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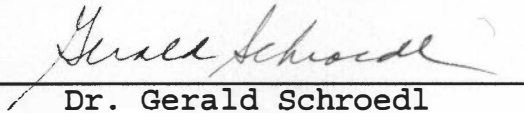
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Henry St. Clair McKelway entitled "Slaves and Master in the Upland South: Archaeological Investigations at the Mabry Site". I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Anthropology.



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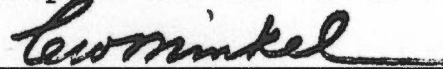


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**SLAVES AND MASTER IN THE UPLAND SOUTH:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE MABRY SITE**

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Henry St. Clair McKelway
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DEDICATION

For Mickie, Kate and Scotty

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added significantly to the value of the archaeological investigations conducted there.

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"Hey, we're goin' to Dollywood!!"

ABSTRACT

Archaeological interest in the study of slave lifeways on the plantations of the Southeast has steadily grown over the past ten years. Historians have provided insights into the daily lives of slaves through the use of slave narratives and other documents; but these resources rarely discuss in detail the material culture of the slaves, or the complicated social relations surrounding slaves and their master. Archaeological research provides the means to recover material culture of slaves, and significantly contribute to our understanding of their lifeways. To date, the great majority of archaeological research has been conducted on large plantations of the Lowland South, along the coasts of Georgia and Florida.

The archeological research presented here is a first step in the documentation and description of slave material culture and lifeways in the East Tennessee region of the Upland South. Archaeological investigations were conducted on the Mabry Plantation, located about ten miles west of Knoxville, in Knox County, Tennessee. These investigations were successful in identifying the remains of two nineteenth century slave cabins and recovering the associated material culture. Archaeological research also identified and documented features associated with outbuildings and fences of the razed Mabry mansion, providing an overview of the plantation design and layout. Investigations near the mansion located an artifact deposit associated with the planter, yielding contemporaneous artifacts for direct comparison to those associated with the slave quarters.

Analysis of the architectural remains of the slave cabins is used to reconstruct the characteristics of the quarters. The material culture

of the slaves is presented, and interpretations of slave lifeways in this area of the Upland South is provided. A central theme to this research is the comparison of the ceramics of slave and master to better understand the social relations between the two groups. Ceramic attributes used in research on Lowland South plantations are reviewed and utilized in this study.

The conclusions reached in this study are that the Mabry Plantation slave's housing and material culture are not overtly representative of the oppressive and demeaning conditions of slavery. The Mabry slaves, through their own initiative and determination, are believed to have acquired their own ceramics, maintained social contact with other slaves in the area, and preserved their ethnic identity in spite of the surrounding pervasive and dominant Euro-American society.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological research into the lifeways of slaves and the operations of the large plantations of the Southeast has been intensive the last ten years. Research has broadened from a description of the lives of slaves on plantations (Fairbanks 1984; Singleton 1980), to more theoretical perspectives dealing with the archaeological manifestation of oppression, material symbols of social status, and the social relationship between master and slave through their material discards (Otto 1977, 1984; Orser 1984, 1988, 1990a; Deetz 1988; Singleton 1988, 1991). This research has focused on the large plantations along the Eastern and Gulf coasts from Maryland through Florida and into Louisiana. There is a need to address the archaeology of slavery in a variety of regional and social contexts, and to date there has been little research conducted outside of the context of the large rice and cotton plantations possessing slaves numbering into the hundreds (Singleton 1991).

Archaeological investigations were conducted in 1990 and 1991 on the Mabry site (40KN86), located ten miles west of Knoxville, in Knox County Tennessee (Figure 1.1), in conjunction with the highway construction of the Pellissippi Parkway extension. The Mabry site, defined here as an Upland South Plantation, was occupied from about 1830 through the early twentieth century by George Mabry's family. According to the Agricultural Census of 1850, Mabry owned 18 slaves, and in 1860 he owned 8 slaves. The significance of the Mabry site is clearly centered on the insights into slave lifeways and slave and master relations these archaeological investigations provide for the East Tennessee region of the Upland South. Investigations at Mabry identified

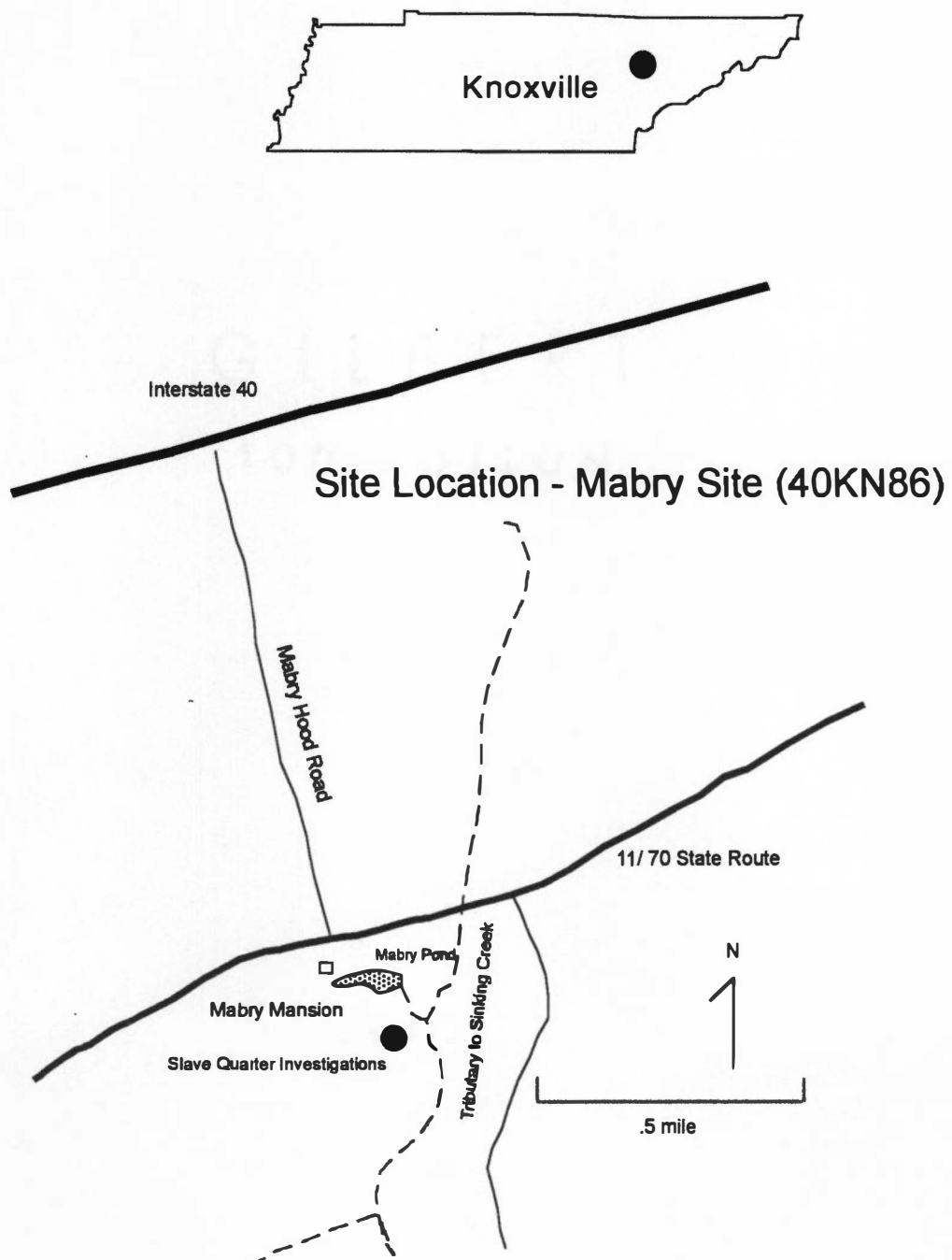


Figure 1.1 Mabry Site Location, 1990, Knoxville, Tennessee

remains of two slave quarters and recovered artifacts associated with each. A midden deposit associated with the Mabry mansion was located during investigations, and material recovered from this deposit provides a valuable comparative sample with the slave quarter artifacts.

This research begins, however, with an historical background of Knox County in East Tennessee. The development of slavery in East Tennessee was influenced by several factors. The geography of East Tennessee, described here as the Upland South, was not conducive to the intensive agricultural production of cotton typical for the Lowland South. The small amount of cotton grown at Mabry and other local plantations, in comparison to the Lowland South plantations bears this out (Andrews and Young 1991:7; Otto 1989:84). Upland South farms exhibited diversified agricultural production. The utilization of slaves on large Upland South farms created the Upland South Plantation. As the historical background suggests, lifeways of the slaves on these plantations may have differed significantly from those of bondsmen in the Lowland South. Archaeological investigations at Mabry form a basis for limited comparisons between these regions, to begin a search for inter-regional patterns. The analytical tools for the research at Mabry were developed, in part, from the archaeological work on other plantations. Comparisons between Mabry and other plantations serve to highlight useful methodologies in plantation research and aid in the interpretation of slave lifeways at Mabry. However, archaeological research on plantations of East Tennessee and the Upland South is just beginning, and much more archaeological work needs to be accomplished before a consensus can be reached concerning regional differences in slave-master relations.

Comparison between the material culture of the slaves and their masters at the Mabry Plantation is a prominent theme throughout this

work. The plantation, as defined, was an environment where two distinct social classes labored for very different reasons (Orser 1990a:214). The dominant class, the "masters", labored to increase its economic gains beyond what was necessary for basic subsistence. The subservient class, the slaves, labored because it was forced. The relations between these two groups was a complicated association, and as Harrison states (1993), was embedded in an atmosphere of coercion, accommodation, and resistance. These relations are reflected in the material culture of slaves and master. Material culture is not viewed here as passively reflecting social differences. Material culture may be manipulated by individuals of a social group to preserve and maintain the group's social identity and goals. Perhaps the most important question is how did African-American culture survive on a plantation, where membership in that culture, at that time, was viewed as a distinct disadvantage by the dominant Euro-American culture, and what part can material culture play in describing this story of cultural survival? The study of material culture in a plantation setting allows us to view artifacts associated with distinct social classes, to begin to understand how material culture may be acquired and manipulated to symbolize and reinforce social behavior.

The archaeological work conducted at the Mabry site is described first: the artifact collection procedures, the archaeological features, and the analytical focus on artifacts in the laboratory. Following this, computer generated graphics reveal the spatial patterning in the distribution of nails, window glass, and ceramics retrieved from the slave quarters. This is necessary to define the size and characteristics of the slave quarters as suggested from the archaeological remains. The dimensions of the slave cabins, the position of windows, doorways, and root cellars are discussed. This slave quarter reconstruction is

provided in the context of the "appropriate" characteristics of slave quarters as described in documentary sources of the time. This highlights the degree to which the Mabry site dwellings conformed to what would be considered "proper" for slaves.

The social relations between master and slave at Mabry are explored through ceramic analysis. The ceramic analysis compares ceramics from slave and mansion contexts with respect to vessel form, ceramic cost, ceramic type diversity, ceramic set composition, and the frequency of matched ceramic types. The description of other artifacts, such as buttons, container glass, beads, pipes, and firearm accoutrements helps to fill out the emerging picture of slave material culture in the East Tennessee sub-region of the Upland South. The artifacts are placed into Stanley South's (1977) artifact pattern formula to allow comparison between the Mabry slave quarters and two local Euro-American sites and to artifact patterns generated for Carolina and Georgia slave sites. This comparison addresses the issue of slave acculturation to Euro-American culture in the mid-nineteenth century as discussed by Joseph (1989).

Archaeological research at the Mabry site is important for what is revealed about slave lifeways in the East Tennessee region of the Upland South, especially relationships within the slave community and relationships between slaves and their masters. As such, this research at Mabry substantially contributes to the study of early African-American culture.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Background

Knox County, Tennessee, was officially established in 1792. The modern county seat is Knoxville which was the capital of the Territory South of the Ohio River until 1796 when Tennessee became a state.

According to Rothrock (1946:79-84), the population of Knox County did not grow as rapidly as in other parts of Tennessee, as individuals moved through Knoxville on their way to acquire and settle western lands. Treaties with Native Americans opened land from western Tennessee to Texas, encouraging immigration through Knoxville rather than permanent settlement. Poor local transportation routes hampered growth and trade with neighboring markets, so that commodities did not move out of Knoxville easily until the arrival of the steamboat.

It is significant that when the real growth of Knoxville and Knox Co. got under way, it was due to developments in the field of distribution rather than in manufacturing. The impetus to the development occurred in 1826, when the first steamboat, the Atlas, ascended the Tennessee River to Knoxville. Inauguration of regular steamboat service in the years following resulted in the growth of a considerable wholesale and commission business, which, however did not reach its full development until the late fifties (Rothrock 1946:85).

Agricultural Development

The cotton industry exploded in the Lowland South after the invention of the cotton gin in 1793. By 1815 the cotton crop was becoming entrenched in areas where good soil supported its production. According to Otto, "back country" soils would produce 300 lbs of cotton per acre, as compared to 800 to 1000 lbs per acre on soils of Alabama (Otto 1989:84). Cotton was never a major crop on East Tennessee farms.

contributed livestock, corn, and wheat to cotton planters in the "cotton states" of the Lowland South (Rothrock 1946:72, 81-82) who needed these commodities to provide for their slaves and livestock.

The phenomenal expansion of cotton into what is now Alabama and Mississippi, following the introduction of Whitney's gin and the increase in Negro slavery, created new demands by planters for livestock, and for corn and wheat, to feed their workstock and slaves (Rothrock 1946:74).

She continues:

Trade in agricultural products, between eastern Tennessee and northern Alabama and Mississippi, during this period included corn, potatoes, whiskey, bacon, cider, apples, hemp, tobacco, beef, butter, cheese, bees-wax, lard, feathers and cornmeal. Cotton was never a major crop in Knox County (Rothrock 1946:74-75).

These commodities were at first transported via large wagon trains moving in all directions from Knoxville; to South Carolina, Georgia and northern Alabama (Rothrock 1946:74). Then, after 1826, steamboats transported goods down the Tennessee River. The town of Knoxville grew as commerce in both regional and local markets developed. In 1850, the "curb market" was operating, and by 1854 goods were sold in the "Market Square" (Rothrock 1946:79-84).

Rothrock (1946:79-84) notes that agricultural production in the area was hampered by the growth of crops, like corn, which depleted the soil rapidly. Corn was sold to provide food for herds of livestock driven into the city and through it. The Knox County Agricultural Association was urging the development of the cattle industry because livestock forage grasses were easier on the soil. The diversified farming operations of this type were quite different than the cotton operations developing in the Lowland South.

George Mabry and Family

Rothrock (1946:76) describes the period of time from 1830 to 1860 as a time of "expanding agriculture interdependent with the economy of cotton areas to the south." During this time, George Mabry inherited land from his father, Joseph, and began to create and manage one of the most successful farming operations in the vicinity of Knoxville. The farm contained over 1000 acres and raised a variety of produce and livestock (U.S. Agricultural Census 1850). A detailed analysis of George Mabry's relative wealth as compared to other Knox County residents of the time period has not been conducted; however, from a cursory examination of Knox County land holdings in the Agricultural Census records of 1850 and 1860, and from the study of documentary sources (Rule 1900; Temple 1899; Daily Journal and Tribune 1912), he appears to have been an individual of social prominence and wealth.

Joseph Mabry; George Mabry's father, was living in the Knoxville vicinity in the early 1800's after moving from Westmorland, Virginia (Daily Journal and Tribune 1912). Joseph aided in a failed legislative attempt during the Constitutional Convention of 1834 that called for the emancipation of all slaves in Tennessee by the year 1866 (Temple 1899:113). At that convention, Joseph proposed that the sale of slaves across the South be prohibited by 1835, a motion which also failed (Temple 1899:118). Joseph Mabry's will of 1837 (Knox County Archives) also called for the emancipation of his most trusted slave "Old Billy" as of the year 1840.

George Mabry was born somewhere on the Mabry farmstead in 1823, and was only 14 years old at the time he inherited the farm from his father. George Mabry built a substantial brick house on the site between the years 1840 and 1850 (Hicks 1964; Knoxville News Sentinel

1983). Unfortunately, this structure was razed in 1983, but some descriptions and photographs of the house exist. The two story brick "I" house, which in its time was probably considered a mansion had 12 rooms, including a two room attached kitchen, four bedrooms, and an "elaborate formal dining room." The house had a spiral staircase which was "cantilevered into masonry walls", leaving no visible support (Knoxville News Sentinel 1983).

George Mabry received an education from Holston College, was a member of the County Court for nearly twenty years, and served two terms in the State Legislature (Daily Journal and Tribune 1912). Mabry participated in public works projects as well, including the construction of the Knox County courthouse where he served as chairman of the building committee (Daily Journal and Tribune 1912). He participated on the board of directors for the Kingston Turnpike Company which completed the macadamization of Kingston Pike in 1893 (Rule 1900:273). He also published an article on good pasture for cattle (Temple 1899:427).

He married Jeanette Hume, from Blount County, in 1846. Mabry and his wife had 12 children, six of whom died in childhood (Daily Journal and Tribune 1912). Jeannette Mabry is described as being a courageous lady, willing to aid individuals allied with the Union during the Civil War.

There were thousands of noble women in East Tennessee who were always ready to help these refugees by every means in their power. Perhaps none of these was so widely and favorably known as Mrs. Jeannette Laurimer Mabry, of Knox county, the wife of Colonel George W. Mabry, a wealthy farmer. Her husband and all his family early espoused the cause of the Confederacy, but she remained unflinchingly true to the Union. (Temple 1899:427-428).

Perhaps the reason for Temple's strong opinion concerning the noble Mrs. Mabry is that he was apparently married to one of Mrs. Mabry's sisters!

Financial Difficulty

Although Mabry farm production for the year 1870 is high in comparison to other growers in the area, Mabry experienced financial difficulties in 1872, when his farm was repossessed to pay a debt he and his brother Joseph had incurred. Although an unfortunate downturn for Mabry, the court document regarding the sale of repossessed Mabry property gives some insight into the interior furnishings of the main house, which can be contrasted to the meager furnishings of his slaves. The list also demonstrates the Mabry family's involvement in agriculture through their possession of farming equipment.

Farm items included in the listing of repossessed property are machinery, such as one reaper and mower, two wheat fans, one corn sheller, 2 "gofers" plows and one harrow. Livestock includes 8 milk cows, 8 heifers, 5 steers, 25 sheep, 2 horses, and 25 hogs. Eight hundred dozen bundles of oats were seized, along with one buggy and harness. Confiscated furniture included a marble top table, a set of ten chairs, window curtains, two bureaus, one wardrobe, carpets and a clock. A "lot of books," and a piano were also listed (Circuit Court Records #13,658, 1871). The sale of this property brought \$150.00. The sale of the farm ensued, and was bought for \$1719.90. This value appears quite low. Perhaps few individuals had cash to acquire the property for its true value at auction, or possibly a financial deal was made for later payment by George Mabry to the foreclosing bank.

Mabry regained the property by the time of the 1880 agricultural census, and he lived on the property until his death in 1912. He was buried in the Baptist cemetery in Lovell, Tennessee. His daughter remained on the property until 1921, when the land was sold to the Couch family (Deed Book 355, Knox County Courthouse).

Agricultural Census

A brief review of the production of the farm (Table 2.1) is useful in determining: 1) market commodities; 2) possible slave subsistence foodstuffs; and 3) changes in the operation of the farm after the emancipation of the slaves.

There is a dramatic increase in the cash value of the farm between the years 1850 and 1860. This increase is especially noticeable regarding the value of livestock and the value of slaughtered animals. Note that Mabry may have been following a good farming strategy for the area by developing his livestock rather than focusing totally on crops of corn and wheat that deplete the soil. Note also that he was knowledgeable and interested enough in the livestock industry to publish an article on good pasturage, which was apparently an important topic for farmers in the area at that time. Production dramatically increases with respect to wheat, but drops with respect to corn and oats between 1850-1860. There is an increase in the amount of sweet potatoes and beans grown, yet the value of market garden items remained at zero, and little of these commodities were produced in 1870. Possibly these crops were grown in quantity specifically to support the slaves' diet. It is also possible that the census taker was counting the garden plots that the slaves raised for themselves.

