was fully exposed and it was decided to excavate only the southern half of the square as it was clear that the deposits above the pipe were all fill. The level was difficult to excavate because of the many pebbles scattered throughout. They were similar to the stones noted above, having a charcoal-colored core with a rust colored edge, and friable. Cx. 79 was excavated about 10 cm across the southern half of the unit until the pipe was clearly exposed. The soil was a light brown clay with mottles of darker yellow- and olive-brown. Cx. 80 also extended across the southern half of the unit and was

excavated about 20 cm down to fully expose the pipe; the soil was soft and mottled, with few artifacts, but different where the pipe trench (in the southwest corner) lay. The soil there was a yellow-red clayey silt whereas the rest was a hard sandy clay with pebbles. After another 10 cm, (cx. 83) it was clear that this was subsoil and excavation ended.

Douglas Blonsky, President of the Central Park Conservancy, identified the pipe as an original terra cotta Olmsted-era drainage pipe c. 1860. It was about 5.5 cm in diameter, with approximately 5 cm-wide terracotta bands at 30 cm intervals. Approximately 55 cm of pipe length was exposed. The Conservancy staff was very excited to see the pipe as many of them had not seen drainage pipes in situ. These pipes were laid in trenches 3-4 ft deep at 40-foot intervals (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:164). As mentioned above, another similar terracotta drainage pipe was uncovered in TC W.

TC L and L Extension (Profiles 2.18a and b - Appendix C)

TC L, a one-by-one m square which ultimately had a 1 m x 75 cm extension added to it (see below), was placed in Transect 3 along the line of Selby's GPS coordinates from the 2004 soil corings. It was located 12 to 13 m east of Conyers' western Transect 3 baseline and 8 to 9 m south from the northern baseline for Transect 3. The ground surface at its northwest corner was 1.0401 m below the site datum. After the excavations had reached a depth of around 20 cm, the excavators uncovered a metal pipe which extended across the western part of the unit. The unit was then extended a half meter to the east to avoid any disturbance associated with the pipe. The function of the pipe was never determined. These excavations are discussed together below.

After the removal of the sod there were two humic layers, one a layer of dark gray sandy silt (SCs 1 and 2; cx. 122, 135) and an underlying one of light grayish brown sandy silt (cx. 127 and 138) which was noted as drier than the overlying layer. Together, these totaled around 10.5 cm in thickness. Below them were several layers of what appeared to be park-related construction fill (SC 4A). The uppermost one in the western part of the unit was a yellowish brown sandy silt with very dark grayish brown mottles (SC 3; cx. 132). It was in this layer that the excavators discovered the metal pipe extending across the unit from the south to north walls. Although there was no indication of a trench, we feared that this part of the unit might have been disturbed, so we opened a .75-by-one m extension to the east of TC L (TC L Eastern Extension) which was eventually combined with the eastern 25 cm of the original TC L to make a new one-meter square.

After the removal of the humus, which was 11 to 13 cm thick in the TC L East Extension unit, the soils were similar to those in TC L and consisted of a layer of yellow brown sandy silt (cx. 140, 143) 15 to 20 cm thick which was underlain by a stratum of dark yellowish brown sandy silt (cx. 147, 148, 151, 153), which was 20 to 22 cm thick. The TPQ for the artifacts from these layers is derived from sherds of Rockingham-like ware (cx. 140) and flow blue (cx. 143), both introduced in the 1840s (MAC Lab 2015 a and b), and both consistent with the period when the fill was put in at the time of the park's construction. We therefore interpreted these layers and all the contexts from 140 to 153 as being part of the fill that was deposited there as a part of the

construction of the park (SC 4A). These layers were underlain by yellow mottled sandy silt with clay-like intrusions (SC 7; cx. 154), which appeared to be natural subsoil and which contained no temporally diagnostic artifacts. The latter became culturally sterile with depth. It was excavated to a depth of 55 to 60 cm bgs. Then a shovel test was placed in the northwest corner of the unit; it was excavated an additional 50 cm (cx. 157). The soil continued unchanged until that depth.

The Shovel Tests in Transect 3: STs 1-3, and 5

A series of shovel tests (STs) was placed in Transect 3 (**Fig. 2.8 - Appendix A**), on a line close to a transect of soil borings placed by Suanna Selby in 2004 which had yielded a number of 19th century materials including "iron nails, brick fragments, [a] pipe stem, pieces of bone, large fragments of transfer printed ceramics, glass, and abundant charcoal flecking" (Selby 2005:33). These were mostly in an ashy matrix that Selby identified as a possible E Horizon, a leached soil horizon that generally occurs between A and B Horizons (Selby 2005:34-35). Alternatively, Selby noted that the layer might be an anthropogenic deposit such as a builder's trench or fill added as part of the park's construction (Selby 2005:35). Two of the shovel tests placed in this area did have an ashy layer in them but there were no artifacts found associated with them. It seems more likely that that layer was simply part of the fill from the park's construction, and less likely an anthropogenic deposit associated with Seneca Village.

Each shovel test was excavated and recorded as one catalog number. The soils were differentiated by color and texture by the excavators, and their depths were recorded as soils changed.

ST 1 was 6.3 m east of the grid west baseline and 4.2 m south of the grid north baseline; it was excavated as cx. 166. No opening elevations were recorded.

Stratum I was humus, from 0 to18 cm bgs.

Stratum II, from 18 to 27 cm bgs, was a grey brown sandy silt, perhaps, in parallel with nearby test cuts, park construction fill.

Stratum III, a light yellow-orange sandy silt, was excavated from 27 to 53 cm bgs, again in parallel with other test cuts, perhaps the beginnings of the subsoil.

Stratum IV, from 53 to 64 cm bgs, was slightly lighter in color than Stratum III, and was described as moist, and able to form a ball.

Stratum V was a yellower sandy silt than Stratum IV, and able to hold a ball, suggesting some clay admixture. It was excavated to 67 cm bgs.

No artifacts were recovered in the shovel test.

The shovel test was closed because it became too deep to continue work in and was deeper than the depths at which Selby recovered artifactual material.

ST 2 was 3.75 m east of ST 1 and 3 m south of the grid north baseline. The shovel test was excavated as cx. 171.

Stratum I was a dark brown sandy silt, humus layer, dug to 17 cm bgs.

Stratum II was a light orange silt, soft in texture. It was excavated to 23 cm bgs, at which point a metal pipe was encountered and the test was closed.

Within these two levels a number of small metal pieces (possibly snaps), 4 pieces of glass, a pull tab, numerous small brick fragments and one long metal piece (a possible hairpin), were found. Nothing recovered in the test definitely dated to the 19th century.

ST 3, excavated as cx. 172, was 3.2 m east of ST 2 and 1.75 m south of the northern baseline.

Stratum I, excavated to 16 cm bgs, was a greyish brown sandy silt, probably humus.

Stratum II, from 16 to 37 cm bgs, was a dark yellowish brown silt, possibly an ashy layer. This layer seems to represent fill, in common with other units nearby.

Stratum III was excavated from 37 to 52 cm bgs, and was a yellow-brown silt that clumped easily and had a number of pebbles in it. We believe that this was the beginning of subsoil, as seen in ST 1.

Stratum IV ended at 61 cm bgs, and was a darker yellow clayey silt.

Artifacts recovered from this shovel test included small pieces of glass and badly worn and unidentifiable ceramic sherds, small brick fragments, two pennies (dates of 1980 and 1985), three nails and a piece of plastic. Nothing recovered suggested a relationship to Seneca Village.

ST 5, excavated as cx. 176, was 3 m east of ST 3 and 1.25 m south of the grid's northern baseline.

Stratum I, dug to 14 cm bgs, was fine and powdery (ashy) sandy silt, and likely to have been a humic level.

Stratum II went from 14 to 26 cm bgs and was yellow-brown in color, a sandy silt which contained some coal fragments; as such we suggest it was a fill layer.

Stratum III, from 26 to 36 cm, was an orangey-brown clayey silt that became slightly darker with depth. Its texture changed from compact and pebbly to softer and easier to trowel. This stratum, as well as the succeeding two strata, seemed to be grading into subsoil.

Stratum IV was excavated to 47 cm bgs. It was a dark orangey clayey silt, with the northwest corner mottled with lighter orange and the southeast corner showing a still lighter mottling.

Stratum V, from 47 to 53 cm bgs, continued as clayey silt, yellow-brown in color.

Stratum VI was only excavated for one more cm, to 54 bgs. It was an easily troweled soil similar to the overlying strata.

The entire shovel test contained very little cultural material. The only datable artifact was a small fragment of blue on white transfer printed ware.

As mentioned above, it seems as though the possible E Horizon that Selby encountered was not in fact an E Horizon. And although it does appear to be anthropogenic in origin, it apparently is not related to Seneca Village. Instead, it seems to be more of the fill related to the construction of the park (SC 4A) after the destruction of the village.

Part 4: Pinetum South, Transect 4, and the African Union Transect

Pinetum South

TC H and H Southeast Extension (Profile 2.19 and Planview 2.19 - Appendix C, D)

The one-by-one m Test Cut H was located in an area called the Pinetum, across the bridle path and to the east of the other areas tested (**Figs. 2.1 and 2.15 - Appendix A**). The GPR indicated the presence of a round shaft-like feature, possibly a privy or cistern, which led us to place an excavation unit there. To our surprise, the round feature turned out to be a catch basin with manhole cover. The northwest corner of the test cut was 3.6433 m below the site datum.

The sod and its very dark brown root mat (SC 1; cx. 87) were very moist, contained many worms, and were covered with a 2 to 6 cm layer of leaves. It was dug to 2 to 4 cm bgs. Below the organic leaf/sod level, a humus layer (SC 2; cx. 88) was quite different from that above; it was 11 to 15 cm thick and consisted of dark brown silty sand which contained a 1987 nickel, a Budweiser bottle cap, many pieces of glass, a piece of plastic wrapping, a few ceramics and some other materials consistent with recent deposition. At the bottom of this layer a manhole cover was exposed at about 15 cm bgs (**Fig. 2.16a - Appendix A**). Since only a quarter of the cover was exposed, we then extended the test cut 50 cm to the east and 50 cm to the south in order to expose the entire cover. This created a unit that consisted of two one by one m squares that interlocked by a quarter meter at their southeast and northwest corners, respectively, similar to TC O.

The southeast extension of TC H was excavated to 10-12 cm bgs (SC 1; cx. 90, 96). We notified the Central Park Conservancy of the manhole cover and Raymond Duggan came to examine it and investigate the catch basin. It appeared to have pipes inside leading to the north, east and south. On the cover were two letters, an interlocking B and S, legible only after

cleaning (Fig. 2.16b - Appendix A). These letters apparently refer to the Bureau of Sewers, which was placing those initials on manholes ca. 1919 (New York City 1919).

No further excavation was done within the extension of TC H, but two more levels were dug in the original unit to see if a ground surface could be detected. The next layer was a 10 cm thick stratum of yellow brown silty sand, and it appeared to be fill associated with the construction of the catch basin (SC 3C; cx. 100). The soil of the underlying stratum (SC 3C; cx. 106) was darker in color than the overlying soils and was excavated to 38 to 40 cm bgs. Both of these strata, apparently associated with the installation of the manhole and catch basin, contained a mixture of 19th and 20th century materials, including pieces of plastic from both strata, indicating that the catch basin had been installed in the 20th century.

Two shovel tests were also excavated in the northwest and southwest corners of TC H. The southwest corner test was excavated to 86 cm bgs. No ground surface was located, and the excavators did not indicate that they had reached subsoil. The excavators did not record data on the other shovel test; they apparently had dug down through the trench that had been dug to hold the catch basin.

Transect 4

Two test cuts, TCs I and J, were placed in Transect Four (Fig. 2.17 - Appendix A), the most southerly excavation area at the site. The GPR had picked up reflective objects there that suggested a midden or other cultural feature, but no structures were recorded near either of them on the 1856 Sage map.

TC I (Profiles 2.20a and b - Appendix C)

TC I was the southernmost of the two units excavated in Transect 4. It was a one-by-one m unit, quite close to the transect's southern boundary, and its southwest corner was 5 m west of the transect's eastern border (Fig. 2.17 - Appendix A). It was on a slope that grades from higher ground on the west to lower on the east, and it lay in the southeastern part of a basin between higher rock outcroppings. The northwest corner of TC I was 3.424 m below site datum. The unit was characterized by a number of separate layers, mostly marked by color changes, and the majority of them, except the sod and humus, were fill, presumably associated with park construction. An artifact-rich layer of strong brown and grayish brown clayey silt sitting atop subsoil about 42 cm below the present-day ground surface might have been a buried A Horizon associated with the habitation of the village and its demolition.

The sod layer (SC 1; cx. 94) was a very dark colored soil, about 3 cm thick, with lots of little roots that made it hard to screen. It contained some glass and ceramics as well as plastic and bottle caps. The humic layer (SC 2; cx. 95), made up of black sandy silt, was approximately 8 cm thick and contained glass, brick, metal, a plastic wrapper, a 1964 penny, and a pop top pull; this was clearly a modern accumulation of humus.

Beneath the humus lay several layers of fill which were apparently deposited at the time of the park's construction (SC 4A). The uppermost layer, seen during excavation but not visible in the profile, was a dark grey-brown clayey silt with black mottles (cx. 97) from the overlying stratum. It was 7 to 12 cm in thickness and contained a considerable number of small fragments of coal, glass, and ceramics (including a piece of sewer/utility terracotta pipe or a brick, stoneware, and transfer printed whiteware). The soil in the next layer (cx. 98) was quite different, a dark yellow-brown clayey silt. It was close to 10 to 15 cm thick and contained ceramics, metal, coal, brick, glass and quite a number of fist-sized and smaller rocks. The final layer (cx. 103) was composed of soft and easily dug strong brown clayey silt with grayish mottles and many tree roots. It contained small fragments of glass, coal, brick, metal, and consistent with filling during the construction of the park.

The next layer, which was about 15 to 20 cm thick, was the possible buried ground surface (SC 6A; cx. 104). It was yellow-brown sandy silt, mottled with a darker and greyer soil, and it contained one large piece from a large stoneware storage jar and several other kinds of sherds, mostly lying flat.

The next layer of material also may have been associated with the village (SC 6A; cx. 109, 113); it was a yellow-brown silty clay, about 10 cm thick and extended from about 47 to 57 cm bgs. Tree roots continued in the southwest corner, and artifacts recovered included metal, ceramic, ironstone/ white granite, brick, and glass. These artifacts were smaller in size than in the upper layer of SC 6A, possibly indicating that this was a surface that had been regularly walked upon and used by the village's residents.

