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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Dalford Dean Owens Jr. entitled "Exchange Place: Development of the Commercial Frontier". I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Anthropology.



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Dean of The Graduate School

**EXCHANGE PLACE:
DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMERCIAL FRONTIER**

**A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**Dalford Dean Owens Jr.
August 1996**

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents

Mr. Dalford Dean Owens Sr.

and

Mrs. Gerry Phillips Owens

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There are several people who have made a considerable contribution to my academic endeavors at the University of Tennessee. Above all I would like to thank my major professor Dr. Charles Faulkner who meticulously plodded through a number of revisions of this thesis. He has also provided invaluable advice throughout my graduate studies at the University of Tennessee for which I am very grateful. Also from the University of Tennessee, thanks is given to other graduate students in the Department of Anthropology (and other academic departments) whose friendship I have had the pleasure to have over the past three years. Interaction with these individuals has been a large contributor to who I am today.

Tony Galloway and other staff of the Governor's School for Tennessee Studies, at East Tennessee State University. Mr. Galloway helped to foster a relationship between the Governor's School and the Exchange Place which facilitated the operation of an archaeological field school at the historic site during the summer of 1995. This work ultimately led to this thesis. A special thanks to Mrs. Suzanne Burow, site director, of the Exchange Place. Mrs. Burow has been an essential source of information relating to the history of the Exchange Place and Sullivan County. She is commended for her support of the Governor's School Program and this research.

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ABSTRACT

The archaeological study of early commercial sites and their contribution to regional development has been lacking, particularly in the Upland South. As an adaptive response of an expanding society, these sites originated through specific cultural and historical factors. Via these locations moved people, information, and consumer goods. These sites were strong integrative forces in frontier development and served as infrastructure for an expanding society. A better understanding of the active role that commercial sites played in local and regional development is presented. This is accomplished by a historical, archaeological, and geographical study of the Exchange Place (40SL22), Kingsport, Tennessee. Following a discussion of the historical and archaeological background of the Exchange Place, 1996 testing at the site is evaluated for information pertaining to site history and location of archaeological features. This research will examine the cultural manifestations of the commercial activity at the Exchange Place and the farmstead's commercial development as a manifestation of cultural processes and regional development. The "antebellum commercial farmstead" is offered as a unique site that characterizes the Exchange Place and possibly other historic sites with similar commercial histories. The site will then be contextualized within southern Appalachia, a newly formed United States, and a growing capitalist world-system.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Research Design

The historic "Exchange Place" is located at 4812 Orebank Road, just east of Kingsport, Tennessee. Situated on the northwest side of Chestnut Ridge, the site is at the head of a spring which feeds a tributary of Reedy Creek (Figure 1). Exchange Place was built into a commercial center by John S. Gaines and later operated exclusively as a agricultural enterprise by James W. Preston and his descendants. The site was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in 1971 after the property was donated to the Netherland Inn Association, a local historical association, for preservation. Since that time, Exchange Place has been developed into a historic attraction and educational facility functioning as a mid-19th century farmstead (Fielder 1979).

Original buildings on the site (Figure 2) include the main house which is a 1 1/2 story double pen log building, a frame granary, and frame store all attributed to the Gaines period of the site's history (1820s-1845). Additionally, there is a log smoke house (perhaps from Gaines period), a spring house, a log barn, and a shed, the latter three buildings attributed to the Preston occupation (1845-1923). A building known as the cook's cabin has been restored in the exact location where it originally stood. There is also a blacksmith shop on the property which was moved onto the site because it was in danger of destruction at its original location near the Exchange Place. In addition to these invaluable architectural resources is a rich archaeological record (Fielder 1979; Owens 1996; South 1973; Wentworth and Dickson 1974). The most significant aspect of the

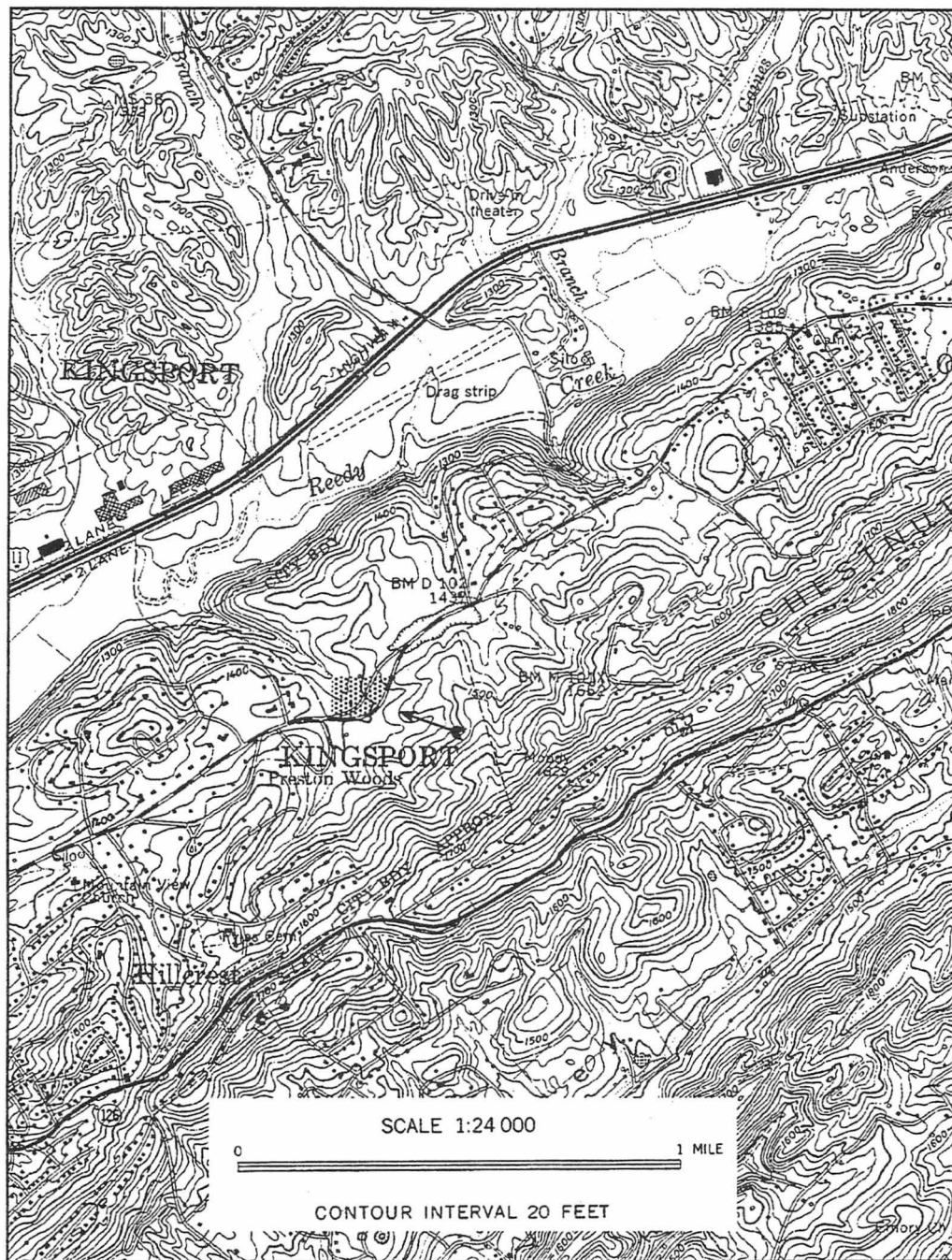


Figure 1. USGS map showing location of the Exchange Place (Indian Springs quad).

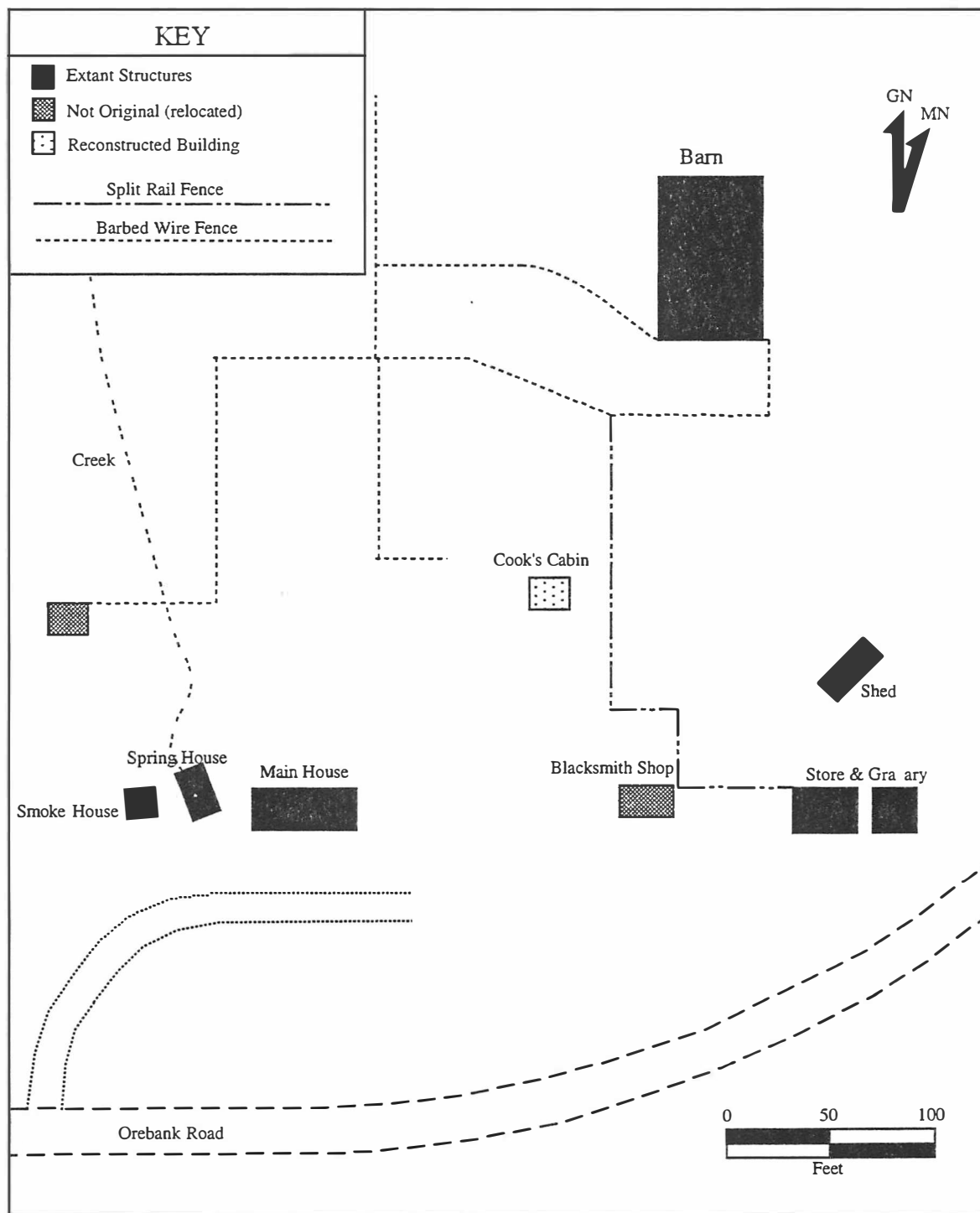


Figure 2. Site map showing extant structures.

Exchange Place, however, remains its former function as an antebellum commercial center in East Tennessee (Fielder 1979:5). This is reflected in the farm's physical configuration (Owens 1996), and in the presence of unique cultural features from the antebellum period.

While the Exchange Place has been the topic of recent professional research (Owens 1995; 1996), there is no synthesis of the historical and archaeological data relating to the site. Fielder's report (1979) was the last to completely synthesize all relevant information, but this report is almost two decades old. Since that time there has been unreported archaeological research in addition to newly discovered historical information. As a result there exists an abundant, yet fragmented amount of knowledge relating to this historic farmstead and commercial center. This thesis will synthesize all of the historical and archaeological information about the Exchange Place and appraise the current site resources.

The most fascinating aspect of the site history is its development as a commercial center and transportation node in East Tennessee during the antebellum period. This has been the topic for previous research (Owens 1996) and the site offers numerous opportunities for additional study. Questions relating to the nature of its commercial development and day-to-day operations of commercial activities are of particular interest. An additional important resource relates to the archaeological manifestation of early commercial activities at the site. The development of the site's commercial activity is further accentuated if considered as a manifestation of cultural process (Lewis 1984; Taaffe et al. 1963) and within a world-systems theory (Braudel 1972; 1973a; 1973b;

Wallerstein 1974; 1980). Subsequently, its spatial, temporal, and historical location provide an opportunity to examine this unique farmstead's role in the region and the larger world.

The following research addresses three primary objectives. The first objective is to discuss historical information relevant to the Exchange Place. The second objective will synthesize all archaeological work conducted at the Exchange Place. This includes the unreported testing conducted by this author during the summer of 1995. Lastly, this research will examine the cultural manifestations of the commercial activity at the Exchange Place and the farmstead's commercial development as a manifestation of cultural processes and regional development. The site will then be contextualized within southern Appalachia, a newly formed United States, and a growing capitalist world-system.

Chapter 2

Historical Development of the Exchange Place

Introduction

The founding of the Exchange Place is a product of late colonial society and the expansion of a newly formed United States of America. In an effort to fulfill a Virginian "manifest destiny," privileged colonists acquired large tracts of land through grants from British Royal Governor Dinwiddie. Edmund Pendleton, who was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses and chairman of the Second Continental Congress, acquired a three thousand acre tract in 1756 (Bumpers and Burow 1988). This property is along Reedy Creek inside the city limits of present day Kingsport, Tennessee. Pendleton never developed this property but eventually sold some small tracts. At his death in 1805 his nephews, Thomas and James Gaines, assumed ownership of the remaining 2,400 acres. Thomas Gaines was father of Exchange Place founder John Strother Gaines.

John S. Gaines

John Strother Gaines was born in Stokes County, North Carolina in 1794 and moved to Tennessee at a young age. After serving in the Tennessee militia during the war of 1812, he returned to Sullivan County to reside (Bumpers and Burow 1988). John Gaines married his second cousin Letitia Moore whose parents Samuel and Elizabeth

Gaines Moore owned property which was part of the original grant along Reedy Creek. Gaines first purchased a substantial portion of property in the Reedy Creek Valley from his father-in-law in 1818, which initiated a lifetime of buying and selling real estate around Eden's Ridge by John Gaines. By 1836 he had accumulated over 1,000 acres and by the time he sold the western portion of his property to John Preston in 1845 it had increased to 2,147 acres that included the Exchange Place and surrounding farmland.

The exact date when Gaines established the Exchange Place as his home is unknown; however, he had acquired a small amount of property including the homesite by 1816. He endeavored in farming for the entirety of his stay in Sullivan County. A letter from his son James circa 1840 states:

A good many farmers had nearly finished planting corn. I suppose you have commenced. I hope you will not fatigue yourself so much as you have done as you have now a man you can depend on to oversee (Gaines n.d.).

After 1830 Gaines developed his farm into a commercial center that included postal service, a store, and a stagecoach relay station. Details of these activities are lacking as there is little documentary evidence of Gaines' business transactions at the site. Gaines was appointed postmaster of the newly created Eden's Ridge Post Office early in 1831 and conducted these services until his departure from Sullivan County in 1845 (Frazier 1984). Gaines had redirected the Old Island Road past his property to facilitate stagecoach travel which was probably associated with maintaining the postal route. Considered the first leg of the Great Stage Road, it connected Tennessee and Kentucky with the eastern seaboard. Gaines was contracted by the U.S. Government to maintain a

section of the road as a postal route. Like many early post office stops, the site also served as a relay station for stagecoaches. Gaines also built a store on the property which has a date of 1831 inscribed on the foundation (though some have thought it to be 1837). It is evident that these activities are all interrelated and suggest a decisive commercial development by Gaines around 1831.

While there is scant evidence related to the business conducted at the Exchange Place, a letter from John S. Gaines to his son-in-law William H. Scarborough reveals some information about business life at the Exchange Place. The letter is dated August 22, 1836, seventeen months after Gaines' daughter (Scarborough's wife) Sarah Ann died:

I promise myself great pleasure in your society and his and so did my family and was more delighted with the partnership on that score than any other. I still hope to have your society very often and think it more than probable that Saml will in a few years be disposed to return and do business at this place at least I hope so and I have space. Keep your money on interest until then instead of putting it in a store who knows but we may yet make a fortune at Eden's Ridge by selling tape and pins under the old articles of confederation.

I understood your post script precisely as you recapitulate it and directed Sam'l to say to you that I was to attend to your command. And I further to let you know that I would return the money you loaned me with the interest at any moment that you might want it. If we had not changed out views in relation to a store at this place I of course should have said nothing about the money you loaned me But I did not know but you might wish to vest it in that way in the west and I wish you to know that the money could be had on appreciation. And I do hope that you will feel no delicacy in calling upon me for the money when ever you wish it (Gaines 1836).

This correspondence reveals some interesting facts. It is apparent that by his marriage to Gaines' daughter, Scarborough (along with Gaines' son Samuel) has developed an intimate business relationship with his father-in-law and evidently has helped to build the

site to its commercial status. He even had, at the writing of this letter, financial investment in the site. This relationship, however, seems to have gone sour following the death of Sarah, and Scarborough is attempting to discontinue his relationship with Gaines. Gaines alludes to the disagreement as involving the role of the store. Gaines' reference to the selling of "tape and pins" seems to indicate that the store had not sold small consumer items of this nature prior to 1836. The store probably evolved into a general store during the first decade of its existence.

The relay service Gaines provided for the stagecoach line that passed through his property must have been a successful endeavor. A letter from John Gaines' son James alludes to the business and influence that this service had given Gaines in the larger community. James Gaines writes:

I believe that I have not written to you where I am boarding. I expected to board at Mr. Powels when I started from home but Jos Armstrong saw me when I first came to town and told me he wanted to board me as he was going to the tavern. So Mr. Powel & Armstrong both to be anxious to board me, I suppose on account of getting the travellers that may stop at your house (Gaines n.d.).

This letter indicates that a substantial number of travellers were passing by the Exchange Place and that John Gaines had enough influence to sway their boarding at his stage stop. The exact date of this letter is unknown but can be inferred from the age of the children. James was travelling with his sister, both probably being old enough travel under James' supervision (as inferred from complete letter). James was born in 1823 and Amanda in 1825 which suggests a most plausible period for the correspondence to be following 1840 making them at least seventeen and fifteen years of age.

In 1845 Gaines split his property by trading 1,181.5 acres which composed the western portion of the property including the homeplace to John Montgomery Preston, retaining the 965.5 acre eastern tract. Through his trade Gaines acquired Preston's property in Holston Springs, near present Gate City, Virginia. Gaines was speculating a tourist boom in the area which was known for its hot springs. Gaines moved to the Holston Springs site to run the Holston Springs Inn. Family history says that his business move was a complete failure which correlates with his brief stay; Gaines returned to Eden's Ridge after a four year interim to reside on the eastern tract. This transaction marked the end of commercial activity at the Exchange Place.

The history of slave life during the Gaines occupation of the Exchange Place is very curious. The U.S. census reports that in 1840 the residence of John Gaines consisted of two men between forty and fifty years of age and one woman of the same age. Additionally there are four girls and five boys ranging from five to thirty years old. The census lists only one slave, a female between the ages of ten and twenty-four (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1840). Only one slave at Exchange Place during this period is questionable for several reasons. First, the 1850 slave schedules report that John Gaines, who had moved and subsequently returned to Sullivan County, owned eleven slaves. This is a substantially higher number especially for someone who had recently engaged in a bad business move. It is also possible that the slaves were not listed as property of Gaines, instead belonging to his children who were known to have had slaves in their propriety that lived and worked on the site (Gaines 1836). While there is no conclusive evidence of slave activity during the Gaines occupation, at least two apparently lived

there. If more slaves did live at Exchange Place, their jobs at the site would have undoubtedly included the maintenance of commercial activities, a somewhat unique situation for a slave.

The Preston Occupation

Abingdon, Virginia businessman John M. Preston acquired the Exchange Place as an agricultural endeavor, but never resided on the property. The farm was, in fact, run by overseer Enoch Shipley from 1845 to 1847 (Bumpers and Burow 1988). In 1847 the land was given to his son James W. Preston who with his wife and daughter moved to the property by 1850 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850), living there until just after the Civil War when they moved back to Abingdon.