The agricultural production of the plantation was diverse as many items were being produced, from beeswax to wool. The fluctuations in the items may represent attention being paid to the commodities market,

Table 2.1 Mabry Plantation Agricultural Census

	YEAR		
	1850	1860	1870
IMPROVED (acres)	610	600	600
UNIMPROVED (acres)	700	613	200
CASH VALUE \$	20000	36000	25000
EQUIP/VALUE \$	300	12000	1500
WAGES PAID \$ (INCLUDING BOARD)			1500
HORSES #	8	9	2
MULES #	4	8	5
COWS (MILK) #	11	5	8
OXEN #	4	4	2
CATTLE #	14	11	7
SHEEP #	40	50	30
SWINE #	40	30	15
LIVESTOCK (\$)	3180	6000	2000
WHEAT (BUSH)	160	1200	1200
CORN (BUSH)	2400	1500	500
OATS (BUSH)	1400	400	2000
WOOL (LBS)	100	?	225
PEAS/BEANS (BUSH)	50	100	1
IRISH POTATOES (BUSH)	0	10	30
SWEET POTATOES (BUSH)	100	300	10
BUCKWHEAT	0	12	0
ORCHARD (\$)	20	0	200
GARDEN (\$)		0	100
BUTTER (LBS)	300	300	1000
HAY (TONS)	140	140	25
CLOVER SEED (BUSH)	12	80	15
FLAX (LBS)	15	100	0
BEESWAX (LBS)	20	0	0
MANUF.GOODS (\$)	50	100	100
SLAUGHT. (\$)	360	700	800

where Mabry was anticipating crops or other goods which would bring the highest price for the coming year. The most dramatic change in the year 1870 is the payment of wages to individuals for work done on the farm. There is no archaeological evidence to support the occupation of the slave quarters beyond 1870. Despite the financial difficulty of 1872,

Mabry had reclaimed the property by the 1880 census, although the total amount of land had decreased by about 400 acres, and the total value of the farm, including buildings, fences, machinery and livestock was \$11,000, considerably less than ten years earlier. This decline surely relates to his financial difficulties in 1872.

Site Locale: Natural and Social Environment

The surrounding natural environment of the Mabry Plantation was modified by the land use tactics of the managers, but the unimproved acreage surely conformed to the natural vegetation of the Ridge and Valley Province, originally defined by Fenneman (1938:265-269). This natural vegetation consisted of temperate deciduous forests of oak and chestnut until the chestnut blight of the early twentieth century, when the dominant forest type became black oak and white oak. Wildlife in the area would have included the white-tailed deer, turkey, bear, rabbit, squirrel, and raccoon among many other smaller mammals (Kellog 1939:257-297). The soils in the project area were developed from residuum limestone and shale. The uppermost soil horizon consists of loam and silt loam, and is underlain by clay loam and clay (Myster 1994). The Tennessee River is approximately 14.5 km (3 miles) to the south of the Mabry Plantation, and afforded fish species of catfish, sunfish, and bass among many others (Kuhn 1939:19-115). The North Fork of Turkey Creek, which flows into the Tennessee River is located about 1.6 km (1 mile) west of the Mabry residence. A small tributary to Sinking Creek flows south from Andrew Jackson Lake, and into the eastern edge of the Mabry Pond. The pond is immediately east of the location of the Mabry mansion and is fed by one spring south of the mansion in addition to the Sinking Creek tributary. Another spring is located 170 m south of the

mansion, at the base of a small finger ridge where the slave quarters were located.

An archival and informant search was conducted to gain information on the location of outbuildings and the layout of the plantation before the archaeological work. The historic documents reviewed included: 1) land transaction descriptions; and 2) maps and aerial photographs. In reviewing land transaction records for the site, one transaction did have some information on outbuildings. The land transaction dated 1921, between several individuals including George Mabry's daughter, Jeannette Mabry, and the Couch family, contained information on a barn and a scale house.

It is distinctly understood and agreed that the scale house and the barn through which the third line of the above described boundary runs belong to the parties of the first part and they are given the right to remove the same at any time at their convenience and at their own expense (Deed Book 355:156).

The boundary lines cannot be reconstructed with precise accuracy because the starting point can only be estimated, but the boundary line described began east of the mansion and ran south along the tributary to Sinking Creek for 750 ft and then turned west south west for 1000 ft and north northwest 750 ft back to Kingston Pike. This would place the scale house and barn west-southwest of the mansion and west-northwest of the slave quarters in the project area. The 1973 and 1953 Soil Conservation Service aerial photographs were studied and a large structure is visible on the 1953 aerial photograph of the site. The structure is located about 120 m west of the mansion, just south of Kingston Pike, on a dirt or gravel road. The 1973 7.5 minute U.S.G.S. quadrangle map shows a large depression near this structure which may at one time served as a stock pond. The aerial photograph of 1973 shows many changes. There is no barn structure at this location, and the road is overgrown. The property description and the 1953 photograph strongly suggest that barns

and associated facilities were located west of the mansion and slave quarters.

Searches in the map libraries at the University of Tennessee, both the special collections and the geology map file, yielded no additional useful maps. According to Steve Cotham, director of the McClung Collection, maps depicting outbuildings surrounding the mansion were unlikely. Cotham also noted the lack of documentation in general on George Mabry.

Several individuals who lived in the area provided some information on the plantation layout. Bee Preston, formerly Bee Pace, moved to the property with her family in 1936 when she was five years old. She had no recollections of any outbuildings, but she did recall her brother maintaining a "shed" for a horse he owned far in back of the mansion, in the general vicinity of the slave quarters. The 1953 aerial photograph shows a wooded area where the slave quarters were discovered, as does the 1973 areal photograph. Just west of the quarters appears to be a cleared area which might relate to a grazing area for horses which Mrs. Preston recalled. One individual recalled information about the mansion area. Bud Stokes, who lived in the area remembered that there were "two brick houses, like a smokehouse or something, and an orchard on the western side of the road for the mansion." There was no additional information that was useful in locating outbuildings on the plantation. Terry Faulkner (1992) has conducted interviews and drawn a map based on informant recollections at the Prater farmstead (Figure 2.1), about one mile east of the Mabry Plantation, and at the Dowell Place, located on Middlebrook Pike several miles northeast of the Mabry Plantation. The map shows the many kinds of structures and associated activities that would have taken place on a large farm or plantation in the area. Most important to note is the placement of the barn on the

[illegible]

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Prater farmstead. There is a barn and granary to the right of the main house, located along a gravel road, with a stock pond nearby. If the location of the barn on the Mabry property is correctly reconstructed, then the placement of the barn, access road, and stock pond would conform closely to the plan at the Prater farmstead. These facilities would have been located just west of the project's western boundary line. Figure 2.2 depicts the project area and site features gathered from the various sources discussed. The placement of the Mabry Plantation along Kingston Pike afforded the Mabrys ready access to the major thoroughfare west of Knoxville, suggesting easy transportation for their produce to market and contact with the many travelers on the pike. In addition to the proximity to such a major transportation link, the Mabry Plantation was economically located between three major commercial points along the pike. About one mile west was the town of Loveville, which contained several businesses and shops (Faulkner 1992). This town declined after the construction of the railroad several miles to the south in 1855. Apparently, George Mabry maintained community ties with this location as he was buried in the Baptist church there. A mile west of Loveville was Campbell's Station, another major commercial center in the area. A wagon shop, tannery, cabinet factory, post office, two taverns, and a horse race track was located there (Faulkner 1992). To the east, about 16 km (10 miles), was the city of Knoxville, a major commercial hub by the mid-nineteenth century. The social environment for the Mabrys was certainly not one of desolate isolation, but of ready and constant access to active market places in nearby towns, and to important news and information via travelers from east and west.

MABRY SITE (40KN86)

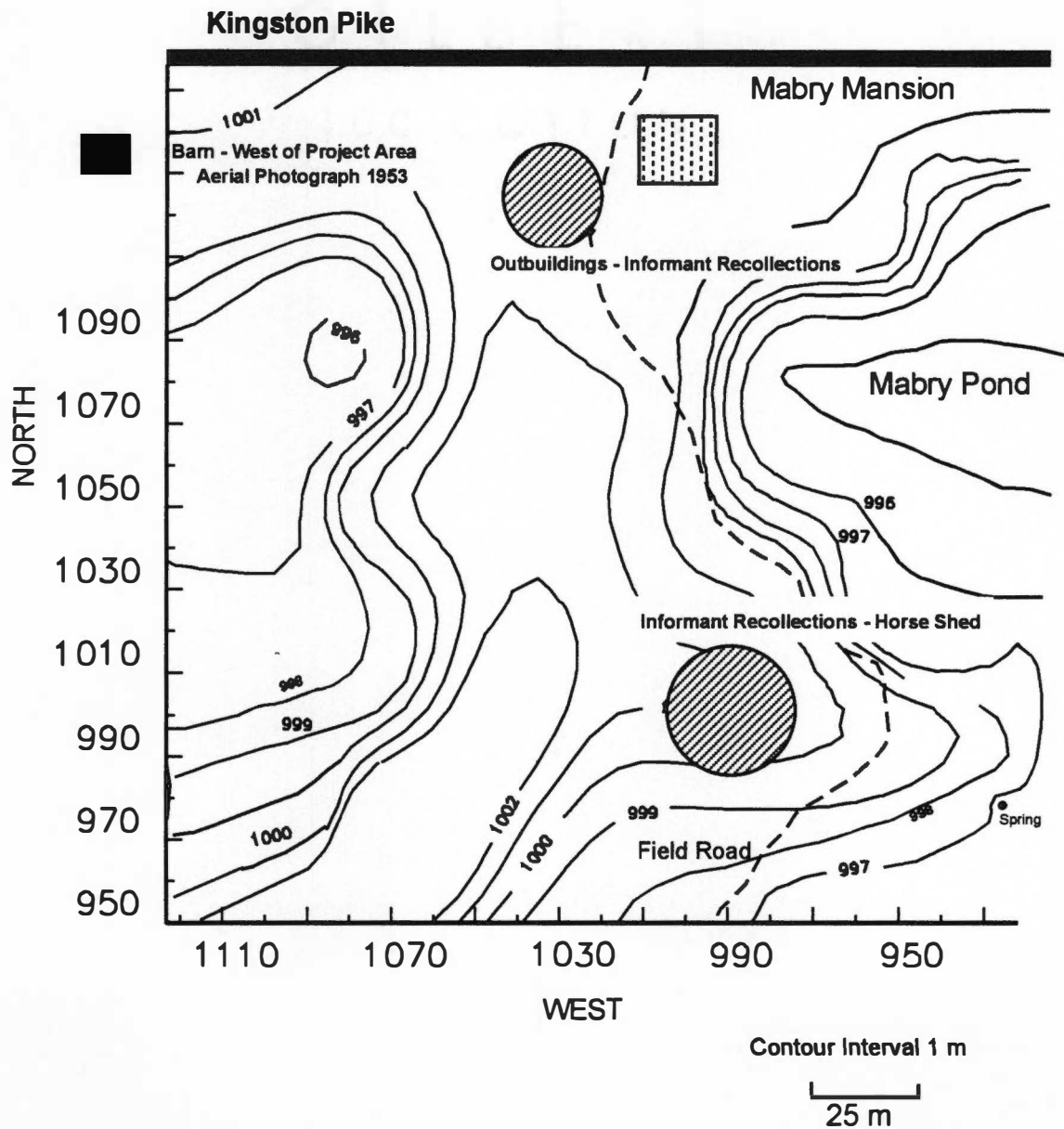


Figure 2.2 Mabry Site Area

Slavery in East Tennessee

George Mabry maintained a successful farming operation on a large landholding with the aid of slave labor. The Mabry estate should be considered an Upland South Plantation, primarily because of the presence of slaves.

The use of slave labor on the Mabry Plantation appears different from the use of slaves in the Lowland South region. George Mabry apparently made an adept economic decision on the most efficient way to use his slave labor. If George Mabry sold his commodities in the Deep South, as Rothrock suggests many farmers of Knox County did, he indirectly provided diverse commodities to support the slave population in other parts of the South. He most likely grew crops and livestock to support his own small slave population and probably sold the surplus goods which may have reached cotton planters to feed their own slaves. If this is so, then he made economic gains by using slave labor to grow food to support the slave population in the Deep South. The number of slaves George Mabry owned was relatively high considering the agricultural strategies of the area.

The diversified system of farming, with considerable numbers of livestock, was not conducive to large slave holdings. Slaves represented 20 percent of the total population enumerated in Knox Co. by Governor Blount in 1795. This percentage decreased with each succeeding census, and by 1860 only 10 percent were slaves (Rothrock 1946:79).

The activities of the slaves residing at the Mabry Plantation must have been diverse, considering all the livestock to be tended, the crops sown, cultivated and gathered for market and consumption. Slaves were surely shearing sheep, tending beehives, and manufacturing necessary items, including building their own living quarters and probably the mansion of their master. This is not to mention the tasks

associated with maintaining the mansion, and probably caring for the Mabry children.

Mabry Slave Census

Included in the Mabry holdings were 18 slaves in 1850 and 8 in 1860, housed in two structures according to the slave census records of those years (U.S Slave Census 1850 and 1860). Table 2.2 lists the gender and age of slaves owned by Mabry.

Table 2.2 Mabry Slave Census

1850			1860		
Age	Sex		Age	Sex	
40	M	*	50	M	*
35	M		40	F	*
30	M		24	M	*?
30	F	*	17	F	*
29	M		12	M	
28	F		8	F	
26	M		3	M	
21	F		2	F	
19	F				
18	M				
15	M	*			
9	M				
9	F				
7	F	*			
6	F				
3	F				
2	F				
1	F				

Asterisks indicate individuals who probably resided on the plantation in 1850 and 1860.

There is a decline of ten individuals between 1850 and 1860. The eldest male and female slaves, aged 40 and 30 in 1850, and a female slave aged 7 in 1850 probably remained in 1860. Possibly, the 24 year old male in 1860 is the same individual listed as 15 on the 1850 census.

The other children listed in 1860 are most likely offspring born after the census of 1850.

According to Genovese (1974:474), slaves preferred marriages to individuals residing on different plantations. This possible preference makes assumptions of the pairings of man and wife, from the census records alone, speculative. The fact that the two oldest male and female individuals probably remained on the plantation in 1860, suggests a couple with perhaps offspring and grandchildren. This is assuming a conscious attempt was made by the Mabrys to keep families together. The children could either belong to only the eldest female, or be distributed between the four females age 30 to 19. It is also possible that several individuals are related as brother and sister. Joseph Mabry had stated his slave, named "Old Billy" was to be emancipated on January 1, 1840. Although speculative, it is possible that many of the young adults listed in the census are the offspring of this slave.

The decrease in slaves between 1850 and 1860 may be the result of slave mortality, sale, or the gift of slaves by Mabry to other family members. Judging from the inventory of farm machinery on the Mabry Plantation, the need for slaves may have lessened as mechanized farming increased. Slaves may also have been given to family members as their needs arose.

A comparative study of slave demography for three areas, including Lexington, Kentucky, and the Knoxville and Nashville areas of Tennessee was conducted by Susan Frankenburg (1992). The slave holdings for the counties of Knox, Anderson, Blount, Campbell, Claiborn, Grainger, Sevier, and Union (only for 1860) counties were compared as an area to the counties surrounding Nashville and Lexington. Knox County had a slave population of 2,370 in 1860 (Rothrock 1946:40) and 423 free blacks. Frankenburg's research provides a comparative standard of slave

holding in the area around Knoxville. Her research shows that 76% of slave holders in the Knoxville area had 1-7 slaves, and 24% of slaveholders had eight or more slaves. Mabry's slave holding in 1850 would be considered large for the counties around Knoxville, but about average in 1860.

Frankenburg's demographic study addressed the fertility and growth rates of the slave population for the counties she studied. The fertility of the slave population for the Knox area was high, and consequently a high degree of slave mobility was suggested for the slave population around Knoxville. Her research concludes:

...one demographic result that is surprising is higher growth of the slave population in the Knoxville area. One would expect that slaves would more easily establish and maintain families (and hence experience higher fertility) in regions with large slave-holdings and localized slave communities. This result suggests that slaves in the Knox area had the opportunity to maintain relationships outside their owner's domain, and/or that fertility resulting from transient couplings was extremely high (Frankenburg 1992:13).

The location of all slave communities in Knoxville is beyond the scope of this work; however, it is important to emphasize the location of the Mabry Plantation along the major thoroughfare of Kingston Pike, and proximity of the plantation to the commercial points of Loveville, Campbell's Station, and Knoxville. In addition, an examination of maps for this vicinity revealed a church and school labeled "colored" on the Knox County highway map of 1933 in the Concord vicinity, located about 2.5 miles southwest of the Mabry Plantation. Further archival work may reveal an earlier black community residing in the area in the late nineteenth century, which may have arisen from slave populations in the area. Provided slaves had mobility, as Frankenburg's (1992) study suggests, slaves at the Mabry Plantation were within reach of local markets and slave contacts outside their immediate plantation.

Attitudes Toward Slavery in East Tennessee

Economic factors and the geography of Tennessee created regional differences in attitudes towards slavery. The economic dependence on cash crops and the slave labor to produce it reinforced pro-slavery attitudes in the middle and western parts of the state. East Tennesseans had a tendency to oppose slavery. Woodson (1985:39) states that anti-slavery sentiment around Maryville and Knoxville was strong, and that the religiously oriented publications The Intelligencer and The Presbyterian Witness, were anti-slavery voices in East Tennessee in 1841. The state convention of 1834 in Nashville, Tennessee was organized to rearrange representation in the state and address tax grievances. However, this meeting became the staging ground for an attempt by anti-slavery opponents to prohibit slavery in the state.

The anti-slavery petitioners came mostly from East Tennessee, a region where the size of the slave population had remained relatively stable for the last two decades. Forty-two of the sixty delegates at the convention however came from Middle and West Tennessee - regions whose slave populations had grown dramatically since 1810. By raising the question of the future of slavery in the state, anti-slavery forces in the east created the most thorny and controversial issue of the convention (Lamon 1981:13).

As discussed, Joseph Mabry, George Mabry's father, was an important participant in this convention by offering and aiding anti-slavery propositions despite the fact he was a slave owner himself (Temple 1899:8,118). East Tennessee was initially settled primarily by Virginians (Joseph Mabry for example) and North Carolinians. Although the slavery laws of Tennessee were originally inherited from North Carolina, the attitudes of many early East Tennessee settlers towards slavery appear to have differed from those in Middle and West Tennessee.

Historians have noted differences in slave treatment and living

conditions throughout the South (Mooney 1968; Lamon 1981; Gray 1933). Although Lamon (1981:15) observes that blacks all across the state of Tennessee probably shared some "common work experiences, fears, values, and social opportunities" apparently there were qualitative differences in slave lifeways across East, Middle, and West Tennessee. Lamon states that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when eastern Tennessee was being settled, slaves worked the same chores as their owners. In East Tennessee slaves were rarely sold and "family relationships and personal attachments" had the chance to develop (Lamon 1981:6-7).

In East Tennessee, blacks continued to live in small groupings, much as they had in the early frontier days of the late eighteenth century. Only where the valleys flattened out and where transportation gave easier access to commercial markets did any semblance of the 'plantation life' occur (Lamon 1981:15).

Chase Mooney notes aspects of the character of slavery in East Tennessee. "These slaves often lived with their master's family, worked in the fields with him, took an interest in his affairs, and in return, became objects of his regard" (Mooney 1968:87). East Tennessee slave owners seldom had more than ten slaves, and as Mooney and Lamon note, there was seldom the need for an overseer. The presence of the overseer has been considered an indication of poorer conditions for slaves. "Absentee ownership," which required an overseer, was termed an evil by abolitionists because there was less direct contact between the master and his slaves, and greater opportunities for harsher treatment (Genovese 1974:11).

Gray (1933:518-519) summarizes the differences in the treatment of slaves of large plantations as compared to smaller plantations or farmsteads.

On the small plantations and farms there was a closer personal relation between master and slave, with all the mitigation made possible by the ability to depart from fixed rule and to employ that mode of treatment best adapted to the individual case. Absentee ownership and the resulting

evils of the overseer system were less prevalent. The slave shared the prosperity and adversity of the Master. The latter was likely to speak of his slave force as his 'family' and to feel the responsibility growing out of such an attitude.

Genovese (1974:9) questioned the accuracy of statements such as these, noting that slave diaries and other documentation failed to note a preference among slaves between large and small plantations. The lack of overseers did not guarantee "better" treatment necessarily, as cruel masters could be found on small farms as well as on large plantations. The slave may have actually preferred the large plantation because of the considerable contact that situation afforded him with other African-Americans. Small farms did not necessarily prevent the breakup of slave families. Genovese is certainly not convinced that a small plantation or farmstead would provide a more humane setting as some historians have suggested.

This historical overview suggests that slaves in the Upland South had "kinder, gentler masters" and may have been treated differently from those on large plantations of the Lowland South. This magnifies the importance of documenting slaves' lifeways in East Tennessee. What were the living conditions of the slaves at the Mabry Plantation? Was the distinct legal social boundary between master and slave reproduced through their material culture? Are there aspects of the slave's material culture which represent their attempts to maintain an African-American identity? The archaeological research at Mabry attempts to answer these questions.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN

Objectives

There are two main themes of archaeological research at Mabry. These are: 1) the reconstruction and description of slave life at the Mabry Plantation; and 2) the social relations among slaves and planter at Mabry. The first step in the research is to describe the material culture associated with the enslaved African-Americans at this site. The second basic theme addresses the social relations between master and slave primarily through comparisons of their ceramics.