The possible buried A Horizon (SC 6A) ended with a soil change about 57 cm bgs to sterile subsoil (SC 7; cx. 116). The subsoil was a mixture of multicolored silty sand and sandy clay. As in other areas of the site, the color of this subsoil ranged from yellowish brown to light brown gray to strong brown to reddish brown. A shovel test excavated in the northeast quadrant, followed by an auger test in the center of the shovel test, ended at 165 cm bgs. This material was part of cx. 116. No separate context was established and no artifacts were recovered. After a weekend of heavy rain, the test cut was found to be flooded, likely indicating the near presence of bedrock, which prevented the water from draining deeper into the ground.

TC J (Profiles 2.21a and b - Appendix C)

TC J, whose northwest corner was 2.5028 m below the site datum, was the second (and final) unit placed in Transect 4. It lay to the north of TC I. Its southwest corner was located 6 m west of the transect's eastern border and 17 m south of its northern border, just west of the bridle path (Fig 2.1- Appendix A). It was designed to ground truth the possibility of an artifact concentration identified in the GPR survey and to excavate a sample of it, if warranted. Some of the soil in TC J was not screened because we had a temporary shortage of screens. This test unit also contained a great deal of gravel and mica that made screening difficult and time consuming. This meant that some of the dirt was excavated by trowel with artifacts removed as

they were found, and excavation was slow. The soil from cx. 125 and 130 was not screened, and cx. 133, a shovel test excavated at the bottom of the unit, was similarly not screened.

The sod (SC 1; cx. 101) was a brown sandy silt containing a 2007 penny and other modern materials. It was about 3 cm thick and was followed by a dark grey-brown humus (SC 2; cx. 105) which contained pieces of slate and quartz and contemporary material (a plastic cup and a pull-tab, for examples). It was about 4 to 6 cm thick and ended due to a soil change.

As in TC I and most other test units, the next stratum cluster consisted of layers of fill associated with the creation of the park (SC 4A). The first (cx. 107, 110) was a yellow-ish brown sandy silt with many small schist pebbles and coal, glass, brick, and some ceramics, notably redware and annular/ dipt whiteware. The level was excavated to a depth of 28 cm bgs where a darker yellow-brown soil was found. A TPQ of the 1820's pertains to this stratum based on whitewares (Brown 1982). The next stratum (cx. 115, 119, 120) was described by the excavators as more compact than the soil of the overlying layer (cx. 107, 110), and sticky. There were many roots in the southwest corner. The deposit contained coal, brick and in cx. 119 and 120, annular/dipt whiteware, vellowware, transfer-printed whiteware and molded ironstone/ white granite, the latter of which provides a TPQ of 1840 (Brown 1982), and this deposit was thus consistent with park-related fill. It ended at 44 cm bgs with a new stratum. Continuing down (cx. 125 and 130), the soil was lighter in color than the overlying layer, with roots throughout. Excavation continued to 54 cm bgs. Artifacts in this level included coal, more than 10 ceramic sherds, including transfer-printed pearlware and whiteware, vellowware, ironstone/ white granite and redware, 2 nails, a pipe stem and a few pieces of glass. The date of this assemblage was again consistent with the fills described above. As the soil became sandier, it was decided to excavate a shovel test in the southwest corner to search for a sterile layer. The test (cx. 133) went to 64 cm bgs and we continued to find artifacts throughout. It seems that the fill was much deeper here than in the area of TC I, where we encountered the buried A Horizon beneath the fill at approximately 30 cm bgs. Two chaining pin probes in the reddish soil went another 8 cm below the shovel test and encountered bedrock. We did not encounter a convincing buried A Horizon in TC J.

The African Union Transect

The African Union Transect was laid out during the ground penetrating radar studies of the site (Conyers 2005, 2011) to see if traces of either the church or its burial ground were still extant. The radar picked up the presence of five possible burials in the transect.

ST 4

In addition, we placed a shovel test (ST 4, cx. 173) in the southeast corner of the transect, where maps showed there had been a house. The shovel test revealed a humic layer, 6.5 cm thick, underlain by orange brown silty sand, which was 11 cm thick, which in turn was atop a layer of more orange silty sand, which was 40 cm thick. Probing with a pin below that layer revealed the presence of bedrock at around 82.5 cm bgs. The shovel test yielded no cultural materials that were suggestive of Seneca Village.

Conclusion

In summary, the excavations were successful. Not only did we discover that parts of the village still survived as an intact archaeological site over a century and a half after its destruction in the 1850s, but also we uncovered some important features which allow us to more extensively investigate the village, the lifeways of its people, and finally its destruction, as the park was constructed. In the next chapter, we look at some of these features: the Wilson home (SC 6B-E); the buried A Horizon (SC 6A), and the fill that was associated with the construction of the park in the 1850s and 1860s (SCs 4A and 5), including the terracotta drainage pipes uncovered in TCs W and F. In addition, we discuss some of the artifacts that we retrieved.

CHAPTER 3: INTERPRETATIONS

In this chapter, we focus on interpreting particular aspects of the discoveries made during the excavations. Our goal is to synthesize the results from different test cuts and site areas and to interpret them to address issues broader than those that can be addressed through the discussion of a single test cut. We have divided the issues into two parts. The first part concerns features and landscape, including the possible buried A Horizon; the mid-19th century topography in Transects (TR) 3 and 4; the construction, occupation and demolition of the Wilson house; and the question of yard sweeping in the Wilsons' yard. The second part concerns the artifacts found in various strata clusters, including those from the fills found throughout the site, in the possible buried A Horizon, and from the Wilson house.

Part 1: Features and Landscape

The Possible Buried A Horizon (TR 3, TR 4, and All Angels')

Possible buried A Horizons were discovered in thirteen of the units at the site: TCs D, E, G, K, O, P, Q, T, U, and V in TR 3; TC I in TR 4; and TCs N and S in All Angels'. The soils in these buried A Horizons were all in various shades of brown, ranging in color from brown to dark brown to strong brown to yellowish brown to grayish brown to light olive brown and in texture from sandy silt to clayey silt. They ranged from 2 to 20 cm in thickness.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, we considered several criteria in identifying a soil stratum as a buried A Horizon. By and large, most important was the presence of a darker organic layer on top of a buried B Horizon, which tended to be lighter and more compact (Selby 2005:22). Furthermore, this stratum might exhibit the presence of artifacts oriented so that their axes were parallel to the surface of the buried A Horizon. The size of artifacts was not, however, a deciding factor in a case like Seneca Village. There, the pieces of glass or ceramic might be quite small, from having been trodden on over a period of years, or they might be in large fragments sitting at the top of the horizon, from things that were broken and/or discarded at the time of the villagers' removal. These larger fragments were then covered relatively quickly with layers of fill as part of subsequent park construction. Additionally, there might be a great number of artifacts, if the houses or activities of villagers were located nearby, or there might be relatively few, if there were no villagers living in the immediate area. There was also an additional factor that had to be considered in identifying buried A Horizons, and that was the practice of yard sweeping. We discuss yard sweeping and the criteria for recognizing it below.

In general, buried A Horizons are important in terms of what they can tell us about the past. They can inform us about the topography in the area where they were uncovered; they can tell us about cultural practices such as yard sweeping; the artifacts they contain can tell us about the activities that were performed where (or near where) they were found; and the botanical and zoological traces can often tell us about the environment where they were found when they were laid down as well as about the kinds of plants and animals exploited by the site's inhabitants. The buried A Horizon at the Seneca Village site did offer us glimpses of each of these things.

Mid-19th-Century Topography

Before the park was created, surveyors working under Edgar Viele, Engineer-in-Chief for the park's construction, reported on the topography of their designated areas of study in the park. Viele himself noted that, in general, the whole park area sloped from west to east. Norman Ewen was the surveyor responsible for describing the topography in the Third Division of the park, which included the Seneca Village area (Ewen 1857). Ewen describes the village area thus:

The surface of the land from Eighty-eighth to Eighty-sixth streets, between the Sixth and Eighth avenues, partakes of a gradual rise. The ...ground, lying between Eighty-fourth and Eighty-fifth streets and the Seventh and Eighth avenues, presents a gradual uniform grade.²² There is a slight declension, northerly, of the latter street, between said avenues, extending to Eighty-sixth street, the surface of which is, with few exceptions, mostly composed of rock. Southerly from Eighty-fourth street, and between said avenues the surface takes a precipitate rise and is composed mostly of rock, on the summit of which is the highest or greatest point of elevation in my division...and is situated between Eighty-third and Eighty-fourth streets, and distant about one hundred feet easterly from the easterly line or side of the Eighth avenue. (Ewen 1857:65)

Unfortunately, in addition to not mentioning the built environment, this report is very general. It basically says that the land rises between 88th and 86th Street, falls between 85th and 86th Streets, is relatively level between 84th and 85th Streets, and then rises precipitously to Summit Rock, the highest point in the park, south of 84th Street. Furthermore, he notes rock outcrops between 85th and 86th Streets and "mostly" rock south of 84th Street. But there is what appears to be a major error. He notes that Summit Rock is located between 83rd and 84th Streets, 100 feet to the east of the east side of Eighth Avenue, whereas today and on contemporary maps (Viele 1856; Sage 1856) it is located a block south, between 83rd and 82nd Streets, and directly abuts the east side of Eighth Ave. Although the topography inferred from the archaeological study covers a very small area, is does allow us to see the topography of that part of the site in great detail, and at a much finer scale.

The Topography in Transect 3

Eight units in TR 3 provide information about the topography of the area in which they were located before the creation of the park. The depths of the buried A Horizon layer below the site datum show the slope in that area of the site during Seneca Village times and allow us to compare it with that of today. At present the ground slope in the northern section of TR 3 is less steep than it was during Seneca Village times. Today, at the northwest corner of TC O, the northernmost unit in TR 3 where the buried A Horizon was found, the modern ground surface is about .05 m below the site datum (bsd). It slopes downward to the south so that at about 9.8 m in that direction (at the northwest corner of TC V) the ground surface is over a half meter (.64 m) bsd, a slope of 3 degrees. The buried A Horizon, on the other hand, also slopes to the south, but somewhat more precipitously. At TC O it is about .6 m bsd, but at TC V, 9.8 m to the

south, it is 1.34 m bsd, a slope of approximately 6 degrees. All in all, the top of the buried A Horizon ranges from a half meter lower than the modern-day ground surface (at its northern end) to .7 m lower (at its southern end). With the obvious exception of levelling out some of the more precipitous slopes, these figures suggest that there was relatively little earth movement, such as filling or grading, in this part of the park during its construction. This interpretation is supported by the shallow depths at which the buried A Horizon and other features related to the village were found.

During the period of the occupation of the village, most of the buried A Horizon we uncovered in TR 3 was located in the backyards behind two houses on the south side of 84th Street. The house and yard furthest to the west, which was explored in TCs O, P, Q, U, and W, was described by Gardner Sage in his *Central Park Condemnation Map* (1856) as a two-story frame house with a basement, an ell extension, and a large, 37 by 23 feet, footprint (**Fig. 2.11** - **Appendix A**). It was one of the more substantial houses in the village, having been valued at \$3000 in 1850 (USBC 1850), when it was owned by Nancy Moore. By 1855, Moore had died; her estate still owned the property and George and Eliza Webster were tenants in the house, where they lived with their children (NYSC 1855 - **Appendix I**; Sage 1856).²³

The next house and yard to the east, where TCs D/K, G, and V were located, were occupied by a young couple, William Philips, a 23-year-old laborer, and his wife Matilda, aged 19. Both had been born in New York (NYSC 1855 - **Appendix I**). Their house was described as a "shanty" on Sage's map (1856), and was much smaller and less substantial than their neighbors' (**Figs. 2.13 and 3.1 - Appendix A**). Its footprint was 11 by 14 feet, and it did not have a basement. According to the 1855 NY State Census (**Appendix I**), the property was valued at \$500 in that year.

The Topography in Transect 4

We excavated two units in TR 4, TCs I and J, and recognized the buried A Horizon only in TC I. We think that this was because of the topography of the area. TR 4 was located in a basin, and TC J was located closer to the middle of the basin while TC I was at its southern end, where the ground sloped upwards. There, in the area of TC I, the buried A Horizon was encountered at a depth of .42 m bgs, or 3.844 m below the site datum. In TC J, however, it is possible that there was a buried A Horizon undetected either in the shovel test that extended the excavations down to 68 cm bgs or in the 8 cm below that which were explored with chaining pins between the bottom of the shovel test and what appeared to be bedrock. Artifacts continued to turn up in the soil down through the shovel test, suggesting that the fill that was added at the time of the park's creation (SC 4A) was unusually deep. (TC J was also unusual in having a high concentration of small micaceous fragments of the local schist, possibly deposited there in the form of rock fragments by the park construction crew to aid drainage.) It makes sense that the buried A Horizon was buried much more deeply here, toward the center and presumably the deeper portion of the basin, than in the area of TC I, towards its southern edge.

Neither of the properties where these units were located had been developed, and there were no houses nearby. This was perhaps because the ground lay so low in this area, and might have

been subject to flooding. In fact, while we were excavating, TC I was badly flooded after a weekend of heavy rain.

The Wilson House in All Angels'

Test Cuts A, B, C, M and R were all at least partially within the Wilson house and shared fairly consistent stratigraphy. When considered together along with TC S (outside the foundation wall), the stratigraphy of each of the test cuts in the All Angels' area suggests the following narrative for the construction and demolition of the Wilson house.

House Construction and Occupation

All Angels' Church opened to the congregation in 1849 (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:72). The Wilson house, where the church sexton lived, is first listed in the tax records in 1852, suggesting it was built sometime between 1849 and that year. Unfortunately, we do not have tax records for this property for 1850 and 1851.²⁴ According to Sage (1856), the house was a three-story frame structure measuring approximately 21 by 20 feet. The 1855 NY State Census (**Appendix I**) reported that it was valued at \$900 in that year.

The bedrock in this area is only a few feet from the ground surface and seems to have provided a good base upon which to build the foundation for a house. The foundation wall excavated in TC A (SC 6E), for example, rested on the bedrock (SC 8) at a depth of about 88 cms bgs. The test cuts within the interior of the house (TC B, C, M, and R), furthermore, all contained indications of bedrock at a similar depth (ranging from 80 to 85 cm bgs), indicating that the builders chose a naturally flat area of the bedrock to build the house upon.