Social tensions following the Civil War persuaded James Preston to run the farm as an absentee owner. An overseer named James Brown managed the farm until the Preston's son Walter was old enough to go back to Exchange Place and assume management. Younger son John also moved back to the farm and was the last Preston to live at the site. Throughout this period tenant farmers are known to have farmed the property. Mr. William Stuart (b. 10/24/1889) who was the grandson of James W. Preston remembered the farm around the turn of the century:

It was a very productive farm in those days and a number of hands worked it who lived on the farm. None of the land was allowed to grow up in brush and briers, and large crops of wheat and corn was produced for market, - cattle and hogs. It was a self supporting enterprise, - about thirteen hundred acres. The hands, as they were called, were all white men

when I first remember, except one. There was one old colored man (Stuart 1970).

The Preston occupation at the site would end circa 1923 when John moved to Abingdon, Virginia leaving the main house to be occupied by tenants.

Prior to the Civil War Preston utilized slave labor to run his farm. The 1850 and 1860 U.S. Census slave schedules indicate that James Preston owned ten slaves during the former census and eight during the latter (U.S. Slave Census 1850, 1860). Most of these individuals would have engaged in the laborious tasks of running the farm from tending livestock to working the fields. In 1856 Preston freed two slaves whose names are listed on the contract as Jefferson Beals and King Scott (Bumpers and Burow 1988:61). The specific reasons for this action are not known but one could speculate that the two slaves had provided years of hard service on the Preston farm. Nevertheless, the African-American presence at the farm would have been a dominant factor during the antebellum period and probably for the years just after.

Data from the U.S. Agricultural Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860, 1880) allude to the production of the Preston farm. Agricultural data for the years 1850, 1860, and 1880 are presented in Table 1 (the 1870 agricultural census was illegible). The farm was quite valuable and shows some changes in production over the period represented. The most interesting being in livestock which consisted predominantly of cattle in 1850 and 1860, but shifted to sheep in 1880, correlating with a depreciating importance for slaughtering livestock. Over the entire period pork shows considerable importance. Grain production is dominated over the entire period by corn followed by

wheat and oats. Other crops show erratic production, such as potatoes, which totally phase out in 1880. After a brief stint at the site, Preston began to cultivate tobacco which is evidenced in the 1860 and 1880 agricultural census.

Table 1. Agricultural Production at the Preston Farm (U.S. Agricultural Census)

<u>Category</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u>	<u>1880</u>
Improved Acreage	472	450	575
Unimproved	984	906	280
Cash Value of Farm	\$18,000	\$30,000	\$30,000
Value of Implements	\$250	\$300	\$200
Value of Livestock	\$3,300	\$3,855	\$2,586
Value Home Manufacture		\$20	
Value Slaughtered Livestock	\$300	\$35	
Value Orchard Products		\$8	
Horses	9	10	18
Asses & Mules	3	3	1
Milch Cows	8	12	11
Working Oxes		2	
Other Cattle	112	190	9
Sheep	50		325
Poultry			35
Swine	53	80	80
Wheat (bushels)	100	167	350
Rye	20		
Indian Corn	3,000	2,500	2,000
Oats	300	800	400
Peas and Beans	1		4
Irish Potatoes	30	6	
Sweet Potatoes	50		
Tobacco (lbs.)		4,000	3,500
Wool (lbs.)	70		
Hay (tons)	150		60
Molasses (gals.)		9	

Chapter 3

Past Archaeological Research at the Exchange Place

1973 Cultural Resource Assessment

Stanley South was the first archaeologist to conduct research at the Exchange Place. In 1973, at the request of the Netherland Inn Association, he visited the site in order to evaluate its archaeological potential and to make recommendations regarding future development. Through interview, visual survey, subsurface probing, and minor excavation of "exploratory holes," South produced a base map which included surface remains and speculative archaeological features. South identified ten archaeological features and discussed four existing structures.

Remnants from commercial activity on the site included the early wagon road, a cobblestone stagecoach landing, the existing structure identified as the store, foundation from the original barn, and the residential log house. Other cultural features dating to the later 19th century when the site was owned by the Preston family included archaeological presence of a kitchen near the main house, a 20th century ell attached to the rear of the main house and walkways around this addition (which has since been removed), and ruins of a dependency known as the cook's cabin. Standing structures from this period included a smokehouse and springhouse (which also functioned as a school). South also identified the ruins of three additional structures which could not be attributed to any time period .

South noted the possibilities of developing the Exchange Place as a 19th century farm complex if the proper measures for the protection and development of historical, architectural, and archaeological resources were taken in advance. South was quite adamant in his recommendations to avoid an inaccurate portrayal of historic American life which he saw on other developed sites. He states:

. . . . too many instances we begin to dismantle an old historic structure without having an expert architectural historian on hand to make a study of the existing building, record the details and write a report. Worse yet, we begin to "restore" the building without a set of restoration plans in detail in hand, and without realizing that saw cut marks, the shape of the head of the nails, the thickness of the boards, the type of molding, etc. are all significant details that must be used if our restoration is to be more than a piece-meal, jack-leg refurbishing (1973:14).

He later writes in equally poignant and eloquent prose:

One thing is certain, however, if we proceed without proper research, we are almost certain to produce a product that will offend some of us, will leave many of us disinterested, and fail to stimulate a vast number of others far beyond that point of curiosity. The most uninformed may marvel at how close to "the old days" the place looks, but only fools revel in the praise of fools (1973:14).

South's contribution to the Exchange Place can be summarized both archaeologically and restoratively. His preliminary work, with the aid of Mr. Dave Heppert, Jr. of the Netherland Inn Association, laid the foundation for archaeological work to follow by formally documenting the presence of archaeological deposits present on the site and establishing the historical value of existing structures. Of equal importance, however, is that South established a standard, or "restorative" ethic to the development of the site. This had an immediate impact culminating in the development of a restorative plan (Hunt 1974), architectural research (Building Conservation Technology

1976), and archaeological research (Fielder 1979). It is from this point that the archaeological story of Exchange Place began.

1973 Excavations

In June, 1973 (one month after South's visit) a two week archaeological project was conducted at the Exchange Place by Ann Kennedy Wentworth (Wentworth and Dickson 1974). This work was facilitated by the delay of an archaeological project at the proposed nuclear power plant near Hartsville, Tennessee funded by the Tennessee Valley Authority. With an temporary excess of labor, workers were diverted to three smaller projects, one of which was at the Exchange Place, until work resumed on the primary TVA project. In agreement with the Netherland Inn Association representative, David Heppert, a ruin northeast of the main house was investigated.

The ruin investigated by Wentworth had been identified by Stanley South (1973) east of the main house. Upon excavation of this feature Wentworth identified three parallel footings constructed of brick and limestone aligned parallel to the old stage road (Figure 3) (Wentworth and Dickson 1974:6-8). The footings averaged 18 feet in length and were spaced from two to two and one-half feet apart suggesting a structure that roughly measured 18 x 9 feet. The footings were "haphazardly constructed" of three layers, the lowest being of glazed brick, the middle of large pieces of rough limestone, and the top of unglazed brick and broken limestone with a total depth of .9 feet (Wentworth and Dickson 1974:9).

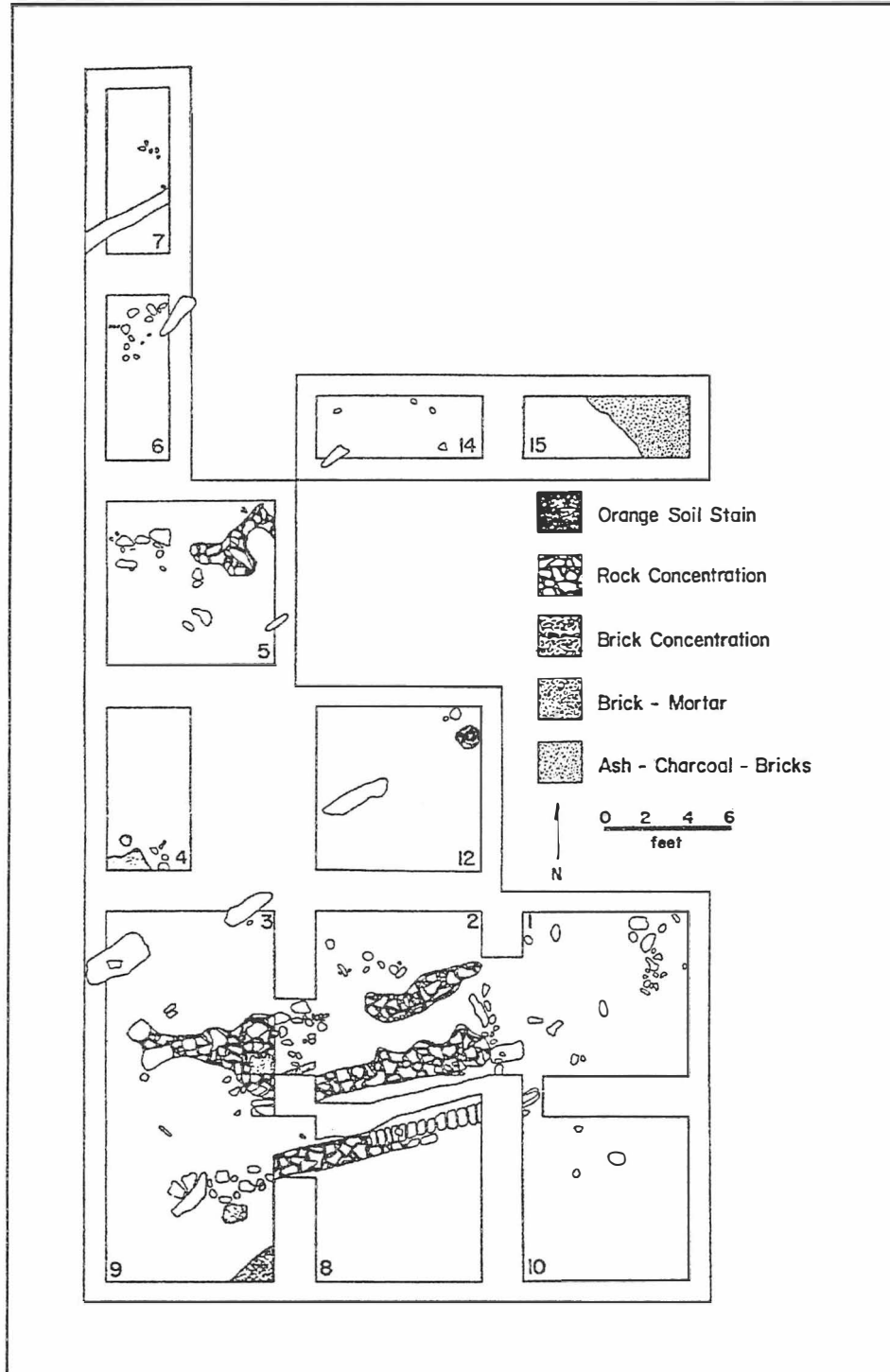


Figure 3. Map of 1973 excavations (Source: adapted from Wentworth and Dickson 1974).

Two additional features reported in the vicinity of the excavated structure included a possible post hole cut into a limestone outcrop two and one-half feet to the northwest and a postmold just south of the structure. The possible post hole measured .6 x .4 feet and may be attributed to natural processes. The postmold was discovered a foot below the surface measuring one foot in diameter and 1.65 feet deep (measured from ground level) (1974:11). While the postmold is apparently related to the excavated structure, Wentworth also suggests that the possible post hole to the north is related to this structure.

Wentworth opened exploratory trenches north of the excavated structure to better understand what lay between that area and the cook's cabin (Wentworth and Dickson 1974:11). These trenches revealed four cultural features. A concentration of "crumbly brick, mortar, and a few charcoal bits" was identified in the corner of a trench ten feet north of the newly discovered structure. Not enough of this feature was exposed to allow interpretation. Also discovered was a post mold located 40 feet to the north of the excavated structure. It measured one foot in diameter and extended to a depth of 2.3 feet below the surface. The postmold contained rotting wood and a cut nail. Wentworth attributes this feature to a utility line or fence. She discounts the possibility of it relating to a structure in the immediate area due to the profusion of limestone outcrops above the ground surface. The last feature was partially uncovered 35 feet north-north west of the excavated structure and consisted of a deposit of ash and charcoal. Brick and mortar fragments, nails and other metal were also discovered within this deposit. The concentration was excavated to a depth of 1.5 feet. The feature extended to a greater

depth; however, the project was brought to a conclusion before it was completely excavated. The exact nature of this deposit is unknown.

Wentworth could not determine any pattern in the typological or functional distribution of historic ceramics from her excavations. These ceramics did suggest an occupation from the early 19th to the early 20th centuries. This is generally supported by other artifacts including a variety of container glass, metal artifacts, and clay pipe fragments. One caveat in utilizing the artifactual evidence to interpret this structure is the proximity of the cook's cabin to the immediate north which could have been the source of some of these materials (Wentworth and Dickson 1974:19). Wentworth's interpretation of the excavated structure remains tentative. She discusses a range of possible functions for the structure such as a brick kiln, dairy, or smoke house, but concludes that it was most likely a small domestic structure of light construction.

Cook's Kitchen and Smokehouse Floor Excavations

In 1975 plans were made by the Netherland Inn Association to reconstruct the cook's cabin at the Exchange Place. In December of that year excavations were funded by a matching grant administered by the Tennessee Historical Commission. The goal of this project was to investigate the area of the cook's cabin and preserve information that might be destroyed, in addition to providing data aiding in the reconstruction of this building (Fielder 1979). Additionally, this project would test the existing smokehouse to determine meat processing practices.

The foundation of the cook's cabin consisted of a continuous line of limestone blocks measuring 16.4 feet (N-S) by 18.7 feet (E-W) (Fielder 1979:19). Connected to the eastern side of this structure was the limestone foundation of a chimney and hearth. The chimney had double fireplaces open on the east and west sides evidenced by historic photographs. Constructed of dressed limestone, the chimney roughly measured 7 by 5.5 feet. The chimney construction suggests that another pen was connected on the east end, creating a "saddlebag" type structure, such as that represented by the main house (Fielder 1979:25). Excavation in the area of a possible eastern pen revealed a line of rubble but did not produce a foundation similar to that on the western side of the chimney. An eastern pen foundation could have easily been robbed for use in the construction of other buildings. Fielder concluded that the structure known as the cook's cabin was at least a single, but possibly a double pen structure (Fielder 1979:25). Artifactual evidence indicates a early 19th century date of construction. Photographs taken during the early 20th century aided in Fielder's interpretations and the subsequent restoration of the structure.

The 15 by 15 foot log smoke house is located just west of the main house. To ascertain whether this structure was actually used for smoking meat or for other curing processes a test unit was opened in the interior of this structure. Below recent debris, this test unit contained strata of charred material and ashes. Based on this evidence, Fielder concluded the structure was used as a "smokehouse", although he did not rule out the use of this building for other types of food processing (Fielder 1979:26).

Fielder's work at the Exchange Place helped to ascertain the function of an

existing structure (the log smokehouse) and aided in better understanding the construction history and type of another structure (the cook's cabin). Moreover, he provided a brief synthesis of historical and archaeological information known at the time. The restored "cook's cabin", with double fireplace chimney, was rebuilt in its precise location (the reconstructed cabin consists of only a single pen on the western side on the chimney where the distinct evidence for that structure was evidenced).

19th Century Kitchen Excavation

In 1989 excavation took place in the rear yard of the main house to locate the foundation of the 19th century kitchen under the direction of Kim Lyle. Unfortunately, there is no written report of these excavations. This area had been partially covered by a 20th century ell addition on the rear of the main house (Fielder 1979; South 1973). The ell was relocated to the south side of Orebank Road (on property owned by the Exchange Place). The kitchen's foundation was exposed and numerous artifacts were recovered which are housed at the Exchange Place. These materials are in need of complete processing including cataloguing. The foundation remains exposed for reconstruction of this building in the future.

Architectural information relating to this structure can be inferred from this exposed foundation. The foundation is of rectangular limestone blocks of substantial size. The dimensions of the kitchen were 18.5 x 20. The structure was located 40 feet to the rear (north) of the main house and was centered on this building. The chimney base is

located along the north wall. Along the outside of the northern foundation, and the chimney, there was a brick landing that extended five feet beyond the wall. The exact nature of this feature is unknown, but it certainly had a functional relationship to the kitchen such as a wood storage area or a flooring for a temporary addition. The possibility of a temporary structure is offered due to the existence of a small storage structure which was added to the chimney side of the cook's cabin, as seen in a 1913 photograph (Fielder 1979:30). Temporary structures of this nature were probably frequent in the past (as they still occur on today's farmsteads), but certainly leave almost no archaeological remains for detection once they are destroyed. A 20th century walkway was also identified during these excavations. This feature had circled the 20th century ell (South 1973) and probably provided easier access from that structure to the spring house. The walkway was composed of limestone fragments and crossed the middle of the kitchen foundation, perpendicularly crossing the eastern and western walls.

In an interview conducted by several individuals from the Netherland Inn Association (conducted on several occasions) a Mr. William Stuart (b. 10/24/1889), grandson of James W. Preston, provides information relating to this structure. He remembered the kitchen before its demolition which had to have been prior to 1902. He says:

The first kitchen that I can remember was a log building that stood some little distance north of the house, maybe fifty or sixty feet. and the door was on the side next to the house. It was a big room, one story. The impression on my mind is that it was one large room, probably ten or twelve feet square. And it had a big fireplace on the north side, a very big fireplace with a crane, and there had been some hooks beside it. A typical old kitchen

Chapter 4

1995 Excavations

Archaeology and the Governor's School

The Tennessee Governor's Schools are a division of the Tennessee Better Schools Program. Their purpose is to offer educational opportunities to outstanding high school students in several specialized areas of study not available in a standard high school curriculum. While several Governor's Schools operate simultaneously in different locations throughout Tennessee, this particular project was part of the Governor's School for Tennessee Heritage conducted through East Tennessee State University in Johnson City.

For the past nine years this program has given high school students the opportunity to gain intensive training in several areas that emphasize Tennessee's heritage. These areas include Tennessee history, literature, music and folklore, historic preservation, dramatic interpretation, governmental growth and development, and archaeology. A continuous tradition of intensive hands-on participation in all these areas is a central feature of this program. Fieldwork for the archaeology program had traditionally been conducted on a site near East Tennessee State University for easy accessibility. Involvement in the Governor's School program for the past two years allowed me the opportunity to conduct the 1995 archaeology project at the Exchange Place.

An initial discussion of the project with the site director, Suzanne Burow, took place in February, 1995. At that time the director expressed an interest in the fieldwork focusing on the rear yard of the main house. This request was easily accommodated, but the scope of the research design had to be extremely limited because of several reasons. First, work would progress slowly due to the students experience level, which required close direct supervision. Second, the time available for the actual fieldwork was short. Hence, the project needed to be extremely limited so not to overextend the capabilities of the work force and conduct unacceptable field work. The project must also create a pressure-free learning atmosphere while preserving preexisting historical information about the site. A research design of limited excavation and testing which could be easily completed in the available project time was developed.

Post hole testing was proposed for the rear yard of the main house (Figure 4). Post hole testing has proved to be a very efficient method for locating activity areas and structures on historic sites (Deagan 1981; Faulkner 1995; Wesler 1984). It was hoped that artifact distributions from this area would help in ascertaining structural information about the main house, such as the location of a possible porch or other cultural features. In addition to this testing, two 3 x 3 foot test units were opened beneath windows of the main house. One unit was excavated beneath a window of the western pen of the house and another beneath a window of the eastern pen. The purpose of these test units was to ascertain contemporaneity of the two pens which has been questioned by architectural studies. Information pertaining to this matter was to be generated from window glass dates, which have been successfully used as a chronometric device for structures of this

period (Moir 1982, 1987; Roenke 1978; Schoen 1990).

Excavation Methods

Grids had been established on the site for previous research (Fielder 1979; Wentworth and Dickson 1975), but no permanent points of reference remained on the site. As a principal datum point the northwest corner of the main house is designated as 0N 0E. Secondary datum points have been established at 5N 0E, 5N -50E, 41N 0E, and 5N 100E and are marked by PVC pipe (Figure 4). The grid was aligned with the main house, thus grid North (GN) is ten degrees West of true North.