Upland South Plantations

The Mabry site is defined here as an "Upland South Plantation." Defining this term is difficult because so many variables are involved. Orser (1990b:1-4) has discussed the difficulty in defining the spatial boundaries of the South, because many geographical factors, including topography, climate, geology, agriculture, and politics, not to mention archaeological factors, influence the boundaries of what one labels as the South. The term "Upland South" is appropriate because it is a term reflecting primarily broad topographic differences which correlate with key environmental variables of soil and climate, and with agricultural production. Upland South plantations will be found in areas of the South where the production of single large scale crops of cotton or sugar cane were not economically feasible. Locationally, Upland South plantations will be found primarily in the physiographic provinces north and west of the Coastal Plain, including: 1) the Piedmont Plateau; 2) Blue Ridge; 3)

Ridge and Valley; 4) Appalachian Plateau; 5) Interior Low Plateau; 6) Ouachita Plateau; and 7) Ozark Plateau within the slave holding states of the South (Figure 3.1). In this study, the terms "Deep South" and "Lowland South" refer to areas within the Coastal Plain. The Mabry site lies in the Ridge and Valley Province (Hunt 1974:12). This area is included in the regions of the Southeast that are higher in elevation than the Coastal Plain. Otto has described this area as: "...the uplands and highlands between the Appalachians and the Texas plains" (Otto:1989:x). He further describes this area as:

Plateaus, mountains, and intermontane valleys, trailed across the reaches of the trans-Appalachian South, whereas dissected uplands characterized the lower reaches. With the exception of the lower Mississippi Valley and the coastal fringe, uplands and highlands predominated in trans-Appalachia, earning this region the appellation of Upland South (Otto:1989:82).

The geographic location of the Mabry site in the ridge and valley system of East Tennessee is important in understanding how the Mabry Plantation may have differed from other plantations. But first, the term "plantation", as it relates to the Mabry site, must be discussed. Orser (1984:1-2) discusses the difficulties in defining the term "plantation", noting that some scholars have focused on the social relations existing on the plantation while others have concentrated on the economic issues involved. The defining characteristics according to Prunty (1955:460) include: 1) a large landholding; 2) distinct divisions between labor and management; 3) specialized agricultural production; 4) location in an area with an existing plantation tradition; 5) distinctive settlement pattern that reflects centralized control; and 6) a relatively large input of cultivating power.

The Mabry site conforms to four of Prunty's six characteristics of plantations with regard to: 1) relatively large landholdings; 2) divisions between labor and management; 5) the spatial arrangements

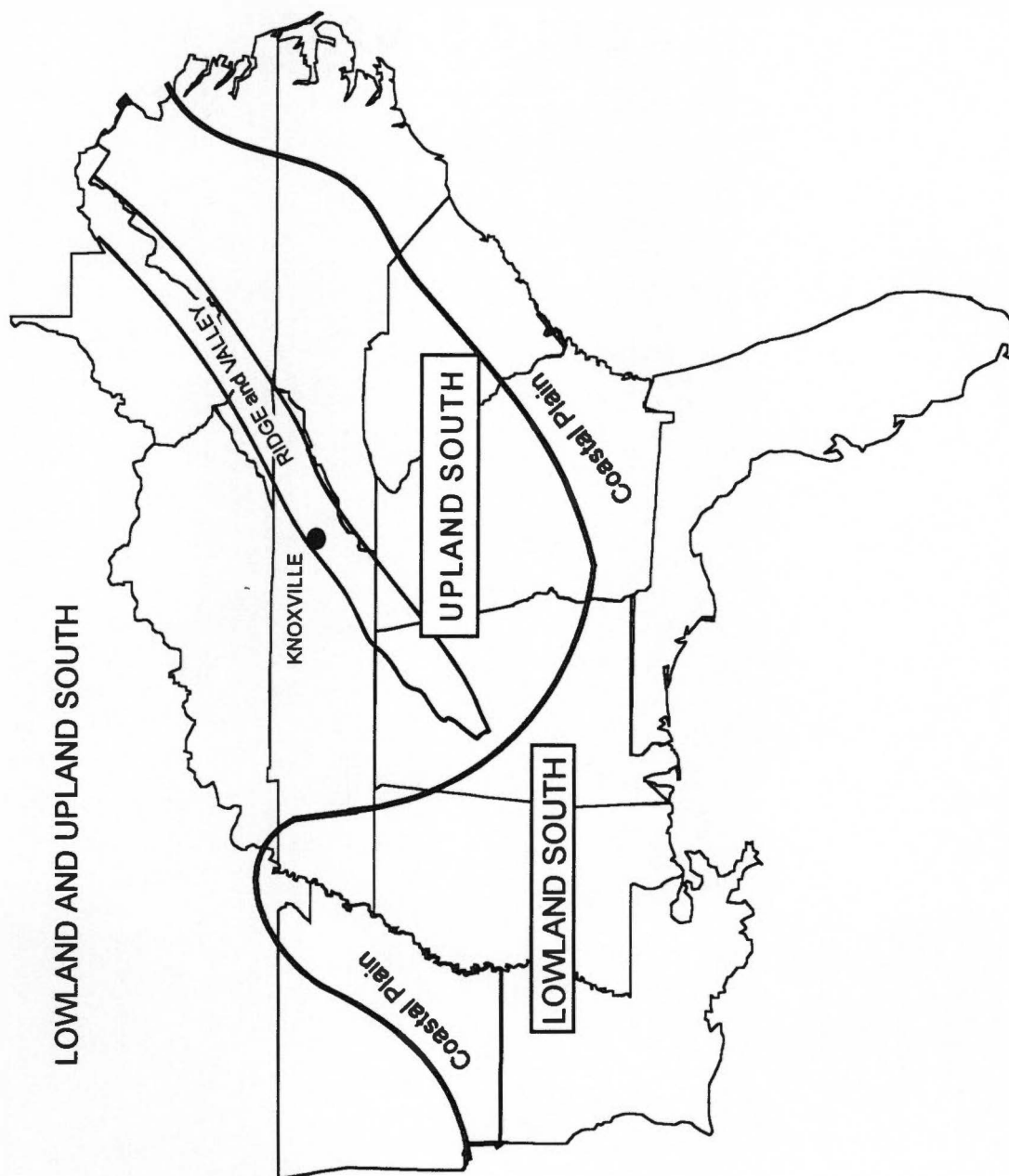


Figure 3.1 The Upland and Lowland South

reflected centralized control; and 6) a large input of cultivating power. Mabry's landholdings were relatively large. The arrangement of the slave quarters away from the Mabry mansion, in addition to the remains of outbuildings discovered during field investigations near the mansion, support the suggestion of centralized control at Mabry. The agricultural census and the presence of slaves support the characterization of a large input of cultivating power at the plantation. The Mabry site does not conform to Prunty's definition with regard to its 4) location within an area associated with a defined tradition of plantations and the production of a specialized agricultural crop. Although the location of the Mabry site was in the Southeastern region of the United States, the variable attitude towards slavery in East Tennessee suggests that there was not a "tradition" of "plantations." The Mabry Plantation did not produce one specialized agricultural crop, such as sugar or cotton. On the contrary, a diversified agricultural production of crops, livestock, manufactured goods, and other commodities is seen in the Mabry Plantation agricultural censuses.

Orser (1990:114) later redefined the concept of the plantation based on a more anthropological perspective, that emphasized "the internal aspects of plantation life." His "archaeologically relevant" definition follows:

... a plantation is a tract of land used primarily for agricultural production that has discreet spatial limits, a settlement pattern organized in such a way as to maximize production, and at least two classes of people-those who work and those who direct-who maintain a unique set of social relations (Orser 1990:114).

The definition of plantation for anthropologists should emphasize the internal aspects of the social relations there. However, I would argue that the organization of the plantation settlement would not necessarily be organized according to the most "economical" arrangement,

nor does Orser discuss how this could be measured. In relation to the slave quarters at Mabry, the placement of the cabins did not follow an economic model. The most economically logical place at the Mabry site to house the slaves, considering the varied work the slaves performed and the necessary communication link with the master, was probably adjacent to the mansion. As much a concern to planters as economics, was the appropriate distance to maintain surveillance of the slave population, yet avoid other factors associated with slave populations, including the belief that foul smells would emanate from the quarters. The placement of the slave quarters was based on economic and social considerations.

Andrews and Young (1992) devised a definition for what they term an "Upper South Plantation." They describe two sites, the Locust Grove site near Louisville, Kentucky, and the Brabson Ferry site near Knoxville, Tennessee, as Upper South plantations. They argue that archaeologists should be aware of the variability in plantations according to regions of the Southeast, and that plantations in the Upper South should not be characterized in the same fashion as the well known plantations along the southeastern coastal plain (Andrews and Young 1992:2). They define an Upper South plantation as "a rural slaveholding unit characterized by diversified agricultural products and services." They describe other characteristics of an Upper South Plantation including: 1) social relations between master and slave which would conform to Lowland South plantations; 2) diversified responsibilities of slaves commensurate with the many tasks they had to perform, limiting specialized skills; and 3) the hiring out of slaves to other planters for additional income. I am not certain that there would necessarily be less specialized workers on an "Upper South Plantation", when one considers the skills needed to perform the tasks of a blacksmith,

butcher, carpenter, or any other kind of labor that was done on any farm striving for self-sufficiency. There is no mention of the size of the landholding, so that the smallest farm, with one slave, growing two crops for sale may qualify as a plantation under this definition. I also disagree with the premise that the social relations between master and slave would parallel relations in the Deep South. Singleton (1980:8) comments on the importance of viewing slavery from a regional perspective:

Similarly, in the United States discussions of slavery are confined to geographic areas such as states (e.g. Flanders 1933) or time periods (e.g. Stamp 1956). Both comparative studies and those within the United States are frequently concerned with slave management or the legal aspects of slavery. Less often has the issue of slave behavior been addressed. When it has, the entire slave holding South has formed the unit of analysis (e.g. Blassingame 1972; Genovese 1974). It is questionable whether these discussions are applicable to slavery everywhere in the Old South.

The fact that Upland South planters did not adhere to the layout of plantations in the Lowland South suggests a rejection of another region's customs for the design and operation of a plantation. Gray (1933:518-519) has suggested that planters in the Upland South did not feel bounded by "fixed rule" regarding the treatment of their slaves. Indeed, as Andrews and Young themselves (1992) argue, archaeologists should attempt to identify and understand variability in the many aspects of plantation systems. Differences in slave lifeways between Lowland and Upland South plantations should be expected, based on dissimilar environments, plantation size, crop production, and regional attitudes on slave management to name a few variables. The archaeologist should examine historical, economic, social, and environmental factors on each plantation in order to compare and understand the relations there.

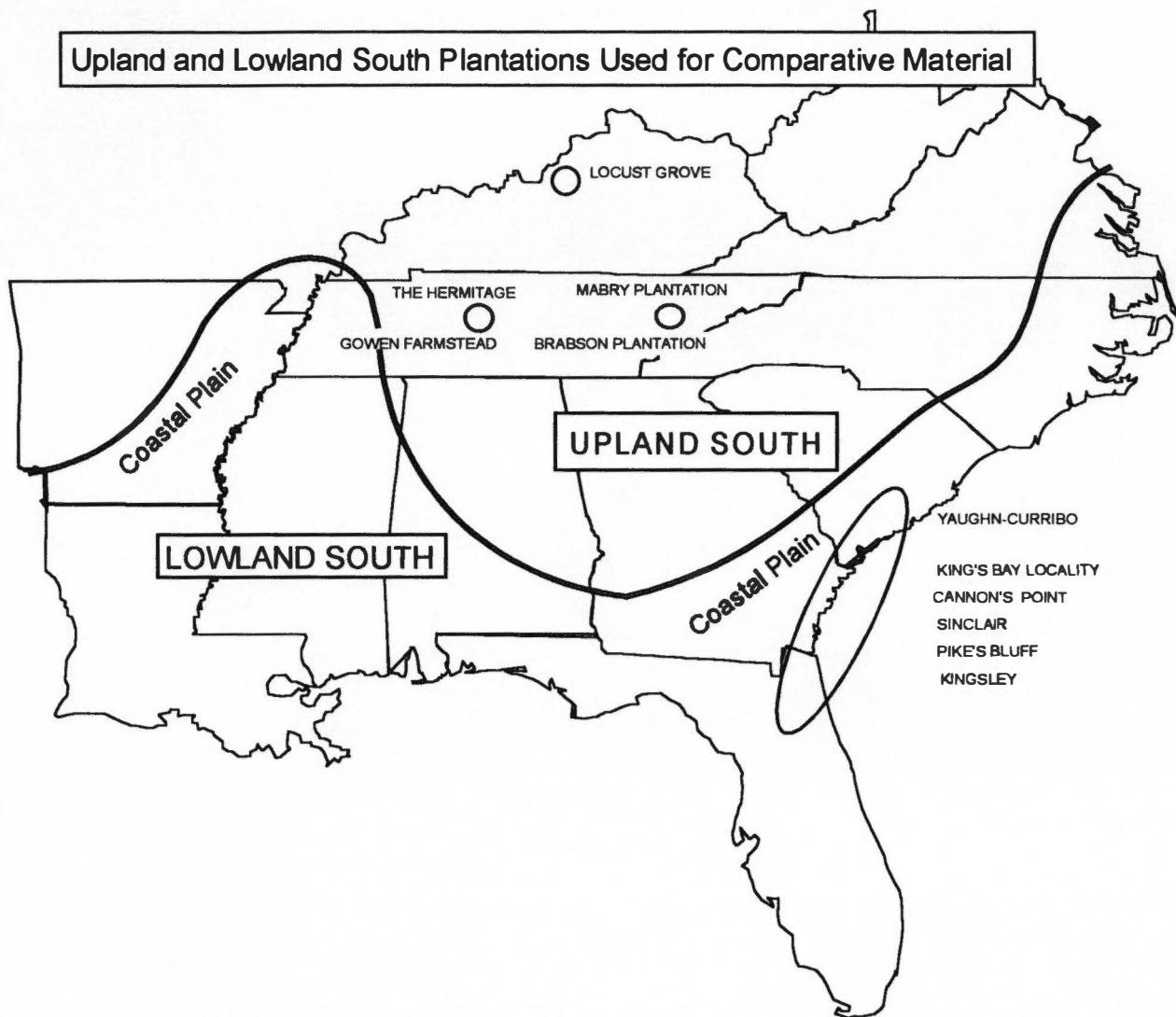
I favor the following definition of an Upland South Plantation: 1) a relatively large landholding; 2) the production of surplus diversified

I favor the following definition of an Upland South Plantation: 1) a relatively large landholding; 2) the production of surplus diversified agricultural goods sold in a market economy; and 3) a work force which contained at least two classes of people, or as Orser phrased it "those who work and those who direct." This definition should encompass most of the larger farmsteads in the upland areas of the Southeast that utilized slave labor to produce a varied array of surplus products for sale. This does not mean that all plantations north of the Coastal Plain are Upland South plantations. For example, two plantations with lands along the Cumberland River near Nashville Tennessee, the Hermitage (McKee 1991) and Belle Meade (McKelway et al. 1989), appear to conform to Lowland South plantations, possessing large numbers of slaves and producing cotton for sale. In essence there are areas north of the Coastal Plain that did support plantations similar in size to those along the coast. The Coastal Plain simply provides a useful boundary, marking topographic differences within the slave holding Southeast.

Archaeology and Southeastern Plantations

Research on plantations across the Southeast (Figure 3.2 depicts plantations where comparative material was used in this study) has been directed at two basic goals. These consist of: 1) describing slave material culture and reconstructing slave lifeways; and 2) understanding plantation social structure through archaeological correlates (Orser 1984). The work of Fairbanks on Kingsley and Rayfield plantations (1984), which began in the late 1960s is credited by Orser (1984:3) and Singleton (1991:71) as having a major impact on archaeological work at plantations. His work utilized a descriptive approach, highlighting the material culture of slaves, as did the work of Kelso (1984) at the

Figure 3.2 Upland and Lowland South Plantations Used for Comparative Material



Kingsmill Plantation in Virginia. Another focus of interest was the survival of artifacts which reflected the African cultural heritage of the slaves, termed "Africanisms." As Singleton (1988:348-349) notes, the handmade pottery often found in South Carolina slave sites is proposed as an Africanism, as well as mud walled structures found at Yaughan and Curriboo plantations (Wheaton and Garrow 1985). Handmade or modified artifacts found on slave sites might be considered Africanisms, and the documentation of these items has remained a focus of some archaeologists (Ferguson 1992). The value of works like these, which document the material culture of slaves, reconstructs the lifeways of a class of individuals seldom discussed in the documents of the early nineteenth century. This search for Africanisms might be considered part of the descriptive approach which has been most commonly used in plantation research. Orser (1990:115), however, has urged that plantation archaeologists move beyond this basic descriptive and inferential approach to intrasite plantation studies which focus on the internal social dynamics of the plantation. Unfortunately, there are few studies which have taken this approach (Orser 1990:131-134; Howson 1988).

An attempt to understand "internal plantation dynamics," through the correlation of social status and material culture, began with the work of John Otto (1977,1984) at Cannon's Point Plantation in Georgia. Cannon's Point Plantation was occupied from 1790 through 1860 by the wealthy planter, 100-200 slaves, and an overseer. Otto's well known study suggested that ceramics and faunal remains reflected status differences between planter, overseer, and slave (Otto 1984: 157-169). This study continues to be one of the few works where planter and slave material culture from the same site was collected and compared extensively. Otto's work is continually used for comparative material.

Singleton's (1980:216) was the first study to construct a slave artifact pattern, which utilized South's (1977) pattern recognition formula to investigate plantation society. She used data from Cannon's Point (100-200 slaves), Butler Island (500 slaves, occupied from 1804-1861), and Kingsley Plantation (also mid-nineteenth century with 100 slaves) to define a slave artifact pattern. Singleton (1985) later edited a collection of works on plantations. In this volume Sue Mullins Moore (1985) addressed social relations on plantations. She hypothesized that artifact patterns retrieved from slave and master on a small site would be more similar than slave and master on large plantations. She compared the ceramic assemblages from several plantation sites on the Georgia coast barrier island of St. Simons Island. Sinclair Plantation (10 to 50 slaves and occupied from 1790 through 1830) had planter and slave assemblages as did Cannon's Point. The planter's house area at the Pike's Bluff Plantation (20 slaves) provided another sample from a master. Slave artifact assemblages from Kingsley Plantation (100 slaves), Hampton Plantation (over 300 slaves), and Butler Island (500 slaves) were used.

Although purporting to use a pattern recognition approach, most of her analysis is focused on the quantity and cost of ceramics in planter and slave contexts at these different plantations. Her results indicated that the quantity of ceramics was significantly higher and the ceramics were more expensive on larger plantations. There were significant differences between the cost of ceramics between slave quarters of small and large planters as well. Mullins-Moore attributes this pattern to a trickle down effect of wealth from the planter to the slaves. She also hypothesized differences between field slaves and domestic slaves on these two plantations, but statistical tests could not support her hypothesis. Orser (1988) used data from the same sites and contexts to

address the issues of both the external and internal dynamics of the plantation through ceramic cost. Orser (1988:747) shows that ceramics on the smaller Sinclair Plantation were more similar in cost between master and slave than ceramics on the larger Cannon's Point Plantation. He also suggests that ceramics differed between domestic and field slaves.

Kelso (1984) and Zierden (1985) argued that other aspects of the archaeological record of plantations may be used as measures of status, but the most common means of assessing status and investigating master and slave relations has continued to be ceramics.

The work of Adams and colleagues (1987) in the Kings Bay locality in Camden County, Georgia, documented the material culture associated with slaves and planter on three plantations. At the King's Bay Plantation (43 slaves), the kitchen, dating 1791-1819 and two slave structures dating 1790-1821 were investigated. At Harmony Hall Plantation (6 slaves), the kitchen dating 1793-1832 and the slave quarter dating 1800-1840 were excavated. At the Cherry Point Plantation (8 slaves), also referred to as the James King Site, planter and slave contexts dating 1790 through 1823 were investigated. They extensively document the archaeological features and material culture of slaves and master on these sites. Adams and Boling (1991) use ceramic data from these sites, in conjunction with data gathered from other plantations to investigate status. They identified a correlation between wealth and status and the ceramic attributes of vessel form and cost on the sites they investigated. Adams and Boling (1991:84) suggest that slaves were participating more freely in the economic system of the day than has been recognized.

Also in Singleton's (1985) volume, an article by Wheaton and Garrow (1985) addressed slave acculturation through a pattern recognition approach on sites in plantations in South Carolina. They

argue that the pattern recognition approach illustrates acculturation for the slaves who resided at Yaughan (20-80 slaves) and Curriboo plantations along the coast of South Carolina. These plantations were established around 1740 and were occupied into the early nineteenth century. A distinctive shift in the architecture of the slave quarters was observed through time, beginning with African-like dwellings that were "cob-wall construction" to cabins with Euro-American design (Wheaton and Garrow 1985:248). The presence of colonoware ceramics, hand manufactured by the slaves, declined from the late eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth century. They suggested that a slave artifact pattern for the South Carolina low country was characterized by "a very high kitchen to architecture percentage," with minor percentages comprising the other artifact pattern groups (Wheaton and Garrow 1985:253). Most importantly, they detected a shift in the slave artifact pattern through time:

The artifact patterns extracted from the slave quarters appeared to reflect a change from what can be recognized as a purely slave artifact pattern model to models more similar to those gained from Euro-American sites (Wheaton and Garrow 1985:257).

More recently, Joseph (1989) uses these data in contrast to the archaeological findings on slave sites in Georgia to suggest that acculturation was occurring between planter and slave. The main change which Joseph notes is a gradual decrease in the percentage of ceramics found at eighteenth century slave sites, and a gradual increase in the architectural items found in the nineteenth century Georgia sites. Joseph interprets these findings as evidence that slaves were becoming acculturated to Euro-Americans, and that planters were beginning to provide slaves with more favorable living conditions. Joseph uses data from investigations at several plantations in Georgia and South Carolina which are of comparative use.