In order to construct the house, the builders first dug a trench to build a stone foundation wall. This foundation was composed mostly of local schist mortared together. The excavators noted that there were larger stones on the bottom and smaller ones on top. The builders also used broken bricks and river stones, in other words, whatever was at hand, to do the job (Fig. 3.2-Appendix A). Given the large number of displaced stones the crew uncovered in TCs A, B, C, and M, it appears that builders extended the foundation wall a foot or more above the Seneca Village ground surface (creating a "stem wall") and then topped it with the wooden frame structure of the house. According to a contemporary map (Sage 1856), the house was "frame" and thus presumably made of wood, like most of the other houses in the village. Some flat colorless glass fragments were found, suggesting the house may have had glass windows.

The more than 70 bricks (many with plaster and/or mortar still attached) uncovered in TC R (SC 6B) indicate that the Wilsons' house had a red brick chimney, which was plastered in white on at least one side (**Fig. 2.7 - Appendix A**). None of the bricks had makers' marks. Allan Gilbert (pers. comm. 2011), who has expertise in historic bricks, confirmed that local brick makers generally did not mark their bricks in the 1850s, and that the bricks appeared to be locally made, based on their color, uneven firing, and generally mediocre quality.

The many thin and rusting iron sheets found lying on top of one another in TCs B, M, and R (**Fig. 3.3 - Appendix A**) suggest the Wilsons' house or a portion of the house (such as an attached shed, although none was indicated on the Sage map) had a metal roof. The remains of these sheets ranged in size from tiny fragments to large joined pieces that spanned a 50 cm by 100 cm test cut extension (TC M). They were extremely friable and difficult to excavate without fracturing them into tiny pieces. The sheets appear to have been flat, not corrugated, and composed of rectangular sections measuring at least 20 by 24 cm that were joined together with flat seams. Some of these seams appear to have been reinforced with lead, perhaps for waterproofing purposes. Some of the sheets had rolled edges covering a solid iron cylinder or "wire" approximately 3 or 4 mm in diameter. Other edges were folded (**Figs. 3.4 and 3.5 - Appendix A**). It is likely that these are the remains of tinplate roofing.²⁵

According to Gayle and Look (1992:12), tin-plated iron roofing was popular in 19th century, especially in urban areas where it replaced wooden shingling. It was used for both public buildings and private homes. Compared to wooden shingles, tinplate had the advantages of being lightweight, durable, and fire resistant. It was also resistant to corrosion. Uncoated or untreated iron would not be a practical material for roofing, as it would begin to corrode virtually immediately. It is likely that Wilsons chose to invest in a tin roof because of its advantages. The fragments of possible roofing we uncovered in the test cuts associated with the Wilson house are consistent with tinplate roofing in color, size, shape, and joining techniques.²⁶

Since no packed living surface was discovered in the test cuts inside the foundation walls (TCs A, B, C, M, and R) and many small nails and tacks were found, it is likely that the house had a wooden floor, although only a few wood fragments were recovered from the site. (As discussed below, it is likely that the wooden floor was salvaged sometime before the house was demolished.) Small items found in the deepest culturally significant layer (SC 6D) in TCs M and R (and possibly B and C), such as clothing eyes, nails, and fish bones, presumably fell between the floorboards when the house was occupied. In Part II we discuss these finds in more detail.

Demolition

At the time of the removal of the villagers, likely sometime in the summer or fall of 1857 (Marie Warsh, pers. comm. 2018), All Angels' Church was moved from its 85th Street site in Seneca Village to today's West End Avenue between 80th and 81st Streets, and the Wilsons moved nearby (USBC 1860). After the Wilson's eviction, their house was demolished in preparation for the construction of the park.²⁷ Since very little wood was found, it is likely that the wood frame and floor of the house were taken to be reused (perhaps even by the Wilsons themselves or by the park construction crew) or disposed of elsewhere. The Central Park Annual Reports suggest that some residents might have salvaged portions of their (former) homes, that the Board of Commissioners sold some homes after they were vacated (and they were subsequently moved elsewhere), and that the park construction crew salvaged wood from some structures and incorporated it into park structures (Marie Warsh, pers. comm. 2018). Similarly, the relatively small number of flat glass fragments found implies that window glass too was salvaged or sold.

Our excavations suggest that demolition involved pushing some of the stone stem wall and brick chimney into the interior (and now floorless) cavity of the house. Next, the metal sheets (which were likely roofing) were thrown in on top, covering the initial rubble and objects that the Wilsons had left behind inside the house (SC 6C) as well as smaller objects at a greater depth that had fallen through the floorboards during the Wilsons' occupation of the house (SC 6D). More demolition followed, involving dumping more brick and foundation stones on top the metal sheets, along with other objects that may have been left in the Wilsons' yard (SC 6B).

Further filling and grading were necessary to smooth the area, so the park construction crew presumably used soil from the surrounding area for this purpose. According to Selby (2005:19), additional soil from other areas of the park or even from New Jersey and/or Long Island was brought in to fill low-lying areas, as needed (SC 4A). However, our analysis of the fill in All Angels' (as well as in TR 3 and TR 4) suggests that it was of local origin, as will be discussed further below. The SC 4A fill layer is significantly lighter and yellower in color and looser in texture than the levels below it. It is likely that some artifacts found in this fill (SC 4A) were from the Wilsons and their neighbors, although these artifacts were no longer in situ. Above this level is a layer of humus (SC 2) which was created by natural soil formation processes over the last 150 years and contained artifacts dating to the late 19th and 20th centuries that were left behind by visitors to Central Park. The sod layer (SC 1) is the modern-day ground surface, composed of grass, weeds, and their root mats, etc., and containing objects left in recent times by park-goers.

In summary, five of the strata clusters (SC 6A, 6B, 6C, 6D, and 6E) almost certainly contain material used by the Wilson family. SC 6E is the remaining in-situ fabric of the house itself (the foundation wall) and its builders' trench. SC 6D contains small objects that likely fell through the floorboards of their home. SC 6C also contains Wilson-related material that was sealed in by metal sheets in several test cuts. SC 6B contains material associated with the demolition of the Wilsons' house: architectural materials and artifacts likely originally used by the Wilson family and possibly their neighbors. SC 6A is the buried A Horizon (the Seneca Village-era ground surface). Above the Wilson-associated layers, SC 4A is fill from the construction of the park which cannot necessarily be connected to the Wilson family. The sod and humus layers (SCs 1 and 2) contain items left behind by visitors to Central Park over the course of the last century and a half.

The Buried Ground Surface in All Angels' and Transect 3: Yard Sweeping?

Yard-sweeping is a custom that has been practiced in West and West Central Africa (where most of the enslaved people in the United States originated) and throughout much of the African diaspora (Heath and Bennett 2000). This custom stands in stark contrast to the neatly manicured, grass-covered lawns which were adopted by the White middle class in the 19th century. For many African Americans, yards were extensions of the house, an important part of "homespace" (Battle-Baptiste 2011:94), and were swept to clean them of rubbish and weeds and discourage the presence of insects and snakes.²⁸ People used their yards for a variety of purposes, including producing and preparing food and other domestic chores, taking care of animals, playing and recreation, and socializing. In addition, they were "locations for spiritual

and artistic expression," including rituals to remove dangerous spirits from the home (Heath and Bennett 2000; Battle-Baptiste 2011:96; Barton and Orr 2015 202; the quote is from Heath and Bennett 2000:43). In some African cultures they were also the loci for the burial of those who had lived in the adjacent houses. Once we realized that the site contained a possible buried A Horizon, we wondered whether or not Seneca Villagers swept their yards, although we realized that yards might not be suitable for use as "homespace" in northern climes throughout much of the winter.

Buried A horizons that have been swept have a somewhat distinctive appearance. First, soils in the buried A Horizon of swept yards are different in "structure, hue and/or compaction [in]...the areas around houses" as opposed to those in surrounding areas (Barton and Orr 2015:200). There should not be a darkened buried humus layer, because sweeping would have removed most of the vegetation that would have contributed to the formation of such a layer. In addition, there should be few of the small artifacts usually found in buried A Horizons, because these would have been swept away (Barton and Orr 2015:200-201).

We encountered two test cuts where it looked possible that yard sweeping may have been practiced: TCs S and N, both in the All Angels' area. TC S provided stratigraphic characteristics which suggested that it might have resulted from yard-sweeping: the layer in question was more compact and lighter than the layer above. In addition, both it and the corresponding layer in TC N had a very light density of artifacts – TC N, with a density of 62.5 artifacts/m³ and TC S with a density of 133.3 artifacts/m³. For the most part, the paucity of artifacts in these units was approached only by test cuts that were quite far from where people were living at the site and were still quite a bit higher than those in TCs S and N (TC I at 314.3 and TC E at 533.3 artifacts/m³; **Table 3.1 - Appendix B).** The lack of a high density of artifacts might easily be explained for TC N – it was located in the footprint of a house that was next door to the Wilsons' (**Figs 2.2b and 3.6 - Appendix A**), and therefore was exposed neither to the accumulation of artifacts nor to being swept. But location cannot explain the lack of artifacts for TC S; it was only about two meters to the east of the Wilson house in an area that was otherwise undeveloped.

This suggests that the Wilsons may in fact have practiced the custom of yard sweeping. And with a large family (ten people lived in the house in 1855 [NYSC 1855 - **Appendix I**]) living in a relatively small space (the footprint of their house was approximately 20 feet by 21 feet), albeit with three stories, it would have been extremely convenient to add the yard, to the east of the house, fronting on "Old Lane" (see Fig. 3.6 - **Appendix A**), to the usable space at the family's disposal. It is also interesting that apparently the residents of the two houses located in the northern end of TR 3 (the Moore/Webster and the Philips houses) did NOT sweep their yards – none of the buried A Horizons there exhibited the criteria for identifying yard sweeping – and in fact the densities of artifacts in all of these layers were higher than 500/m³ and ranged up to over 4000 artifacts/m³ for three of the units (TCs O, P, and T; see Table 3.1- Appendix B). It is possible that this disparity in practices is related to yard location: yard sweeping was discovered in what appears to be the Wilson front yard, but not in the backyards behind the Moore/Webster and Philips houses. Perhaps people swept their front, more public, yards, but not their back ones.

The Fill and Superficial Strata Above It

The following is a descriptive and analytic account of several strata clusters (SCs) found across the Seneca Village site. First, we very briefly describe SCs 1 and 2 (sod and humus), and then SCs 3A, B and C, fill deposits which include material dating to the late 19th and 20th centuries. We believe these later features mostly relate to events in which part of the site was subject to reconstructive events after the park had been built.

Then we consider SC 4A and B, representing filling associated with the construction of the park, and also at the same time, the deconstruction of Seneca Village. In many cases, soil colors and textures are not the primary distinctive features in these analyses, as many of these are similar across the site and indistinguishable from SC 3 to SC 4. What distinguishes these strata clusters from one another are context (e.g., stratigraphic superposition) and datable artifacts. We mention some of the relevant time-sensitive objects from these clusters, and also present some quantified data, below.

In dealing with artifacts found in fills, we do not know what the relationship is between where the objects were found and their point of origin, since fill, by definition, is moved from one place to another, as it is needed. We assume that at least some of the objects were brought in with the fill. However, we also assume that, as much of the filling was done through human labor, there would have been a goal of moving as little earth as possible. Furthermore, we anticipate that as houses were razed and their contents leveled, fragments from the houses and their contents may have become mixed with the fill, especially in SCs 4A and 4B. Therefore, we might expect some correlation between the locations where artifacts were found in the fill and their original usage locations. For example, we would anticipate that nails/fasteners found in high densities in the fill might have originated in nearby houses when they were being disassembled. If this were the case, the highest density of these items would be found in test cuts close to structures. Ceramics, bottle or other domestic glass, and faunal materials may also in some cases be expected to correlate with particular locations in which they were used.

Strata Clusters 1 and 2

As noted above, SC 1 and SC 2 are deposits found throughout the site. Each represents current or very recent use of the park. SC 1 is the sod layer and SC 2 is the humus found just below the sod. There were artifacts found on top of or within the sod layer and within the humus. The humus is typically a dark brown to grey-ish brown sandy silt. The objects recovered in both of these strata clusters are often from the 20th and 21st centuries (bottle caps, pull tabs, cigarette butts, straws, food wrappers, coins, keys, plastic barrettes, etc.) along with a few 19th century (or possibly 19th century) things (such as coal, glass, iron fragments, an occasional button, or temporally non-diagnostic sherds such as redware). The thickness of these strata varied across the site between 5 and 12 cm.

Strata Cluster 3

We have divided the remaining material that is not associated with the Seneca Village occupation into two basic types that form two strata clusters, SC 3 and SC 4. SC 3 comprises

some fill strata that contain both 19th and 20th century artifacts (SC 3A) and two features dating to the late 19th and 20th centuries (SC 3B and SC 3C).

SC 3A fill (a fill from a later period than that from SC 4) was only identified in TC G, cx. 72. It was brown to dark brown sandy silt, and 18-20 cm in thickness. It was similar in texture to the humus layer above it, but more orange in color; however, as mentioned above, its association with this strata cluster is based on the recovery of a small hollow toy lead soldier with a TPQ of 1893 (Collectors Weekly 2015). Other artifacts found in this context include whiteware, stoneware and other types of ceramics that could date to either the late 19th or early 20th centuries.

SC 3B refers to the top layer of fill in a feature for a metal pipe in TC L (cx. 132). This layer is described as a dark yellow-brown sandy silt with grey mottles. It was 8 to10 cm thick, had 14 sherds (distributed among 7 ceramic types), one Ceramic Vessel and a number (16) of bottle fragments (wine, soda, medicine and other); the density of nails/fasteners in the stratum was low $(.09/m^3)$. There were two deeper strata in this same test cut (TC L) that were relatively similar in color and texture, but were classified as SC 4A, based on the presence of ceramics that were consistently earlier (see below).

SC 3C is the soil we excavated around a manhole cover and its catch basin in TC H (cx. 100, 106). The excavated matrix is described as dark yellow-brown silty sand, and was about 18 to 30 cm thick. There were only a few artifacts in TC H; they were all relatively modern, and included plastic, showing that the basin was installed in the 20th century. As we mentioned above, the design on the manhole cover supports this interpretation (**Fig. 2.16b - Appendix A**); the interlocking letters B and S refer to the Bureau of Sewers, which placed those initials on manholes around the year 1919 (New York City 1919: 4575).

Strata Cluster 4

SC 4 is found in almost every test cut. In contrast to SC 3, it comprises mid-19th century fill related to park construction and the probably simultaneous destruction of the village. It has two components, SC 4A, which includes these fills just noted, and SC 4B, which refers to those fills associated with the terra cotta drainage system designed by Olmsted and Vaux and put in place during park construction, but probably after some filling and house demolition had taken place, around 1860 (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:164-165). These pipe trench fills (SC 4B) were found in two test units: TCs F and W (see below).