Excavation procedures consisted of both shovel test pits (STP) and 3 x 3 foot test units. Centers of STPs are aligned with grid and marked by these coordinates, while test units are designated by the coordinates of the southwest corner. Shovel tests were dug with post hole diggers at six foot intervals. These tests were excavated in .5 foot levels until subsoil or an impediment was reached (which was not uncommon). Test units were excavated by hand in .25 foot levels until sterile soil was encountered; however, one unit (3) was not completed for lack of time and was only excavated to the base of level two. All soil from both excavation procedures was sifted through 1/4 inch mesh screen. The recovered material was washed during the project and taken to the University of Tennessee for sorting and analysis. A total of 51 STP's and three test units was excavated.

STP testing of the rear yard discovered considerable rock and brick material. This was expected since the test area included the location of the 20th century ell that had been

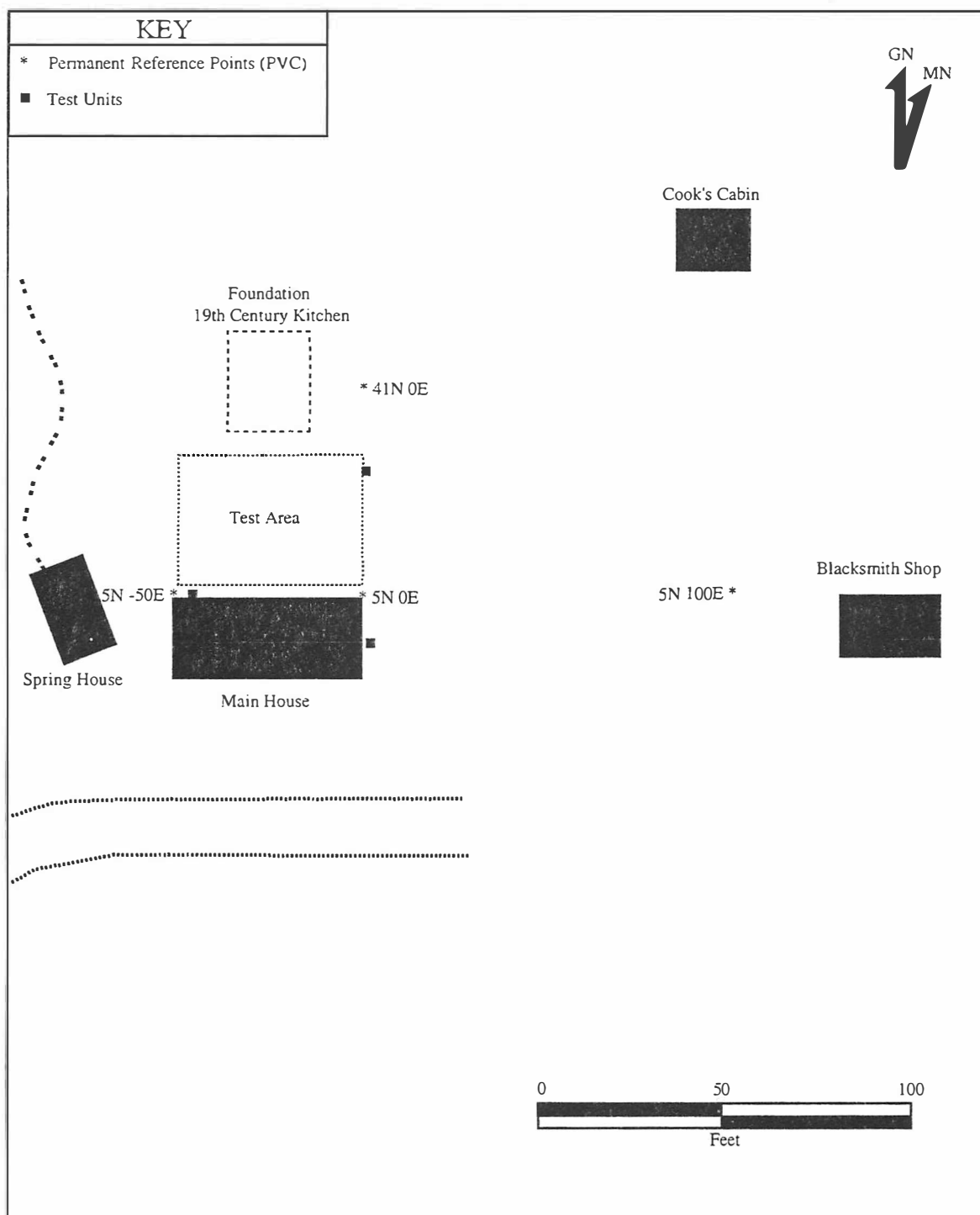


Figure 4. Map showing location of 1996 excavations and permanent reference points.

connected to the rear of the main house. Test pits averaged about one to two feet in depth, but some were deeper. Test units 1 and 2 were completed to subsoil at a depth of .5 and .6 feet. Soil stratigraphy was generally a dark brown humus averaging around .35 feet thick, followed by a brown loam which ranged from about .5 to 1 foot thick, underlain by a light yellow subsoil.

Artifacts

A total of 967 cultural artifacts was recovered during the 1995 field school. This does not include limestone flakes and construction debris such as brick and mortar fragments. From the fifty-one STPs a total of 440 artifacts was recovered. This assemblage is composed of 40 prehistoric artifacts, 42 faunal remains, and 358 historic period artifacts. Also recovered from these tests were 250 limestone fragments, 315 brick fragments, 83 mortar fragments, and 203 cinders and coal fragments. The three test units produced a total of 909 artifacts. Of these, 90 were prehistoric artifacts, 14 were faunal remains, and 805 were historic period artifacts. Also recovered were 145 brick fragments and 119 cinders and coal fragments. All artifacts were analyzed and inventoried for future study. Quantitative analysis of window glass from test units and artifacts from STPs was conducted to address one of the goals in the research design.

Window Glass Analysis

Researchers (Chance and Chance 1976; Moir 1987; Roenke 1978; Schoen 1992) have established the correlation between window glass thickness and initial construction dates of historic structures, particularly between 1810 and 1915 (Moir 1987:80). This is due to the method of production which causes glass to gradually increase in thickness over this period. This study aimed to utilize this quality of window glass to assess initial construction and other site history relating to the main house. Analysis of glass in this study involved measuring thickness (cm) and weight (g) of each individual sherd. These data could then be easily manipulated by a computer data base program.

There are two basic methodologies for ascertaining chronometric information from window glass thickness, both of which have implications for interpretation. One method (McKelway 1994; Roenke 1978) is to sort sherds into thickness classes which roughly correspond to date ranges. The class which is represented by the highest number of sherds is the mode number of the distribution and is considered representative of initial construction. This type of analysis can be presented graphically by a histogram. Other researchers (Moir 1987; Schoen 1992) have found value in averaging the thickness of all sherds represented in an assemblage and applying this to a regression formula. This will produce a specific date of initial construction.

Both methods have positive and negative aspects. Constructing histograms (by sorting into thickness classes) is a perfect procedure for examining overall distribution of glass thicknesses which are representative of a time continuum. Thus it is possible to

visualize the properties of the assemblage. Historic buildings undergo a variety of modifications over time. This process means the addition of later glass and concomitantly the archaeological assemblage will contain a wider range of glass thicknesses. A histogram allows visualization of these polymodal distributions. This is a strength for this method. It does not, however, produce a specific date of construction.

Averaging thickness for regression analysis has proven to be very accurate on sites of short occupation. Moir (1987) found that his regression formula accounted for over 90 percent of the variation in assemblages from East Texas sites. This regression has also been useful on other Southeastern sites. However, it must be emphasized that it is most accurate on sites of short occupation. This is due to the fact that averaging an entire assemblage means averaging the glass from the initial construction and later glass that is added by way of structural modification. Sites of longer occupation periods have a higher probability of some type of structural modification. If an assemblage has a bimodal distribution then the regression analysis will produce a date, later than the actual construction date. These analyses will take this factor into consideration for interpretive integrity.

There are quantitative issues inherent in the previously discussed methodologies. Both methods involve the quantification of fragmented archaeological material and are based on the unstated assumption that simply counting is an appropriate means of accessing the quantity of window glass. Here the number (of glass fragments) is equivalent to amount. This is dubious because the distribution of window glass may represent glass from several modifications which are differentially fragmented. This is a

point of concern to some researchers (Owens 1994, 1995; Schoen 1992; Wheaton et al. 1992) who have noted the possibility of the earlier thinner sherds being more fragmented than the thicker sherds originating from later time periods. Thus to simply count the sherds will misrepresent the abundance of the larger sherds relative to the smaller ones.

Owens (1994, 1995) offers a simple solution to quantifying the amount of fragmented window glass that utilizes the weight and thickness of individual sherds to calculate surface area. This method involves dividing the weight, in grams, of a sherd by 2.474 grams to produce the volume of the sherd in cubic centimeters. Assuming a uniform thickness for the sherd, its volume is equal to that thickness times the surface area of the sherd. Consequently, dividing the volume in the first step by the thickness, in inches, of the sherd will yield the surface area of the sherd in square centimeters.

Algebraically, this is:

$$area = \frac{x}{2.474y}$$

where x is the weight of the sherd in grams, y is its thickness in centimeters, and area is the surface area in square centimeters.

This quantitative method can also be applied to regression formulas which rely on average thickness of window glass in a sample. The average is acquired by adding together the thickness of each sherd and dividing the sum by the total number of sherds. An average thickness is better represented by taking into account the size of the

individual sherds, using a weighted average. The weight (w_i) for each sherd in the average is as a proportion of the total surface area, where the weights are:

$$w_i = \frac{x_i}{2.474y_i} \left[\sum_{j=1}^n \frac{x_j}{2.474y_j} \right]^{-1}$$

and the average is:

$$average = \sum_{i=1}^n w_i y_i$$

For these analyses this method will be employed with surface area represented metrically in square centimeters. Results and discussion of analyses with quantification based on both surface area and counting fragments will be presented.

A total of 362 flat glass sherds was recovered from the three test units, 349 from Unit 1, three from Unit 2, and ten from Unit 3. The great disparity in number of recovered flat glass sherds between the three units is striking, particularly between units 1 and 2. These units were purposely placed beneath windows in order to acquire an adequate sample. The sample produced by Unit 1 was expected; however, the three sherds in Unit 2 are very intriguing. There are two possible explanations. It is possible that there was very little activity in the room which the window occurs. This would correspond to the function of this portion of the house. It is also plausible that post-depositional processes,

such as grading, has removed glass from the study area. Regardless, the paucity of material will only allow a qualitative discussion of the material from this unit as it relates to other material.

Glass sherds from Unit 1 ranged from .77 mm to 2.63 mm in thickness. Based on .1 mm ranges (thickness classes) starting at .7 mm the distribution of window glass thickness for Unit 1 is graphically represented in Figure 5. The distributions quantified by both count and surface area are compared. Both distributions exhibit a great deal of similarity. The most pertinent information is gained by viewing this graph in a general way. It is apparent that there are three major curves with deep troughs separating them. These three curves are separate, overlapping distributions that are representative of three temporally distinct additions of glass to the structure. The thickness class which is representative of the lowest point of the troughs, between each distribution, was divided between the overlapping distributions which are represented in Figure 6 and Figure 7.

The first distribution in both graphs shows a general similarity. In Figure 6, the first distribution peaks in the thickness class representative of material 1.4 to 1.5 mm thick, but this is a skewed curve. Applying Moir's (1987:87) regression to the midpoint of this class (1.45) produces a date of 1834.8. In Figure 7, the peak appears to be between two classes ranging from 1.2 to 1.4 mm thick. Applying 1.3 mm to the regression produces a date of 1822.2. Averaging the thickness for only the material in the first curve for both quantitative methods produces very erratic results with that by surface area producing a date of 1841.2 and that by fragment count 1816.1. John Gaines acquired the Exchange Place property by 1818. By dating the peak of the histogram a more accurate

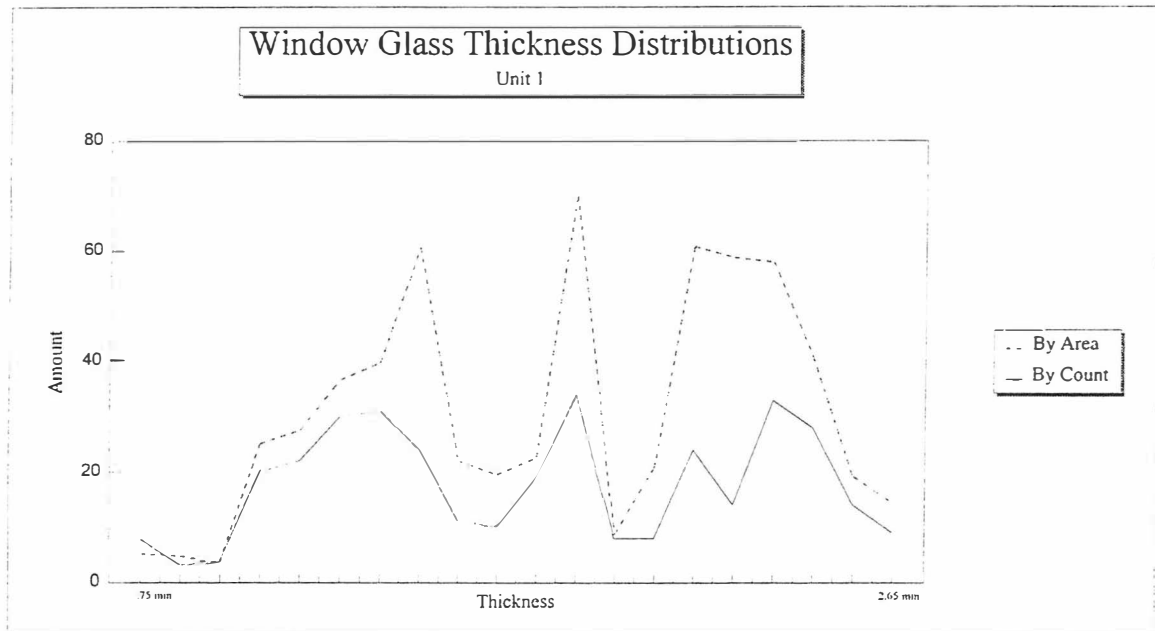


Figure 5. Distribution of window glass thicknesses from Unit 1.

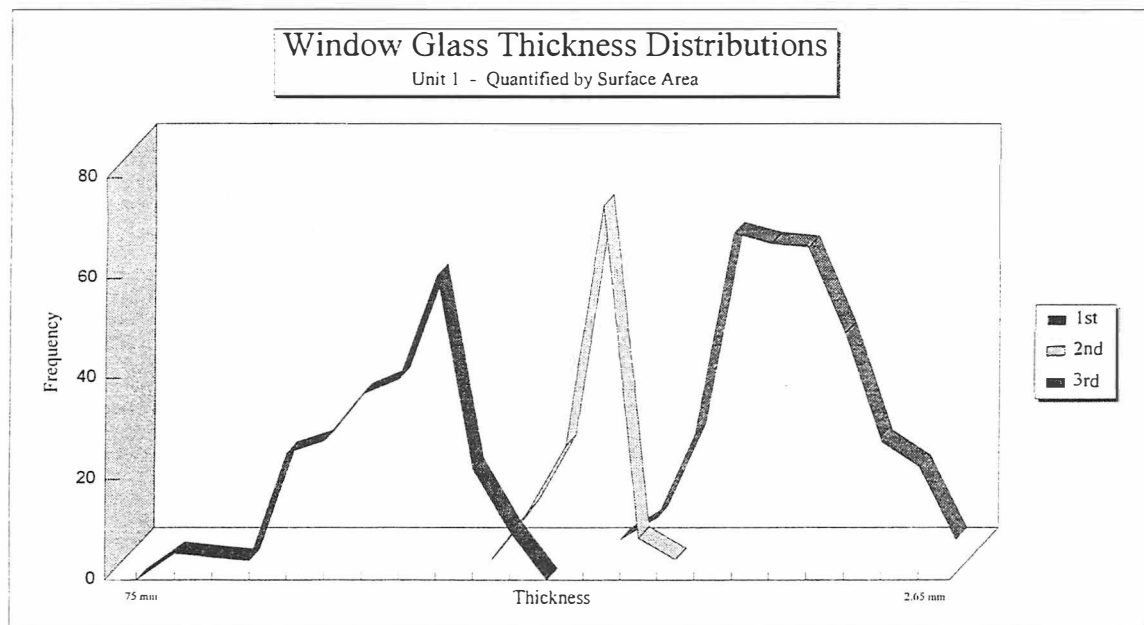


Figure 6. Distribution of window glass thicknesses from Unit 1. Quantified by surface area.

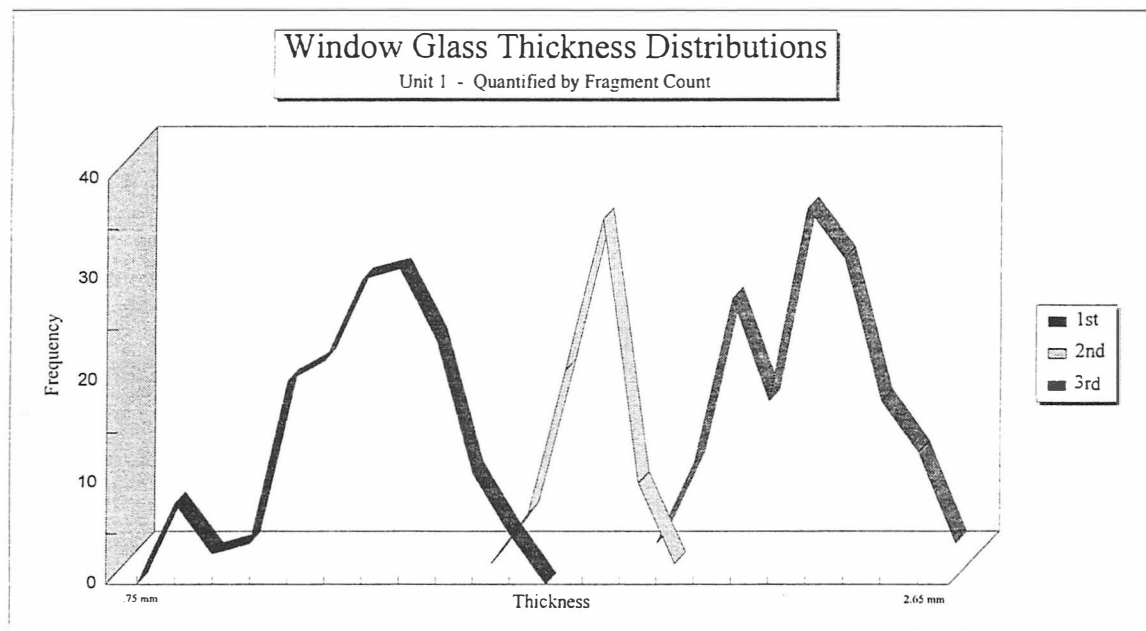


Figure 7. Distribution of window glass thicknesses from Unit 1. Quantified by fragment count.

estimator of construction is obtained. Averaging the distribution is erratic at best.

The second distribution peaks in both graphs at the same thickness. This appears to be a very tight distribution which is produced by a substantial amount of window glass between 1.8 and 1.9 mm thick. A date of 1868.5 is produced for the thickness of 1.8 mm. There is no documentation of any major renovations at this time which is when it was owned by James Preston. However, in 1867 James W. Preston moved back to Abingdon, Virginia leaving the farm to be managed by an overseer and soon after that by his son Walter (Spoden 1971). This date is somewhat close to the window glass date. Averaging the thickness for the second distribution again produces erratic dates of 1860.4 by surface area and 1863.1 by fragment count.

The third distribution peak is the most inconsistent of the three. The distribution quantified by fragment count is erratic peaking at a thickness ranging 2.2 to 2.5 mm. The midpoint (2.35) produces a date 1910.6. The distribution quantified by surface is far closer to a bell shaped distribution peaking from 2.2 to 2.3. The midpoint (2.25) produces a date of 1902.2. This distribution is positively identified as the early 20th century modifications that were made to the house by James W. Preston's youngest brother John G. In the year 1902-1903 he altered the structure by raising the roof and building an ell onto the back of the house. Comparing the known date of alterations to the structure with window glass distributions proves more accurate when quantified by surface area. Averaging the thickness for the entire distribution produces the most erratic dates of this study with surface area producing a date of 1884.7 and fragment count 1909.8.