Archaeological investigations on slave quarters in the Upland South have been limited. Andrews and Young (1992) defined an Upper South Plantation with two examples: Locust Grove Plantation (varying from 6-41 slaves) and Brabson Ferry (49 slaves) Plantation. Young and Andrews (1992) studied ceramics derived from excavations at Locust Grove, comparing percentages of "matched ceramics" between the mansion and slave quarters. The similar percentage of ceramic matches between all three slave cabins and the mansion is interpreted as evidence that all slaves had access to mansion ceramics. Andrew's work (1992) centered on defining the components of the houselot at the Brabson Plantation, and did not address slave lifeways through material culture.

The Gowen Farmstead, in Nashville, Tennessee, was investigated by Garrow and Associates and is considered by these investigators to be a plantation (Weaver et al. 1993:324). The investigations located the remains of three structures. Two of the structures are believed to have been slave quarters occupied from 1797 through the early nineteenth century. The highest number of slaves on the Gowen plantation was 15, which is similar to the Mabry Plantation with a peak of 18. This plantation is especially interesting in that William Gowen is believed to have been African-American (Weaver et al. 1993:326). This research provides a good descriptive base and uses ceramics as a means to assess status. They discuss the application of the artifact pattern recognition approach to this site as well, but state that the construction of a new pattern is premature without additional investigations and artifact samples. Another well known plantation site, the Hermitage has had archaeological work conducted on slave quarters (McKee 1991,1993), but at present there are no artifacts from the mansion to compare to the slave quarters. The Mabry Plantation, in terms of the number of slaves owned, is small in comparison to the coastal plantations of Cannon's

Point, Hampton, Kingsley, Butler Island, and Vaughan. As Singleton has noted (1991) these plantations were quite unusual in their size. Slave holdings of this size comprised a small percentage of plantations. The smaller plantations on the coast, including Pike's Bluff and Sinclair, Harmony Hall and Cherry Point are similar to Mabry in the size of slave populations. The Upper South plantations of Locust Grove and Brabson's Ferry are also large in comparison to Mabry regarding the numbers of slaves. The Gowen Farmstead appears comparable to Mabry in terms of the number of slaves residing there. A detailed ranking of the "wealth" or "status" of the occupants of the Mabry Plantation in comparison to all these other plantations is not attempted here because there are so many factors, economic and social, which enter into the equation as Adams and Boling (1991:61) note. Brabson and Locust Grove plantations might be considered larger, but Mabry's status was probably comparable. The Gowen Farmstead planter appears to have been less wealthy and socially prominent. The Mabry Plantation should still be considered an atypically large plantation for East Tennessee, as only 43% of slaveholders in the area had 5 or more slaves (Frankenburg 1992).

Mabry Plantation Research Design

Upon reviewing these important contributions, the most productive means for analyzing the Mabry Plantation material is clear. The importance of the Mabry Plantation lies in beginning to reconstruct slave lifeways for the East Tennessee area of the Upland South, and in investigating the social differences between master and slave through their material culture.

The descriptive method utilized here draws on slave narratives, histories, and artifacts to reconstruct aspects of slave lifeways. The

importance of basic description of slave material culture is clearly stated by Singleton (1991:75):

All archaeological studies of slavery, regardless of their research orientation contribute to an understanding of the material conditions associated with slavery. The recovery of detailed information on the everyday life of slaves in their quarters supplies the empirical data that are essential to writing historical ethnographies of slave communities and to generating new questions in the archaeological study of slavery (Singleton 1991:75).

This phase of analysis is directed at dating and describing the material culture of the slaves. This includes the slave quarters, ceramics, glassware, the diet of the cabin occupants, refuse disposal patterns, and other artifact categories relevant to the lifeways of the slaves. This is the first intensive archaeological study focused on the material culture of slaves on Upland South plantations in East Tennessee, and a description of the slave's quarters and the material contents is necessary for future comparative work.

The spatial distribution of window glass and nails is used to estimate the dimensions of the dwellings. The "Axum" computer graphics program is utilized as a visual aid. The spatial distribution of window glass and nails collected in excavation units and shovel tests is used to define the limits of the two slave cabins. Remodeling of these structures may be possible to identify. Other architectural features, such as the placement of doors may be indicated in areas where there is a higher density of small artifacts that were deposited after they were swept through the doorway or by a concentration of clinched nails (Faulkner 1984:122).

The artifacts retrieved from the structures are interpreted with the aid of historic sources. There is some difficulty in directly interpreting the usage of artifacts from the slave quarters. The first problem is that there are no other excavations of slave quarters in East Tennessee that provide comparative material. Interpretations of slave

artifact usage at Mabry requires historical sources of slave lifeways on other plantations which are not directly comparable in all aspects to the Mabry Plantation.

The discussion of miscellaneous artifacts is directed at filling out the picture of slave lifeways on the Mabry Plantation. Artifacts are classed according to South's activity groups (South 1977). This material provides the comparative data to view "slave acculturation" as discussed by Joseph (1989) and by Wheaton and Garrow (1985).

A cautionary note on the description of slave material culture at the Mabry Plantation is necessary. Simple correlations between the material culture of the slaves at Mabry and the quality of their lives is inappropriate. Slave life was enmeshed in an atmosphere of inequality, a fact demonstrated daily to slaves in forced social actions which did not leave material discards. Parker Potter (1991) states that suggestions of good or improved material conditions of slaves as described through archaeological research is alarming, because this information may be used as evidence that slavery was a benign entity.

He states:

... the ability to 'translate' from slave life to overseer life to planter life through the use of scales based on ceramics, architecture, or food remains is dangerous because such translation is, in fact, the basis for judging the quality of life rather than simply describing the conditions of life (Potter 1991:98).

Malcom X, more than 100 years after slaves resided at Mabry addressed this point:

I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner.... Being here in America doesn't make you an American (Malcom X, address in Asbury Park, 1963).

The archaeologist can not observe the mental anguish of slaves as their families were torn apart after sale or the physical cruelty of a

whipping that the institution of slavery allowed. The archaeologist can assess the living conditions of slaves as represented through their diet, housing, and material culture. I also believe that comparisons of slaves' material culture with their masters' is useful in determining the strength of the social boundary, the relations, between the two groups. These comparisons cannot be made, however, without a constant awareness and consideration of the social context of slave material culture.

There are two basic methods used to study social relations on the plantation. These are: 1) characteristics of the ceramic assemblage (Otto 1977, 1984; Mullins-Moore 1985; Orser 1988; Adams and Boling 1991); and 2) South's artifact pattern recognition approach (Singleton 1980; Wheaton and Garrow 1985; Joseph 1987). These are the primary means used in previous plantation studies, and these will be used to study slave/master relations at Mabry.

In order to move beyond the initial description of artifacts, to the investigation of relationships of master and slave, material culture from both groups, planter and slave, must be recovered and compared:

Thus, when archaeologists recover plantation artifacts, some of what they see are the material results of, on the one hand, internal plantation relations (intraplantational and explicitly social), and on the other hand, external plantation relations (as they existed within a complex marketing network). Both material aspects of the plantation are important, and one should not be disregarded in favor of the other. Still, foremost attention, perhaps should be directed toward internal relations, because they will have been tied to the particular sociohistorical aspects of the "site" under study (Orser 1991:114).

To use ceramics as a means to study social relations on the plantation, samples of ceramics from master and slave on the same plantation must be available. We need to know the differences in the material culture between slave and master on the same plantation. To know that slaves had expensive ceramics on a plantation does little good

if we do not know if the master had expensive ceramics as well. The Mabry Plantation has ceramic samples from both contexts to compare, as does Otto's study at Cannon's Point (1984), Mullins-Moore's (1985) study which was reanalyzed by Orser (1988), the Upland South Gowen Plantation (Weaver et al. 1993) and Adams and Boling's work (1991). There is a problem in that these studies vary in the selection and measurement of particular ceramic attributes, which is discussed in more detail in the ceramic analysis. A major emphasis in the study of ceramics from Mabry is the use of non-parametric statistics to demonstrate significant differences in attributes of ceramics from slave and master assemblages. Unfortunately, few of the studies reviewed here have used statistics to document significant differences, making interpretations appear subjective. This aspect of the analysis will focus on comparisons of different attributes of ceramics from master and slave contexts. These comparisons form the basis for interpretations of social relations between slaves (at least different rooms/cabins), and between master and slave at Mabry. Specific ceramic attributes, including ceramic vessel shape, ceramic cost, ceramic diversity, the number of ceramic sets, the number of matching types in common between master and slave are studied. Expectations for analysis center on the differences between master and slave and between slaves at Mabry. The research of historians suggests that the "social distance" between slave and master on the smaller plantations of East Tennessee was less than seen in the larger plantations. The "social boundary" between the slave and his master was not as rigid, was more porous, and the rules governing the proper behavior for slaves were less stringent. The lack of an overseer on smaller plantations encouraged greater contact between master and slave, and perhaps stronger personal relationships than customary on large plantations. Gray (1933:518-519) suggests that slaves

even shared the "success" of the master. Translating this social relationship between master and slave into archaeological correlates provides expectations for the ceramic analysis which are clarified in the ceramic analysis chapter. Basically, there should be no distinct differences regarding the cost of ceramics, the vessel forms used, and the number of matching sets between master and slave at Mabry if the historian's position is to be supported. To address the question of inter-slave relations, there should be no distinct differences between rooms in the slave quarters if slaves occupied similar positions in the slave hierarchy. Blassingame (1976) and Orser (1988) comment on slave social divisions based on assigned duties such as field hand or domestic servant on Lowland South plantations.

The pattern recognition approach is used by Wheaton and Garrow (1985) and Joseph (1989) to suggest slaves and master were becoming acculturated, and that planters were providing slaves with better living conditions by the mid-nineteenth century. To view what they consider slave acculturation, the comparison of master and slave material culture relations is not as important as changes in the artifact patterns at slave quarters through time. The patterns derived from several slave contexts in plantations across Carolina and Georgia are presented in comparison to the Mabry Plantation and other local Euro-American sites to see if differences exist between these patterns. The expectation at Mabry is that if slave living conditions were improving, there should be little difference in the patterning observed in the Mabry slave quarters as compared to Euro-American sites in the area.

The artifact pattern recognition method is used to consider slave acculturation (Joseph 1989), but primary emphasis regarding slave/master social relations is placed on the ceramic analysis. These hypotheses are restated in the ceramic analysis, after the context of the ceramic

assemblages, and the architectural characteristics of the slave quarters have been described.

CHAPTER 4

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Archaeological research at the Mabry site began with the recording of the site during the initial survey of proposed routes for the Pellissippi Parkway conducted by Roberts and Faulkner (1984). The work done at that time suggested that there were the remains of two, possibly three, cabins which had been occupied by slaves owned by the Mabrys.

Phase II and Phase III archaeological investigations were conducted on those portions of the Mabry site which were located in the right-of-way for a proposed interchange of the Pellissippi Parkway with Kingston Pike. From May 14-June 15, 1989, personnel from the Transportation Center at the University of Tennessee - Knoxville conducted a program of Phase II archaeological testing. Phase III archaeological testing began October 1, 1990 and continued through February 1991.

The archaeological Phase II investigation was focused on three objectives as stated in the scope of work. The first objective was to ascertain the integrity and associated dates of archaeological deposits from the possible remains of slave cabins noted in the initial reconnaissance of the area. The second objective was to locate archaeological deposits around the Mabry mansion that were undisturbed from the destruction of the house in 1983. The last stated objective was to determine the presence of any outbuildings associated with the operation of the plantation.

Phase III investigations focused on three primary objectives. The first objective was to recover archaeological material associated with the possible remains of slave cabins noted in the initial reconnaissance and Phase II testing of the area. The second objective was to recover

archaeological material from the midden deposit located south of the Mabry mansion. The last objective was to continue to locate the remains of outbuildings associated with the operation of the plantation. These investigations were conducted within the confines of time and funding allowed by the Tennessee Department of Transportation contract for work.

General Field Investigation Procedures

Shovel tests were used during the Phase II investigations to locate soil anomalies or artifact concentrations indicating archaeological features. These shovel tests (30 cm diameter) placed at 10 m intervals across open pasture areas were conducted in the area designated to be impacted by highway construction. Additional shovel tests were excavated during the Phase III investigations at the slave quarters.

A metal detector was used to detect nail concentrations which could represent the location of outbuildings. Although the metal detector did identify areas with nail concentrations, these areas were poorly delineated.

Unit and Feature Excavation

The rationale for the placement of excavation units is discussed in following sections for Phase II and Phase III investigations. The general excavation procedures are discussed below. All excavation units associated with the quarters were excavated using 6 cm arbitrary levels within natural strata, and artifacts were dry screened through 1/4 inch hardware cloth. There were three soil strata defined for archeological purposes at the Mabry site. The following soil descriptions are

applicable except for the mansion midden deposit, features, and disturbed contexts. Stratum 1 consisted of dark humus (10YR 3/2) of 1 to 3 cm thick. Stratum 2 was a silt loam (10YR 3/2), artifact bearing zone, varying in thickness from 6 to 15 cm. Stratum 3 (10YR 5/6) was the underlying soil described as clay loam, containing no artifacts (Timpson 1990).

Feature excavation varied dependent upon several factors. The feature was bisected and excavated according to arbitrary 10 cm levels and artifacts were dry screened through 1/4 inch hardware cloth. The profile of the feature was then examined, and excavation and artifact screening progressed following any natural stratigraphy that was evident in the feature profile. Deviations from this procedure are discussed with regard to the specific feature. A water screen using 1/4 inch hardware cloth became available during the Phase III investigations and was used in the excavation of the midden deposit, features associated with the mansion, and shovel tests around the quarters.

Flotation samples were taken from 4 cm balks in 1 m excavation units in 6 cm levels (2.4 liters) which bisected the slave quarters on north-south and east-west axes, and from concentrations of bone encountered in excavations. Ten liter samples were retrieved from natural zones within the privy and from excavation units within the mansion deposit. These samples are currently being analyzed.

Distances were measured on a metric scale during field investigations. The measurements regarding the cabins and some features are stated in English measurement of feet and inches. This simplifies comparisons of historic dwellings and features found at Mabry to those described in documents and at other historic sites. Features are discussed with respect to associated structures or areas of investigation.

Phase II Investigations of Slave Quarters

Seven 1 m x 1 m units were hand excavated around two areas of brick and stone remains thought to represent chimneys of two cabins. In addition to these hand excavated units, shovel tests were conducted to the north, south, and east of these structures in search of adjacent and peripheral deposits. Two definite chimney pads were identified. The chimney associated with Structure 1 yielded artifacts dating to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Probing within Structure 1 was successful in locating a large feature, believed to be a root cellar, filled with dressed stones assumed to be from the structure's chimney. A hand excavated unit documented the presence of this subsurface feature, and the artifacts contained within it supported the mid-nineteenth century date for the structure. The placement of the firepad and the dimensions of the surrounding subtle topographic rise further suggested that the cabin may have had two rooms with a central chimney. Shovel testing to the north of the structure located an adjacent midden.

Structure 2 was located to the west of Structure 1. A hand excavated unit, located near substantial brick and stone rubble contained the remains of another fireplace, with associated artifacts dating to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Phase II Investigations Near the Mabry Mansion

Although the main house was destroyed in 1983, the location of undisturbed mid-nineteenth century deposits would yield valuable comparative material for the artifacts associated with the slave quarters. To locate peripheral middens associated with the Mabry house,

shovel testing was conducted at 10 meter intervals around the remaining house depression, moving east and south to the sharp slope of the natural spring pond. The soil profile was difficult to interpret and backhoe trenching (Figure 4.1) was undertaken to delineate undisturbed deposits and to better understand the soil formation processes around the house. Five backhoe trenches east and southeast of the mansion displayed soil profiles of severe disturbance from the construction of septic tank drainage fields around the house. Trench 6, located 25 m south of the mansion remains and near the head of the natural pond, revealed a midden deposit and an historic feature. The lower levels of this deposit included nails, edge decorated whiteware, a porcelain doll head piece, and window glass dating to the mid-nineteenth century. These mid-nineteenth artifacts indicated further excavation was necessary to collect artifacts that could be used for comparison to the artifacts of the slave cabins.

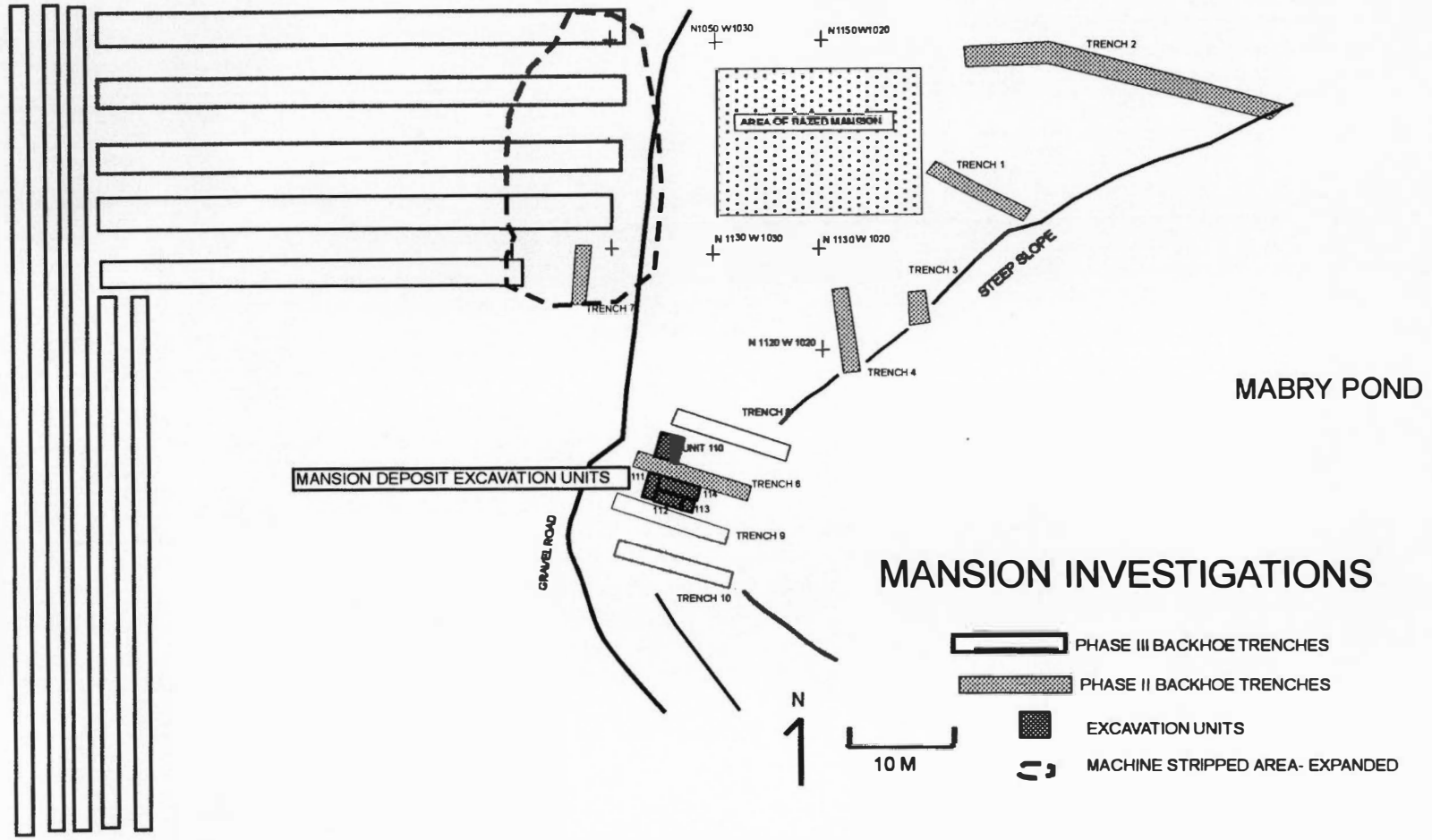
Trench 7 was placed about 20 m southwest of the mansion remains to further investigate a shovel test yielding a mixed soil profile. This trench located the remains of an apparent privy, which contained artifacts including leaded tumbler bases, and cut nails manufactured in the mid-nineteenth century. This historic feature warranted additional excavation to collect artifact samples associated with the Mabry family.