The colors of the soils in SC 4A are pretty consistently referred to as yellow-brown, or dark yellow-brown, or olive-yellow; some are said to be strong brown. The texture is most often sandy silt or silty sand, occasionally a clayey silt. Layer thickness varies between 7 cm and 32 cm, although the mean thickness is 15-16 cm. In a number of units (TCs N, L, O, E, F, I, P, Q, T, U, and V) there are two or more strata classified as 4A. They did not usually differ much in soil color or texture but were differentiated by depth. In general, these strata are similar to those excavated below the buried A Horizon, suggesting that most of the fill excavated was indigenous to the area.

There is a wide range of 19th-century artifacts found in these strata. These include metal objects (particularly nails and various forms of fasteners), brick, shell, bone, coal, glass fragments from bottles or unidentified vessels (mostly brown, green or colorless), buttons, pipes, and ceramics, including stoneware, transfer-printed whiteware and other earthenwares, such as Rockingham, flow blue, and annular/dipt ware. The transfer-printed sherds were predominantly a medium blue on white, in many patterns. All of these are consistent with the proposition that these materials were deposited as fill during the creation of Central Park.

Quantitative Analysis of Fill: Density

We conducted a quantitative evaluation of artifacts recovered in the SC 4A fills. First, we developed a measure of density for specific artifact types, including nails/fasteners, ceramics, curved glass, pipes, and fauna (**Table 3.2- Appendix B**). Its purpose was to see whether we could gain any information about where the filling materials came from. We wondered if the density of these particular types of artifacts would differ between units from All Angels' and TRs 3 and 4, and if proximity of units to known houses would have an effect on the quantities and types of materials recovered archaeologically. In what follows, we evaluate the results by artifact type within each area and then summarize our general impressions afterwards.

Most of the test cuts in the All Angels' area were within the foundation of the Wilson house (with the exceptions of part of TC A extension and TCs N and S). The concentration of artifact types (and thus the density) within the fill was not similar from unit to unit. Nail/fastener densities were quite different in TCs A and B versus those in TCs M and R, for example. They were very low in the latter (38.1 to $46.6 / m^3$) and many times greater in TCs A and B (478.1- $516.8/m^3$).

With respect to nails/fasteners, it seems likely that the houses were torn down before filling commenced, and useable architectural materials, like wood and nails from the superstructure and floor, were salvaged or sold (see above). Many nails/fasteners, however, appear to have been overlooked or discarded. They likely became part of the fill in the All Angels' test cuts, when the park construction crew covered the foundation walls and interior cavity of the then-demolished Wilson house with soil from the surrounding area. Nails may have fallen into the interior of the house as the latter was being torn down, although some (in TC A) may have been outside the house on the ground. Some of this variation in nail/fastener density between the different test cuts in All Angels' might relate to where workers stood when they pulled down the houses, or where they were when they salvaged the wood and removed the nails, and how they subsequently moved soil from these work areas to cover the Wilson house and grade the area.

In light of the above, we would expect high densities of nails/fasteners in some test cuts close to houses in TR 3. TC D was very close to houses as seen on the overlay of the units on the Sage map (Fig 2.11- Appendix A). TC D has the highest density of nails/fasteners of any test cut (3408/m³). Its density is anomalously high, at 5 to 6 times higher than the next highest unit in that immediate area, TC K, which abuts TC D. The next highest nail/fastener densities come from TCs F, E, and L (1089-810/m³). TC E was close to what appears on the map as a shed but

TCs F and L are quite far from that shed or any other structure. Therefore, our initial hypothesis about nails/fastener densities being the result of proximity to houses is only partially supported. (We discuss TCs F and L further below). At the other end of the scale, in TR 4 neither TC I nor TC J was close to a house, and both were low in nail density (TC J was 92.8 and TC I was 134.5/m³).

Ceramics were more consistently present in the fill in the All Angels' test cuts. TC B had the highest ceramic density in its fill (based on sherd counts/m³) of all All Angels' test cuts (628.6/m³), while TC M had about half as much (331/m³) and the other test cuts ranged from 106-157/m³. When we excavated non-fill strata in TC B, we also encountered a high percentage of ceramics and some of this material might have found its way into the fill as the park construction crew demolished the house and moved the soil around.

We suggest that additionally there could well have been a number of ceramic sherds lying on the ground in much of Seneca Village, small discarded pieces that were the refuse of daily life in the village over decades and that became part of the fill during park construction. These could be viewed as "noise," that is pieces that have some connection to the village, but not necessarily to the people who occupied the houses at the time of the park's construction. Thus, densities far above or below the mean have the greatest potential of yielding information about past activity areas.

In the All Angels' area, the mean sherd density is about 270/m³, therefore, the densities in TCs B (especially) and M were quite high, whereas those in TCs C and S were quite low. In TR 3, a much higher mean sherd density of 875/m³ shows that TCs O, F, and D had larger numbers of sherds than the "noise" level, whereas TCs G, E, and SC 4B of TC F were low. Again, TC D is close to a house, as is TC O but F is not. Some of this difference could be explained by when each area was developed. Some of the houses in TR 3 were built in the 1830s, while the All Angels' area was only developed in the late 1840s. Thus we would expect more refuse in the area that had been occupied for a greater period of time. Additionally, we think the Wilsons swept their yard, which, of course, would result in a lower density of artifacts on the ground surface that could have become part of the fill, as we have described.

We know that TC F had a terra cotta pipe installed in it by 1858 or 1860 and so the higher artifact density there might be explained by a larger quantity of artifacts (ceramics and other types) included in the fill during that event, as the soil had to be excavated for the pipe and then reburied. The construction workers could have dug the trench and put all the soil back in it, all mixed up. TC L also contained a pipe and disturbed soil. A second possibility (for which we have little evidence except that we know the area was wet) is that there was a midden in this swampy area, where villagers disposed of unneeded materials – away from the houses.²⁹ If this were true, it could explain why so many artifacts were dug up and presumably put back into this trench by workers. And a third speculation occurred to us during the examination of the Viele map (1856) when we noted that there are what appear to be cultivated fields behind the houses associated with TCs D, K, and G; they are also adjacent to TCs E, F and L. It is possible that the planting, fertilizing from a trash midden, and manipulating (filling, dumping, rearrangement) of soil in these fields might have incorporated artifacts from areas adjacent to some test cuts.

Unfortunately we have no firm evidence by which to confirm or disprove any of these possibilities.

Tobacco pipes were mainly found in low frequencies in the fill. The highest densities came from the full-sized units TCs D, L and F. Again, TC D is the outlier, whereas the latter two had been disturbed by having a trench dug through them, which may have affected the presence of high densities of various kinds of materials. As noted above we wonder if there had been a midden in this area near TCs F and L or if gardening had resulted in the presence of more artifacts. Additionally, some of the tobacco pipe fragments in TCs F and L might have been deposited there by workmen, who might have smoked as they dug the trenches and laid the pipes.

Bottle and other curved glass was also extremely high in density in the TC D SC 4A fill of TR 3, as it was in the buried A Horizon in TC D, again highlighting TC D as an outlier. Test cuts L and F also contained curved glass densities greater than the average of about 466 m³, most likely for some of the same reasons hypothesized above for relatively high densities of ceramic and tobacco pipe fragments in these test cuts disturbed by pipe trenches. Curved glass was relatively low in density in the fill in all of the All Angels' test cuts, with the exception of TC B, which was slightly above average. This scarcity of glass in the All Angels' fill mirrors a relative scarcity in the lower stratigraphic layers associated with the Wilson house (SC 6B-D).

Faunal densities in the fill were not available by taxon and element because we only gave the analysts bones from non-fill strata. Examining the quantities in the faunal database shows that their numbers were quite low, especially in contrast to densities of nails/fasteners and ceramics. They ranged from counts of no bones to a high of 4 bones and a tooth in TC O, so with such small samples any discussion of quantities seems foolish. Relatively high densities in the fill of TCs G and D probably relate to areas where there were high faunal counts throughout those test cuts and may represent bones or teeth that were left behind on the surface when filling occurred. (See faunal description, below).

Two units in TR 3 (TCs F and D) had high densities of all kinds of artifacts in the fill. For TC D, this could be because it was close to the Moore/Webster and Philips houses, although other units such as K and G were similarly close to the same houses and lacked these very densities. We have suggested that TCs F and L represent later disturbance and possible proximity to a midden, but do not have an explanation for the situation in TC D. The fill may represent an unusually intense level of various activities, such as drinking beer/soda and smoking that took place in a specific portion of the house-backyard area, such that traces were present in D but not TCs G or K. Alternatively or additionally, it is possible that ceramic and glass vessels that had been used by the households nearby were pulled out by the park workers during the demolition of the house and then they became part of the fill when the workers graded the area.³⁰ Small objects such as nails or teeth or glass or ceramic fragments could easily have been left lying on the ground when the houses were destroyed and the park was created. However, we note that landfill could not have been taken from areas with intact A Horizons because those strata would have been destroyed and we would not have recovered them.

In sum, the artifact and stratigraphic analysis of the fill does not allow us to determine a great deal about the filling process, but it does suggest that in the areas we excavated, the park construction crew used mostly local soils to fill in the ruins of the village's demolished houses and to level the surrounding areas. Some of it might have come from areas adjacent to the units, including work areas where the park crew demolished houses. In TR 4, where there were no houses nearby, the fills in TCs I and J have lower densities of artifacts than most of the other test cuts. In All Angels', densities are higher than in TR 4 but lower than in most of the TR 3 test cuts. Relatively high densities of certain kinds of material (e.g., ceramics) found both in the fill and deeper Wilson-family-related strata of TC B (located inside the Wilson house) suggest some objects from the Wilson house became part of the fill, in addition to objects that were part of the background "noise" of the village and that were not used by the Wilsons. High densities of fasteners/nails in some test cuts and not others in All Angels' do not correlate with proximity to the house, since all of the test cuts were equally close, but instead might reflect the placement of the park construction crew's work areas and how workers moved soil from their work areas across the remains of the Wilson house. In short, the artifact densities of the fill in All Angels' is likely a result of a combination of activities undertaken by the Wilson family themselves, other Seneca Villagers, and the park construction crew, as well as the site history of the areas where the fill originated.

This pattern was also observed especially in some of the test cuts near TC D (near the Moore/Webster and Philips houses) and F in TR 3. Since these units would have been quite close to the planted fields described above, perhaps some materials left from planters' activities could have been mixed in with the fill. TC D, as noted, is unusual in the presence of high densities of all kinds of material, including teeth (see below); perhaps farming disturbance resulted in a localized increased density of many kinds of artifacts. Another possible explanation, since we know that the houses in TR3 were older than the All Angels' house, is that this part of the Village had been occupied longer, leaving more artifacts on the ground which later were incorporated into the fill. Also in TR 3, TCs F and L show larger quantities of a variety of materials which we suggest relates to their disturbance after much of the fill deposition, their proximity to cultivation and/or to a possible midden which we did not recover during excavation.

Quantitative Analysis of Fill: Frequency

In addition to the density analysis described above, we also tabulated frequencies of several artifact types in the fill, in order to compare those found in the fill on top of the house at All Angels' and the fill on top of those units in which we found the buried A Horizon. We looked at frequencies (at the sherd level) of ceramic types (Table 3.3 - Appendix B), curved glass artifacts (Table 3.4 - Appendix B), and small finds (Table 3.5 - Appendix B). Because most of these tables contained rather small quantities, we did no further analysis in most. We did, however, create a rank order analysis for the ceramic types in the fill above the Wilson House and above the buried A Horizon in TR 3 and in the Wilson house and buried A Horizon deposits (Table 3.6 - Appendix B). We discovered that rank orders were identical for the top two ranks in all four assemblages and then quite similar, down to rank 6, with the exception of annular/ dipt whiteware, which was more prominent in TR 3 (rank order 3) than in All Angels' (rank order 9.5).

In addition, in comparing the rank order of ceramic types in the fills (SC 4A) to those in SC 6B, C, and D for All Angels' and for the buried A Horizon (SC 6A) to see if the fill is similar to what lies below it, we saw that the main difference was that stoneware was prevalent in the layers associated with the occupation of the Wilson house (rank 3 in SC 6B-D) and the buried A Horizon (rank 5 in SC 6A) but barely present in the fills above them. The vast majority of these stoneware fragments came from food storage containers. Additionally, there was a low frequency of unglazed redware in both of the Seneca Village occupation assemblages (SC 6 A-D) and high frequencies of unglazed redwares in the fill layers. Another difference is the high frequency of annular/ dipt whiteware in both the fill overlying TR 3 and the TR 3 buried A Horizon deposits, perhaps related to the temporal difference between the All Angels' house and the TR 3 buried A Horizon may reinforce this interpretation, as this type of ware was more popular earlier in the century. There was a preference for glazed redwares within the Wilson deposits; again these could have served as storage containers.

Part 2: Artifacts

The Artifacts Found in the Buried A Horizon

The majority of the artifacts found in the buried A Horizon are in small pieces, showing that they probably had been trodden on, as might be expected for artifacts deposited on a ground surface where people lived nearby. But also included were some objects which, though broken, were in large pieces and when mended were almost complete. These objects, presumably items that had been lost or broken when the Seneca Villagers were evicted in 1857, tended to lie in the upper levels of the buried A Horizon or at the bottom of the deepest overlying fill layers and apparently had been resting on the ground surface when the fill was added. They included pieces from a gothic ironstone/ white granite plate (CV 88; **Fig. 2.12 - Appendix A)**, discovered in TC P, and many fragments from a blue-on-white transfer-printed teapot (CV 80; **Fig. 2.9 - Appendix A)** discovered in TC D. There was also a large piece from a stoneware storage vessel discovered in TC I (cx. 104).