The sherds found in Unit 2 composed a sample of only three which makes their

interpretive value very low. These sherds, however, are very thin being only .94, .92, and 1 mm thick. This thickness suggests an early date of manufacture around the turn of the 19th century. This is most likely an inaccurate date for the construction of this pen, but the two pens of the house do have differing dimensions which would lead one to believe that their construction dates are slightly different, if only by a short interim. Perhaps a better sample could be acquired by a test unit under the window on the western end of the house which would allow full comparison to Unit 1.

Concluding this analysis, a history of changes to the main house has been documented by window glass analysis for the material in Unit 1 which suggests three episodes of construction and subsequent modification to the structure between 1820 and 1910. Table 2 shows dates generated by the above analysis. Results are in agreement with the historic accounts of Gaines moving to the property and constructing the house in the 1820s. However, there was a possible alteration to the structure during the Preston occupation. This occurs around 1868 and is undocumented by historical accounts, but is near the time that management of the farm shifted to James Preston's son. The alterations to the house in the early 20th century were already documented and only served as a control for analytic procedures.

This analysis has also evaluated methods of window glass analysis. The most obvious feature here is the dubious nature of window glass distributions from sites of long occupation periods. While more sophisticated statistical methods can be employed for discerning the three overlapping distributions in the assemblage, the difficulties in trying to average a thickness for these distributions are pervasive. Attempting to generate

Table 2. Comparison of window glass dates. Dates are generated by dating peaks and average thicknesses for the three overlapping ditribution.

	<u>Date of Peak</u> <u>Quantified by Area</u>	<u>Date of Peak</u> <u>Quantified by Count</u>	<u>Date Average Thickness</u> <u>Quantified by Area</u>	<u>Date Average Thickness</u> <u>Quantified by Count</u>
1st Distibution	1835	1822	1816	1841
2nd Distribution	1869	1869	1860	1863
3rd Distribution	1902	1911	1885	1910

dates in this manner has been apparently inaccurate and inappropriate for this assemblage. By sorting material into thickness classes and constructing histograms, fruitful information relating to site history has been gained. Generating dates from regression formulas is definitely a valuable tool for glass analysis; however, prior to this analysis material should be sorted into thickness classes to examine the nature of the distribution. This will prevent the generation of inaccurate dates due to averaging the thickness for a window glass sample that is derived from more than one construction episode.

It is a more difficult task to evaluate quantitative methods. Both fragment count and surface area produce similar results. Thickness distributions for both methods isolate the three overlapping distributions. The second construction event has the same modal thickness for both. By contrast these methods produced different dates for the first and third modes. A more accurate estimation was obtained for the third mode by quantifying

window glass by surface area quantification which produced the exact date of 1902 correlating to early 20th century modifications, while fragment count was nine years too late. The initial construction date of the eastern pen is not known with complete certainty, but fragment count produced a date that is only two years earlier than John Gaines' arrival at the Exchange Place and surface area is 11 years after this historical event. The accuracy of these dates is not known, but the earlier date seems most plausible.

Artifact Density Analysis

Artifact density data were produced by conducting post hole testing at 6 foot intervals over a test area measuring 30 x 48 feet. This test area is located between the main house and the exposed foundation of the 19th century kitchen (Figure 4). With exception of the ell built onto the rear of the house in 1902-03, other cultural features located in this area are unknown. An additional six STPs extended north off the 0 line terminating at STP 0N 66E.

Eight STPs failed to penetrate level 2 (.5 feet in depth) because of impenetrable materials. In order to produce more accurate isomorphic maps it is assumed that these tests are incomplete and do not represent their artifact frequencies. This would warrant their exclusion from these analyses; however, while this may affect artifact density maps these densities are all relative to one another. Thus, an STP that is incomplete and still produces a relatively high number of artifacts (for the given class being analyzed) will not compromise the representative artifact density. The map may be slightly distorted due to

the inability to acquire a complete sample; nevertheless, this representation will be far more accurate than if these materials were completely disregarded. For example, STP 30N -6E in the current study is only .25 feet deep, yet it contains the second highest amount ($n = 9$) of flat glass in comparison with other STPs. Here it would be counterproductive to exclude these data. These procedures are employed to extract the maximum amount and the most accurate information from the data recovered.

The frequency of artifacts, in respect to the type of density analysis, was examined for the shallow STPs to determine their inclusion or exclusion in these analyses. It was determined that STPs 30N -24E and 30N -18E should be excluded due to the paucity of material they produced. STPs 30N -6E, 30N -24E, and 30N -36E, in contrast, were included in all analyses because they produced numerous artifacts of all types. Other tests were only partially included, when they would make an ample contribution to density patterns. 18N 0E was included only in limestone, flat glass, hand made brick (including all fired clay and mortar), and cinder density analyses. 30N -18E was included only in fired clay (hand made brick and mortar) density analysis. 12N -18E was included only in limestone density analysis.

Artifacts were quantified by simply counting the fragments except for limestone. Limestone density was calculated by both count and weight. Cultural material recovered from these tests was inventoried and entered into an AXUM mapping program. Isomorphic maps were constructed to visualize relative densities of these materials. Categories of material with frequencies high enough to produce meaningful distributions include cinders, bone, flat glass, ceramics, cut nails, wire nails, hand made brick

(including all fired red clay and mortar), machine made brick (including cinder block), limestone, prehistoric lithic debitage, and all remaining artifacts which were predominantly modern material. Maps were generated and independently analyzed for concentration of materials for a given type of material and among the various types.

Prehistoric material presents a definitive distribution pattern in the southwest corner of the test area. There is also a slight density increase in the extreme northeast corner. The concentration of material is in close proximity to the natural spring which is now covered by a spring house. The concentration of material appears to extend southward where it is covered by the western portion of the house.

Density analysis of limestone consisted of quantifying these materials by the number of fragments and by weight. Gravel size limestone fragments dominated the assemblage, but these materials were virtually nonrepresentative of the total weight of limestone recovered which was dominated by hammer dressed flakes. Mapping density by count exhibits the pattern of smaller material while weight should reflect concentrations of these hammer dressed flakes. These density maps did, in fact, produce differing distribution of limestone artifacts. The larger material shows a concentration in the southeast corner of the study area and appears to extend east. Density constructed by count did overlap the northern half of this distribution but appears to be most heavily concentrated in the northeast corner of the test area.

The distribution of these materials would be better understood by extending the test area eastward, but these patterns do suggest a correlation with specific cultural behavior. The larger material is most likely associated with the construction of the house

foundation. Construction involved dressing the foundation stones by hammering them to the proper sizes leaving the debris at the site of this activity. These analyses suggest that this activity occurred east of the main house. The concentration of smaller limestone fragments along the eastern edge of the test area and in the northeast corner may be incidental, but it is also plausible that they represent a 20th century feature such as a driveway associated with the former ell.

The remaining artifact densities produced an array of distributions. There are nine overlapping density concentrations composed of various combinations of artifact types. The combinations and spatial distribution of these concentrations are influenced by numerous factors. Each concentration is considered independently to ascertain the nature of these materials that include formation and temporal qualities. These nine concentrations are presented in Figure 8 as concentrations (C) a through i. This figure is the source of the following discussion.

The most frequently observed concentration of material appears in the northwest corner of the test area (Ca). This area contained concentrations of cinders, faunal remains, ceramics, cut nails, and fired clay. The representation of this dense concentration is centered at STP 30N -42E which produced an plethora of cultural material. Judging from the amount of material and the depth (3 feet), this test penetrated a subsurface feature containing cultural refuse. Faunal remains were concentrated between 2 and 2.5 feet below the surface and included turkey, pig, sheep, and fish. Six ceramic sherds were found in this STP, four of which were recovered over two feet below the surface. Four of these sherds were a utilitarian redware, one blue transfer print whiteware, and one blue

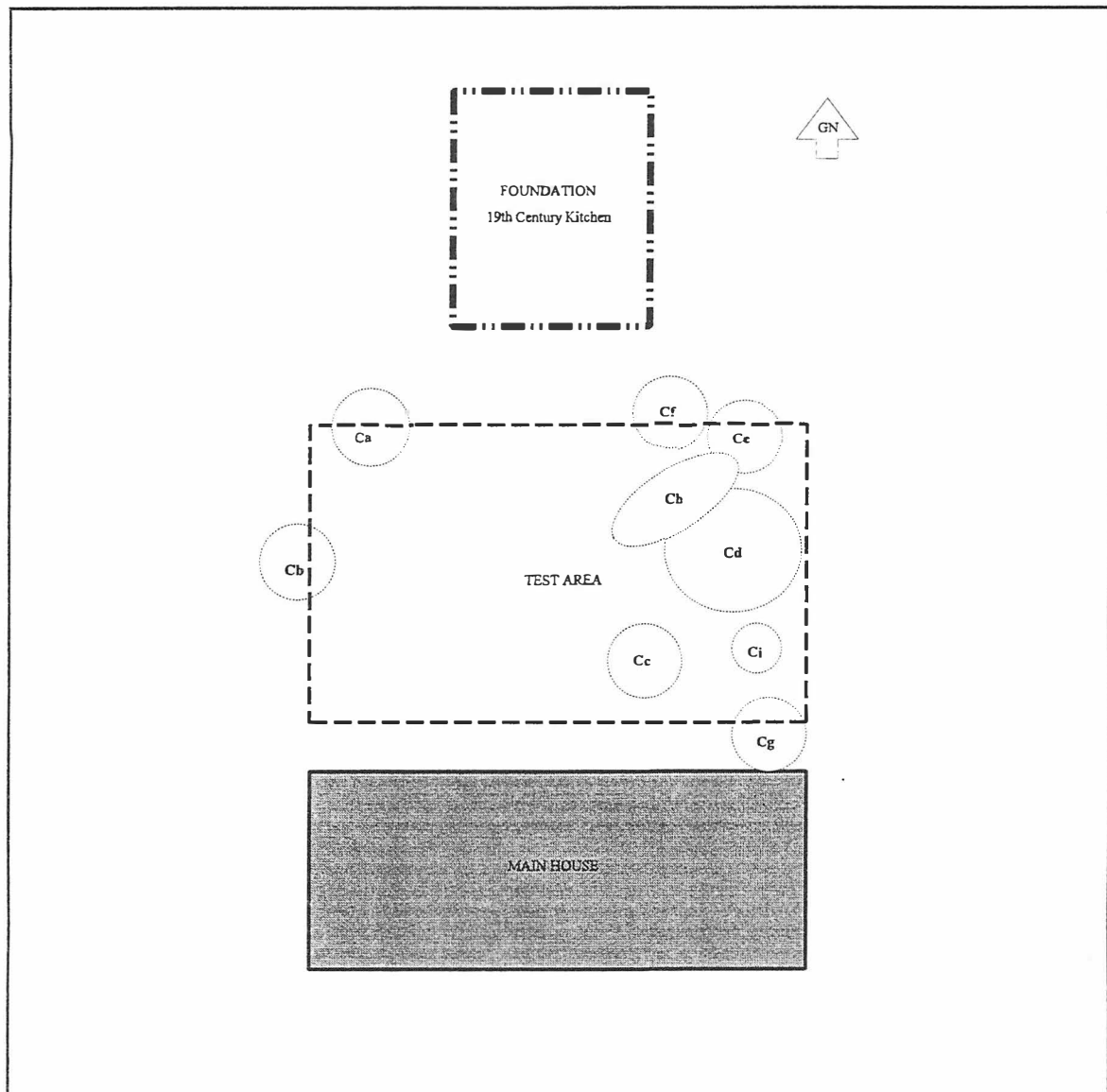


Figure 8. Map showing artifact concentrations (C) a through i and their spatial relationship to the main house and 19th century kitchen.

transfer print pearlware. A brass disc button was recovered from the dense artifact concentration in Level 5. Buttons of this type were popular during the antebellum period. Cut nails were found throughout the test. Fired clay, possibly from fragmented hand made brick, and coal cinders were restricted to the top three levels of the test (1.5 feet).

It appears that this was an open subsurface feature, possibly a root cellar. This is inferred from the relatively few artifacts recovered from Level six which suggests that sediment slowly accumulated on the bottom of the feature over a period of time. The feature was then rapidly filled after it had ceased to function as a storage facility. This infilling is represented by the abundant refuse recovered from Level five. A remnant surface depression probably served as a trap for later debris that was recovered in the upper levels of this test. The possibility of this being a privy is ruled out because of the close proximity to the natural spring.

A density of cut nails and window glass composed a concentration (Cb) about 20 feet off the northwest corner of the house. This concentration was located on the periphery of the test area. STP 18N -48, containing eleven flat glass sherds, was the center of this concentration. Thickness of these sherds can be used to date these artifacts. Average thickness for the eleven sherds produces a regression formula (Moir 1987) date of 1820. These materials are only quantified by counting fragments. This is by far the best method when working with such a small sample size. The date generated is very intriguing because it is only a few years prior to John Gaines' arrival at the Exchange Place. The presence of the cut nails is also suggestive of an early period at the site. These artifacts may be representative of an original structure long since vanished from the

cultural landscape of the rear yard. It is near a depression leading to the natural spring, so it is also possible that this material was simply dumped here; however, density appears to be tightly distributed for both nails and window glass which suggests a former structure being located in this area. It is also possible that this concentration is related to the subsurface feature (Ca) to the north.

A concentration of window glass and coal cinders (Cc) is located 10 to 15 feet behind the eastern pen of the house. These materials represent another very tight distribution. The center point is represented by STP 12N -12E. This test contained six flat glass sherds with a thickness producing a date of 1903. This date is exactly the year that the 20th century ell was constructed on the rear of the house providing a *terminus post quem* for this concentration of material. It (Cc) demarcates the location of the window on the ell which served as a handy port for discarding burned coal. This would have been very convenient especially during the winter months.

A concentration of various materials compose an elliptical concentration (Cd) located directly to the rear of the eastern pen of the main house from about 15 to 25 feet. Artifacts represented include coal cinders, wire nails, and very fragmented machine made brick. The presence of the wire nails and machine made brick point to an postbellum date of deposition, probably late 19th-early 20th century. This is the only concentration of machine made brick in the study area. These brick fragments are most likely from the chimney of the ell. This is the only known presence of modern brick in the test area. The other materials are commensurable with this interpretation.

Window glass sherds and ceramics compose the concentration (Ce) located in the

northeast corner of the test area. The center point of this concentration is STP 30N -6E. The ceramics consisted of one red transfer printed whiteware sherd, one polychrome pearlware sherd, one underglaze blue sherd, and one plain whiteware sherd. Eight of the nine window glass sherds show a very tight range and the average thickness of these artifacts produced a date of 1901. These sherds are from the 20th century ell and in all probability do not have a contemporaneous depositional history with the ceramics which date from the earlier 19th century.

There is a concentration of faunal material (Cf) just west of Ce on the border of the test area and apparently extending north. STPs along the northern border produced turkey and pig bone. The location of this material is proximal to the southwest corner of the 19th century kitchen. These materials probably represent the periphery of a sheet midden that would increase in artifact density with closer proximity to the kitchen.

A concentration (Cg) of modern material is located in the southeast corner of the test area. The material consists of wire nails, aluminum foil, and plastic artifacts. This represents modern material concentrated near the corner of the main house.

A concentration (Ch) of fired clay and ceramics overlap the northern portion of Cd. The ceramic distribution, however, may show some continuity with the ceramics found in Ce. Ceramics are diffusely spread over the area and include porcelain, red transfer printed whiteware, refined redware, and overglazed hand painted pearlware. The hand made brick fragments do not extend northward, rather eastward to cover the northern portion of Cd. It is possible that these represent two separate distributions. Interpretation of these materials is complicated by the complex overlapping of the

artifacts. Nevertheless, ceramics in concentrations **Ce** and **Ch** are considered to be created by the same cultural deposition process. The concentration of brick fragments appears to be a separate, isolated, and unknown depositional event.

Another concentration (**Ci**) of machine made brick occurs in the southeast corner of the test area. This is interpreted as a continuation of material represented in **Cd**. Machine made brick is the only type concentrated in the area. Again, it is probably a remnant of the chimney constructed for the early 20th century ell.

Features

There was a total of 28 features discovered during the 1995 excavation. This includes positively identified, speculative, and natural features encountered during test unit excavation, STP excavation, and artifact density analysis. Four features were discovered in the test excavations. There were 16 features discovered during post hole testing, 15 of which were impediments resulting in discontinuation of those STPs. Density analysis produced concentrations that allowed the interpretation of nine features. The following is a brief inventory and interpretation of these features.

Two features were discovered in Unit 1. *Feature 1* consists of a dark brown clay deposited along the western portion of the unit. A lighter color in the extreme southwest corner is designated as *Feature 2*. Feature 1 appears cultural in origin, and contained historic period artifacts and was not very different from the overlying soil in color and consistency. This feature was only .3 feet in depth and seemed to dip toward the main

house which suggests this might be the edge of the builder's trench for this structure. Upon excavation, however, Feature 2 was determined to be the result of natural processes. It is probably naturally degenerating limestone from the parent bedrock on which it was resting.

Unit 2 contained one cultural feature designated as *Feature 3*. It appeared as a narrow band of slightly discolored soil that penetrated the subsoil at the bottom of Level 2. This turned out to be a utility line running parallel to the rear of the main house. *Feature 4* is present in Unit 3 at the bottom of Level 2. This feature appeared as a concentration of brick and limestone. Considering the tiny flecks of brick and limestone which discolored the soil and the larger inclusions, there seemed to be a pattern running from the southwest corner to the northeast corner of this unit. This unit was not completed because of the lack of time, thus an interpretation of this feature would be premature.

STPs struck impenetrable objects on 14 occasions, 12 due to rock, and two because of rock and brick. In most cases these obstructions appear to be hammer dressed flakes, but some may represent footers for former structures. *Feature 5*, in STP 6N -30E, was an obstruction consisting of brick and rock at a depth of one foot. The subsoil and bedrock on the site are both very shallow, thus solid material found at a depth near to or more than a foot in depth arouse suspicion of foundation material. *Feature 6*, STP 12N 0E, was a concentration of limestone gravel at .9 feet below the surface. The origin of this feature is unknown and unobserved in other STPs. *Feature 7*, STP 12N -6E, was a large limestone block that completely covered the excavated area at a depth of one foot below

the surface. This is most probably a footer, judging from its size, angle, and depth. Features 8 through 17 appear in the location of the 20th century ell which may be attributed to their origin. *Feature 8*, STP 12N -18E, was a limestone rock at .45 feet below the surface. *Feature 9*, 18N -12E, was a limestone rock at .5 feet below the surface. *Feature 10*, 18N -30E, was a limestone rock at .25 feet below the surface. *Feature 11*, 18N 0E, was a limestone rock at one foot below the surface. *Feature 12*, 24N -18, was a impassable limestone rock at one foot below the surface. *Feature 13*, 24N -30E, was a limestone rock at .3 feet below the surface. *Feature 14*, 30N -6E, was a limestone rock at a depth of one foot. *Feature 15*, 30N -18E, was a limestone rock and brick at .25 feet below the surface. *Feature 16*, 30N -24E, was a limestone rock at .7 feet below the surface. *Feature 17*, 30N -36E, was a limestone rock at .5 feet below the surface.

Post hole tests that extended the 0E line north an additional six post hole tests revealed two subsurface features. *Feature 18*, 60N 0E, was a limestone rock .75 feet below the surface. *Feature 19* was found in STP 54N 0E. It is located near a possible root cellar (South 1973) and was expected to produce artifacts. Containing artifacts for the first four levels it was apparent that this was some type of cultural feature. Having prior knowledge of the approximate location of the speculative root cellar this test was terminated at 2 feet below the surface. This definitely represents some type of subsurface feature, most likely the periphery of a cellar.

Density analysis as presented above exhibited several concentrations of various artifact types. Qualitatively examining these materials allows the definition of nine speculative features. These features and their proximity to the main house, foundation of

the 19th century kitchen, and the area of the original ell are presented as Figure 9. This map should be referenced during the following discussion. *Feature 20* was the subsurface feature discovered by STP 30N -42E. This is an early feature possibly dating to the early years of the occupation of the site. Deposition of material supports the possibility that this feature is a root cellar that was later used for refuse disposal. Faunal material, ceramics, cut nails, and an early button were found in this feature.