Phase III Investigations of Slave Quarters

Structure 1

Forty-three 1 m x 1 m units were hand excavated in and around Structure 1, the easternmost brick and stone remains of a central

Figure 4.1 Archaeological Investigations Near the Mansion



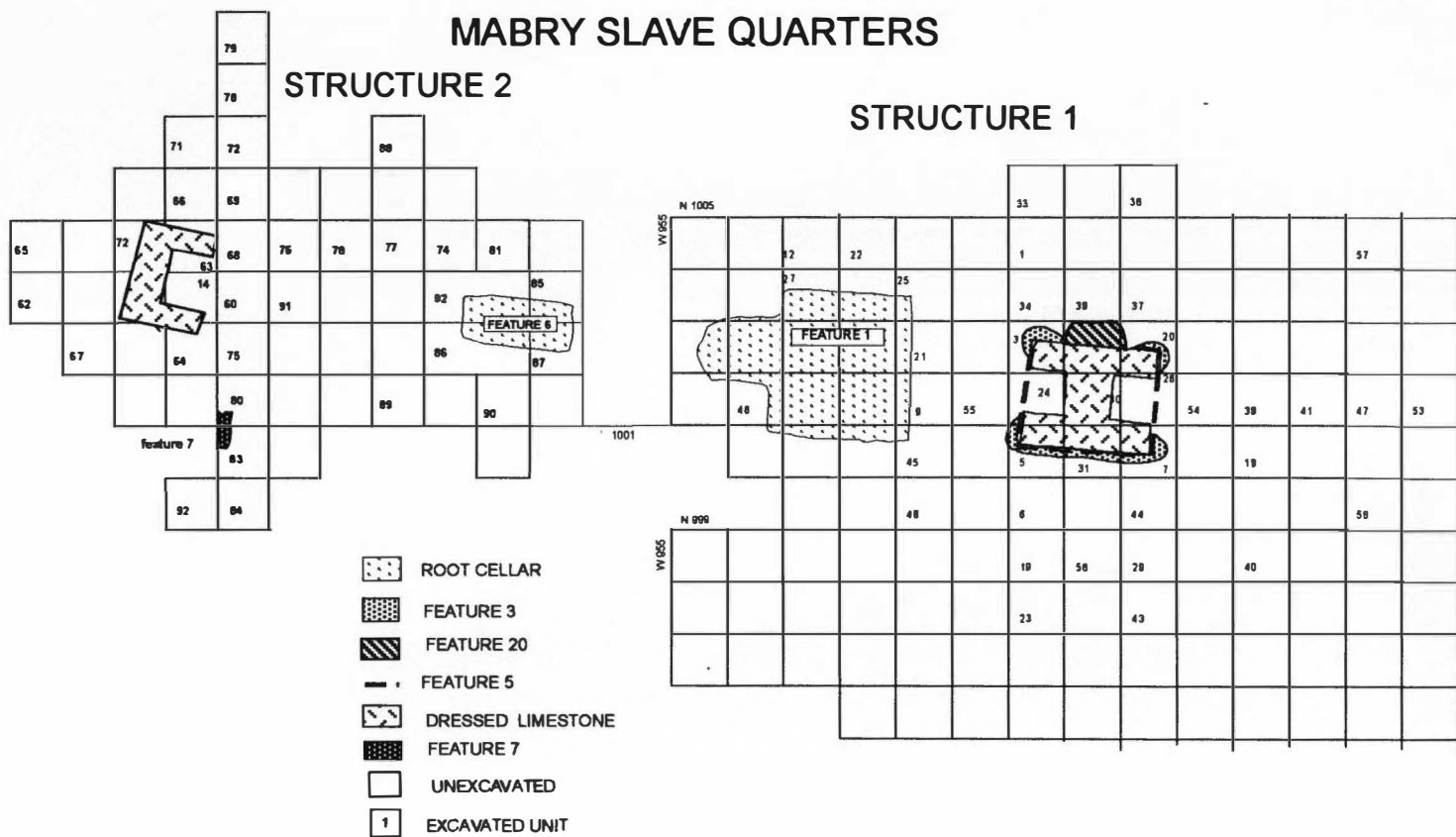
chimney pad, identified in Phase II testing. The actual hearth size was 3 ft on each side, the square chimney pad itself measured 7.5 ft on each side.

One line of units bisected the length of the structure, east to west. Two north-south lines of 1 m x 1 m squares bisected each room or pen of the structure. These units were placed adjacent to each hearth (Figure 4.2). There were two reasons for this strategy. Aligning units across the hearth area of the pens would collect artifacts in direct association with each pen, so that artifacts within pens could be compared. The line of units was also positioned so that material was collected inside and outside the estimated boundaries of the structure. Artifact density distribution maps using artifact frequencies from these units aid in defining the structure's boundaries. The east-west units in front of the hearth were designed to intersect any root cellars that might be associated with each pen. Root cellars at the Hermitage, in Nashville, Tennessee, were located directly in front of a slave cabin hearth (McKee 1993:7). There were five features associated with Structure 1. The dimensions of these features will be described, as are artifacts useful in defining the chronology, use, and formation processes associated with the feature.

Feature 1

Feature 1 (Figure 4.2, 4.3, 4.4) was a large root cellar associated with the western pen of Structure 1. The size of the cellar measured 10 ft x 10 ft, about 3 m, on a side. The cellar also had an external bulkhead entrance on the western side. The depth of the cellar was 2.95 ft (90 cm). It was impossible to excavate the root cellar in its entirety because it had been severely disturbed on the eastern side by large trees. In addition there were large stones, probably from

Figure 4.2 Slave Quarter Excavation Units and Features

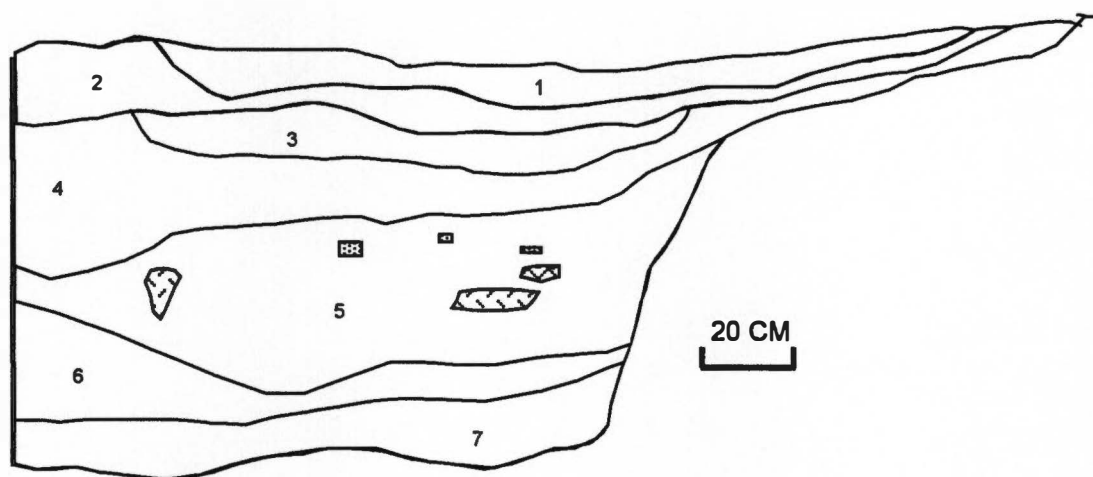


FEATURE 1 SOUTH WALL PROFILE

1001N 950W

ELEVATION 998.995

1001N 952W



1: 10YR 4/3 MEDIUM BROWN CLAYEY LOAM

2: 10YR 3/3 DARK BROWN SILTY LOAM

3: 10YR 4/4 BROWN LOAM WITH SHALE

4: 10YR 4/2 DARK GRAYISH BROWN CLAY LOAM

5: 10YR 3/4 DARK BROWN LOAM MOTTLED WITH SHALE AND CHARCOAL (HIGH ARTIFACT CONTENT)

6: 10YR 4/4 YELLOWISH BROWN CLAY LOAM WITH SHALE FLECKS

7: 10YR 4/3 BROWN LOAM HIGHLY MOTTLED WITH SHALE

 BONE

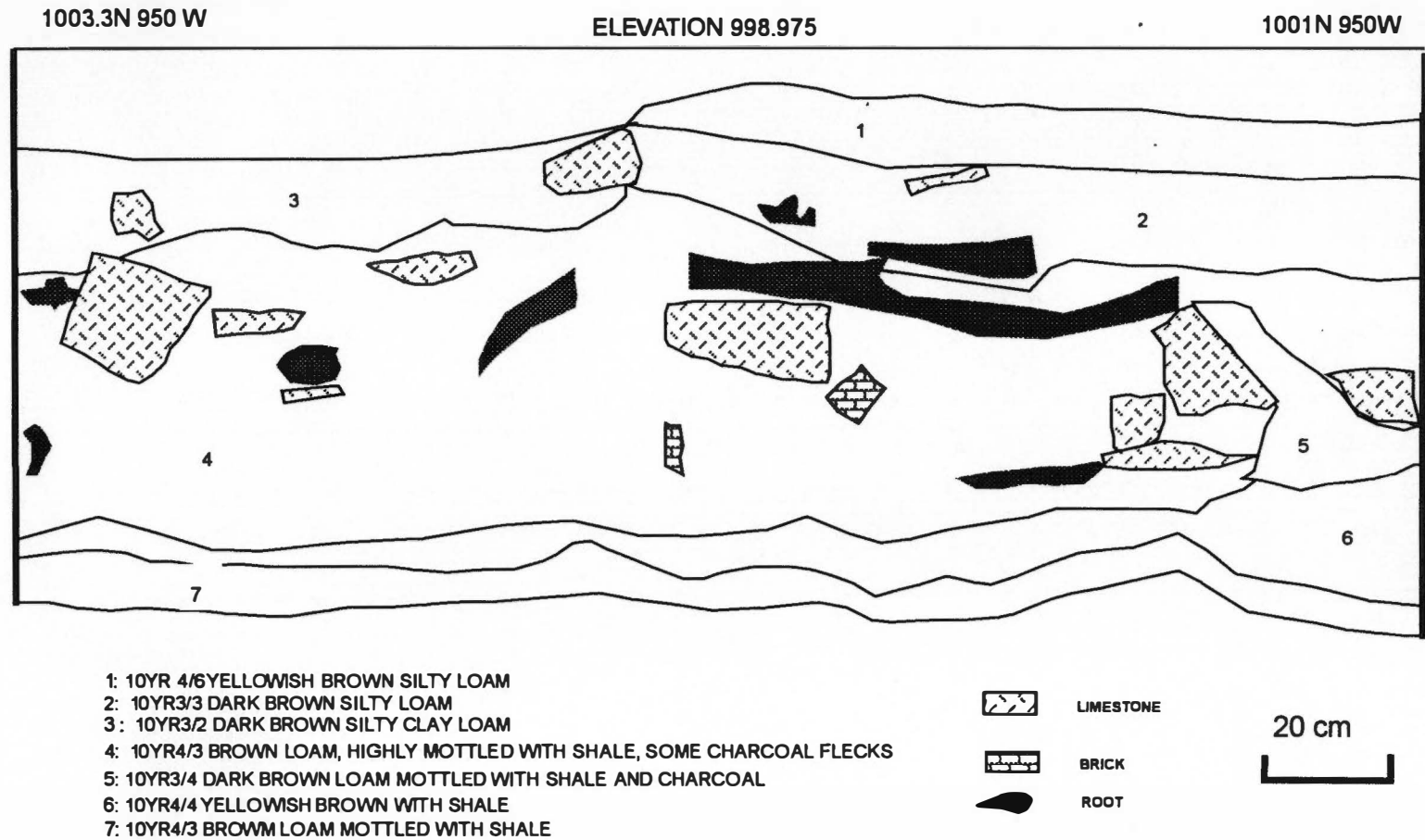
 Limestone

 Metal

Figure 4.3 Feature 1 - South Wall Profile

FEATURE 1 EAST WALL PROFILE

Figure 4.4 Feature 1 - East Wall Profile



dismantling the chimney, concentrated in the eastern half. The upper levels of the feature contained recently deposited material and had been disturbed by the construction of the field road which bisected Structure 1 and Structure 2. The artifacts below 20 cm of the feature fill dated securely to the mid-nineteenth century.

Feature 3

Feature 3 (see Figure 4.2) consisted of a lens of organic dark brown loam, highly mottled with mortar and charcoal fragments, that generally followed the perimeter of the central chimney of Structure 1.

The feature was very shallow, and the boundary was quite irregular. There was a concentration of artifacts, primarily bone and ceramics, in this feature. The shallow, irregular nature of the feature and the association with the chimney suggests that the origin of the deposit probably relates to house debris that fell through the gap between the cabin floor and the wall of the chimney. Feature 3 overlay two other features, Feature 5 and Feature 20.

Feature 5

Beneath the irregular outline of Feature 3, Feature 5 (Figure 4.2) a distinct dark narrow band, was evident around the perimeter of the chimney of Structure 1. The feature did not contain the flecks of mortar and charcoal which were distinctive for Feature 3. Feature 5 was the builder's trench for the chimney. An important note here is that there were no ceramics retrieved from undisturbed segments of the builders' trench, as compared to the high artifact content for Feature 3. There were only small rodent bones collected from the fill of Feature 5. The lack of artifacts in Feature 5 suggests that there was no

remodeling or expansion of the chimney of Structure 1. Feature 5 represents the original construction of the central chimney.

Feature 20

Feature 20 (see Figure 4.2), was a shallow depression interpreted as another storage facility, was located adjacent to the northern edge of the chimney pad. The feature intruded through the builder's trench for the chimney pad of the structure, indicating the facility had been dug after the construction of the structure. The feature extended 1.5 ft (45 cm) from the hearth and measured 2.5 ft (76 cm) in length. The greatest depth was 1 ft (.30 m) near the chimney wall.

In addition to hand excavated units and features, one hundred and sixty one shovel tests were excavated on the interior and periphery of Structure 1. The artifacts recovered in these shovel tests are used to define the architectural dimensions of the structure.

Structure 2

Thirty-five 1 m x 1 m units were placed across Structure 2 on east-west and north-south axes (Figure 4.2). The hand excavated units in Structure 2 revealed an end chimney, with a hearth of 3 ft. on each side rather than a central chimney as in Structure 1. The placement of the units in Structure 2 followed the excavation strategy for Structure 1. Units crossed the front of the hearth area along the north-south axis, and the east-west axis bisected the cabin on the longest dimension. A probable pier stone was located in unit 72 at the northwestern corner of the structure, about 9 ft (2.74 m) from the chimney. Features 6 and 7 were found in association with Structure 2.

Feature 6

Feature 6 (Figure 4.2, 4.5) was a shallow rectangular pit found at the eastern end of Structure 2, about 8 ft (2.5 m) from the external entrance of the root cellar of Structure 1. The dimensions of the pit, most likely a root cellar, were approximately 5 ft x 3 ft (1.5 m x 1 m) with a depth of about 1 ft (.30 m). The artifact content of Feature 6 was low in comparison to the quantity of material recovered in Feature 1 of Structure 1. Feature 6 did contain ceramics, glass, nails, and bone.

Feature 7

This irregular rectangular feature was found in units 80 and 83, in association with Structure 2, and may represent a robbed stone pier of the cabin. The feature was about 3 ft (.94 m) in length on the north-south axis and about 1.5 ft (.53 m) along the east-west axis with a depth of 4.3 in (11 cm). Ceramics and nails were noted in the feature along with small loose stones. The position of this feature along the southern boundary of the cabin, the loose stones included within the fill, and the shallow nature of the feature suggests the larger pier stones may have been removed leaving the depression to fill with artifacts through natural processes.

In addition to hand excavated units and features, one hundred forty one shovel tests were excavated on the interior and periphery of Structure 2 to aid in estimating the size of this structure.

Backhoe Trenches

To search for outbuildings and fence lines associated with the quarters, fourteen 1 m wide backhoe trenches were excavated, spaced 5 m apart and oriented north-south, around the periphery of each structure.

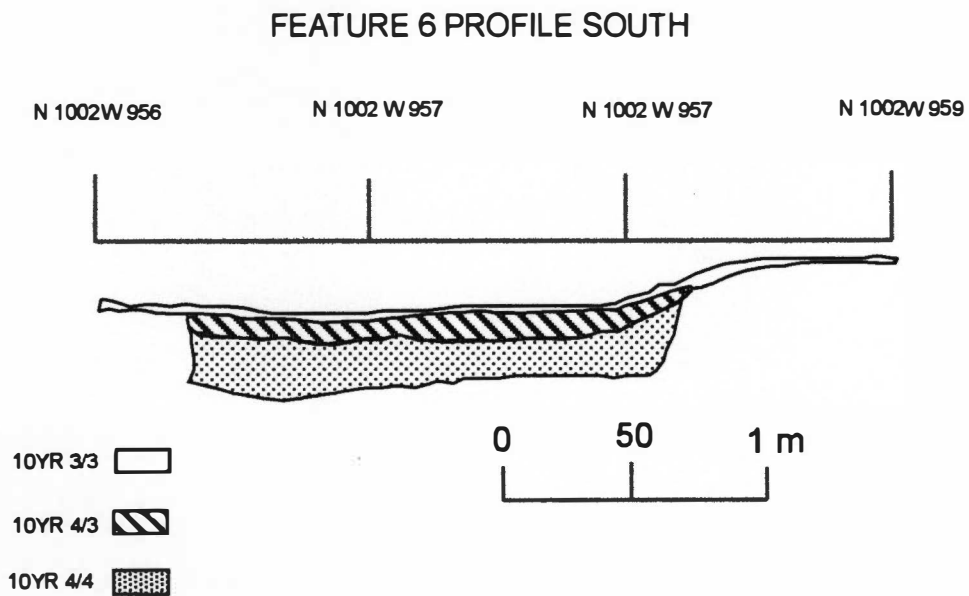
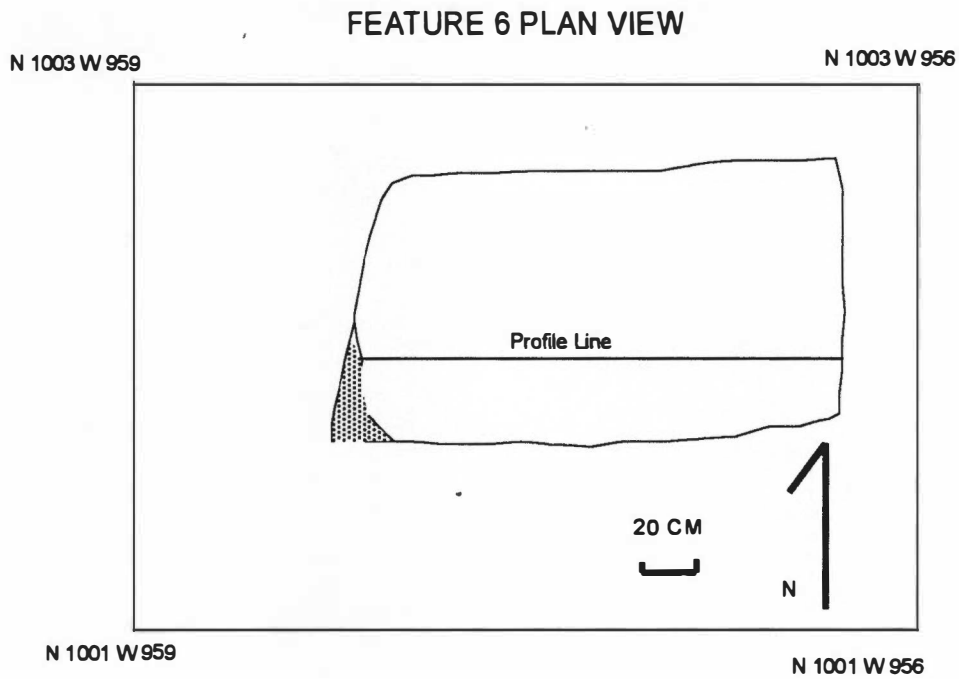


Figure 4.5 Feature 6 - Plan View and South Wall Profile

Features located in power trenches associated with the slave quarters are described below (Figure 4.6).

Feature 8

This dark, artifact laden soil anomaly was located along a fence line at the extreme eastern end of the slave quarter area. This feature was determined to be the result of recent dumping and was not examined further.

Feature 9

This feature was located in power trench operations to the south of Structure 1, and was determined to be the result of a tree fall.

Feature 10

Feature 10 was determined to be a shallow post mold of 15 cm diameter. No artifacts were found in association.