Approximately half of the artifacts in the buried A Horizon in about half of the test cuts (TCs D, O, Q, T, U, and V) were ceramics and curved glass, or domestic in nature, while around half of those in most of the other test cuts that revealed this feature (TCs K, G, P, E, N, and S) were nails and other fasteners and window glass, or architectural in nature (**Table 3.7 - Appendix B**). These artifacts provide traces of two aspects of life in Seneca Village – the domestic, involving the dishes and the meals served on them, and the architectural, involving the houses where the people lived. Both types of artifacts reflect life in the village before the removals, but the latter also commemorate the evictions and the razing of the village. The nails and window glass along with the brick uncovered in the buried A Horizon stratum provide insight into the materials some of the Seneca Village property owners used to construct their houses (wood for the structures themselves as well as brick for chimneys). They bear witness to the removals of the park's residents in 1857, and the lack of wood recovered archaeologically supports notes in

Central Park documents that the wood from the buildings was removed and re-cycled when possible (Marie Warsh, pers. comm. 2018). Historian Catherine McNeur (2014:211) notes that "[t]he Board of Commissioners sold any shanty that was not dismantled by its owners, and, with just a few exceptions, workers cleared the park of what was left of its more than 300 buildings."³¹

The ceramics recovered from the buried A Horizon included fragments from stoneware storage vessels as well as earthenware dishes and earthenware and porcelain teawares (Table 3.8 - Appendix B). We discuss these more fully below. Glass vessels were scarce (Table 3.9 - Appendix B). The most numerous were medicine bottles, followed by beverage bottles as well as a food storage bottle, a lamp chimney, a glass dish or plate, and fragments from a drinking glass or two.

Other kinds of artifacts provided additional insights into the behavior of the Seneca Villagers, including smoking and possible butchering practices. There were 117 fragments of tobacco pipes (e.g., bowls and/or stems) uncovered in the buried A Horizon from eight of the nine units located near the houses in the northern end of TR 3, out of a total of only 219 pipe fragments excavated in the site as a whole - over half of the total. Although the sample is small, it suggests that smoking may have been an activity in which people indulged in their backyards. Over 46 "small finds" were discovered in the buried A Horizon strata (Table 3.10 - Appendix **B**). They were found in most of the test cuts close to the houses at the northern end of TR 3 (TCs D, G, K, O, and T, but not TCs P, Q, U, and V). In contrast, small finds were not found in TCs E and I (neither of which was close to a house), nor TCs S and N, which were close to the Wilson house. As discussed above, we interpret the possible buried A Horizons in the last two test cuts as having been 'swept,' which would of course have removed most of the artifacts. The "small finds" found in the buried A Horizon in TR 3 include personal items such as a comb (S 70; Fig. 3.7 - Appendix A), pipe fragments (S 2; Fig. 3.8 - Appendix A), several buttons and a suspender clip (S 60; Fig. 3.9 - Appendix A), pieces of mirror, and numerous pieces of shoe leather, as well as utensils, including a spoon (S 37; Fig. 3.10 - Appendix A) and two forks (S 42; Fig. 3.11 - Appendix A).

The Artifacts Found in the Wilson-House-Related Strata in All Angels'

Like the artifacts found on top of and within the buried A Horizon, the artifacts found in the strata related to the Wilson house (SCs 6B, 6C, 6D, and 6E in TCs A, B, C, M, and R) ranged in size from small fragments to large pieces and nearly whole objects. This variety can be explained by the type of material of which an object was made and its post-deposition history: where it was located and how it was treated during the house's demolition, as well as how it responded to a shallow burial in the northeast. For example, some of the largest of the ceramic fragments came from the most durable types of ceramics, thick stoneware (CV 19; Fig. 3.12 - Appendix A) and Chinese porcelain (CV 53; Fig. 3.13 - Appendix A), while many of the more fragile earthenwares were found in much smaller fragments, likely shattered by stem wall stones and chimney bricks shoved or thrown into the interior cavity of the house to complete its destruction. As mentioned in Chapter 2, many iron objects, such as a roasting pan (S 52; Fig. 3.14 - Appendix A), tea kettle (S 53; Fig. 3.14 - Appendix A), curry comb (S 49; Fig. 3.15 -

Appendix A), and small pail handle (S 64; **Fig 3.16 - Appendix A**), were found nearly whole. They were highly corroded from burial in a humid and temperate climate, but in better condition than expected because they were protected by the large sheets of metal roofing, which was placed on top of the displaced stem wall stones and chimney bricks, apparently to fill the house cavity. In addition to these metal objects, large pieces of leather shoe soles, a nearly whole leather-and-fabric shoe, fish bones, and other more fragile objects were also preserved under these metal sheets in spaces between stones.

A wide variety of artifact types was found in the Wilson house deposits. As might be expected, architectural remains of the house made up a large portion of the assemblage. Bricks, mortar, and metal roofing fragments were numerous (too numerous to count). **Table 3.11 - Appendix B** shows the amount of each of these materials we recovered by weight.³² Fasteners outnumbered all of the other artifact types collected in Wilson house-related layers in All Angels', making up a little over a quarter of the total, while flat glass composed less than a tenth of the total (**Table 3.12 - Appendix B**). These proportions of fasteners and flat glass are similar to those found in the TR 3 Buried A Horizon.

The non-architectural artifact assemblage found in the layers associated with the Wilson house was dominated by ceramic and curved glass sherds (**Table 3.12 - Appendix B**). The percent of ceramic sherds was about a third lower than the percent of sherds within the buried A Horizon. Two other differences were a greater number and proportion of small finds and many fewer smoking pipe fragments. It is possible that these differences relate to the indoor context of the Wilson-related layers versus the outdoor yard context of the TR 3 buried A Horizon. In other words, more small artifacts related to the Wilson family were left behind in their demolished home than small artifacts related to the Moore/Webster and Philips families were left behind in their yards. The greater presence of smoking pipes in TR 3 might also suggest that smoking was more of an outdoor activity in the village, rather than an indoor activity, and/or broken pipes were discarded outdoors. Alternatively, the small number of pipes in the All Angels' test cuts could simply indicate that the Wilsons were not regular smokers.

Like the ceramics recovered from the buried A Horizon, the ceramics found in the Wilson-house related strata (**Table 3.13 - Appendix B**) included fragments from a variety of ceramic ware types (including, in order of frequency, refined white earthenware, stoneware, white ironstone/ white granite, red earthenware, yellow earthenware, European porcelain, and Chinese porcelain). The ceramics also similarly included both utilitarian forms, like storage containers and mixing bowls, and more decorative forms, like teawares. We discuss the ceramics, including the 66 Ceramic Vessels recovered in these layers, in more detail in a subsequent section.

Curved glass sherds were almost as numerous as ceramic sherds, but a large percentage (45%) were small sherds from unidentified bottles (**Table 3.14 - Appendix B**). Far fewer medicine bottles were identified in the Wilson-related layers than in the buried A Horizon of TR 3: 2 versus 9, respectively. No glass beer bottles were found, in contrast to the 2 in TR 3, although 3 stoneware beer (or rootbeer) bottles were uncovered in the Wilson assemblage. The Wilsons seemed to have preferred wine, as indicated by the 3 wine bottles we recovered. Other curved glass vessels included a drinking glass, two food storage bottles, a small perfume bottle, and a

heavy molded fragment of a candlestick or lamp base, along with the two medicine bottles mentioned above. Only a few small fragments of lamp glass were discovered.

One of the medicine bottles was a green patent medicine bottle (Fig 3.17 - Appendix A). We recovered enough fragments to decipher the brand and type of medicine it once contained to be "Old Dr. Townsend's Sarsaparilla." Sarsaparilla was a very popular type of medicine in the United States and Europe during the middle of the 19th century, so much so that druggists referred to the 1840s as the "sarsaparilla era" (Lindsay 2017). Bottles found by archaeologists at other sites confirm that sarsaparilla was used by both working- and middle-class European Americans in New York City (Howson 1993; Bonasera and Raymer 2001). Made of alcohol, extracts of the roots of a variety of plants from the genus *smilax* (native to the Americas), and other ingredients, it was marketed as a "blood purifier" that could cure a variety of illnesses.³³ Samuel Townsend, a patent medicine maker based in Albany, produced what became the most popular brand of sarsaparilla, beginning in 1839. "Old Dr. Townsend's" appears to have been a New York City-based knock-off of Samuel Townsend's product (Lindsay 2017). The presence of this bottle could suggest that the Wilsons shared the same zeal for sarsaparilla as their White contemporaries and selected a brand with a recognizable name; other interpretations taking traditional African American practices into consideration are discussed in the conclusion of this chapter.

A variety of small finds (Table 3.15 - Appendix B) were present in the Wilson house-related layers that offer insight into domestic life. They ranged from kitchen-related items (such as utensil fragments, like a tiny spoon [S 59; Fig. 3.18 - Appendix A], possibly used to feed one of the younger Wilson children, and the aforementioned roasting pans [S 46 and 52; Figs. 2.6 and 3.14 - Appendix A], tea kettle [S 53; Fig. 3.14 - Appendix A], and small pail [S 64; Fig. 3.16 -Appendix A]), to a hygienic object (a toothbrush handle [S 36; Fig. 3.19 - Appendix A]), to artifacts related to work (see below) and clothing-related items (including a nearly complete shoe [S 74;Fig. 2.5 - Appendix A]). Most numerous among the Wilson house small finds were fragments of leather shoe soles and clothing fasteners, including buttons, buckles (S 38; Fig 3.20 - Appendix A), clothing hooks (S 33; Fig. 3.21- Appendix A) and one clothing eve, that collectively reflect the Wilsons' large family. Other small finds hint at work activities, such as a thimble and possible scissors, that could have been used by Charlotte Wilson or her daughter (also named Charlotte) to make or mend clothes; a curry comb (S 49; Fig. 3.15 - Appendix A), perhaps used by William Wilson or one of his sons to care for a horse he might have used to perform his duties as All Angels' Church sexton; a possible fishing weight (S 43; Fig. 3.22 -Appendix A), which could have been used by one of the older boys to contribute sustenance to the family's table; and two slate pencils (such as S 15; Fig. 3.23 - Appendix A), perhaps used by the children who attended school.³⁴ Another find, discovered on top of the lowest layer (SC 6D), which we believe represents objects that fell through the house's floorboards while the Wilsons lived there, was a three-cent coin dated 1852 (S 28; Figs. 3.24a and 3.24b - Appendix A). More discussion about these objects and the insights they collectively provide about life in Seneca Village will follow towards the end of the chapter.

Insights from the Ceramics

The most striking ceramic in the assemblage from the Seneca Village site is a blue-on-white transfer-printed teapot found in the buried A Horizon in TR 3 near the Moore/Webster and Philips houses (CV 80; **Fig. 2.9 - Appendix A**). While this teapot was neither expensive nor uncommon, we think it is elegant in both its shape and its Florentine pattern. (Florence was a popular stop on the Grand Tour of Europe in the mid-19th century.) It was made by Thomas and Joseph Mayer, proprietors of a firm that was active in Staffordshire, England, from 1842 to 1855 and had a flourishing export trade with the United States (Meta Janowitz pers. comm. 2016; Walthall 2013:x, xiii).³⁵ Artifacts such as this one give lie to the denigrating stereotypical descriptions of the villagers which were published in contemporary newspapers.³⁶

We examined all of the ceramics from the Wilson house and the buried A Horizon in order to see what insights they might provide into the lifeways of the Seneca Villagers. When we compared the two assemblages to each other, we noted two big differences in the frequencies of different kinds of ceramic vessels found in these features. One was a difference in the types of table and teawares. Although both assemblages contained relatively high proportions of transfer-printed dishes (41% and 47%, respectively) and similar proportions of porcelain (24% to 20%, respectively), the buried A Horizon in TR 3 contained a higher percentage of shell-edged dishes than the Wilson assemblage did (16% to 7%), and the Wilson assemblage (28% to 18%; see **Table 3.16 - Appendix B).** We think that this is because the Wilson assemblage represents the dishes that were being used in a home at one, relatively late point in time, the mid-1850s, when the Wilsons were deposited throughout the whole period of the village's existence, the three decades from the 1820s to the 1850s.

Although found in deposits dating throughout the 19th century, shell-edged plates were most common in middle-class European-American homes in New York City in the first few decades of the 19th century (Wall 1994:140-142). Most of those sherds in TR 3 were therefore probably deposited earlier in the century, though probably after ca. 1836, when a house first appears on any of these lots (NYTAR 1836), but well before the Wilson house was demolished two decades later, in the mid-1850s. The ironstone/ white granite dishes prevalent at the Wilson home, on the other hand, represent a kind of ware that became popular only in the 1840s.

Another significant difference between the kinds of ceramic vessels found in the Wilson house compared with those from the buried A Horizon is that there were greater percentages of utilitarian vessels associated with the Wilson house than in the buried A Horizon. More than a third (40%) of all of the Ceramic Vessels found in the Wilson house were redware, stoneware, or yellowware utilitarian vessels, while a mere 16% of those from the buried A Horizon were utilitarian in nature (Table 3.17 - Appendix B).

This difference in the percentages of utilitarian vessels from the two features is easily explained by the contexts of the deposits-- one might expect to find more storage and food preparation vessels associated with a house than with a yard-- but they also might provide some insight into the Wilson family's departure. Most of the stoneware fragments found in the Wilson's house, for example, were quite large compared to other ceramics and came from storage jars that could be mended into a greater percentage of a whole vessel than other ceramics (e.g., CV 7, CV 1, CV 29). This is probably related to the nature of the ware. We can speculate that the Wilsons did not leave these stoneware crocks because they were broken, but instead left them behind in usable condition, and they were broken during the house's demolition. Given that the Wilsons moved nearby, the presence of these crocks suggests either that the Wilson family believed they did not need those crocks and/or that they could easily replace them, or that they did not have the time or resources to move such heavy vessels. A relatively large number (seven) of pitchers/ewers (no doubt needed by the Wilson's large family for drinking and washing) were also left behind; these were the second-most numerous of the vessel types found and also among the larger and heavier vessels. Moving a family of nine children (three of them under six in 1857) would have been no small feat (USBC 1860). Perhaps the Wilsons remained in their house until the very last minute, when they were forced to leave, and continued to use these vessels. Other artifacts support the interpretation that the Wilsons didn't bring all of their usable possessions to their new house, including the heavy iron roasting pan, found in-situ with a tea kettle, French ointment pot fragment (CV 87; Fig. 3.25 - Appendix A), and wine bottle fragment inside it, as if it had been packed to go (Fig. 2.4 - Appendix A).

We also compared the dishes from the Wilson house to those from two contemporary White households, the Robsons and the Hirsts of Greenwich Village, a middle-class and elite enclave in the mid-19th century (Wall 1991, 1999a, 1999b), to see the extent to which the assemblages were similar to and different from each other. The first thing that we noticed in looking at the assemblages is how similar they are: the same kinds of ceramics are represented in all of the households. Most of the ceramics that we recovered from the Seneca Village features were of types that had also been found at the Greenwich Village homes. They included the fragments from stoneware storage vessels as well as earthenware and porcelain dishes. The plates common at all of the sites included those in the shell-edged pattern as well as white ironstone/white granite ones in the gothic style (**Table 3.18 - Appendix B**). In fact, both of the White middle-class families show a preference for gothic-style ironstone/ white granite plates with molded panels.