Remaining features discovered by artifact density analysis appear to be material scattered on the surface and hence incorporated into the archaeological record. The window glass and cut nails north of the western pen of the house was *Feature 21*. Artifacts suggest that this feature dates to the early period of the site. It may be evidence of a structure in the area that also relates to Feature 20. *Feature 22* was a scatter of early ceramic sherds. This feature appears in an area interpreted as having overlapping features. The source of this refuse is unknown. It is plausible that these materials are derived from an unknown structure. *Feature 23* was a scatter of window glass from the northernmost window on the eastern side of the 20th century ell. *Feature 24* was a scatter of hand made brick fragments 20 feet behind the eastern pen of the main house. The origin of this feature is unknown. *Feature 25*, also directly behind the eastern pen of the house, was brick fragments probably from the chimney of the 20th century ell. This material was probably deposited when this structure was moved to its present location across Orebank Road. *Feature 26* represented glass from another window in the ell. This was the southernmost window on the east side of the structure. Window glass was mixed with cinders which reveals 20th century disposal habits on the site. *Feature 27* was a diffuse

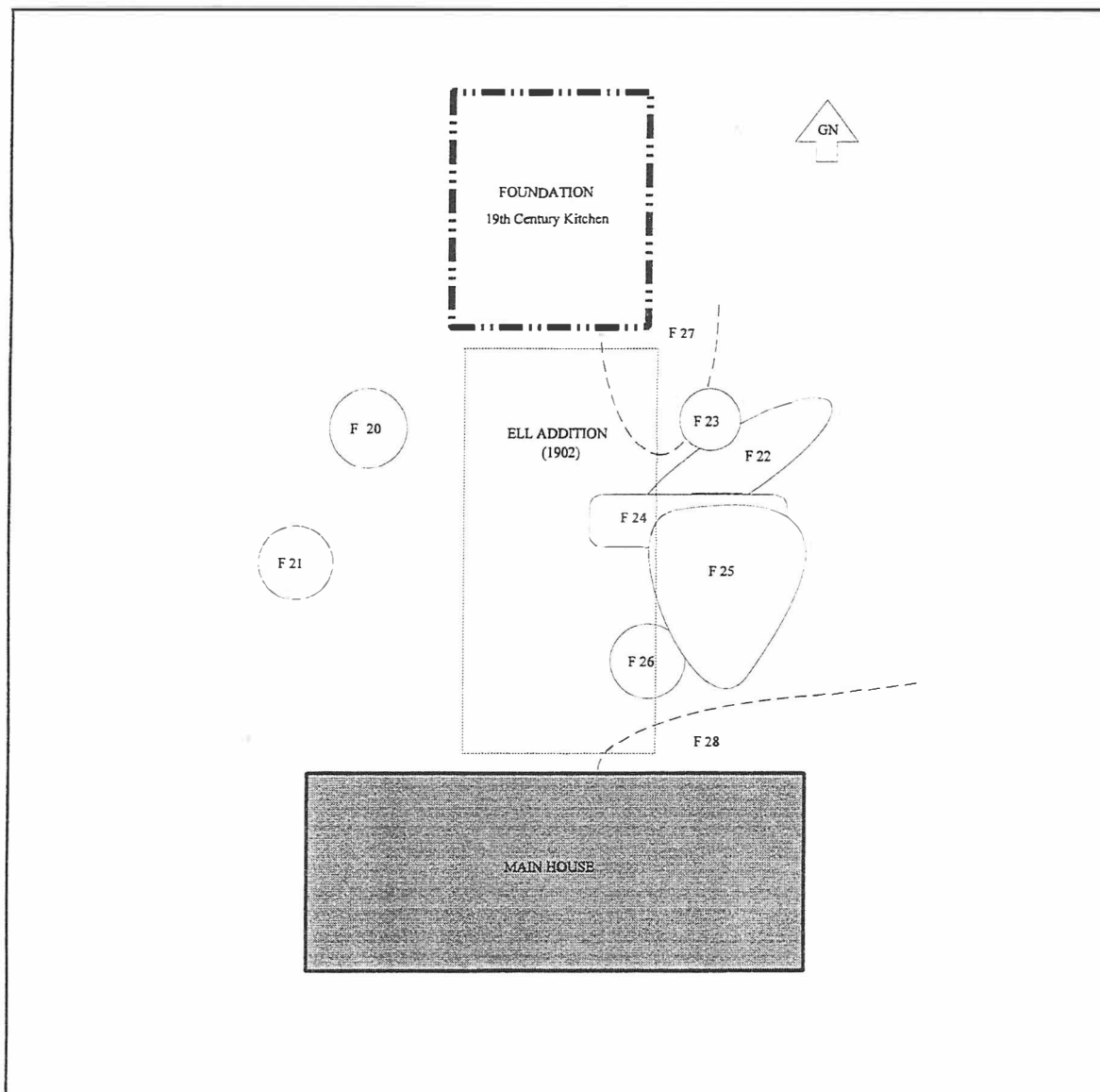


Figure 9. Map showing possible cultural features in the rear yard of the main house as inferred from artifact density distributions (most recent features overlap older ones).

scatter of animal bone near the southeast corner of the 19th century kitchen. The precise nature is not known but these remains probably originated from this structure. *Feature 28* was a very general pattern of modern material around the northeast corner of the main house. This represents the most recent activities in the rear yard.

Chapter 5

The Frontier Process and Transportational Development in the Upland South

Introduction

The land of East Tennessee is much more generally capable of cultivation, than any part of New England. There are some steep & rocky hills ; but in many parts, for miles together, you will not find an acre which might not be advantageously ploughed. Yet the population is sparse, & the greater part of the face of the country is still a forest. The people can easily be supplied with the necessities of life ; but foreign commodities are very high, and are paid for with great difficulty. It is evident, that with some labor a man may live here much more comfortably as a laboring farmer than in New England ; and yet, in point of fact, the farmers of New England live more comfortably than the same class of people here. The difference is made partly by habits formed here, when the country was in a much ruder state than it is at present (Evarts 1956:30).

This quote is from a letter written by American traveler Jeremiah Evarts after arriving in Greenville, Tennessee from Abingdon, Virginia in 1824. His course, through East Tennessee, and the year of his travels provide a setting for the founding of the Exchange Place. His remarks, however, document more than a ride through the hills of the southern countryside. They reflect the economic and social condition of the region through which he traveled and the people he passed along the way. What he encountered was not static phenomena that had existed in its current state since the beginning of time, but rather an active, systematic, and processual picture of the human experience. In order to fully understand this experience in all its complexities we must go beyond an intimate description of the specific people and places and begin to ask ourselves how and why they

came to exist. Indeed, processual explanation has been an aim of archaeology for more than three decades (Binford 1968).

In order to understand the specifics of commercial development at the Exchange Place, our inquiry must first approach the development of the Upland South frontier. The Upland South frontier is both a geographic area and a process. The frontier is a process to which the Exchange Place, as commercial site, owes its existence as a regional and predictable phenomenon. Understanding specific factors of this regional development, such as the agricultural and transportation systematics, are primary in defining the cultural processes that occurred here. These processes will be related to the conception of an "Upland South" tradition as a model of cultural phenomena. The following discussion will be of particular relevance for modeling commercial behavior in developing areas.

Adaptation and Diversity

Frontiers are the extension of a parent society in new territory. The colonizing effort is a complex adaptive system that expands with a concomitant development of trade and communication lines (Cassagrande et al. 1964:288). Adapting to a combination of novel physical and social conditions produces an environment specific to frontier life. These conditions are less predictable to the individual than in the parent society, thus the most fit strategy employed is one of diversified behavioral repertoires. In fact, diversified economic strategies are commonly attributed to frontier development and have been for some time (Casagrande et al. 1964; Lewis 1984; Steffen 1980). Kirch (1980) discusses

the role of adaptation in response to novel environmental conditions. It is expected these conditions would initially require a wider range of variability and preclude the development of specialized, better suited cultural repertoires. The cultural variability in the frontier society will coalesce around the most successful behaviors and dissipate over time.

Diversification is a concept not uncommon to upland studies. A diversified strategy is also associated with Upland South plantations and farmsteads. In regard to Upland South plantations, a diversified agricultural production is a primary characteristic and it distinguishes these plantations from the lowland cash crop plantations (Andrews and Young 1992; McKelway 1994:32). Considering upland farmsteads, diversified adaptive strategies may allude to their physical character. Upland South farmsteads have been modeled to predict the location of their cultural features (Roteneizer 1992). While the model predicts proximity of structures on these sites as they are associated with gender roles, an overwhelming characteristic is the high degree of variability in their overall configuration. In both above cases, this can be explained as an adaptive and expected response to unstable conditions such as tenuous transportation development.

Frontier Process

Kenneth Lewis' (1984) study models the development of the frontier based on both natural and cultural factors that are then applied to the archaeological record of colonial South Carolina. His ecological and economically adaptationalist perspective

seeks cross-cultural processes of agricultural based expansion in large complex societies. He defines six factors that have specific qualities characteristic of the frontier process. They are establishment, transport and spatial patterning, expansion settlement pattern, organization of activities, and the colonization gradient (Lewis 1984:25-26). During *establishment*, commodity chains are developed that connect homeland to hinterland. The cultural tie between the newly colonized area is binding, yet the nature of their economic relationship encourages reinvestment into the frontier economy and a distinctive society emerges. There is an intimate relationship between the development of *transport and spatial patterning* due to the necessary commodity chains for commercial agriculture. The process of *expansion* is an adaptive response to the increased demand in production. Expansion is maintained by technological and agricultural systems. In response to economic and population growth, *settlement pattern* changes over time. *Organization of activities* are concentrated in areas of differing population densities and social complexity known as frontier towns, nucleated settlements, semi-nucleated settlements, dispersed settlements, and the pioneer fringe. The *colonization gradient* refers to the level of social and economic complexity which appears graded from high to low as it moves from areas of earliest to those of more recent settlement.

While Lewis develops his model in colonial South Carolina, the principles he lays out are applicable to any frontier setting, and can include plausible explanations for processual change in the antebellum Upland South. The importance of the transportation system in this model cannot be overemphasized. Society is markedly influenced by economic behavior, which is dependent upon the development of transportation

networks. Lewis (1984:288) has stated that transportation frontiers "maintain flows of information and goods within and between frontier regions". Indeed, these are relevant to the founding of commercial sites such as the Exchange Place which maintained frontier transportation.

Transportation

Taaffe, Morrill, and Gould (1964) model the evolution of transportation in undeveloped countries based on research in Ghana and Nigeria. Transportational development is defined as a process of spatial diffusion influenced by economic, social, and political factors. They find that the evolution of transportation systems in these African countries is influenced by all of these factors, specifically, colonialism, intraregional rivalry, population growth, and mineral extraction. While agricultural influences were not primary in their case study, their proposed model is relevant to the study of developing transportation systems in frontier environments. Outlined are six sequential phases of transportational development consisting of scattered ports, penetration lines and port concentration, development of feeders, beginnings of interconnection, complete interconnection, and emergence of high priority "main streets" (Taaffe et al. 1964:503-505). Between the point that penetration lines occur and the onset of complete interconnection, there are several important developments along main lines. Concomitant to market expansion is the development of feeder routes branching outward from the main routes. Then "small nodes begin to develop along the main lines of

penetration" (1964:505). These nodes are pertinent to a growing transportation network, but over time some will continue to be necessary and others will not.

Upland Development

In the Upland South, stage coach stops, mail stations, way stations, railroad stops, and boat landings are all functionally specialized sites representing nodes of transportational activity which appeared along lines of penetration. People, things, and information made their way to frontier areas via these sites. The Exchange Place would have served as one of the transportation nodes which appeared along a major transportation line, the Old Island Road, in the 1830s. It is the commercial activity conducted over an ephemeral period that attests to its role within a developing transportation network due to the frontier process. However, a growing transportation system meant more than the movement of people and ideas in the agricultural expansion into the Upland South, it meant commerce, and "accessibility is crucial to successful commercial agriculture" (Lewis 1984:25).

The transportation system in the Upland South can be characterized as relatively retarded for the first half of the 19th century and this is imperative to understanding economic development of the agricultural frontier of the southern United States. The Upland South economy differed from lowland areas during the antebellum period primarily in the region's indirect accessibility to the world market. Local and regional economic systems were complex and overlapping, yet the southern coastal lowland area

reached a much greater level of complexity because it articulated directly with the growing world-system. Upland areas, in most cases, were removed from the seaboard export centers that moved the American product.

Where rivers were accessible, transportation needs were easily met. Otherwise more intricate methods evolved allowing some planters to participate in wider economic markets. Nashville cotton planters, for example, were far removed from seaboard export centers. They sold their cotton to local merchants who transported their product by keelboat to New Orleans, via the Cumberland and Mississippi rivers, returning overland to complete a four month trip (Otto 1989:13). This type of market participation, however, was extremely difficult and rare. Most Upland South planters operated small diversified farms which were relegated to direct participation in regional or local markets by their economic distance from major markets (see von Thunen 1966).

The transportation system in the Upland South developed slowly as roadways became more efficient. A major technological development in American transportation during the 19th century was the railroad. The railway system developed slowly in the southern states, reaching about 10,000 miles in 1860 (Otto 1989:103). Most of this development, however, occurred during the previous decade which meant that earlier farmers in the Upland South depended on rivers and roads to fill their transportation needs.

The prior discussion of the frontier process and transportation development has implications for the study of material culture in the Upland South. Research into Upland South material culture often focuses on spatial parameters with little consideration of the

temporal factors and the frontier process as important contributors to cultural variability. The degree to which the frontier process affected cultural development and integration in the Upland South here is still a subject of fruitful inquiry. However, "Upland South" as a tradition is not an unchanging static phenomena, while the geographical region is, thus processual factors should be posed prior to making conclusions about Upland South cultural development as they are here for the Exchange Place.

It is during the antebellum period that processual factors are attributed to the foundation of the multifunctional commercial center known as the Exchange Place. During this period a variety of ephemeral functionally distinctive commercial and transportation sites appeared throughout the Upland South as a natural response of the expanding and developing frontier environment. It is suggested that this process climaxed circa 1850 as technological modification sufficiently developed to buffer the instability of frontier environment. These buffering agents streamlined forms of travel and communication (i.e. railways, improved roads, telegraph, etc.), and incipient industrialization. A fuller integration of a Southern culture as opposed to an upland culture was fostered by the political climate surrounding the pre- and post-Civil War period. While residual effects of an antebellum Upland South culture remained in a diminished form well into the 20th century, it is the cultural phenomena associated with the frontier process in this physical region that is the "Upland Tradition". Any anthropological study of the described "Upland South" is as much a study of the frontier process and its residual effects as it is of the region itself.

Chapter 6

Commerce at the Exchange Place

Introduction

Most of the early postmasters were storekeepers. Their places of business were the community centers, They knew everyone in town and the surrounding countryside. They were respected (Summerfield 1960:48).

Certainly the Exchange Place's commercial period can be viewed as an ephemeral and yet natural by-product of local and regional development. Through this site people, money, goods, and information flowed along transportation lines. Commercial activity at the Exchange Place aided the developing regional and local economy. Participation in regional development took place by way of postal service, stagecoach stop, and currency exchange. These services did not originate together in the United States, but a mutually dependent relationship did evolve between them during the early 19th century. The local economy was also stimulated by these services in addition to a store which operated on the site. These services are examined here to better understand domestic and commercial activities at the Exchange Place. Economic influences of these systems are particularly reflected in the spatial distribution of extant structures and other archaeological features at the site.

The Stagecoach

By the time the Exchange Place was established, stagecoaching had become a part of American culture literally setting "the tempo of the nation's life" (Holmes and Rohrbach 1983:23). The stagecoach moved commodities, money, people, and mail through the United States asserting a dominant place in the country's communication system that existed throughout the first half of the 19th century. The rise of stagecoaching produced three functionally specific sites; the stagecoach tavern, stage coach inn, and stagecoach relay station (Holmes and Rohrbach 1983). All three of these were common to stagecoach lines and were found throughout the entire country.

The tavern and inn had similar functions in that they served to capitalize off the stageline by offering comfort to travellers. Stagecoach travel was very treacherous and uncomfortable with breakdowns and accidents a common occurrence (Holmes and Rohrbach 1983:47). Additionally, coaches often carried wealthy individuals such as businessmen, attorneys, and land speculators all bringing money to these establishments. The relay stations were unique sites which provided the skeleton of the stagecoach system. These stations were between 10 and 14 miles apart in the North, but often further in the South (Holmes and Rohrbach 1983:69). Offering rest to drivers and passengers, the stations would tend to the horses, sometimes exchanging them for a fresh team.

Previous research at Exchange Place (South 1973) recognized that very large foundation stones of a barn were located south of the main house and since then photographic evidence has documented this structure. One of the large corner stones is

still located on the property near the cobblestone landing. This structure is likely the original barn built by Gaines. The photograph was taken in 1913 and the structure is known to have been absent in photographs of the farm taken in 1930. It is a large frame structure with lattice work covering the facade that is shown in the photograph. In addition to Gaines' livestock, horses would have been stabled in this barn. From this location switching teams would have been easily accommodated without delaying the stopover.

The cobblestone landing is directly in front of the main house. Passengers would have had a comfortable and easy access to this structure. Here they would have been able to rest during their stop as the Gaines family offered service to these individuals. Refreshing could have entailed some type of food service as well. The foundation for the kitchen suggests a substantial structure. While speculative, it is plausible that this kitchen served more than the Gaines family, providing meals to travellers during their layover.

Post Office

John Gaines was the postmaster of the Eden's Ridge post office for five years from 1831 to 1836 (Frazier 1984). The establishment of postal services at the site was a part of a growing postal system within the United States. Postal services, in some form, had operated in the country since the 1650s (Bowyer 1972), but witnessed slow growth throughout the 18th century. In 1789 only a meager 75 post offices appeared in the new-found United States (Scheele 1970:69). Postal service would see an explosive growth

with the turn of the 19th century (Bowyer 1972; Scheele 1970) due to the intrinsic relationship between this system, territorial expansion, and transportation improvements resulting in an increase to 4,500 offices by 1820 (Fuller 1972:48-49; Summerfield 1960:42). The Post Office Department was officially established in 1825 and federal support stimulated further growth; by 1850 the number of offices totalled 24,410 (Scheele 1970:78).

By the close of 1831, there was a total of 15 post offices in Sullivan County including the one established by John Gaines (Frazier 1984). These early post offices were very different from their 20th century counterparts. The early 19th century postal system was very inefficient and was dependent upon federal support. The postmaster, being in charge of all expenditures related to the running of his office, had a great deal of freedom in monetary matters. Gaines probably established postal services as a way of making relatively easy money. Salaries of postmasters had, in fact, been raised in 1827 to equal that of government department heads to attract individuals into the postal service (Bowyer 1972:23).

The operation of early postal services, such as were conducted at the Exchange Place, consisted of much more than just sending and receiving the mail because this was "essentially a home service" (Summerfield 1960:48). Of course, mail had to be sorted when it arrived and accepted when deposited, but other chores included refreshing travellers and drivers which accompanied stages and tending to their horses. This would have incorporated the entire family. All of John Gaines' children would have aided in these chores and surely his wife, Letitia, would have played an integral part in running the

business, because women were important to the early postal service. As Summerfield points out (Summerfield 1960:49):

women automatically come into the postal picture almost from the dawn of the service. In the postal field probably first of all there came a recognition that women could be trusted with responsibilities- a revolutionary conclusion indeed in the 18th century.

The post office at the Exchange Place was probably conducted in the main house. The store could have also sufficed for such activity, but the services that directly articulate with the stagecoach are located in front of the main house. Gaines would have probably had an office in the main house, or in an undiscovered structure, where these activities were carried out.

Currency Exchange

The United States did not approve an American currency until 1792. Until this time, foreign currency was used for exchange and remained in circulation throughout the first half of the 19th century (Martin 1977). This currency was based on the silver coin which was rare to most people and even rarer on the frontier. Barter and credit exchange systems, operating without money, have been well documented in frontier areas and are attributed to this shortage of currency (Perkins 1991). Unique exchange systems are not uncommon to early America and provided a practical way to participate in the local economy. However, they were not practical in the larger market. A wider recognized currency was necessary for a larger system of exchange.