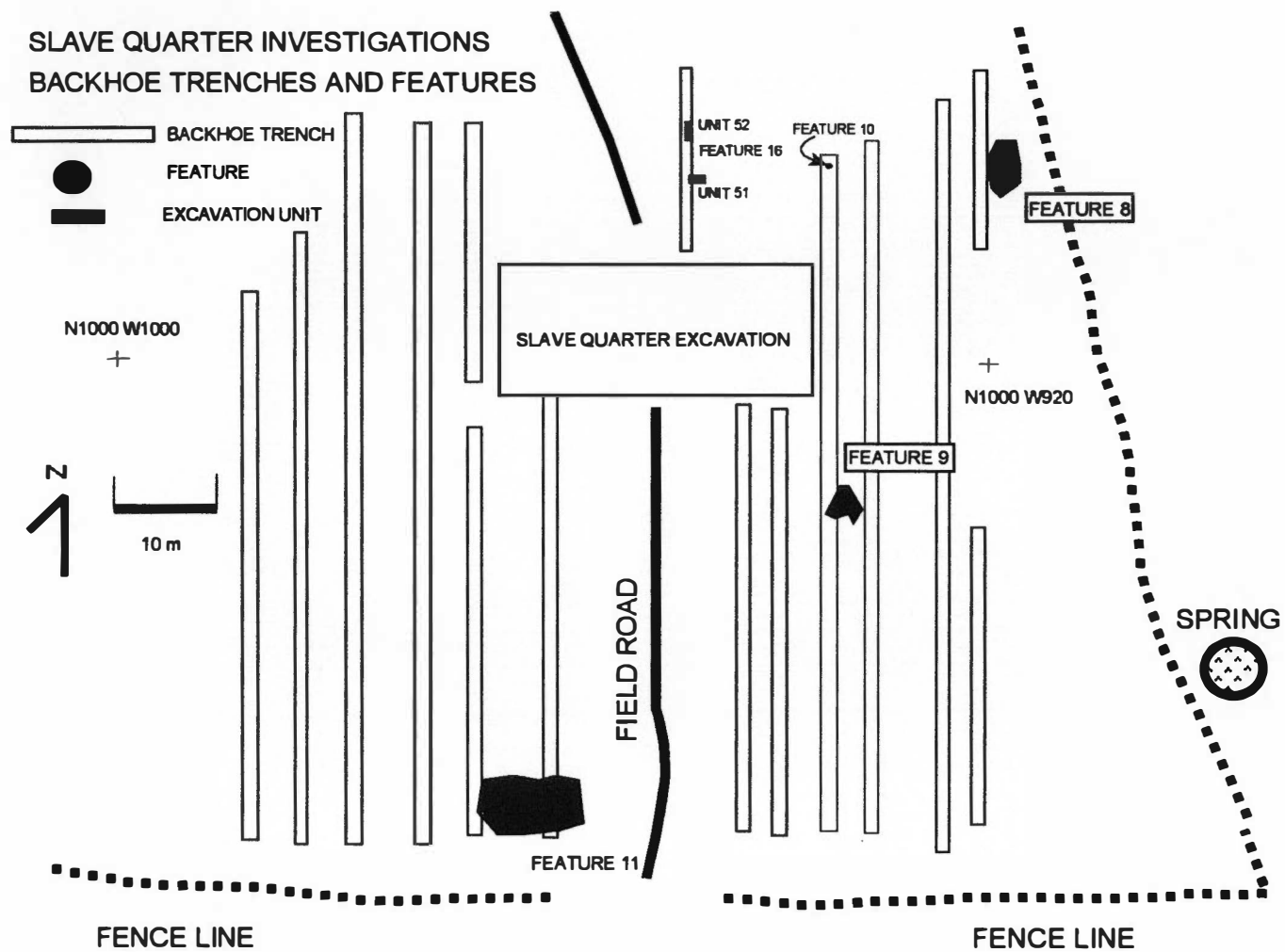
Feature 11

Feature 11 was determined to be another area of recent trash dumping located at the extreme southern portion of the site area along a modern fence line.

Feature 16

This ash and charcoal lens was discovered during backhoe trenches north of Structure 1 and defined as Feature 16. Excavation units 52 and 52 retrieved mid-nineteenth century ceramics below this burned lens. The formation process associated with this feature is unclear.

Figure 4.6 Backhoe Trenches Around the Cabins



Soil Samples

As part of Phase III investigations, 121 soil samples were collected at 1 m intervals with a soil probe across Structure 1 and 2, on the periphery of the structures, and around the estimated yard area of the quarters. The focus of the analysis was to determine if soil chemical anomalies existed in and around the structures which might relate to slave activities and site formation processes. The soil collection and subsequent analysis was undertaken by James Myster (1994) and the reader is referred to this work for extensive discussion of methodology and results. His results are summarized in the concluding chapter on slave lifeways.

Summary of Slave Quarter Field Investigations

Structure 1 had a central chimney, with fireplaces opening into two 18 ft (5.5 m) x 18 ft pens. A large root cellar measuring 10 ft x 10 ft (3.05 m) on each side, was at the west end of the structure. The artifacts found in association with the structure date to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Two 1 m x 2 m units were excavated in a peripheral deposit to the north of Structure 1 where a significant amount of burning and ash deposition had taken place. Artifacts underlying this deposit date to the middle of the nineteenth century. The formation process associated with this deposit is still unclear. The deposit may have been formed by the dumping of fireplace ash and charcoal in the area or the remains of brush clearing and burning.

The dimensions of Structure 2 are estimated by two possible footer remains, the first located in Unit 78, and the second represented

by Feature 7. The placement of these footers suggests a width of 18 ft (5.5 m). The root cellar associated with Structure 2 was much smaller than the cellar in Structure 1 and contained fewer artifacts. The western extent of the cellar must have been close to the west gable end of the cabin, suggesting a length of nearly 24 ft (7.5 m).

Phase III Investigations Near the Mabry Mansion

Mansion Refuse Deposit

The mansion refuse deposit or midden was located southwest of the main house, and contained artifacts dating from the middle of the nineteenth century through the twentieth century. This intact midden was estimated during the testing phase to have been approximately 16 m². Three additional backhoe trenches were excavated to better define the limits of this deposit. The midden was not as uniform as was suggested from the single backhoe trench excavated during the testing phase. Profiles indicated that the refuse deposit was produced through continuous dumping of household debris, beginning ca. 1830, into a gully at the head of the pond. The deposit had been "sealed" by a cap of red clay, probably after the turn of the century. The deposit was then overlain with concrete for the construction of a car port for the 20th century occupants of the Mabry mansion. The midden had been disturbed by trees and drainage lines and the density of artifacts was not consistent across the deposit. Artifacts were found in an irregular area of 25 m², with a maximum depth of 50 cm. Nearly all of the intact midden deposit was subsequently excavated. Twelve m² were hand excavated by arbitrary levels within natural strata. The artifacts in the lowest zones provide a comparative sample to artifacts from the slave quarters. The dating of the ceramic assemblage, the window glass, and the nails all indicate that the lowest two zones within the deposit date from ca. 1830-1860. Table 4.1 indicates which levels and units had artifacts used for comparison with the slave quarters.

Table 4.1 Mansion Stratigraphic Contexts Dating 1830-1860

Unit	Strata
110	7,8
111	3,4
112	3,4
113	2,3
114	4,5

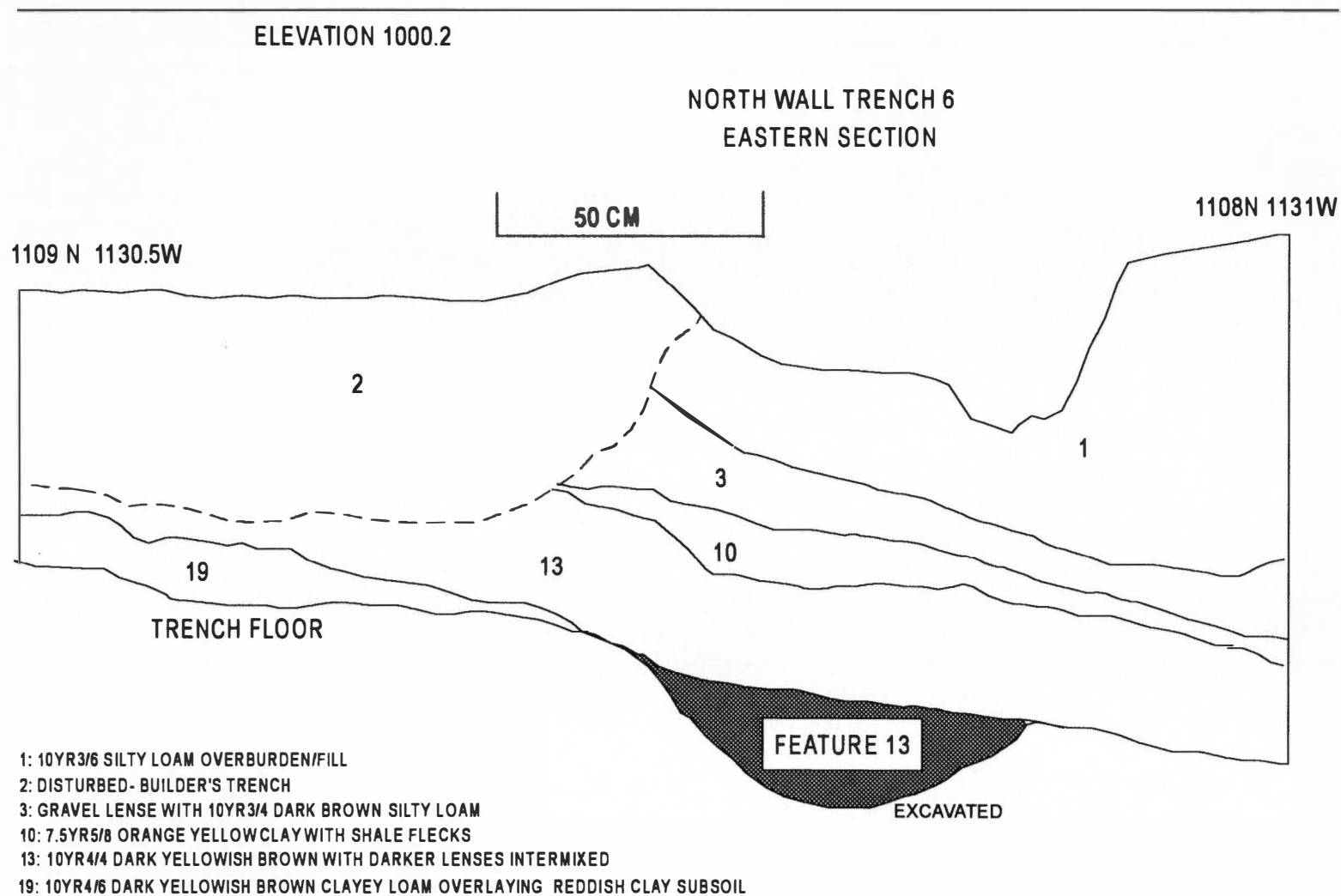
Feature 13

Feature 13 (Figure 4.7) was a small circular pit discovered in the profile wall of backhoe trench #6. The feature was 18 cm in depth with a diameter of approximately 60 cm. The fill was homogenous dark brown silty loam with charcoal flecks. This feature is especially important because it probably represents the earliest feature associated with the occupation of the mansion by the Mabry family. Ceramics retrieved from the feature included sherds from an annular whiteware vessel, which suggests a date after 1830 (Smith 1983:171). This is consistent with the date of other artifacts in the lower levels of the mansion deposit. The function of this feature is unclear. The pit may have been a trash pit, considering the gully behind the mansion was consistently used for refuse disposal.

Area West of the Mansion

The area west of the mansion (Figure 4.8) contained features and post holes associated with mansion outbuildings and fences. This area was stripped with power equipment to locate features. Features 12, 15, 17 and 19 were probably associated with outbuildings and are concentrated near, and aligned with, two fence rows found 10-15 m west of the razed mansion. The fence lines are oriented north-south and are

Figure 4.7 North Wall Profile, Backhoe Trench 6



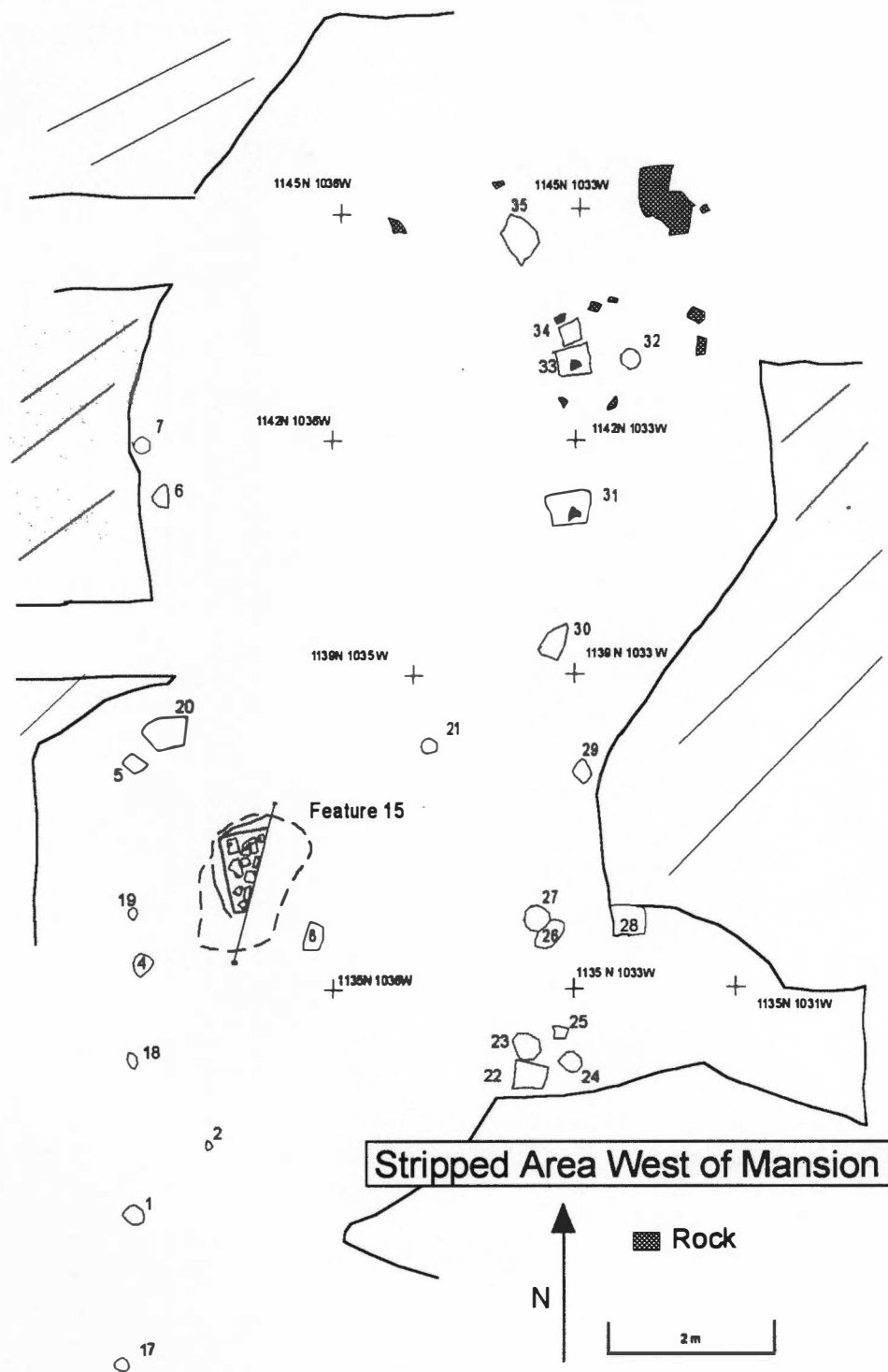


Figure 4.8 Area West of the Mansion

separated by 5 m. Thirty five post holes were recorded in this area, associated with fence lines and outbuildings.

Feature 12

This was the most impressive feature relating to the mansion occupants. Feature 12 (Figure 4.9, 4.10) was a large privy located west of the Mabry mansion. The feature was initially discovered during the testing phase in backhoe trench # 6. The feature was excavated during Phase III operations. The construction sequence for the privy was unusual. A pit 7.5 ft (2.28 m) by 4.9 ft (1.5) m was excavated to a depth of 4 ft (1.2 m). At this point a rectangular privy shaft with dimensions of 6 ft (1.9m) by 2.5 ft (.8 m) was excavated another 3.5 ft (1.1 m). This rectangular area, or the privy shaft, was probably shored up with wood planking attached to posts, separating the privy shaft from the original excavation pit. This construction probably allowed periodic cleaning of the privy, because individuals could gain access to the space below the structure (described above as the privy pit) to clean out the privy refuse (within the privy shaft). The total depth of the privy is 7.5 ft (2.5 m) from the ground surface. Due to the large size of the feature, and concerns regarding the timely completion of the project, 20 cm arbitrary levels were excavated within natural zones of Feature 12.

The artifacts found in association with the lower levels of the privy, including container glass and ceramics indicate a date circa 1860 to 1880. This probably represents the latest use of the facility, the earlier deposits having been removed by cleaning. The larger pit was eventually filled with clay. Sam Smith (personal communication 1990) suggests privy facilities such as these are associated with wealthier mid-nineteenth century families in Tennessee.

FEATURE 12 PLAN VIEW

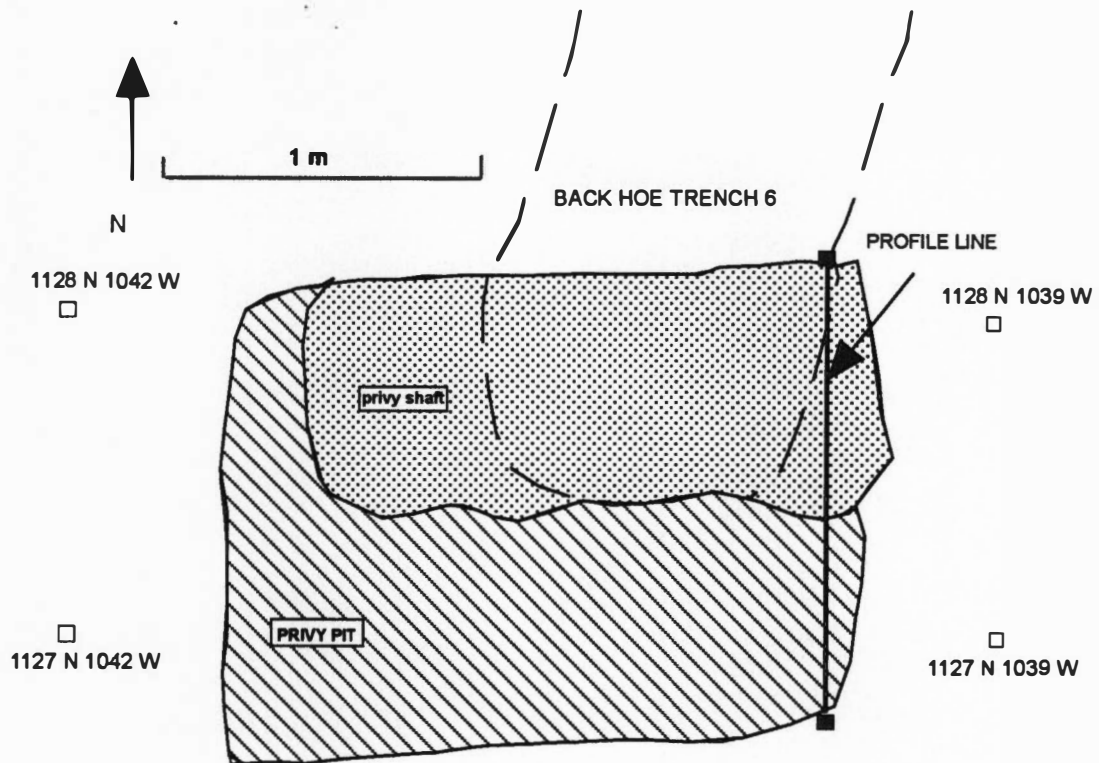
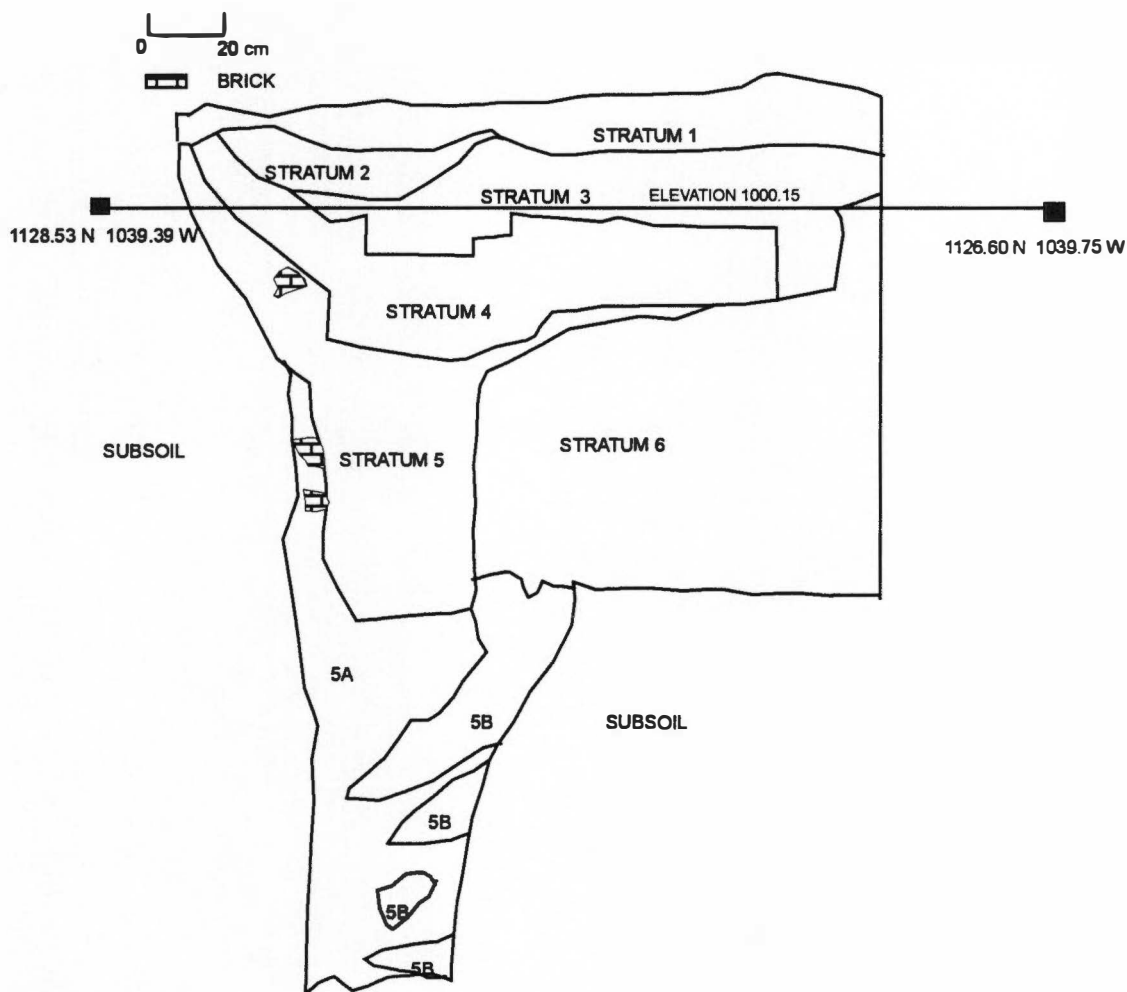


Figure 4.9 Plan View of Feature 12

FEATURE 12 EAST WALL



- 1: 10YR 3/3 SILT LOAM
- 2: CRUSHED LIMESTONE GRAVEL LENSE
- 3: 10 YR 3/4 LOAM, MOTTLED WITH SHALE AND CLAY
- 4: 2.5YR RED CLAY FILL WITH YELLOW SHALE FLECKS
- 5, 5A, 5B: 10YR 4/4 DARK LOOSE PRIVY FILL WITH VARYING AMOUNTS OF LIME. HIGH ARTIFACT CONTENT.
- 6: 2.5 YR 4/6 REDEPOSITED RED CLAY

Figure 4.10 Profile of Feature 12

Feature 15

This feature (Figure 4.11, 4.12) was discovered during backhoe stripping west of the mansion area. The feature had an irregular outline at the upper levels which became more distinctly square at the base of the feature. This feature was a square pit, about 5 ft (1.45 m) on each side. The depth of the feature was about 4.6 ft (1.4 m) below surface. Contents of the fill included large limestone blocks, sheet metal, machine made brick fragments, ceramics, and recent Mason jars. Two plastic handled umbrellas located 2.6 ft (.8 m) below the surface suggest the feature dates to the later part of the twentieth century. The function of this feature is difficult to assess. The placement of this feature near several postmolds indicates that the feature was probably associated with an outbuilding.