Tea and coffee were served predominantly in paneled cups and saucers in the ecclesiastical "gothic" style, whether in ironstone/ white granite or in porcelain, in all three homes (**Table 3.19** - **Appendix B**). In the Wilson and Hirst households, these vessels were used not only in family meals, but apparently also when guests came to tea.³⁷ They could have been used to make statements about morality and the importance of community values and mutual aid when friends and neighbors visited together (Wall 1991:79). Drawing on these sentiments could have been important among the poorer White middle class as well as at the Wilsons, who were members of an oppressed group. The wealthier members of the White middle class (the Robsons of Washington Square), however, supplemented their paneled teawares with fancier Italianate porcelain sets, which they probably used in formal parties to make statements about class.

But the Wilson assemblage included two kinds of dishes that differed in their frequencies from those found in the 19th century White middle-class homes: plates and bowls. In the White middle-class homes, we find ironstone/ white granite plates occurring in matched sets, which we interpret as underlining the corporate nature of the family that dines together. Although the

Seneca Village assemblage included ironstone/ white granite and shell edged plates (albeit in small numbers), it also included blue-on-white transfer-printed plates in much higher frequencies than at the White sites (see Wall et al. forthcoming). And although they are all in blue-on-white prints, the prints do not match. Within the Wilson house, for example, at least five different printed patterns were found on plates: Blue Willow (CV 10, 11, 84), flow blue (CV 49), a gothic revival pattern (CV 54), a romantic landscape (CV 57), and an exotic or romantic landscape (CV 56).

Archaeologists have long noted that they do not find sets of matched dishes in African-American and African-Caribbean assemblages (e.g. Armstrong 1990:135-136; Leone 2005; Mullins 1999; Shepherd 1987); instead, they find arrays of dishes in various colors and patterns that do not match. Some archaeologists have explained this phenomenon with the interpretation that these households aspired to emulate the dominant culture in using matched sets of dishes but failed in that attempt because they did not have the money to buy sets for themselves. Therefore they either used hand-me-downs in various patterns which had been given to them by their employers or masters or bought their dishes by the piece, instead of in matched sets.

But it seems that in setting the table at least some members of the African diaspora who lived in the Americas spoke a different "language of plates" than their European-American middle-class counterparts. Alice Baldwin-Jones, an anthropologist of African descent who grew up in Belize, recounts that her family did not use matched dishes for everyday meals; instead, each individual family member used his or her own individual dish (Baldwin-Jones, pers. comm. 1995; Wall 1999a). Under this system, the dishes used by the household *cannot* match, or family members would not be able to tell which plate belonged to whom. This custom of using personal dishes (and in Belize at least, the concomitant use of personal silverware and chairs) may have been prevalent among many African-American and African-Caribbean families.

Baldwin-Jones offers a possible explanation for this phenomenon: "In the face of slavery where people of various cultures were brought together as property and [were] treated as less than human, [one was forced] to create an identity for oneself... [a] sense of individuality that would lead to using unmatched dishes, and other personal items to create such an autonomy" (1995:3-4). Perhaps the importance of individual improvisation in jazz, the quintessential African-American art form, is also an expression of this phenomenon. The middle-class African-American denizens of Seneca Village may have used the blue-on-white plates in different patterns as a compromise – they were similar enough so that they gave the impression of matching – perhaps part of the middle-class American ethos – but different enough so that each person could recognize their own plate and use it for everyday meals.³⁸

We also examined the bowls from the Wilson and the two Greenwich Village homes. Archaeologists have long noted that some African-American assemblages exhibit a preponderance of small bowls, which might be used to serve liquid- or grain-based dishes such as stews or soups. These meals allow the use of relatively small quantities of meat, and while they require a long cooking time, they can be left on the fire untended while one does laundry or some other task (Baker 1978; Otto 1984). Furthermore, as Maria Franklin (2001:97) notes, preparing such meals would have involved reproducing some of the traditional cooking practices of West Africa, albeit "transformed . . . with new ingredients," where grains or vegetables formed the foundation for stews and pieces of meat and condiments were added for protein and flavor. So the prevalence of bowls might indicate that the practitioners of this cuisine were invoking their African heritage to form at least one aspect of their identity in 19th-century New York.

Bearing these practices in mind, we compared the frequencies of the small bowls from the Wilson house with those from the European-American homes (**Table 3.20 - Appendix B**). Though the sample is small, there does seem to be a pattern of difference. Considering only the portions of the ceramic assemblage consisting of plates and bowls, the percentage of bowls is much higher in the African-American Wilson household (40%) than in the two White households (only 18% and 25% in the Hirst and Robinson households, respectively). Bowls appear to have played a significantly more important role at the Wilsons' house than they did in the White homes.

All in all, then, the ceramics from Seneca Village are in some ways similar to and in other ways different from those from contemporary middle-class White households. In looking at the cups and saucers, the similarities are striking. But the frequencies of both the plates and the bowls show differences between these households. The Wilsons had a larger number of transferprinted plates and small bowls, while the White homes showed a preponderance of white ironstone/ white granite plates and fewer bowls. We discuss these differences further at the end of this chapter.

Insights from the Fauna

The analysis of a sample of the Seneca Village fauna (consisting of those in good condition from identifiable and significant contexts from occupation layers in the Wilson house and the buried A Horizon in Transect 3) was undertaken by a group of Barnard and Columbia undergraduates, under the direction of Prof. Adam Watson, then of the American Museum of Natural History. The complete analysis can be seen in **Appendix E**.

The density of faunal materials in the fill (**Table 3.2 - Appendix B**) was lower in the All Angels' test cuts than in most of those from Transects 3 and 4, and, not surprisingly, numbers there were also quite small.

Table 3.21 (**Appendix B**) shows the number of specimens from specific taxa and also identifications made to larger classes (cow size, etc.). We chose to analyze fauna only from All Angels' (TCs B, M and R; there was no animal bone from TC A or C that was associated with the occupation of the house) and from the buried A Horizon in Transect 3. In both settings we chose layers we believed to be associated with the occupation of the village. In Transect 3, we focused on the TCs D-G-K group of units and those test cuts that indicated a ground surface (or buried A Horizon) and also contained faunal elements, namely TCs P, Q, and T. TCs E and V have no faunal materials, and although TC U contained bone, it was not identifiable by taxon.

The faunal material came from SC 6A (TCs K, Q, P, D and G); SC 6B (TCs R, B); SC 6C (TCs M, B); SC 6D (TC M); and SC 7 (TC D EAST Extension and TC K).

Three things stand out from this analysis. One, the remains are mostly from domestic animals; two, *Ovis/Capra* (sheep/goat) was the dominant species consumed in Seneca Village, as determined by relative frequency; and three, in each test cut, there was a sizeable proportion of bones classified as "indeterminate," meaning that neither a taxon identification nor a class (such as "large mammal") could be attributed to the specimen, either because of fragment size or worn condition. Apart from these domestic animals there were a few (4) bones from rarer species such as large birds (no taxon identified), one probable turkey bone, one bone from a small rodent, and a mandible from a small carnivore. Although it is often difficult to distinguish the bones from sheep from those of goats, McNeur (2014:210) reports that the Board of Commissioners' Committee on Buildings in the park described pigs, goats, cows and horses roaming at large there. Sheep were not mentioned.

If we ignore test cuts with small samples (e.g., TCs G, P, Q, and T), we see that the percentage of *Ovis/Capra* is highest in TCs R and D (although a disproportionate number of the faunal elements in TC D were teeth, perhaps reflecting consumption of head-based stews, on-site butchering and/or because they were small and overlooked if residents were cleaning up). TCs K and B follow in order, reaching at least 33-35%. *Bos taurus* and *Sus scrofa* are each the second most common species present, cow (and cow-sized bones) at All Angels' and pig in Transect 3. The differences among the counts for these species are too small to state that these represented dietary differences.

The large number of unidentifiable bones (from 17% to 79%) in the full-size units in Transect 3 suggests many small, trampled, or degraded bones, as might be expected on a ground surface.

Faunal elements

There were many more animal bones that were identifiable by element and species, 81, in the A Horizon in six of the Transect 3 test cuts, including jaws and quite a few teeth, than there were in the All Angels' deposits, 35, suggesting that at least some Seneca Villagers may have been butchering animals in their yards. Alternatively, the teeth and jaws might be the remains of meals, e.g. sheep/goat or pig's head stew.

Table 3.22 (Appendix B) shows the dominant animal forms and tabulates which elements were present for each. We have only included elements from specific taxa (and have thus excluded bones designated as "large mammal" and "medium mammal," but we have included "cow-sized" and "pig-sized" in this table).³⁹

The resulting sample is rather small: 35 bones from All Angels' deposits and 75 bones from TCs D, K, and G in Transect 3. The difference in quantities between **Table 3.21 (Appendix B)** and **Table 3.22 (Appendix B)** is because a) we excluded TCs P, Q, and T in the latter, and b) some bones that could be identified by taxon could not be assigned to an element.

As noted, the dominant proportion of bones in both areas is from *Ovis/Capra*. In the All Angels' fauna, Bos taurus is the second-most common type (especially when "cow-size" specimens are included), whereas in Transect 3 units, Sus scrofa is more highly represented than Bos. There are more than twice as many elements from the buried A Horizon than at All Angels', but most are teeth. On the other hand, the most common elements in the All Angels' test cuts (sheep/goat) are from meaty parts of the body, from long bones, although some of those from the axial skeleton (ribs and pelvis) could also represent meaty cuts such as the rump, close to the pelvis. In the Transect 3 units, the number of Ovis/Capra teeth dominates other Ovis/Capra elements (35/39), which we suggest may mean that these animals were being butchered on site, and the teeth simply were missed when the residents were cleaning up after butchering. A second possibility is that the residents consumed meals made from the head of sheep or goats. For Sus scrofa, the most common element present was the skull or jaw, of which there were four, suggesting the possibility of the production of head cheese or pork stew. We can speculate about whether the slightly higher frequency of beef at All Angels' would represent cuts of meat acquired from a butcher, whereas the greater number of pork remains in Transect 3 could have been left from home butchering in the yard.⁴⁰ The scant evidence of cut marks does support this proposition, though they are few.

The faunal analysts also looked at variables such as weathering and cut marks. They examined the highest degree of weathering (levels 4 and 5) which could well have hindered a fuller identification of the species or element. Bones with these levels of weathering were most common in TCs D, G, and K. Only a few bones from TCs P, Q, and T, and very few from All Angels', were in such poor condition. Of 68 bones designated either at level 4 or 5 for weathering, 63 were from TR 3 (TCs D, K, G, T, or P) and 47 of these (75%) were from the buried A Horizon, with the remaining 16 from the level just below the A Horizon where they could have been trampled down a few centimeters. This is what we would expect for bones left exposed on a ground surface, as opposed to those that came from a protected environment, such as the Wilson house.

There were a few cut marks visible on bones, mostly at the distal ends or mid shaft. A pig skull in TC D showed four cut marks and an unidentifiable rib, also from TC D, had eight cut marks on it. A few other bones indicated evidence of cutting, but there were not enough to suggest a pattern of butchering practices. It is a little surprising (and disappointing) that more evidence of cutting was not found.

In addition to the faunal materials discussed above, a few fish bones were found in TC R (cx. 251) and R North extension (cx. 245, 248) in SC 6D, but no size or species of fish could be assigned to them. Remnants of clam and oyster were also recovered: clam was found in Wilson-related layers of TCs B, R, and M in All Angels as well as in TCs G, O, and P from Transect 3. Oyster fragments were retrieved from TC B, M, and ST 8 at All Angels' and TCs D, G, T, and U in Transect 3 (**Table 3.23 - Appendix B**). In both All Angels' and the buried ground surface, the quantity of oyster shell was considerably greater than that of clam shell (either 3 or 4 times as frequent). This could be due to the proximity of the Hudson, where oyster was prevalent, a preference for eating oyster, or some other use for oyster shell (e.g., in making plaster or mortar). Additionally, one scallop shell was found in TC B SC 6C. All these marine resources

presumably formed part of the villagers' diets and could have been harvested from the Hudson or East Rivers or purchased in the city's markets.

Information from the Botanical Remains

During excavation, we collected soil samples for pollen analysis and macroplant flotation. These tests had the potential to tell us more about the environment of the village and possibly about the plants that the villagers used for food or other activities. We took samples for both pollen and macroplant analysis from the buried A Horizon (SC 6A) in Transect 3 (TCs P and U) as well as samples for macroplant flotation from the buried A Horizon in TC D. Additionally, we sampled several test cuts in All Angels' (TC B [SC 6C], M [SC 6B, 6C, and 6D], and R [SC 6D]), in contexts associated with the occupation and the demolition of the Wilson house.

Most of the samples were examined by Susan A. Jacobucci and Heather B. Trigg of Andrew Fiske Memorial Center for Archaeological Research at U. Mass Boston (2012), while a few additional macrobotanical flotation samples from TCs B and M were studied by Justine McKnight (2014), archaeobotanical consultant. Unfortunately, the analysts discovered that poor preservation caused the samples to yield low potential for revealing new insights about the village residents' activities. The pollen and macroplant remains do, however, support some important interpretations about the general environment of the village, especially when combined with other archaeological findings. Here, we will briefly summarize these findings. Please see **Appendix F** for copies of both reports as well as an extended analysis of the combination of these reports, subsequent personal correspondence with Trigg and McKnight, and other archaeological discoveries at the site.

Although the preservation of plant remains was poor in layers associated with Seneca Village, the pollen remains (and lack thereof) appear to support three interpretations about village life in the area of Transect 3. First, the generally poor preservation of pollen taken from the buried A Horizon in TR 3 as well as the presence of pollen from weeds in the goosefoot family common to human-disturbed areas, implies that the yard area near the Moore/Webster and Philips homes was heavily utilized. Second, the presence of moss and fern pollen suggests that there was a wet habitat in close proximity to the Moore/Webster and the Philips homes. Third, a combination of plants, such as chestnut, mulberry, oak, pine, and walnut trees, as well as the ferns and mosses, indicate that the environment in or near the village was a moist woodland. These plants could have provided villagers with important resources from food to building material to medicine.

The macrobotanical remains from All Angels' and Transect 3 (while, again, somewhat problematic, as explained further in the appendix) also suggest that villagers had access to a variety of useful plant resources. Macroplant remains included plants often used as food (e.g., berries, including elderberry and raspberry; and greens, including goosefoot, purslane, sheep sorrel, and possibly pokeweed [with proper preparation, otherwise it is poisonous]), drink (elderberry wine and sumac "lemonade"), spice (sumac), dye (sumac, pokeweed), a leather tanning agent (sumac), mattress stuffing (bedstraw), and animal feed (clover, grass). Most of these plants also had folk medicinal applications.