This currency took the form of notes, drafts, or checks issued by local banks and businesses (Holmes and Rohrbach 1883:57). State chartered banks were being established during the early 19th century, such as the Virginia state bank established in 1805, which issued paper money in the name of that state (Gouge 1968). By the 1830s a more reliable perception of these currencies by an emerging banking industry was beginning to push out local notes (Redlich 1968:45). This issue of paper currency was not always a well received system of exchange because some feared it destroyed the circulation of United State coinage. This is evident in the words of Daniel Webster:

It would be a startling proposition in any other part of the world, that the prerogative of coining money could by the government was liable to be defeated, counteracted, or impeded by another prerogative held in other hands authorizing a paper circulation (Knox 1969:22).

Nevertheless, this type of currency allowed the flow of wealth to reach, however slightly, beyond the coastal seaboard into the interior of the country.

The circulation of this type of money was often done by way of the mail system, via the stagecoach. This paper would not have been recognized as currency throughout the entire country and the location of the Exchange Place was near both the Virginia and North Carolina borders. This highlights another function of sites along the stagecoach lines. Gaines would have moved this paper in conducting his mail service and offered the exchange of Tennessee and Virginia currency, forming a tie in the monetary system.

As noted with the postal services, Gaines would have operated an office in some fashion whether it was from a room in the main house or a separate office building. If a yet unlocated extinct structure that served as an office building does exist, it is plausible

that is in the front yard of the main house near the stage landing.

Store

The store located on the site has the date 1831 (others have offered the possibility of the date being 1837) engraved on a foundation stone and is the probable date of construction. Along with this frame structure is a companion structure that served as a granary. Structures, like the store at Exchange Place, were known to coastal plantations which needed places to keep surplus and sometimes owners were known to barter these goods with local farmers (Vlach 1993:895). It was common for frontier stores to operate on a credit system with the shortage of hard currency (Perkins 1991:497). General stores have also evolved similarly, with credit and bartering attributed to the dependence of the community on the agricultural calendar (Fanelli 1981). Early stores accepted a wide range of goods as payment including animal furs, wheat, tobacco, produce, etc. If Gaines had this kind of relationship with his neighbors then the granary would have played a part in this exchange system storing these accepted forms of payment.

While no ledgers have surfaced regarding the store's inventory, it would have offered the residents around Eden's Ridge a wide range of goods from foodstuffs to the "tape and pins" that Gaines himself referred to (Gaines 1836). Gaines surely would have formed a bond with the community being able to locate and bring items through his commercial connections to the community.

Material Manifestations

Historic sites contain a plethora of information above and below ground that were created by past cultural activities. This dynamic past has been impregnated onto the modern cultural landscape of the Exchange Place in many ways and is now subject to our inquiry. Whether an artifact of complex activity such as a building or one of more mundane activity such as a refuse heap, these cultural residues are reflective of time and activity. This is especially true of the commercial activities that took place at the Exchange Place, particularly in light of these activities correlating with the formative period of the site's history. This is exhibited in the typological and spatial distributions of architectural remains at the site. The manifestation of the site's commercial past is reflected in archaeological remains, extant buildings, and farm layout.

Though the exact location of ephemeral structures may never be located archaeologically, inferences about these buildings can be made from structural, archaeological, and photographic evidence from the Exchange Place. Extant buildings that are known to date to the commercial period include the main house and the store/granary which is located east of the house. The log smoke house may also be attributed to this period. Structures known archaeologically that may be from this period are the kitchen located north of the house in the rear yard and the structure located east of the house identified by Wentworth (Wentworth and Dickson 1974). A more dubious inclusion would be the structure known as the cook's cabin.

Photographs taken in 1930 document two outbuildings, in addition to the barn

evidenced by 1913 photographs (discussed above). These structures are a corn crib and granary with a split rail fence dividing the property. The ruins of these structures were still evident when the property was acquired for preservation. They were located south of the main house on the west side of the old barn.

Other cultural features that are directly related to transportation activity are the road and cobblestone landing. The stage road which was redirected by Gaines runs down Eden's Ridge past the store and then passes between the main house and the barn. The road continued past other outbuildings; the smokehouse, corn crib, and granary. The cobblestone landing was built along this road granting a more comfortable and aesthetic arrival for travellers that were passing through Exchange Place.

Mapping these cultural features that are attributed to the Gaines occupation of the site allows examination of their spatial interrelationships (Figure 10). Factors that contribute to the configuration of farmsteads include environmental parameters, access, subsistence, ethnicity, health, farming practices, and aesthetics (Faulkner 1995:4). The most distinctive characteristic of the spatial distribution of early cultural features at the Exchange Place is that they line the old stage road. Here it is evident that access from the road to these buildings and between them was integral to site development. The center of this development would have been the road in the front of the main house. The cobblestone landing with its proximity to all facilities aided in stage relay activities. The storage barn, granary, corn crib (from photographs), and smokehouse line the road and are all in close association with one another. The store is located at some distance north, but is still located directly on the thoroughfare.

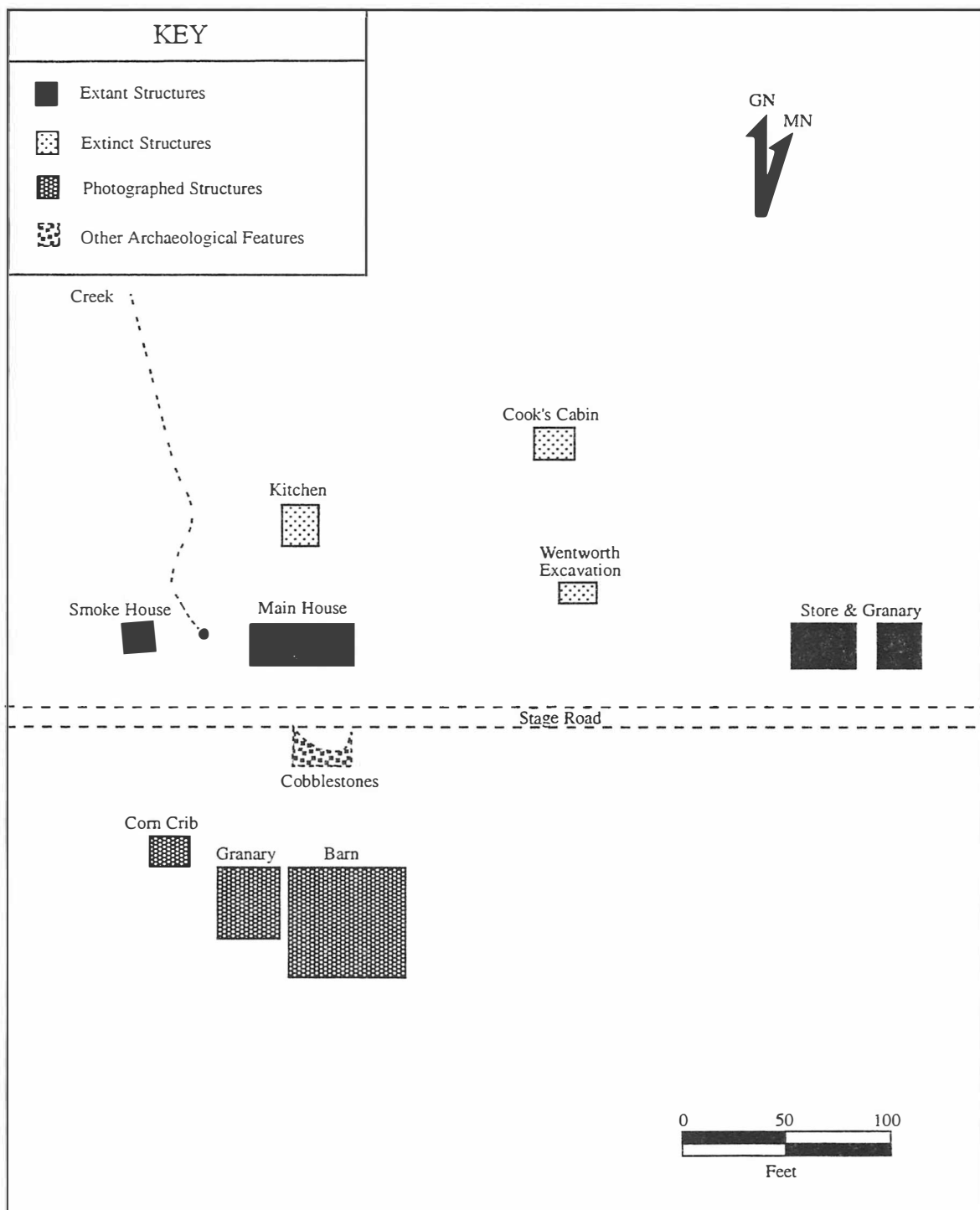


Figure 10. Map showing distribution of cultural features attributed to the commercial period of the Exchange Place.

It is apparent that frontier economics played a formative role in the development of this distinctive type of farmstead. This longitudinal plan represents an integration of farm related and commercial related structures that is the defining attribute of the site. Whether this longitudinal plan was preconceived by John Gaines as the most suitable for this site or was the result of functional evolution, it is nonetheless molded in an expanding world economic system. This might characterize a distinctive type of site during the antebellum period in the Upland South, the "antebellum commercial farmstead".

Artifactual remains have been recovered around the Exchange Place buildings but at this point are still lacking in strong interpretive potential. The paucity of material does not allow a detailed study of these cultural remains. Additional excavation would allow a more thorough examination of past material culture of Exchange Place residents. Another shortcoming of the artifactual remains recovered before the 1995 excavation is the lack of specific contexts that correlate to specific time periods, particularly the commercial period. Material culture from tight context would not only allude to lifeways of this commercial center, but would allow comparative research with contemporary farmsteads in the Upland South. This would also be important in comparing the quality of life between the Gaines and Preston occupations.

Archaeological research has certainly made some contributions to our understanding of the Exchange Place, however. For example, it has firmly established the existence and location of preserved archaeological remains. Features identified by their artifactual remains have been located and aid in the direction of future study of this site.

At least one feature (Feature 20) will offer opportunity to better understand the commercial period upon future excavation. Additionally, archaeological research has correlated historical dates of occupancy, and the remodeling of the main house has been documented. This firmly establishes the presence of this structure prior to the site's commercial development.

Chapter 7

A World System Context

Introduction

Imagine a road, anywhere, in any period: along it one will probably find some vehicles or beasts of burden, a few horsemen, inns, a forge, a village or town, however faintly it may appear to be marked, the track will in fact follow a fixed course, even in the Argentine pampas or eighteenth-century Siberia. Transporters and travellers remained prisoners of a limited range of choices. They would perhaps prefer to take one route rather than another, to avoid toll or customs post, but might be obliged to turn back in case of difficulty..... But it was impossible to depart from the established roads for travelling meant being dependent on services provided by other people (Braudel 1981:416).

The above quote by historian Fernand Braudel is easily applicable to the Exchange Place as an early commercial and transportation node in upper East Tennessee. In an ideal location along the Old Island Road that connected Fort Chiswell in Virginia to Fort Robinson in Kingsport, the site evolved into a regional commercial center during the 1830s. Its spatial, temporal, and historical location provides an opportunity to examine this unique farmstead's role not only in the region, but in the larger world as well. The site is contextualized within southern Appalachia, a newly formed United States, and a growing capitalist world-system. The impact of these systems for Native Americans on a regional scale will also be discussed. Within these contexts an individual, John Gaines, recognized and seized economic opportunity. The individual exercise of economic power by Gaines has been considered. This 'exercise' of power was manifest in his ability to

structure the actions of others by limiting their choices.

A World System

In their recent book, *Historical Archaeology*, Orser and Fagan (1995) discuss the process of globalization and the development of the modern world. Other anthropologists, such as Eric Wolf (1984), have noted the prominence of globalization and how regional networks were brought together by the spread of European culture. Orser and Fagan (1995:59) list topics of study, within the rubric of "globalization", that include urbanization, industrialization, capitalism, and western society. The study of these topics often advocates a systems approach that views the world as the largest system within which regional and even local systems operate and are influenced.

A perspective which views the world in its totality was developed by historian Fernand Braudel. Braudel called for a "global history," which stresses that historical observations should be directed to a "totality of social force" (So 1990:172). A global, anthropological perspective culminated in the landmark publication of Eric Wolf's (1984) *Europe and the People Without History*, which emphasizes the direct and indirect influences that the world's populations have had on one another as early as the 15th century. Nevertheless, Wolf attributes Western expansion, as a result of a capitalist economy, with bringing these spheres of influence into "worldwide orchestration."

The concept of a capitalist world-system was developed by Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein (Braudel 1972, 1973a, 1973b; Wallerstein 1974, 1980). This

world-system is based on the historical development of capitalism. The world-system contains "integrated production processes within a singular world economy based on an axial division of labor, ensconced within an interstate system composed of so-called sovereign states, fueled by the objective of the endless accumulation of capital" (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1987:78). The world-system is tripartite, consisting of a core, periphery, and semiperiphery. The core acquires raw materials through unequal exchange from the periphery and produces finished products. The periphery provides the labor and raw materials in addition to new markets. The semi-periphery serves as an interface between the core and periphery in exchange, production, and geography (Braudel 1973b; Hopkins and Wallerstein 1987). Despite differences researchers have found in the details of world-systems analysis, it has offered, "a meaningful analytical framework of that part of the world that has been dominated by Europe" (Nitz 1993:2).

The most fascinating feature of a capitalist world economy for the present study is the process of expansion that incorporates new zones (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1987; Nitz 1993; So 1990). This process is mandated by the defining characteristic of a capitalistic mode of production, which is the "endless accumulation of capital" (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1987:764). Economically and politically monopolistic, new areas are integrated into the system by creating commodity chains connecting these areas to core areas. This often requires restructuring, or dismantling, of existing political and cultural systems to facilitate incorporation. Historically the effects were almost synergistic, and by the turn of the 20th century there was no area of the world isolated from the interstate system.

Upland Areas in a World Context

The type of economic strategy that expanded the European production base into North America was colonization. Prompted by a stagnant economy in the early 17th century, European expansion began as a competition for sugar colonies in the Caribbean and a later expansion north, and served to create "protected markets for the core-country manufacturers" (So 1990:202). These colonies, however, were not ideal peripheries for the core countries of Europe. The British colonies in America, New Zealand, and Australia all had high wage levels and were isolated from their mother country by physical barriers. Protected by high transportation costs, these colonies were able to gain some economic stability and autonomy (So 1990: 185). Economic divisions created numerous problems eventually leading to American independence.

After the United States became established and the demarcation line was no longer existent, settlement quickly moved west. This was further stimulated in the South where the agricultural economy exploded with the advent of green seed, short staple cotton (Otto 1989). The economic expansion of this country was also nourished by political ideology of the time. In fact, westward expansion appeared to be the "American dream" in the newly formed United States. As Eric Wolf has stated:

There appeared to be land for the taking in the North American wilderness, and agrarian democrats like Jefferson looked forward to a nation of sturdy yeoman, servants to no man through their possession of land (Wolf 1984: 284).

As pioneers like Daniel Boone broke trails into the wilderness, roads developed. Via the Great Valley Road and the Saluda Trail settlers filtered into Tennessee and some penetrated further into the Bluegrass settlements in Kentucky, by way of the Wilderness Road. By 1796, the clearing of these trails had produced fairly efficient roadways which gave rise to three "settlement clusters" east of the Appalachians: the forks of the Ohio, the Bluegrass, and East Tennessee Valley which by the turn of the 19th century developed an estimated population of 20,000 (Reitz and Ulack 1984: 98-99).

The pioneer economy was agrarian and developed slowly, but as agricultural specialization developed and trade connections between the hinterlands and eastern cities improved the pioneer economy became commercialized. This slow growth is particularly evident in southern Appalachia where interaction between hinterlands and coastal trade centers was stifled by less navigable roads and waterways resulting in a divergence between the northern and southern economies (Reitz and Ulack 1984). The result was that in 1830 settlement in southern Appalachia centered on small towns.

With the rivers not allowing efficient steamboat transportation, trade and commercial activity was basically confined to the roadways until the development of the railroad system. Railways drastically changed the cultural landscape by restructuring trade, travel, and creating numerous urban centers. It was in the 1850s that Tennessee was connected to the rest of the country by railroad, creating newer and more efficient commodity chains.

It is in this geographical, economic, and temporal context that the Exchange Place is embedded. The site should be viewed as an extension of European colonization,

resulting from a capitalist system expanding to incorporate new zones. The American British colonies achieved independence through their relative isolation which created economic conditions conducive to their autonomous development. Following independence, the newly formed United States sought to expand its own boundaries. This expansion and incorporation was fostered by a growing national economy and political ideology. The pioneer economy was primarily agrarian and developed slowly in the early 19th century. This is particularly evident in southern Appalachia where physical barriers such as mountains with their swift-flowing waterways hindered steamboat transport. This continued until notable changes were brought about by the railway system. Thus, roadways played a primary role in the commodity chains in the region during the first half of the 19th century. It is during this period that an economic window of opportunity existed along the few existent roadways and John Gaines is an example of an individual who recognized this fact and took advantage of it.

Individual Action in a World Context

John Gaines obviously saw economic prospects when he settled east of Kingsport, Tennessee near the old Island Road, which offered safe passage to travelers coming into Tennessee and those pressing further into Kentucky. The farmstead was established in the 1820s and Gaines operated a store along this route possibly as early as 1831 (Burow 1995). Gaines had also established postal services at the site by this same date. It was over the following 15 years, until its sale to John Preston, that the site functioned as a

commercial center for the region. If Gaines' financial success can be inferred from his landholding, then he was doing well. In 1842 he owned in excess of 2,000 acres.

The most fascinating aspect of the site was alluded to in my opening quote from Fernand Braudel that refers to the dependency that travellers had on the services of others. We are all familiar with the adage, 'location is everything', and it is apparent that John Gaines recognized this as well. Sometime prior to 1837, Gaines had purchased a section of the Old Island Road and rerouted it by his property (Fielder 1977). Here is evidence that Gaines made a conscious decision to improve his economic possibilities by structuring the actions of others. This structuring of action is an exercise of power to which few others had similar access.

Implications for "Others"

The expansionist quality of a capitalist political economy has implications beyond that of the system itself. It also creates conflict between individuals and groups of individuals occupying areas adjacent to the system's periphery. It is necessary to discuss non-Europeans that were affected by the contexts established here and reveal their implications to the Exchange Place. Historical manifestations of such conflict are clearly present at the regional level, but also exist at the local level.

During late 18th and early 19th century the prize for those moving west was land which "was valued for more than the crops and livestock it could sustain. Land was 'the nations most sought after commodity in the first-half of the republic,' 'its major

investment opportunity"(Wolf 1984:284). Before settlers could move into what was considered the 'American wilderness', natives had to be dispossessed. Thus, by necessity, the expansionist ideology of the late 18th and early 19th century settler contained the basic assumptions of ethnocentricity and racial superiority.

The major Native American groups in the Southeast were the Creeks, Choctaw, and of utmost importance in this study, the Cherokee that occupied areas of North Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee. Direct conflict between Euro-Americans and Native American groups was formidable in the early 19th century. Following the war of 1812, the United States conducted war against the Creek in order to expand its production of cotton. This was soon followed by Andrew Jackson's campaign against the Seminole. These wars set the precedent for future Indian policy. By 1817 removing all Native Americans west of the Mississippi, an idea advocated by Jefferson, had become popular sentiment (Wolf 1984: 285).

The Indian Removal Act was passed in 1830 and consequently, a majority of the Cherokee were herded into camps and moved west. By the close of the removal period (1844) few Native Americans, including the Cherokee, remained east of the Mississippi. In its conclusion, removal had accomplished the Jacksonian goal of bringing Indian land quickly "into market" (Rogin 1975: 174).