Feature 17

Feature 17 was an oblong privy located west of the largest privy, Feature 12. The feature was 5.25 ft (1.6 m) in length and had a maximum width of about 3 ft (.9 m). The depth of this privy was 1.8 ft (.55 m). The fill included glass, a few ceramics and a metal can. The contents of the fill date to the turn of the twentieth century.

Feature 18

The feature consists of a brick walkway, which trends east to west, probably constructed to provide easier access to the outbuildings west of the mansion. The pathway is just over 11 ft long (3.4 m), and has a width of about 1 ft (.3 m). The pathway is composed of both handmade and machine made bricks, indicating the walkway was constructed in the late 19th century or early twentieth century from recycled brick.

FEATURE 15 PLAN VIEW

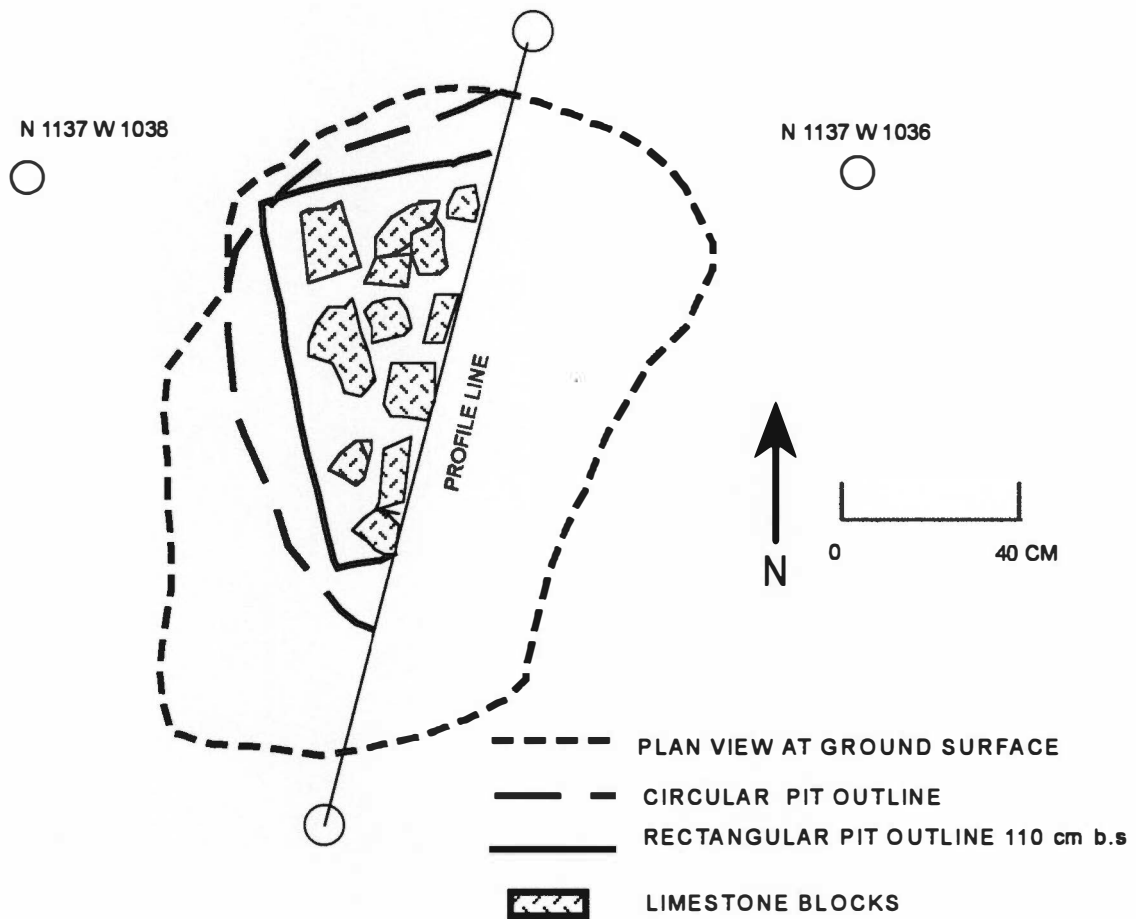


Figure 4.11 Plan View of Feature 15

FEATURE 15 EAST WALL PROFILE

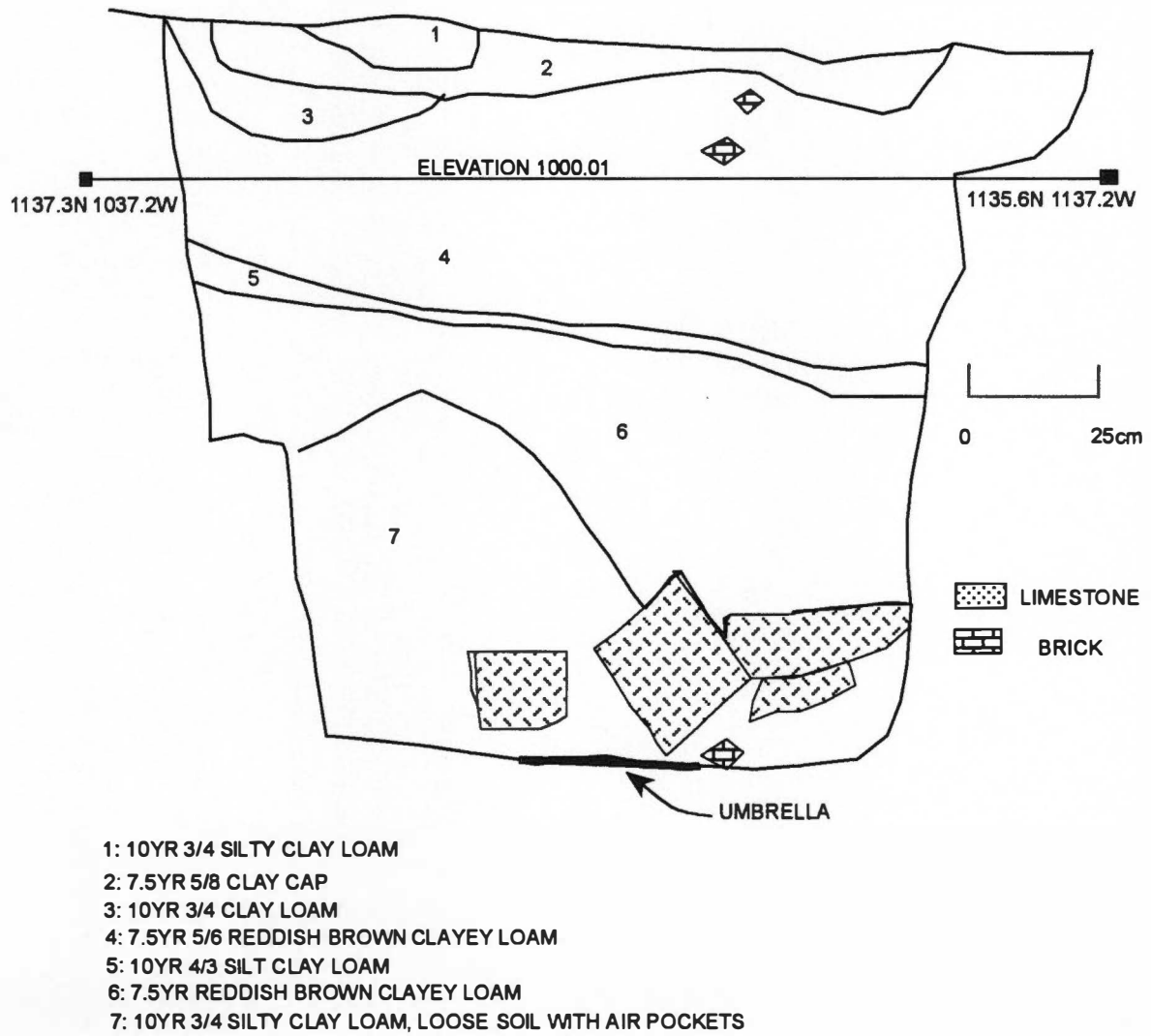


Figure 4.12 Profile of Feature 15

Feature 19

This feature was located west of the mansion, and consisted of a deep square pit dug to bedrock, measuring about 4 ft (1.15 m) on a side and was 4.2 ft (1.3 m) in depth. The feature had been filled with reddish orange clay which was highly mottled with yellow shale. Most of the artifacts recovered were retrieved from this redeposited fill, including wire nails and machine made brick. The function of this feature is difficult to assign, as was Feature 15. The most that can be said is that the feature probably was filled late in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, and was probably associated with an outbuilding of some kind.

Summary of Field Investigations Near the Mabry Mansion

A midden deposit associated with the Mabry family contained artifacts in the two lowest levels that were contemporaneous with the occupation of the slave quarters. This deposit provides the ceramics which are compared to the slave quarters, so the potential for the mansion artifact assemblage to have been biased, either from cultural or natural processes, should be considered. The lower levels of the mansion deposit contained artifacts that represented general household refuse, including some architectural debris, such as window glass, small personal items such as marbles and a ring, clothing remains including buttons, and kitchen refuse of bottle glass, ceramics, and faunal remains, so the use of ceramics from this deposit of general household debris is valid. The deposit was stratified, with no severe disturbances suggested by soil anomalies in any unit profiles except for the intrusive pit, Feature 13. Some of the artifacts, primarily glass, showed evidence of burning prior to disposal in the midden area. The

identification of decoration on ceramics, however, was not impaired. The possibility exists that ceramics reserved for special occasions were used and broken less often, so expensive wares may not have entered the deposit as frequently as everyday ceramics.

Unfortunately, the features located immediately west of the mansion (Figure 4.13) contained later artifacts than those associated with the slave quarters. Although Feature 12, the privy, was probably constructed soon after the arrival of the Mabrys to this home site, the artifacts retrieved from the privy date circa 1860 through 1880. Features 15, 17 and 19 produced artifacts dating to the turn of the century. Although these features probably were originally associated with outbuildings and activities of the mid-nineteenth century occupants of the Mabry mansion, the features did not contain artifacts useful in assessing relations between master and slave on this plantation.

Laboratory Procedures

Artifacts were catalogued, washed, and sorted into rough material categories, including ceramics, bone, metal, glass, brick, stone, and a miscellaneous category. Ceramics were also sorted into five size grades, ranging from 1/8 in and less to greater than 2 in. The study of the material classes and artifact attributes focused on the research questions discussed on pages 39-45. All artifact classes are discussed in detail in the artifact analysis sections of following chapters.

The recorded information regarding all artifact classes was entered into the relational data base program Paradox (Borland 1990). This provided easier manipulation of the data for analysis and presentation. Artifact density distribution maps were created with the software program Axum (Trimetrix 1990), and graphic presentation was

MABRY SITE (40KN86)

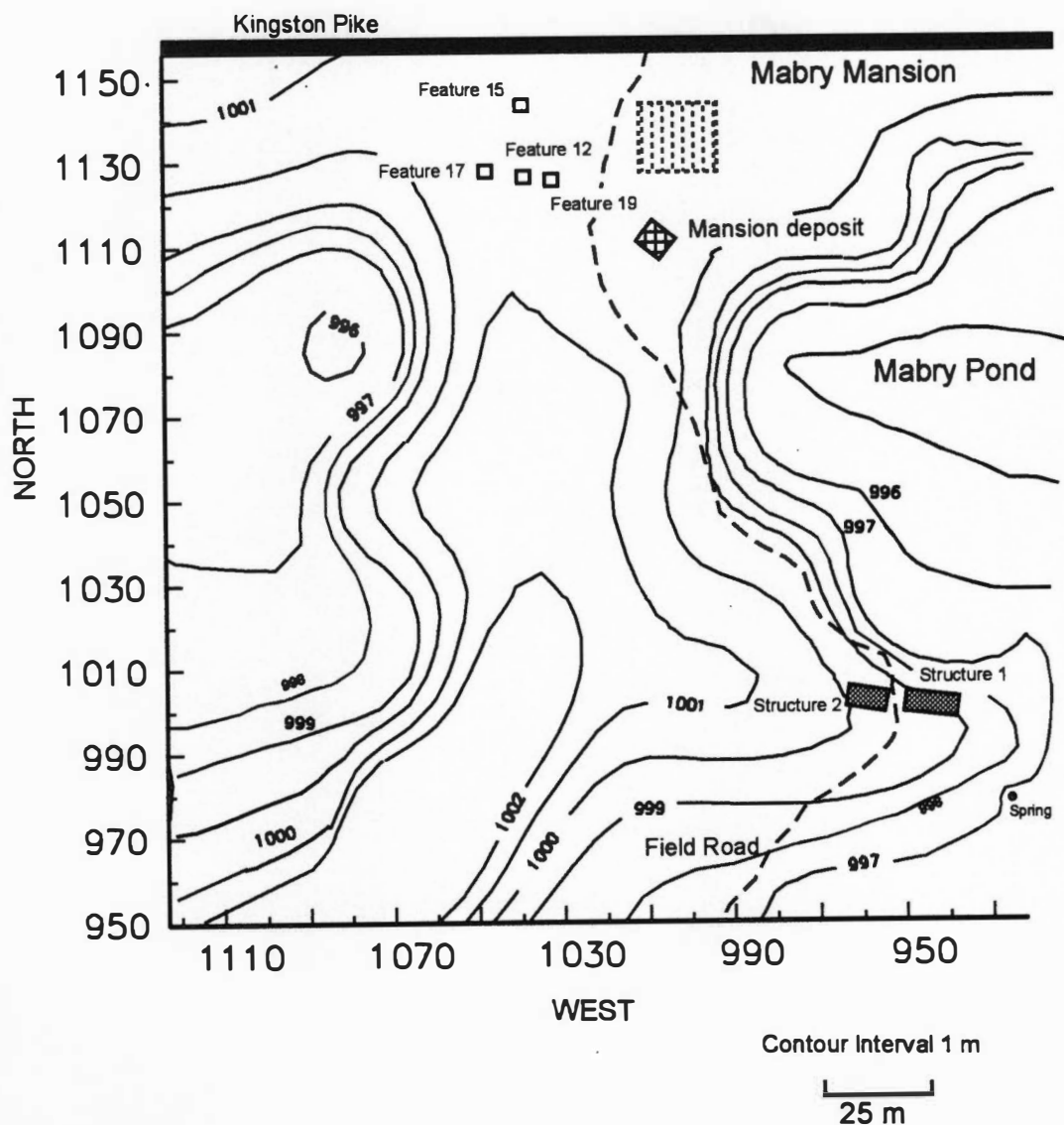


Figure 4.13 Mabry Site Archaeological Investigations

enhanced with the use of a digitizer tablet in conjunction with the software program Aldus (Aldus 1991).

CHAPTER 5

SLAVE QUARTER ARCHITECTURE

The documentation of slave housing in the Upland South of East Tennessee is just beginning, using archival sources, the study of standing structures, and archaeological excavations. Andrews (1992) describes the standing slave structure associated with the Brabson Plantation, but the archeological remains of the Mabry slave cabins are the first to be intensively studied in East Tennessee.

Appropriate slave housing is discussed from the mid-nineteenth century planter's perspective in Breeden (1980:114-140). Comparing the characteristics for slave quarters suggested by planters to the actual remains at Mabry is useful in detecting the Mabry's adherence to "standards" for slave housing. The quarters for slaves is another aspect of material culture which can be used to assess slave-master relations at the Mabry Plantation. McKee (1992:195-210), for example, argues that the design of the slave quarters was carefully planned by the masters to aid in the control and surveillance of the slaves. He argues that the powerful contrast between the planter's abode and that of the slaves' was meant to force compliance to the master, although the rationalizations of the planters often referred to the high quality of the quarters when compared to poor whites and European peasants. Slave owners were supposedly morally bound by a paternalistic attitude towards slaves, which forced planters to provide comfortable surroundings for humanitarian reasons. The usual quarters housed an average of 5 to 6 individuals, conditions which led Orser to suggest that slaves may have suffered stress from household crowding, or alternatively, created more unity among slaves enduring such conditions (Orser 1990:127). Regarding the size of structures, Singleton (1991:73) and Genovese (1974:524-530)

both note that planters often lived in quarters not much larger than the slaves, until enough capital became available to invest in the well known mansions of the South. Poorer whites lived in houses of comparable size, oftentimes worse (Genovese 1974:533).

In this chapter, an overview of slave housing across the South is provided. Historical sources provide recommended specifications for slave cabins, and the accounts of traveler's and slave's relate important architectural details. The cabins are then reconstructed from the archaeological evidence. The date of cabin construction is determined from the nails and window glass recovered in units and shovel tests throughout the quarters, and substantiated in the later chapter on ceramics. The spatial patterning of ceramics, faunal material, glass, and nails will also be utilized to reconstruct the position of windows and doorways in the quarters. Comparisons of the Mabry slave quarters with characteristic architectural details of housing arrangements at other plantations across the Southeast will be used to suggest the relative quality of the quarters at Mabry, and to suggest regional patterns of slave housing.

Historic Overview

Orser's (1990) overview of slave housing provides a description of a "typical" slave quarter, regarding structure size, building components, and design, although again there was considerable variability from plantation to plantation. In general the quarters were built according to a master's specifications and reflected the "daily material conditions forced on slaves by their masters" (Orser 1990:126). Clear insights into the design of slave quarters and the master's rationale for this design are presented in Breeden (1980). In general,

the design of the quarters in the Southeast appeared to have been closely associated with two aspects of master and slave relations. The first deals with the proper conditions to allow slaves to fulfill their plantation tasks, and to promote their best health. The second concern deals with the distance and placement of the quarters in relation to the mansion and to other quarters. These two factors appear to have heavily influenced the characteristics of slave quarters. A Mississippi planter of 1851 writes:

My first care has been to select a proper place for my 'Quarter', well protected by the shade of forest trees, sufficiently thinned out to admit a free circulation of air, so situated as to be free of the impurities of stagnant water, and to erect comfortable houses for my negroes (Breedon 1980:123).

Genovese states that conditions of slave housing were improving, beginning in the early nineteenth century:

From the late 1830's to the war, southern agricultural journals mounted a determined campaign to improve the quality of slave housing. Primarily, they rested their case on the planter's interest in protecting the health and reproductive powers of their chattel, although they also included the usual arguments for humanity indicating some concern for morale and good order (Genovese 1974:524).

Apparently, the standards called for by mid-nineteenth century reformers were accepted by many slave owners. Housing conditions apparently improved at a steady rate throughout the mid-nineteenth century, and planters often referred to European peasants in comparison; their own slave quarters were considered examples of their paternalistic effort in protecting their slaves from the elements.