In conclusion, the pollen and macroplant remains recovered from the soil samples were disappointing in their degree of preservation. Nevertheless, they do provide some indication of available botanical resources in the area, and they make life in the village somewhat more accessible to the imagination.

Final Thoughts

In the previous sections, we provided an overview of the discoveries from our excavations. Here we consider the insights these discoveries collectively bring to our understanding of our main research question about identity among Black residents in this unique, majority Black, multi-ethnic 19th-century village, on the edge of the nation's largest city.

As mentioned in the introduction (Chapter 1), several scholars have written about Black identity in the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Many have drawn on W.E.B. DuBois's turn-of-the-twentieth-century concept of double-consciousness as a model for exploring these identities (e.g., Nash 1988:80, cf. Alexander 2008). As DuBois (1994:2 [1903]) put it, an African-American "ever feels his two-ness --an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings."

Historian Leslie Alexander (2008) developed a binary model to look at this issue, exploring the extent to which African-American New Yorkers regarded themselves as Africans or as Americans. Historian Gary Nash also developed a framework, in his case a tri-partite one, for examining the same issue (1988): American, African, and African American. Obviously, such models are simplistic, but they are helpful in allowing us to explore some of the different strands that make up identity. Naturally, these strands were not mutually exclusive, and how they were defined and operationalized changed through time (see Alexander 2008; Wilder 2001).

"American" identities for Blacks focused on achieving the full rights of citizenship, including the right to vote, often with the goal of assimilation into American society. Some of those who identified as "Americans" might have had the goal of regarding themselves as "Americans with dark skins," without the discrimination attached to African descent (Nash 1988:79). Promoted primarily among middle-class African Americans, strategies for being accepted as "American" included racial uplift through moral reform activities, such as education and participation in church functions (actions used to promote class status, as discussed above), and the abandonment of street displays, such as parades (Harris 2003:120; Alexander 2008).

Other identities centered around an African heritage. Those who might be referred to as "Africans in America" (Nash 1988:79) regarded themselves primarily as Africans, and many wanted to return to the ancestral homeland or move to Black-ruled states, such as Haiti. They wanted to leave primarily because they felt that they would never be able to achieve equality with Whites in the United States. The strategies clustered around this identity included both the colonization movement (predominantly but not exclusively promoted by Whites to remove Blacks physically, along with the perceived problems that their presence presented in the United States) and the emigration and nationalist movements (predominantly supported by Blacks).⁴¹

Still other aspects of identity might be grouped as "African American" (Nash 1988:79). Those who identified in this way also regarded Africa as their ancestral homeland, but looked on themselves as Americans of African cultural heritage whose future lay in the United States. Aspects of that heritage included music and dance and participation in street displays such as parades, as well as collective action as expressed through voluntary organizations and churches, including participation in the abolitionist movement (Wilder 2001). Some of these behaviors are discernible archaeologically.

Looking at our data, we think for most African Americans in Seneca Village, identity was composed of certainly two and perhaps all three of these strands, but with the emphasis varying in different cultural contexts. Some of these behaviors may have conflicted with others and not all are accessible through archaeology. Mobilizing these different strands called for different sets of strategies, and some of these strategies called on material culture that was similar to that that was being employed by the dominant White middle-class culture, while other strategies called on material culture that was different.

Strategies used to promote middle-class "Americanness" were exercised by a higher proportion of Seneca Villagers than by their African-American contemporaries who lived in the lower city (Wall et al. 2008). This is shown not only in their practices but also physically in the built environment of the village, with its school, its three churches, and its cemeteries. Villagers also created, in some cases, substantial, single-family homes. These houses were likely important not only as living spaces but also as markers of their status as respectable property owners. Property ownership has long been important for Americans of all races, but was especially important for Black Americans who faced discrimination and for whom at that time property ownership was obligatory for enfranchisement.

Excavation revealed that the Wilsons invested considerable effort into the construction of their three-story frame house. A substantial foundation, built of locally gathered stone, placed directly on top of the bedrock, literally anchored the house to the land. A chimney provided the conduit for smoke from the hearth that kept the house warm and cooked the family's meals. Composed of locally-produced bricks, it was plastered and would have presented a clean appearance to residents and visitors. The innumerable fragments of iron we uncovered suggest that the Wilsons had a roof made of iron sheet or tiles, a relatively new water-tight technology that implies their knowledge of innovations in building (McAlester 2015:50).

But while some Seneca Villagers conformed to White, American middle-class aspirations in some aspects of their built environment, some of them seem to have expressed differences from those standards as well - in their yards. The data suggest that at least some Seneca Villagers may have practiced the strategy of yard sweeping (whereby the yard is literally swept to keep it clear of vegetation, debris, and pests) and is used as part of "homespace," an extension of the house. This is a practice shared by many West Africans and their descendants throughout the African diaspora. The archaeological evidence suggests that the Wilsons practiced this strategy, while the Moore/Webster and Philips families did not. Could the evidence of this practice indicate the expression of an African or African American identity?

Many of the "small finds" suggest that the villagers, like their White middle-class contemporaries, cultivated respectable personal appearances. These artifacts include a toothbrush, dental hygiene technology that we consider commonplace today but that was not widely used in the United States until the 20th century; a fragment of a hair comb, decorative buttons, and shoes for adults and children.⁴² The latter would not have been considered necessities among poor rural dwellers in the 19th century, including recent immigrants to New York City from impoverished areas of rural Ireland.

The presence of some brand name goods found in association with the Wilson house also suggests the Wilsons chose quality objects for themselves and their homes that would keep up appearances. These include the "Townsend's" sarsaparilla bottle as well as ceramics made by T. & R. Boote, Ridgway, and T. J. & J. Mayer, all well-known companies in Staffordshire, England, the epicenter of refined earthenware production throughout the 19th century. Similarly, Paul Mullins has shown that African American families in 19th-century Annapolis purchased brand name goods to guarantee quality at a time when prejudice led many shopkeepers to sell inferior goods to them, as well as to reap the "greater symbolic worth of nationally recognized brands" (1999:25).

As middle-class Americans, the Wilsons used not only some of the same brands of ceramics but also some dishes in the same patterns as their White contemporaries: shell-edged plates and ironstone/ white granite plates and cups and saucers with molded panels. But the frequencies of some of their kinds of dishes were quite different. First of all, they possessed proportionately many more plates in non-matching transfer-prints than their coeval White contemporaries. As discussed earlier in this chapter, we think that the practice of using unmatched transfer-printed plates may represent a different "language of dishes," whereby instead of all the diners aspiring to use dishes in the same pattern, every individual diner had his or her own plate, and therefore the patterns had to be distinct. This may well be a practice common throughout the African diaspora in the Americas, an African American custom.

As we also mentioned above (Table 3.20), there were proportionately more bowls as opposed to plates in the Wilson assemblage in comparison with those from two White middle-class households in Greenwich Village. The use of individual bowls is common in West African cuisine. This cuisine often includes stews of meats and vegetables, which also became staples of the diets of Africans enslaved in the United States.

Taken together, the data from the excavations suggest that for meals like tea – which they might share with outsiders, including perhaps White Seneca Villagers - the Wilsons used cups and saucers in the same molded-paneled pattern used by their White middle-class contemporaries. However, in meals that they held among themselves, in private and not in the presence of outsiders (meals such as breakfast, lunch, or dinner), they in part used dishes that were different from those used by their White contemporaries. They used proportionately many more bowls and non-matching, blue-on-white transfer printed plates. The preponderance of bowls could alternatively be explained by the fact that the Wilsons had so many children at home - eight in 1855 (NYSC 1855 - **Appendix I**). But although it is possible that the younger children ate their meals from bowls, we should also remember that the use of individual bowls is a custom in many West African cuisines. The faunal remains we found, which include elements ranging from the skull to the carpals of sheep/goat, cow, and pig, indicate residents might have eaten goat/lamb or beef stews, or dishes today recognized as "soul food," such as ribs, hog jowl, and pigs' feet (Poe 1999:8-11).

So the preference for bowls could in fact be acknowledging a strand of African or African-American identity; the latter concept is reinforced by the prevalence of un-matched, transferprinted plates. But the preponderance of plain-paneled porcelain and ironstone/ white granite teawares was shared by their White middle-class contemporaries, and thus may have made a statement about shared "American" identity.

The presence of the "Old Dr. Townsend Sarsaparilla" bottle at the Wilson house also reminds us that identities and their intersections with material culture are complex. As mentioned earlier, this bottle was found inside the remains of the Wilson house and could be interpreted as evidence that the Wilsons shared White Americans' enthusiasm for sarsaparilla as a medicine. But it is also possible that the Wilsons acquired this medicine for somewhat different reasons as well. The advertised use of sarsaparilla as a blood purifier fit with African American ethnomedical ideas (which emerged from a blending of African, European, and Native American traditions) about the importance of balanced blood qualities for good health. Choosing a medicine like sarsaparilla would enable the Wilsons both to connect with their African American heritage and conceptions of the world in personal acts of bodily cultivation, and to simultaneously participate in (and project to outsiders the appearance of participating in) White American trends.⁴³

We acknowledge that these interpretations are based on small sample sizes but offer them as hypotheses to be considered in future research. We hope that we or others will be able to carry out more of this research.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

This site report is made up of three major parts. In the first, we introduced the project, explaining first what Seneca Village was, why it is important, and what we hoped to learn from the excavations that could not be known from historic and documentary sources. We outlined our research questions, focusing on Seneca Village's distinctiveness as a middle-class African American community. Few such communities are known, and little research has been done on middle class 19th-century African Americans, but these communities form a significant element in the structure of the United States in the 19th-century.

We briefly summarized the project's long history, from 1997 to 2011 (when excavations began) to 2017, when this site report was completed. We spent several years on documentary background research, soil borings and GPR studies before we were able to make a case for needing to excavate and getting permission to do so.

The second part of the report provides a description of the field project, beginning with soil and GPR testing and ending with a detailed description of the excavation and the special requirements for digging in Central Park. We then outlined our overall definitions of the strata clusters we encountered. They include the superficial sod and humus layers which immediately overlay one or more layers of fill, the deepest of which we have interpreted to be associated with both the construction of the park and the destruction of the village. Below these there were strata, features, and artifacts associated with the occupation of the village. These include some from the Wilson house, located near All Angels' Church and occupied by the church sexton, William Godfrey Wilson, and his family. In addition, in several different portions of the site we were able to identify what appears to be a buried A Horizon that we believe represents the ground surface that Seneca Villagers, such as the members of the Moore/Webster, Wilson, and Philips households, walked upon. We took soil and pollen samples from that surface. Below these layers we encountered naturally deposited post-Pleistocene soils and bedrock across the site.

In the remainder of Chapter 2 we described the excavation history and stratigraphy of each of the test cuts and shovel tests that made up the excavation. In regard to the test cuts, seven (TCs A, B, C, M, N, R, and S) were excavated within or near the Wilson House in the All Angels' transect, thirteen (TCs D, E, F, G, K, L, O, P, Q, T, U, V, and W) were excavated within Transect 3, two (TCs I and J) within Transect 4, and one (TC H) within Pinetum South. We also excavated 18 shovel tests in three different sets. One set, composed of four shovel tests (STs 1, 2 3 and 5), was in Transect 3, where soil testing done by Suanna Selby suggested an area with 19th-century materials in it. A second set of 13 shovel tests (STs 6-18) was used to define the walls of the Wilson house; the walls of the house were simply uncovered and not removed. The final set with a single shovel test (ST 4) was placed in the African Union Transect.

In addition to finding the buried A Horizon in a number of the excavation units and the features and artifacts associated with the Wilson House, we also encountered (in TCs F and W) portions of the terracotta pipe system originally laid down as part of Olmsted's efforts to drain the wet portions of the park-to-be. And we found more recent metal pipes in TCs L and O. In Pinetum

South we excavated only one unit (TC H), where we encountered a buried early 20th-century catch basin and manhole cover.

The most substantive chapter, Chapter 3, presents our findings from the excavations based on the stratigraphic and artifact analyses. In discussing the buried A Horizon, we considered the custom of yard sweeping, how it appears archaeologically, and why we think it might have been practiced in some parts of the site and not others. We made suggestions about the original topography of the park in the northern end of the Transect 3 and Transect 4. Pinetum South and Transect 4 provided the least compelling narratives related to Seneca Village; the Pinetum because the feature encountered was related to post-park additions, and the Transect 4 units because there were no houses nearby, probably explaining the relative paucity of materials (although we did identify a putative ground surface in TC I).

In this chapter we also analyzed the contents of the fill layers that we believe were associated with the destruction of the village which was concurrent with the construction of the park. Comparative analysis of artifact densities by test cut indicate that the initial hypothesis that the frequencies of artifacts such as nails/fasteners would vary in relation to proximity to houses was not consistently supported, but it was clear that most fill did come from loci fairly close to the test cuts being examined. This idea is supported by the consistent nature of the soil in the fill, and by the fact that the artifacts in the fill were generally similar to those in more protected contexts, although occurring in lower densities in the fill. As well, the fact that there were fewer artifacts in the fill of Transect 4, in TCs I and J, where there were no houses nearby, reinforces this interpretation. So we believe that although some of the fill used in the construction of Central Park was brought in from off-site (from New Jersey and Long Island), for the most part those creating the Park landscape in the village area moved as little soil as possible and used locally-available dirt originating near adjacent houses and gardens, resulting in the presence of artifacts in the fill similar to those in the deeper Seneca Village-related strata.

The test cuts in All Angels' and in Transect 3 provided the greatest amount of information about life in the village. The Wilson test cuts revealed how the house was constructed. A comparison of artifacts from the ground surface with those from the Wilson house showed some interesting differences. Taken together, the two different kinds of contexts – indoors vs. outdoors – provide better insight into village life than either one on its own. The remains from the buried A Horizon in Transect 3 suggest the kinds of activities that occurred outdoors, perhaps in backyards, such as smoking and drinking, and perhaps outdoor eating (seen in the faunal material), whereas those from the Wilson home were more clearly associated with kitchens and domestic tasks; the higher frequencies of storage containers and bottles support this hypothesis.