This history of conflict allows us to view the Exchange Place in another light. Gaines established the farmstead in the early 1820s. Placing this in its historical context it immediately follows the Indian wars in the Southeast that marked a consensual support for removal policies. It is not known exactly what year John Gaines built his store that

established the farmstead as a commercial center, but it is known to have been serving more than a local population by 1831. It is no coincidence that this date marks the beginning of the Indian Removal period. As Indian removal became reality and the frontier moved west, there was an influx of settlers into what was probably perceived as a much safer area relative to the earlier decades of the century. Additionally, there were numerous settlers pushing into western Tennessee and Kentucky who, by necessity, passed through East Tennessee. The time that the store was built marks the transition of a peripheral area as it was incorporated into the inter-state system that connected the hinterlands to the greater capitalist world system.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This thesis is a synthesis of the historical, cultural, and archaeological information pertaining to the Exchange Place in Sullivan County, Tennessee. Additionally, an examination was made of the commercial role of the Exchange Place in East Tennessee throughout the 1830s and early 1840s. This commercial farmstead was considered part of a larger system that operated on many levels of meaning and it is through these levels that such sites articulated with the global system (South 1988). The processes of these systems and their history have been discussed to better understand sites of this nature and to establish broad contextual information relating to the site that will provide an analytical framework for further research. In this example, we see how these contexts shaped this unique farmstead's history within which the owner operated.

A major theme underlying this analysis has been the aspect of expansive development. This is an economic development that transforms a frontier, bringing it into an already established society. While social factors are deemed to be an important aspect to cultural change they are viewed as subordinate to the economy on the larger scale of cultural evolution in American history. Economic factors are considered the catalyst for superstructural change that resulted in the developmental changes in the Upland South. This expansive development produced cultural manifestations that are the subject of this research.

These sites are not offered as economic determinative representations. Each site

has specific cultural and historical factors pertinent to its development. The interplay of these factors with the economy are what comprise future systematic development. They result from economic stimulation and serve to create and perpetuate superstructural change. Here lies the value of site specific research into sites such as the Exchange Place, because they are a historical building block that provided the infrastructure for the United States' growth throughout the 19th century.

Localized social manifestations at these sites are also an imperative topic of consideration; for instance, the types and processes of social relations that occur at sites such as the Exchange Place. These sites served as community centers where a bustle of activity brought individuals together into complex interactive social relationships that were further solidified by economic relations. These relationships were formidable in establishing community lines which bond individuals together producing group identity.

Future archaeological investigations should achieve a better understanding of the commercial period at the Exchange Place. This would mean focusing on untested areas south of the main house and perhaps the store/granary as well. Testing south of the house would solidify the development of farm configuration and locate cultural material more specific to the Gaines period. Testing in the area of the store may discover remains that relate to more specific activities in this structure and the goods that were kept there. Feature 20 definitely provides opportunity for sampling material culture from the Gaines occupation. Material culture from these contexts would allow reconstruction of early economic development at the Exchange Place that could ultimately provide a base for research into the dynamics of this "antebellum commercial farmstead".

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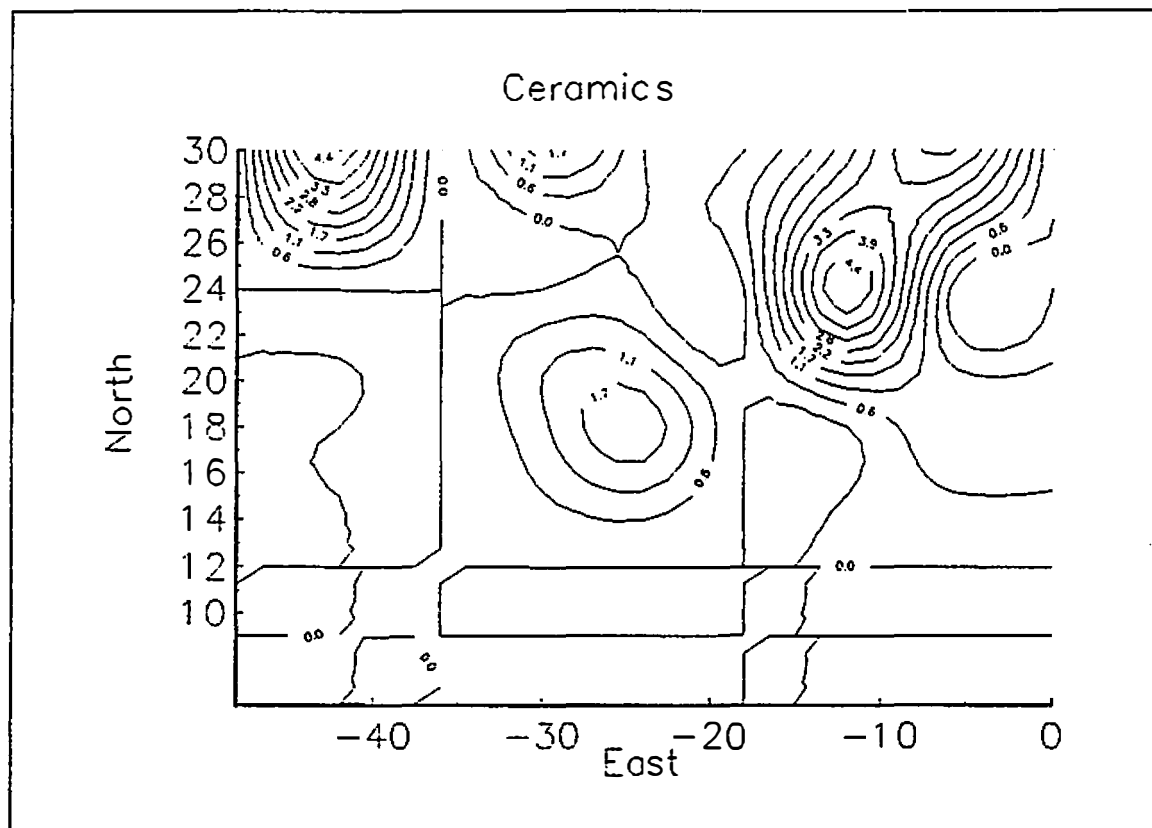
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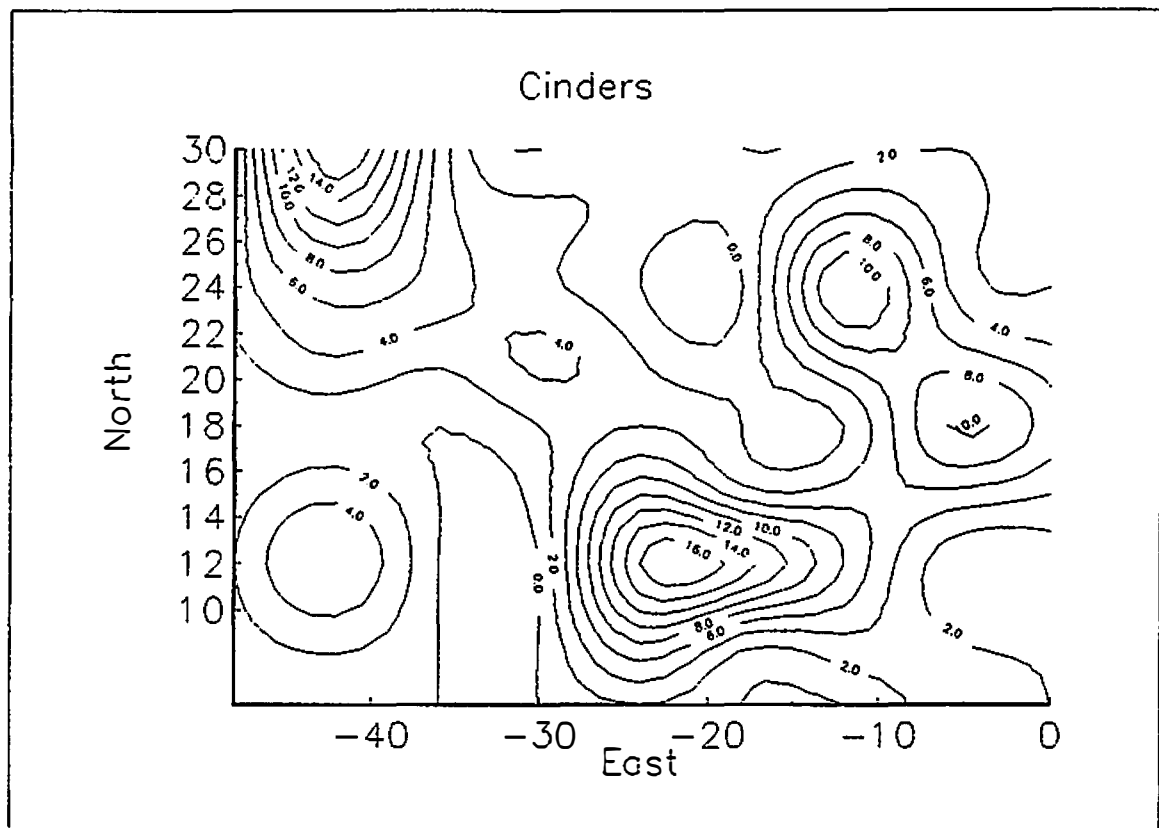
APPENDIX
ARTIFACT DENSITY MAPS