Perhaps of most interest, in our introduction to this report we outlined some of our research questions for the Seneca Village project. In Chapter 3 we explored some of the insights we have gained into issues related to those questions. Our first question had to do with whether or not archaeological traces of the village had survived the construction of the romantic landscape of Central Park in the 1850s in the intervening century and a half. We discovered that the answer to that question is a resounding yes. We encountered the foundation wall and associated deposits of the home of the Wilson family along with what appears to be a buried A Horizon related to the

occupation of Seneca Village. The elevation of the ground surface allowed us to reconstruct a small part of the topography of the area. In addition, the artifacts we found associated with the Wilson house and with the ground surface associated with the Moore/Webster and Philips houses have enabled us to begin to explore another important research question related to the issue of African-American identity in the mid-19th century.

At the end of Chapter 3, we discussed the variable identities that Seneca Villagers might have claimed or affiliated themselves with. It is important to remember that this was a volatile period in New York City and American history marked by conflict between African Americans and Whites, conflict which might have increased the attractiveness of mutable identities among Blacks. As we noted, there are three obvious possibilities: "American," "African-American," or "African." Each of these identities could be marked by different behaviors, not all of which would be accessible archaeologically. It is likely that any of these could have been mobilized selectively when there was an advantage to doing so, be it social, economic, or psychological.

In our analyses we saw hints of each of these different identities: a joint identity of "American" and middle-class is visible, we think, in Seneca Village's built environment: the practice of home ownership, the number of substantial private homes, and the presence of three churches and a school. The high frequency of particular "small finds" (a toothbrush, a comb, a slate pencil, decorative buttons) reinforces this identity. The practice of yard-sweeping, however, probably expresses African traditions, which could also be reflected in the relatively high frequency of individual bowls, commonly used in some West African cuisines, and faunal material which may represent the cooking of stews. And the recovery of blue on white transfer-printed plates in a variety of patterns could well suggest an African-American adaptation which mixes the "American" (i.e., White middle class) identity with a behavior derived from the period of enslavement, in which individual plates, as opposed to sets of plates, may have underlined individual agency. It is clear that any interpretations such as these are hypothetical and will, we hope, provoke discussion with other researchers.

The Seneca Village project, combining extensive documentary research, soil study, and GPR, all done prior to excavation; the excavations themselves; and the analysis of the stratigraphy and the artifacts after the excavation, and public outreach via talks, site tours, and a website have thus far has been very fruitful. A sign of its success is that it has helped to generate much more attention to the village. A play, several books, poetry and music, two exhibits, as well as numerous newspaper articles, have been written about Seneca Village since the project began. We now have considerable information about the lives of many of those who lived there. We plan to do more research with these materials and more writing, some of it oriented specifically to a public audience and to have the village become incorporated into school curricula. We are also trying to identify descendants of the people who lived in Seneca Village in order to add an oral history component to the study. Since our excavations in 2011, there has also been additional archaeological work: The Central Park Conservancy asked Richard Hunter and his team to conduct both archaeological investigations and further GPR survey in Seneca Village areas designated for ground disturbance in advance of Parks projects (Lee and Hunter 2016). In each case, the Hunter team discovered evidence of additional structures. So there may well be additional archaeology in Seneca Village's future that could add substantially to our discoveries

and reveal more about this important community. We hope our work will help to make the story of Seneca Village become a prominent chapter in New York City's history.

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Notes:

 2 Five years after the passage of the law, the city's African American population had declined by 15% (Harris 2003:275).

³ This analysis of who lived in Seneca Village in 1855 is based on a close study and comparison of two sources, the 1855 NY State Census and the Sage map of 1856. The sources do not agree completely, and we have made some interpretive leaps based, for example, on the order in which names appear in the census and potential routes of the census taker(s).

⁴ The more detailed 1855 NY State Census shows in that year that the village's African American residents had been born in four different New York counties, eight different states other than NY (VA, MD, NJ, PA, GA, RI, ME, and the District of Columbia) and one, Charles Silvan, had been born outside the U.S., in Haiti (NYSC 1855 - Appendix I).

⁵ Some unmarried younger black men did work in service, however, including some of the Wilson sons, for example (NYSC 1855 - Appendix I).

⁶ Access to education appears to have been engendered in New York's African American community, just as it was in the European American community. Although nearly two-thirds of the men could read and write, only about one third of the women were listed as literate in the 1850 census.

⁷ The breakdown of the dwellings is as follows: 11 shanties, 7 1-story, 6 1.5- story, 21 2- story, 1 2.5- story, and 5 3- story houses (Marie Warsh pers. comm. 2018).

⁸ Peter Salwen's book *Upper West Side Story* (1989) mentioned the village, but it was Rosenzweig and Blackmar's extensively-researched chapter that brought the village into the modern imagination.

⁹ Please note that this stage of testing was preliminary and Versteeg did not create a report.

¹⁰ A copy of Selby's (2005) report is on file with the Landmarks Preservation Commission.

¹¹ According to the New York State Census of 1855 (**Appendix I**), the Wilson family was composed of the following members: William G[odfrey] (head, age 41, porter), Charlot[te] (wife, age 39) William H. (child, age 17, waiter), Joseph (child, age 15), John (child, age 13), Josiah (child, age 11), Charlotte (child, age 7), James (child, age 5), Mary (child, age 3), and David (child, age 4 months). The 1860 Federal Census suggests that another child, Morris, was born to the family around 1856.

¹² See the section in Chapter 3 titled "The Topography in Transect 3" for information about the families who occupied these houses.

¹³ The names for these excavation areas were derived from Suanna Selby's map of the soil corings (2005). We recognize that using the term "transect" to describe an area of excavation might seem unusual to some readers. In our 2011 excavation of Seneca Village, Transect 3 and Transect 4 are the equivalent of what in other projects might be called "Excavation Area 3" and Excavation Area 4." The names Transect 3 and Transect 4 were retained in order

¹ We still have questions about the Croton system and its impact on Seneca Village. Although for most of their length the pipes were above ground (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:62), it seems likely that they were below ground when they ran through the village. Peters (1907:82) described them as "disappearing beneath the surface" at around 84th St. Contemporary maps show just the line of the aqueduct. Furthermore, at least one source shows the pipes carrying the water passing through Seneca Village on 86th Street and not 85th Street (Colton 1836).

to clearly indicate that the areas excavated were the same as those tested through soil coring in 2004 and by GPR in 2005 and 2011.

¹⁴ Note that because we excavated several excavation units simultaneously, the context numbers for each excavation unit are not contiguous.

¹⁵ Small finds numbers were assigned numerically, beginning with 1.

¹⁶ Again, "analytical context" or "interpretive context" are synonyms for our use of the term "strata cluster." Thus, "strata Cluster" is used to refer to sets of soil strata that we think were deposited at the same time as part of the same historical event.

¹⁷ By "stem wall," we mean the above-ground extension of a foundation. It serves to support the walls of the structure and was a common building technique in the 19th century, as it is today.

¹⁸ Beginning with cx. 39, TC A and TC A North Extension were excavated together.

¹⁹ Some contexts were later determined to have been included in more than one Strata Cluster

²⁰ If, in fact, this layer contained the buried A Horizon that was the SV ground surface, the lack of many artifacts within this layer could indicate that the Wilsons and their neighbors regularly swept their yards, a traditional practice in many parts of Africa and the New World to keep the areas outside homes clean and to keep away animals and insects. We develop this idea in Chapter 3.

²¹ Context 54 is in both SCs 4A and 6A.

²² Ewen reduces his area of concern from that bordered on the east by Sixth Avenue, to Seventh Avenue because the Reservoirs, which are located south of 86th Street, extend west to Seventh Avenue.

²³ In 1850, when she was 60, Nancy Moore lived there with three other women, Phillis Prince (aged 68), Sarah Bennett (aged 58), and Mary Shantlin (aged 28), and the property was valued at \$3000 (USBC 1850). All of these women had been born in Connecticut. The Websters lived there with their children. George, junior, who was three at that time, and 4 other children: Malvina 18 (who worked as a domestic), John, 16, Benjamin, 13, and Edward Hall, 7. The Hall children were listed as the step children of George Webster, and presumably were Eliza Webster's children from an earlier marriage. George Webster had been born in Virginia, while his wife and all of the children had been born in New York (NYSC 1855 – **Appendix I**).

²⁴ The records are ambiguous in revealing when the Wilson house was built and when the Wilsons moved onto the property. The house was located on Lots 52 and 53 of Block 785. The tax records for 1849 list William Wilson as being assessed for Lot 52, but no house is listed on the property. In 1850, Lot 52 is not mentioned but All Angels' Church is assessed for Lot 53, with no house listed on the property. In 1851, Lot 52 is not mentioned, but Lot 53 is listed twice, each time assessed to All Angels'; no house is listed on either lot. It is only in 1852 that William G. Wilson is assessed for a house on Lot 52. The tax records may well be inaccurate and the Wilsons could have lived on the property as early as 1849, or they may not have moved in until 1852. The census data for 1850 show the Wilson family living in that general vicinity in that year (USBC 1850).

²⁵ We are grateful to Jessica Striebel MacLean, Urban Archaeologist at the NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission, for suggesting that the roofing material we found is likely tinplate and for sharing a copy of Gayle and Look's (1992) study.

²⁶ Although some tinplate was painted light green, presumably to imitate more costly copper, most was painted with "tinner's red." Tinner's red has a red or reddish-brown color like that of rusted iron (Gayle and Look 1992:12), thus similar in color to the fragments. Tinplate was sold in rectangular sheets measuring approximately 10 by 14 inches

through the 1830s, afterwards larger plates measuring approximately 14 by 20 inches began to be produced. None of the fragments we discovered were larger than either of these standard sizes, and some fragments still retained rectilinear corners, suggesting they were what remained of rectangular sheets. Additionally, most early tinplate roofs were soldered together with flat seams, similar to those we observed on some of the fragments, to produce a waterproof covering (the standing seams now often associated with tin roofs did not become popular until the 1860s) (Gayle and Look 1992:12). Gayle and Look (1992) do not describe how the free edges of tinplate roofing were constructed. Additional research into these finishing techniques and how they compare with the folded and rolled edges on some of the fragments we discovered, would help to further confirm that the Wilsons had a tinplate roof, but the evidence thus far leans heavily in that direction.

²⁷ It is possible that the Wilson house stood empty or in partial ruins for several months before it was completely demolished and its remains buried. According to Park reports, most of the residents of the *entire area* that was to become the Park were evicted by the fall of 1857, and most of the buildings had been demolished and cleared by the spring of 1858, when the construction of the Park began. However, the reports do not specify when the Seneca Village buildings were taken down and when construction in this particular area of the Park took place; maps within the reports suggest that this portion of the Park was not completed until 1863 (Marie Warsh, pers. comm. 2018).

²⁸ It should be noted that yard-sweeping was not and is not exclusively an African or African-American practice. As Barton and Orr note, it is a practice found among many groups in the United States (2015:208; see also Rothschild 1991).

²⁹ We observed that it was wet in the field after rains, and we believe that the area was also wet when the village was occupied because of botanical evidence (Jacobucci and Trigg found pollen from water-loving plants in the soils sampled from TR 3, indicating a wet area nearby), geological evidence (we encountered glacial clays in the lowest layers of some of the test cuts in that area that would have trapped water in the soil), and cartographic evidence (the 1856 Viele map suggests that area was used for gardening/agriculture). Villagers might have deposited refuse, including broken dishes and food scraps in this area to aid drainage and fertilize crops, respectively.

³⁰ The Sage Map (1856) indicates the Moore/Webster house had a cellar, for example, where residents might have stored homemade sauces and beverages in bottles, as was common practice during this period (Busch 1987).

³¹ We wonder if the Wilsons might not have taken the wood from their own house after they were evicted to help build their new home near West End Avenue, where All Angels' Church moved. The 1860 Federal Census shows them living in a single-family house with a personal estate valued at \$1000, but not including real estate. Perhaps they owned the house but not the land, which may have been owned by the Church.

³² Note that stem wall stones were neither counted nor weighed, but were indicated in photographs and plan and profile drawings.

³³ Illnesses that sarsaparilla makers claimed their product could cure included dysentery, tuberculosis, typhus fever, rheumatism, scurvy, and syphilis, among other diseases then thought to arrive from "poisoning of the blood." It became well-known especially as an alternative to the mercury prescribed by professional physicians to treat syphilis (Young 1961:61-63, 187; Howson 1993:149). Other ingredients in sarsaparilla could include potassium iodide, cinchona, and senna (Fike 1987:214).

³⁴ In 1850 (the only year for which such information is available), five of the Wilson children (William, Jr., Josiah, John, Isaiah, and Charlotte) were listed as having attended school within the year (USBC 1850).

³⁵ Most of the table and teawares popular in the United States before the late 19th century were made in England.

³⁶ Archaeologists have also found these types of ceramics (typically linked with White middle class) in association with working-class European immigrant families residing in the Five Points neighborhood in Lower Manhattan,

including a teapot similar to CV 80. These archaeologists have made arguments similar to ours that the presence of these types of ceramics, along with hygienic items and children's toys, suggest that the negative reputation of this so-called slum neighborhood was inaccurate and colored by class and ethnic prejudice (Reckner 2002) and, additionally, that the same artifacts might have different meanings for different peoples (Linn 2008).

³⁷ This is inferred from the lack of fancier sets of cups and saucers in these assemblages.

³⁸ There were also teacups that matched plates in All Angels', suggesting that each person might have had their own matched place-setting of dishes. A transfer-printed teacup (CV 55) in a Gothic revival pattern matched a supper plate (CV 54), and flow blue teacup (CV 50) appears to match a plate (CV 49). In addition, there is a possible match between a plain molded ironstone/ white granite saucer and a supper plate.

³⁹ The categories "cow-sized" and "pig-sized" indicate a higher probability that bones came from these taxa, than the categories "large mammal" or "medium mammal."

⁴⁰It is possible that the Villagers were eating boneless cuts of meat that would not leave much trace in the archaeological record.

⁴¹ One organization that was part of the latter movement, The American Colonization Society, actually began in 1821 to purchase the land that became Liberia for resettlement (Nash 1988:79; Alexander 2008). The disillusionment of Blacks with the ACS and fears of forcible resettlement resulted in their abandonment and discrediting of the term "African," used in the naming of numerous Black institutions (including the African Burial Ground) up until the mid-19th century (Wilder 2001:158).

⁴² According to Susan Mattick (2010:25) by the 1920s still only about twenty percent of the population of the U.S. used toothbrushes.

⁴³ Similarly, African Americans used teacups both for drinking regular tea and for drinking homemade medicinal teas. They used leaves from elderberry trees, for example, to make a tea to treat rheumatism (Wilkie 1996:22). Remains of elderberries were found in the soil samples from both All Angels' and TR 3.