APPENDIX CONTENTS

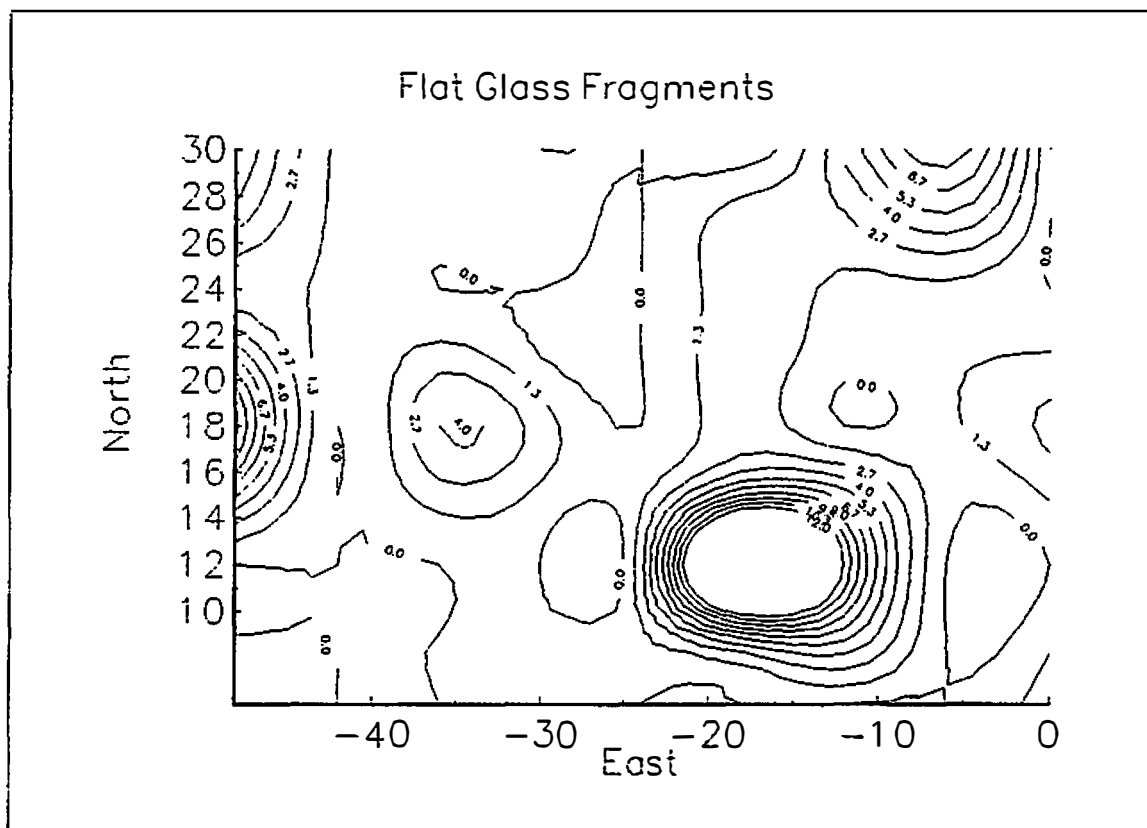
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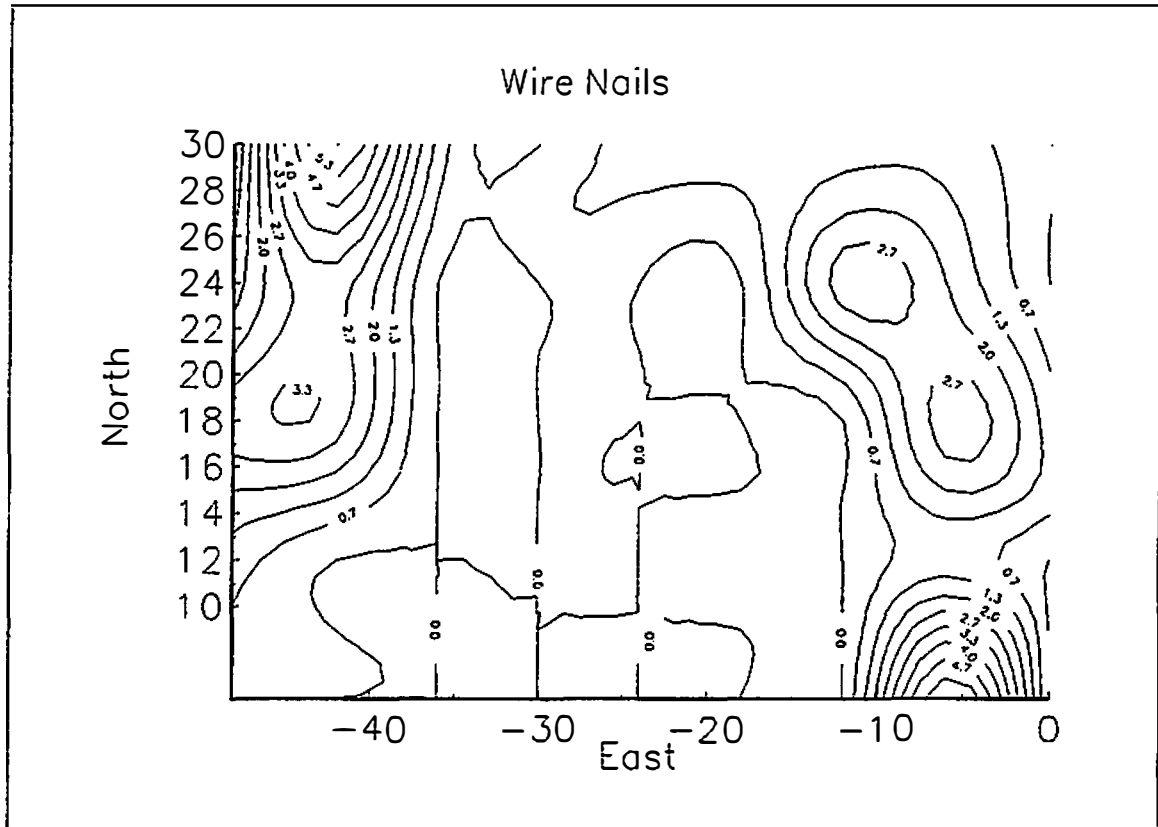
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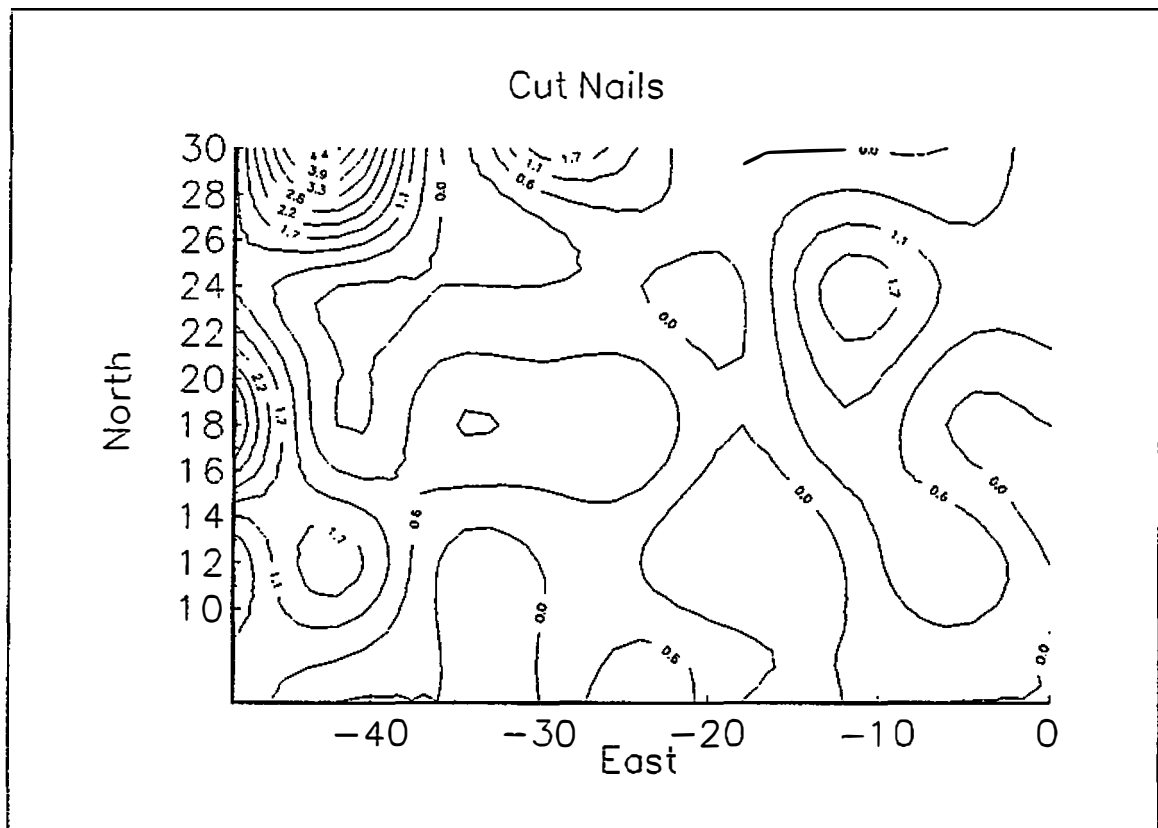
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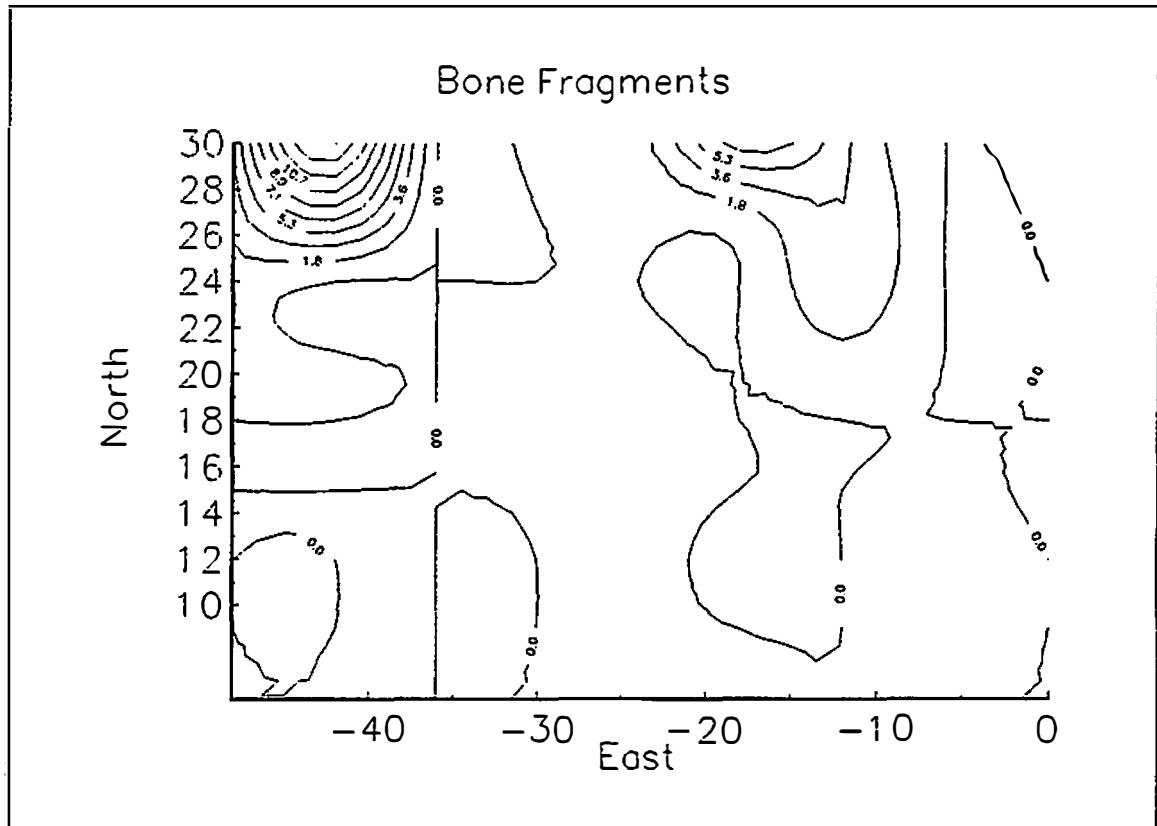
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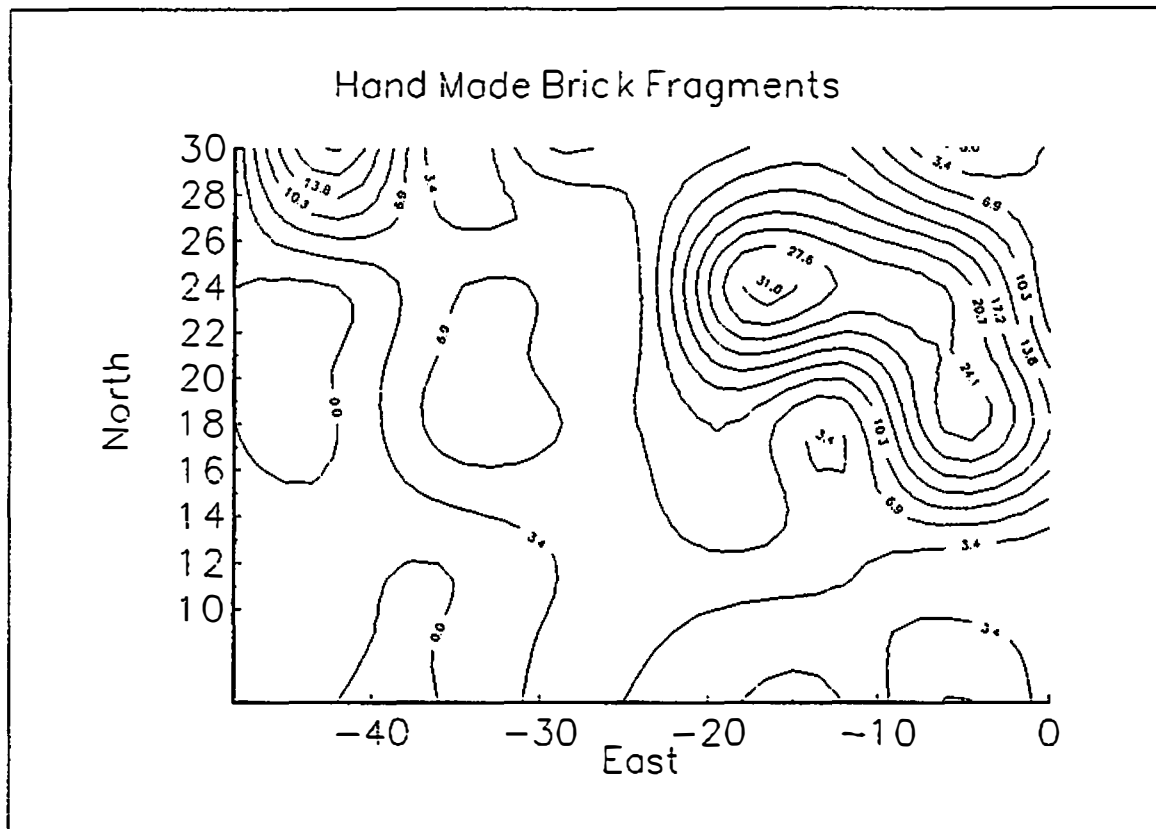
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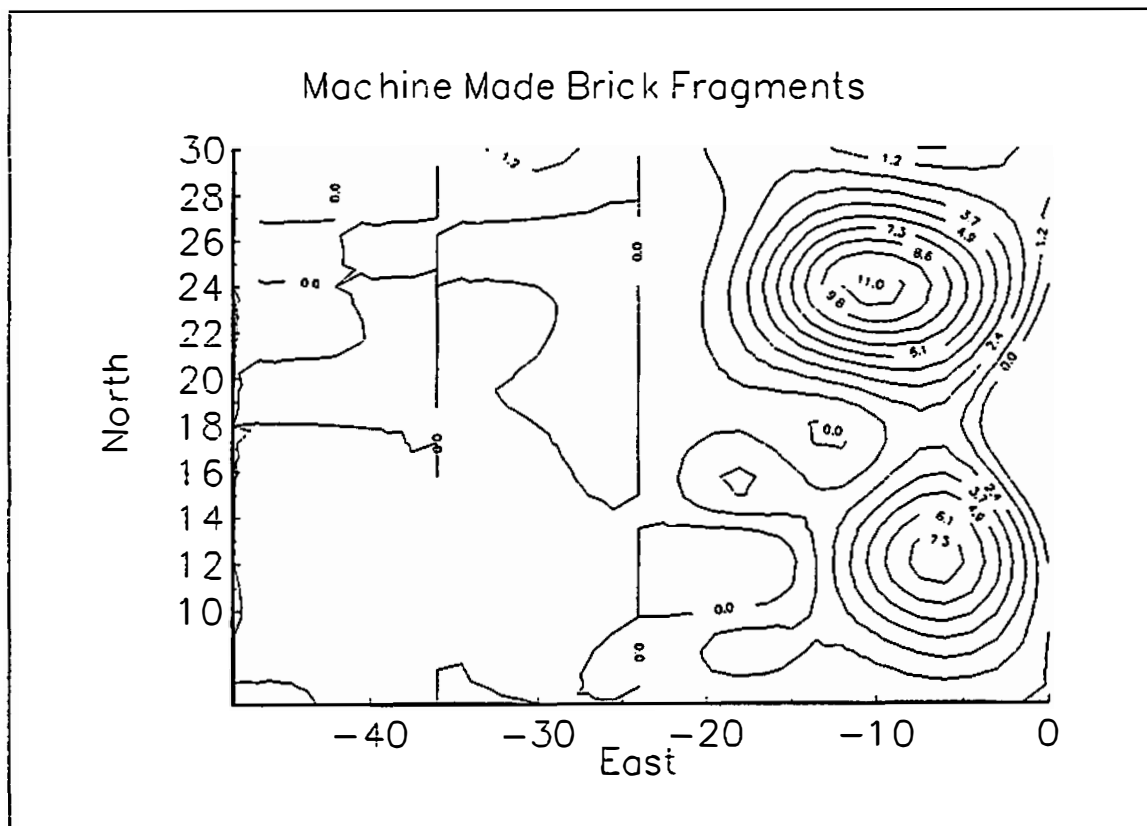
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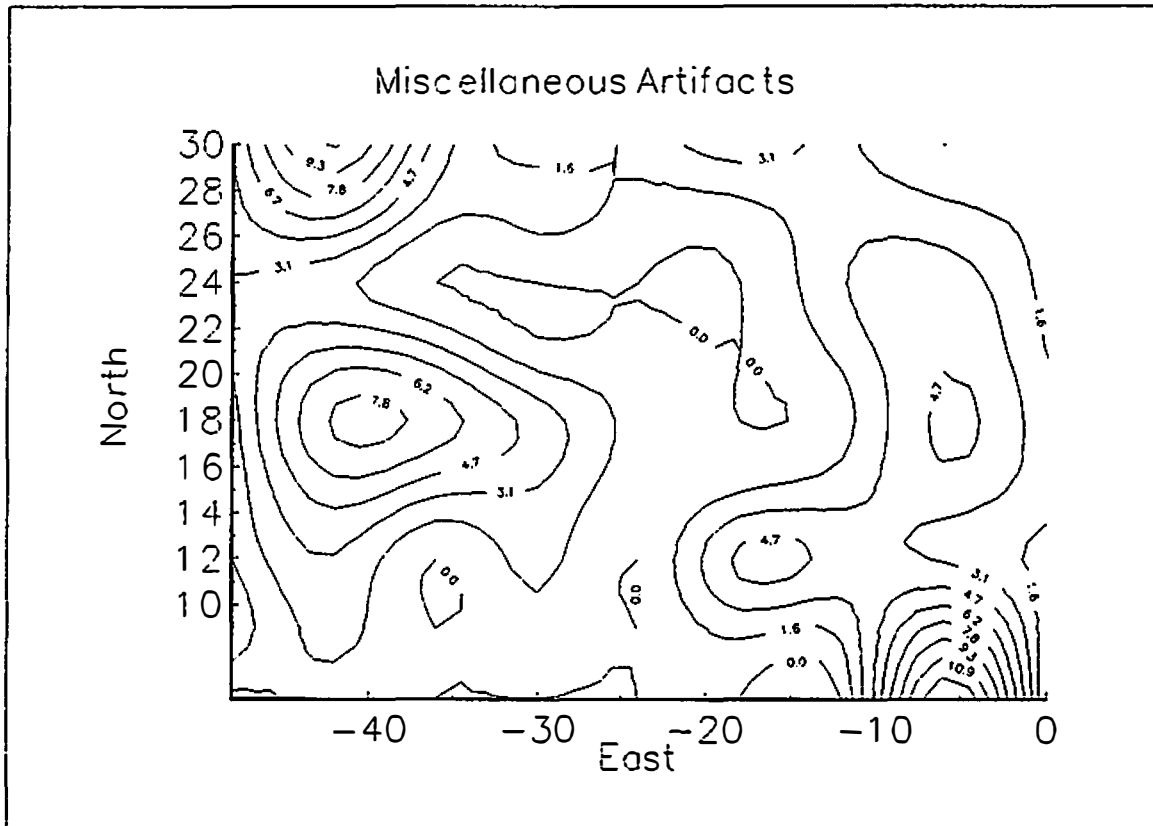
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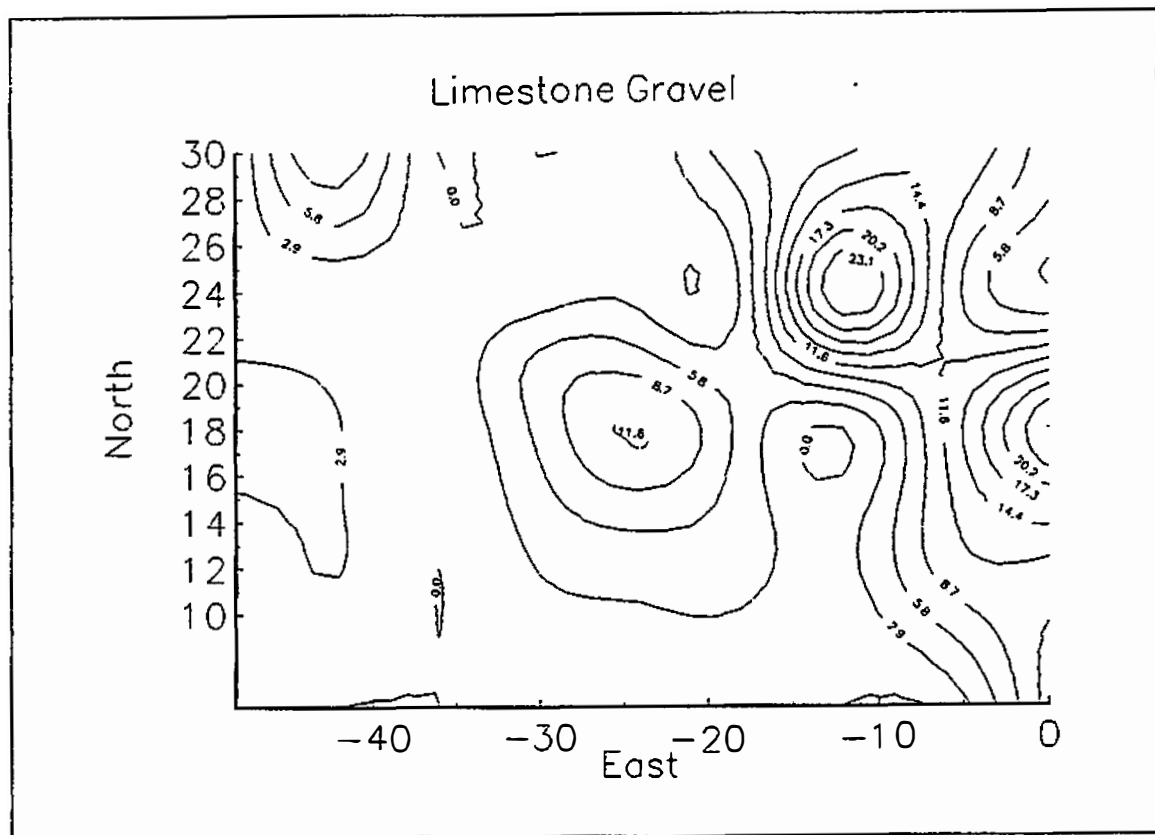
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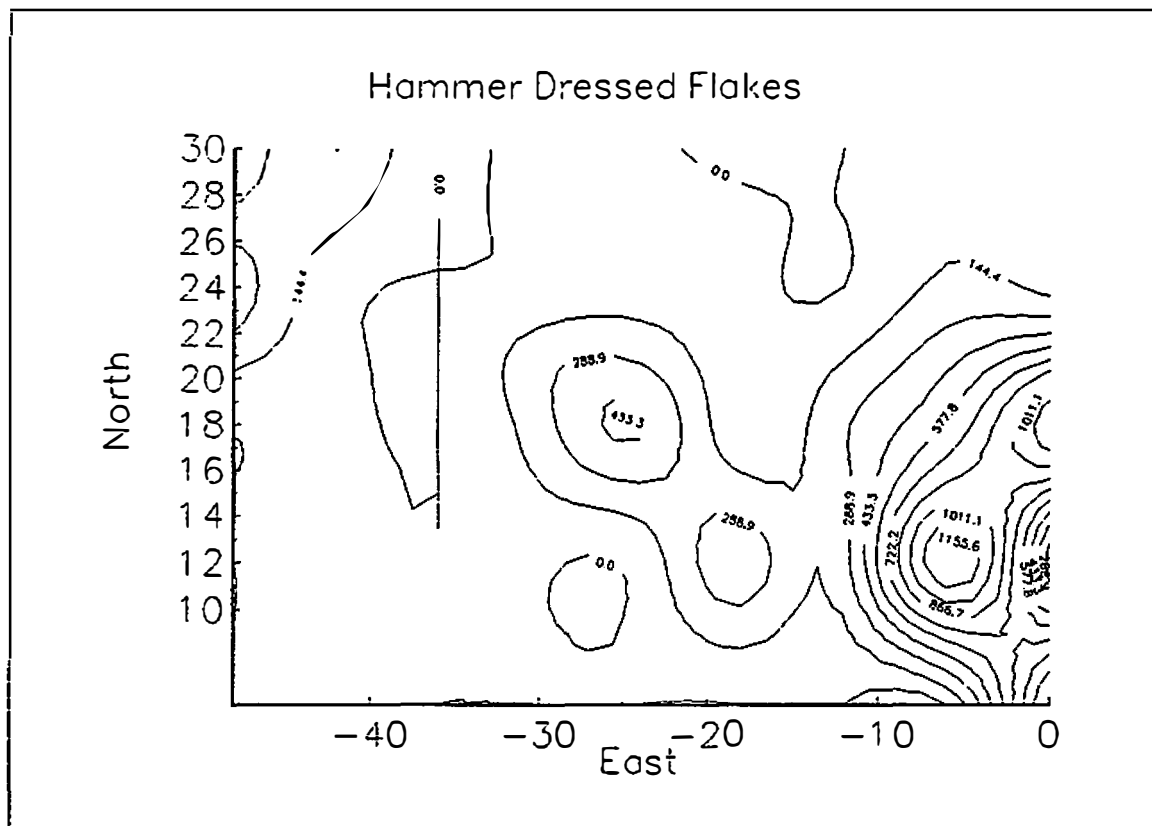
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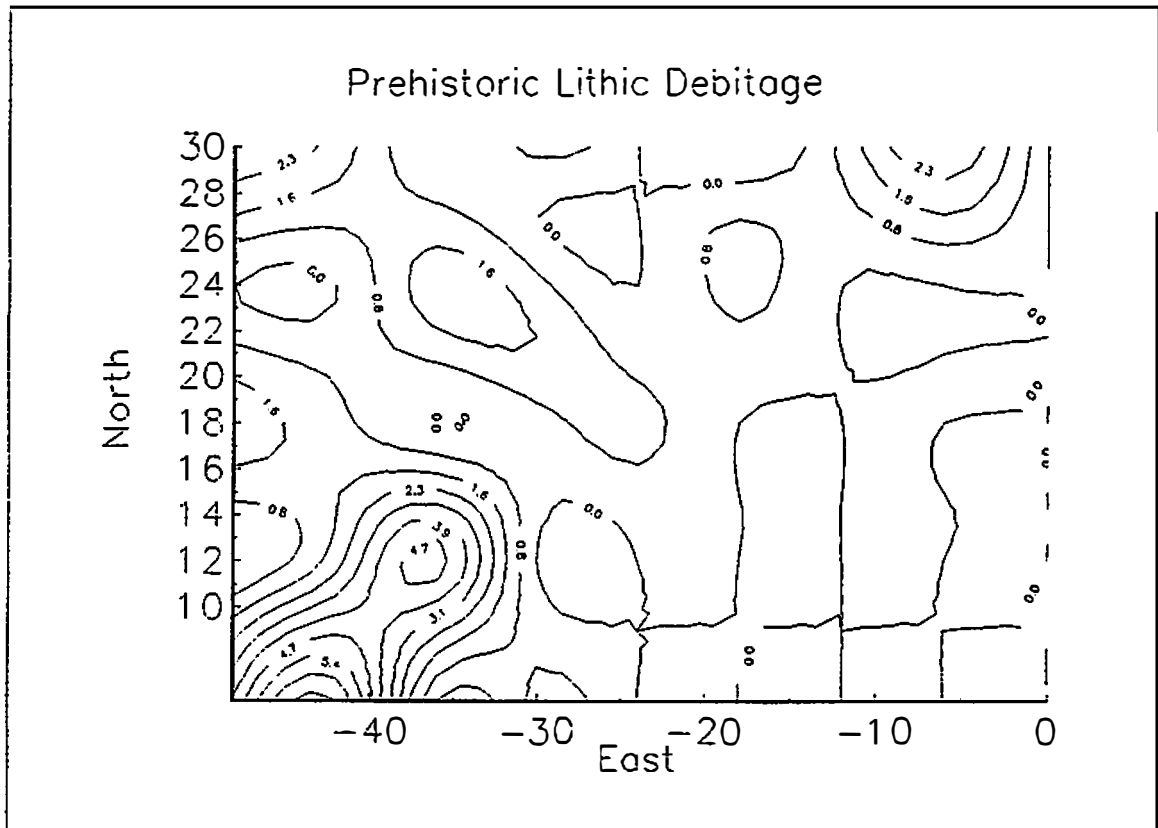
A9. Density Map of Miscellaneous Artifacts.



A10. Density Map of Limestone Gravel.



A11. Density Map of Hammer Dressed Flakes.



A12. Density Map of Prehistoric Lithic Debitage.

VITA

Dalford Dean Owens Jr. was born in Lexington, North Carolina on July 28, 1967. His parents, Dalford and Gerry Owens, were of strong constitution and survived his hyperactive and mischievous childhood which extended well into his twenties (many of these actions he still regrets). Hopefully his behavior was buffered by the better behavior of his siblings, Rondall, Tracy, and little Kelly. Following a less than perfect attempt at public education, which saw the retirement of several of his teachers, he did get a high school diploma but being a kind and merciful individual he chose to forego the punishment of other educators by not pursuing a higher education. He had more fun things in mind at the time and he tried them all. After a four year interim, however, he was a little more mature and a little more adept to the classroom. He attended East Carolina University in Greenville, North Carolina graduating with honors (incredible as it may seem) in 1993, with a degree in anthropology. Graduate study was imminent, and he chose to attend the University of Tennessee-Knoxville where he studied historic archaeology receiving his M.A. in 1996.