Breedon's (1980) descriptions of planter's advice for slave housing consistently refers to size ranges from 16 ft to 18 ft or 20 ft square for a single room dwelling. There is no specific justification for this size espoused by masters in their discussions of suitable slave housing, but considering the public movement for paternalistic care for

slaves, this size certainly seemed adequate to the writers. For example, a planter/physician describes what he considers adequate housing:

A negro house should never be crowded. One sixteen or eighteen feet square is not too large for a man and woman and three or four small children, and the master or overseer should look weekly to its cleanliness (Breedon 1980:120).

Some variation existed in the size of slave quarters, as indicated by archaeological evidence (Orser 1990:126-127). Adams gives the dimensions of quarters of 13 by 17 ft to 24 by 48 ft found in Florida and Georgia (Adams 1987:table 2.1). McKee's review of housing standards notes that the size of slave dwellings as reconstructed from archaeological remains in areas of the South from Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia conform to these general dimensions as well (McKee 1993).

Another common belief was that nuclear slave families should be housed in at least single rooms. This recommendation may have been realized by the mid-nineteenth century, even if the size of those rooms continued to vary (Genovese 1974:525-526). Adequate ventilation for slave quarters was another major consideration. Recommended was a 2 or 3 ft space underneath the cabin, so that air was allowed to circulate, and so that trash could be removed from beneath the cabin. The advice for adequate ventilation in the quarters was a result of the medical belief at the time that bad air could cause sickness. The exhalations of the slaves could create illness, in combination with decomposing trash that might accumulate beneath the floor of the cabin:

The Doctors tell us that these smells are clouds of animal matter, absolutely capable of being weighed and seen as well as tasted and smelled, and are constantly collecting in the walls and under the floors of negro cabins and there rot and stink as any other putrescible matter - This is beyond doubt the frequent cause of disease and should be carefully provided against, and hence I recommend the elevation of the floor above the ground, with a view to the frequent cleaning up of this accumulated filth (Planter, 1856 in Breedon 1980:130).

The quarters were overwhelmingly constructed of wood, either of log construction or some form of "timber frame." Although log cabins were apparently the most common, being used by both whites and slaves, the advice of some masters was to provide "plank houses", or timber frame houses if milled lumber was available. As one planter in 1856 described:

Plank houses are considered by physicians as more healthy for negroes than log, for the reason that there is constantly accumulating in and about the negro's house a vast quantity of animal matter in the form of excrements and emanations from the human body which has fewer places of lodgement and is more easily removed from the plank than the log house (Breedon 1980:130).

In quarters constructed of log, the gaps between logs were usually sealed with either clay, rags, stones or whatever other material was available. The quality of construction varied between plantations and even between cabins on the same plantation. Adams (1987:15-21) uses the traveling notes of visitors, such as Olmsted and Lyell, to describe slave quarters of the Lowland region. Olmsted described a slave quarter in central Mississippi in 1853 which appears of poor quality:

The negro cabins were small, dilapidated and dingy; the walls were not chinked, and there were no windows-which indeed, would have been a superfluous luxury, for there were spaces of several inches between the logs through which there was unobstructed vision. The furniture in the cabins was of the simplest and rudest imaginable kind, two or three beds with dirty clothing upon them, a chest, a wooden stool or two, made with an ax, and some earthenware and cooking apparatus. Everything in the cabin was colored black by smoke (Adams 1987:16).

Some slaves took pride in the outward appearance of their cabins. Genovese describes one slave, a successful hunter, who adorned his cabin with animal skins. Some women attempted to keep their cabins clean and planted flowers for a nicer appearance (Genovese 1974:527).

Chimneys for slave quarters in the Lowland South were commonly made of sticks and clay, the rationale being that in case of a chimney

fire, the chimney could be pushed over to prevent the rest of the structure from burning. The structures excavated by Adams (1987:314) in the King's Bay locality of Georgia were probably of this type. The alternative in the Lowland area was brick, but apparently this material was reserved primarily for the planter. Chimneys were usually placed at the gable ends of single pen dwellings. These single pen dwellings could be connected by open hallways or "dog-trots":

Many plantations had cabins of two rooms separated by a dog trot or open hall. The reverend C.C. Jones complained that these cabins deprived families of privacy and increased the dangers of quarreling and trouble. They may, however, have been to the slaves taste, for they enabled them to live closely as an extended family and to take better care of their children and old folks (Genovese 1974:524).

Central chimneys, with fireplaces opening into two separate rooms were also common in slave dwellings. Each room was usually of equal size, and could house one slave family. The Belle Meade Plantation in Nashville, Tennessee, had double room cabins of this type which housed slaves (McKelway et al. 1989), and the Hermitage field slave cabins were central chimney brick "duplex" structures, 20 ft by 40 ft (McKee 1991). A recently investigated structure near the Hermitage mansion appears to be a three pen facility with a central root cellar (McKee, personal communication 1994). The Gowen Farmstead Structure I was a central chimney structure measuring 45.3 ft by 19.7 ft. Structure V was also a two pen central chimney structure, estimated to have been 44.6 ft by 36.7 ft. Andrews (1992) investigated the Brabson slave quarter in Sevier County which had a central chimney.

The placement of the cabins in relation to the mansion or big house seems to be a consistent concern of the planters. House servant quarters were often close to the main mansion, and if the plantation was large enough, quarters might even be located further from the mansion, near fields which were to be tended. Surveillance by the master as well

as health conditions were other key components in the placement of quarters on the plantation. A Virginia planter of 1856 summarizes the basic concerns in the location of quarters:

The ends aimed at in building negro cabins should be: First, the health and comfort of the occupants; Secondly, the convenience of nursing, surveillance, discipline, and the supply of wood and water; and Thirdly, economy of construction (Breedon 1980:129).

These sources suggest that the placement and characteristics of the slave quarters was carefully considered, with several factors influencing these decisions. Andrews and Young (1992), in their discussion of Upper South plantations, believe that small, agriculturally diverse plantations had quarters located near the work place. Brabson Plantation had a slave quarter located near the main house, but documents also suggest that quarters were placed near fields to be tended (Andrews and Young 1992). The Locust Grove Plantation in Kentucky had three quarters placed nearly 300 ft (91.4 m) from the main house, with about 100 ft (30.5 m) between them (Andrews and Young 1992). The suggested distance between quarters was as much as 75 yards (68.5 m) according to Genovese (1974:524).

Slave Quarters near Knoxville

There are several standing structures in the Knoxville area which are believed to have been occupied by slaves. These buildings are discussed here to provide some measure of the variability of slave housing in the area.

The slave quarter at the Brabson Plantation has been described by Andrews (1992:14-20). This building is believed to have been constructed around 1830. The "saddlebag" structure is a one and a half story, timber frame house with a central chimney. The size of the house is 17 ft 8 in

by 40 ft long. There are two interior rooms of approximately equal dimensions. The structure has two doors (one opening into each room) and two windows (one for each room) located on the southern side of the structure. The continuous foundation is built of dry laid dressed limestone. The superstructure of the cabin is constructed of braced timber frame, utilizing mortise and tenon joinery and nails (Andrews 1992:15). The chimney base is made of dressed limestone and has substantial and well built brick fire places on the main floor and in the loft above. The structure had beaded siding and there was evidence that the interior of the structure had been whitewashed, a common practice in slave quarters (Genovese 1974:527).

German (1992) discusses several possible slave houses in the region surrounding Knoxville. Her research represents the first attempt to document the characteristics of East Tennessee Upland South slave quarters to date. She describes three dwellings that are in good condition and have documentary support substantiating that these dwellings functioned as slave quarters.

The William Brazelton slave house is believed to have been built about 1830 and is located in New Market, Tennessee. Brazelton owned 48 slaves in 1850 and 56 in 1860, according to slave census records, and this house is the only surviving slave quarter associated with his residence. The building is a brick structure measuring 20 ft by 29 ft with end chimneys. The interior of the cabin is partitioned into two rooms, each about 14 ft by 18 ft. Each room has a door and a window as well. Although this dwelling is slightly less than adequate size according to suggestions of planters in the mid-nineteenth century, brick is certainly a more substantial building material and more costly than usual for slave quarters. The two pens are in keeping with the

advice of one family per room, and the doors and windows provided the ventilation physicians recommended.

The John Fain slave house is located in Dandridge, Tennessee and was built in 1843. This structure is an unusual four room brick "barracks" like dwelling. The room sizes are about 15 ft by 18 ft. Each room has a fireplace. The two central rooms have one chimney with two hearths. The other two rooms at either side of the structure have end chimneys. Each room has a window in the back of the dwelling and a door in the front. The intention clearly is to provide each slave family with a room, and the window adheres to the recommendation for ventilation.

The Albert Lenoir slave houses are two similar rectangular brick structures with chimneys at each gable end. The dimensions of one accessible structure are about 52 ft by 16.5 ft. The structure is divided into two rooms of equal dimension, about 26 ft by 16.5 ft . These rooms are partitioned as well, so that each of these rooms has two smaller rooms, one that is 18 ft by 16.5 ft and the other is 16.5 ft by 8 ft. The smaller interior rooms may have been used for storage or may have functioned as a sleeping room. Genovese (1974:529) says:

The slaves perpetually felt the need to preserve as much delicacy as possible for their love-making and to protect their children from seeing more than they should. Accordingly they built lean to extensions to their cabins or lofts or simple partitions in order to put the children to sleep as privately as possible.

Each room has small square openings at the upper and lower corners of the partition walls. These are interpreted as heat transfer openings. The front and back of this structure has four windows. The front has two doors, one for each of the larger rooms. One of these two houses has a basement with a brick floor, accessible through doors at the front and back of the structure.

These structures cannot be considered the "norm" for slave housing in this upland area surrounding Knoxville. The sample is obviously small

and the brick construction of these structures made them far more durable than the probably more common wood buildings that have long since been torn down. This sample is intriguing though, because of the variability evident in the construction styles. Variability in construction styles would suggest that masters in the Upland South did not feel compelled to design quarters which strictly adhered to the mid-nineteenth century standards.

These quarters seem more durable and costly than considered adequate for slaves. However, a Georgia planter quoted in Breeden (1980:126) advocates brick slave quarters because he felt they could actually be more economical:

A planter who has six or more hands can build a brick house for less outlay of money than a framed weatherboarded house, both of the same dimensions.

The security of brick houses against fire, their durability and cheapness render them very suitable for negro houses. A house thirty six feet long and sixteen feet wide, with a chimney in the center and two rooms, may be constructed with fourteen thousand good bricks.

Another area where the brick buildings seem to deviate from suggested advice is that the buildings are not raised above the ground for ventilation. The windows were probably seen as sufficient ventilation. Another interesting deviation from advice in the mid-nineteenth century was the placement of slaves so close together, either in duplex type cabins or even in the barracks-like John Fain slave house. There are no single room cabins at all in the sample reviewed here. This might be a situation where slaves exercised some power in the design of the dwellings. As discussed previously, they may have preferred the closeness of relatives and kin despite the seemingly crowded conditions. In these cases adherence to mid-nineteenth century standards is suggested by each room having a fireplace - surely meant for a family unit.

Mabry Slave Quarters

The distribution of window glass, nails, and ceramics are used to reconstruct cabin size, window and door placement, and refuse disposal patterns. Pioneering work on artifact distributions and the correlation with the placement of historic buildings in this area was conducted by Andrews (1992) at the Brabson Plantation site. The structures at Mabry are dated from: 1) the architectural artifacts of window glass and nails; and 2) description and comparison to the existing slave structures in the area and to the prevailing beliefs on the appropriate placement and forms for slave quarters of the mid-nineteenth century. Review of the excavation findings follows, with discussions of cabin chronology and dimensions as interpreted from artifact analysis and distribution.

Chronology

Two artifact classes, window glass and nails, are used to establish dates for the slave quarters at Mabry. Several window glass dating formulas have been developed, beginning with Chance and Chance (1976) and Roenke (1978). A good correspondence between window glass thicknesses and construction dates was found at the Matt Russell house in Knoxville (McKelway 1992). Nelson (1968) and Priess (1973) have described the manufacturing techniques and associated dates of nails. It is important to note that the architectural artifacts are crucial in establishing dates for construction of these dwellings. Ceramics and bottle glass are less reliable in establishing construction dates because, as Adams (1987:14) has suggested, there might be a considerable time lag between the original occupation dates and when ceramics and

glass were acquired in a slave household. Furthermore, Adams suggests there may be a time lag of several decades between ceramic acquisition and discard, although this has not been studied intensively and demonstrated. Architectural artifacts are unlikely to have been recycled to the same extent as is possible with household items like ceramics and bottle glass. Dates for initial structure construction can be established from glass and nails.

Window Glass

Roenke's (1978) study of window glass from historical sites in Washington state established that the thickness of glass varies through time because of improved manufacturing processes. Glass could be produced in larger sizes and thicknesses throughout the 19th century so that the mean thickness of archaeologically recovered glass sherds can be used to date the occupation at a site. Roenke (1978) analyzed the thickness of glass collected from sites with well dated occupations, and found that glass generally increased in thickness through time. His analysis yielded minor differences from an earlier study by Chance and Chance (1976), demonstrating that there may also be some regional differences reflected in the correlation of glass thickness with chronology, probably due to differential processing in glass manufacturing firms and the local availability of glass.

Moir (1987) developed a window glass dating formula to estimate the initial construction dates for structures in the nineteenth century. Like the previously derived formulas, the Moir formula correlated the construction date and the average thickness of the window glass panes found in association with the dwellings. Moir states that the method was

accurate to plus or minus seven years in 60% of the cases studied (Moir 1987:78).

Each glass sherd from the Mabry site was measured using a digital caliper to the nearest thousandth of an inch. Sherds were placed into one of twenty classes which varied by one hundredth of an inch. These classes were modified from Roenke's study (1978:Table 4). Roenke lists the frequency of glass sherds by thickness, ranging from .025 to .20 inches. Roenke's glass thicknesses (listed in Roenke 1978:Table 4) are used as midpoints for twenty classes of glass thickness. Each class had a width of .01 inches. For example, Class 4 contained sherds with thicknesses ranging from .05 - .059, dating circa 1835 according to the studies by Roenke (1978) and Chance (1976). Class 20 incorporated sherds of recent age, ranging in thickness from .19 to .20 inches.

This method was utilized because the division of all glass sherds into thickness classes was faster than recording the absolute thickness of every glass sherd for subsequent computer data entry. This method was also appropriate for statistical comparisons of glass thicknesses from different contexts using the Kolmogorov - Smirnov test. A sample of glass was also drawn from each structure and from the mansion deposit to use with Moir's formula for comparison.

The proposed chronology suggested by Roenke (1978:table 30) is shown in Table 5.1, with the corresponding class thickness used here. Note that Roenke's dates have a considerable degree of overlap in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Roenke suggests that glass dating before 1830 may actually be thicker than glass manufactured later. The study by Chance and Chance does not date glass prior to 1830. The thickness of window glass with the proposed chronology of Chance and Chance (1976:table 27) is as follows with the corresponding classes used in this study is shown in Table 5.2.

The chronology derived for glass thickness according to Moir's study follows. Moir's formula requires measurement in millimeters. The

Table 5.1 Roenke's Glass Chronology

Dates	Thickness In Use	Class Thickness
1810-1825	0 .055	4
1820-1835	0 .055	4
1830-1840	0 .045	3
1835-1845	0.045-0.055	3, 4
1845-1855	0.065	5
1850-1865	0.075	6
1855-1885	0.085	7
1870-1900	0.095	8
1900-1915	0.105	9

Table 5.2 Chance and Chance Window Glass Chronology

Dates	Thickness In Use	Thickness Class
1830-1840	0.045	3
1835-1845	0.055	4
1840-1850	0.065	5
1850-1860	0.075	6
1855-1885	0.085	7
1870-1900	0.095	8

glass thickness classes from Roenke (1978) are dated using Moir's formula in Table 5.3. There is one marked difference between Moir's glass chronologies and those of Roenke and Chance with regard to the dates derived for Class 3. Moir's date for Class 3 is earlier by at least twenty-two years.

The window glass sherds found in association with the Mabry slave houses were measured as described above, and histograms were constructed from the data. The chronology of the mansion deposit will be discussed in comparison to the slave quarters to demonstrate the apparent contemporaneity of the deposits.

Table 5.3 Moir's Window Glass Chronology

Date	Thickness (mm)	Thickness Class
1787.57	.889	2
1808.96	1.143	3
1830.35	1.397	4
1851.66	1.65	5
1873.13	1.905	6
1894.36	2.159	7

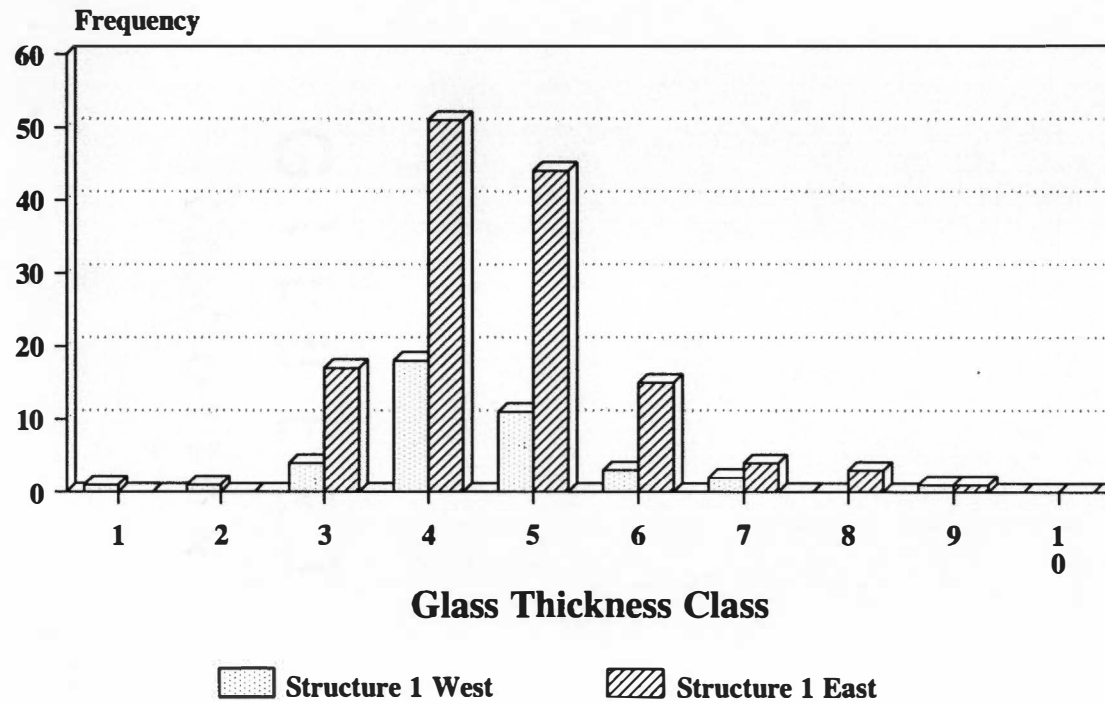
Structure 1

The analysis of the window glass sherds from Structure 1 strongly suggests a construction date circa 1835, from the considerable increase in the frequency of Class 3 and Class 4 sherds (Figure 5.1). The occupation span suggested from the window glass falls predominantly between the years 1835-1855, utilizing the chronologies of Chance and Chance and Roenke discussed above. These dates do not conflict with either the ceramic assemblage or historical documentation of the Mabry occupation. The marked drop in frequency of Class 6 window glass sherds suggests abandonment of Structure 1 ca. 1860.

Also interesting is that there is a notable difference in the frequency of glass sherds found in either room. The higher frequency of sherds in the east room suggests more windows on the east side of the house. A Kolmogorov-Smirnoff test between the two rooms was used to determine if a significant difference exists in the frequency of glass in the thickness classes. A significant difference would suggest the rooms of the structure were built at different times. The distribution of the thicknesses of the glass sherds does not differ, with the

Figure 5.1 Window Glass in East and West Rooms of Structure 1

Window Glass Thickness Structure 1 East and West Rooms



overwhelming dominance of glass sherds falling between Class 3 and Class 6. The two rooms of Structure 1 show no statistically significant difference related to chronology.

A sample of 68 window glass sherds was used for computing an initial construction date using Moir's formula. The date retrieved was 1838.96, with a mean glass thickness of 1.49. Although the suggested dates for Class 3 thickness differ substantially, Moir's formula provides a date which is comparable to that suggested from the histograms and the dating schemes provided by other researchers.

Structure 2

The construction dates for Structure 2 appear closely aligned with the dates suggested for Structure 1. Glass sherd frequencies for Class 3 sharply increase, indicating construction circa 1835. Glass frequency rises in Class 4 and peaks in Class 5 (Figure 5.2). This differs from Structure 1. Structure 1 glass from both rooms had a mode (greatest frequency) of Class 4, while Structure 2 has a mode of Class 5. The glass sharply decreases in Class 6 as does the distribution in Structure 1. The dates of the main occupation are suggested at 1835-1855. The reduction in Class 6 sherds suggests abandonment sometime after 1860.

A sample of 86 sherds was used to compute a date of construction for Structure 2 using Moir's formula. The average thickness of the sherds was 1.604, yielding a date of 1847.78. Since Moir's formula uses the average thickness of all sherds, the number of sherds in thicker classes will obviously "pull" the date towards a more recent date. This date appears too late because of too many sherds in the thicker classes, Classes 7 and 8, being included in the formula.

Window Glass Thickness Structure 1 & Structure 2

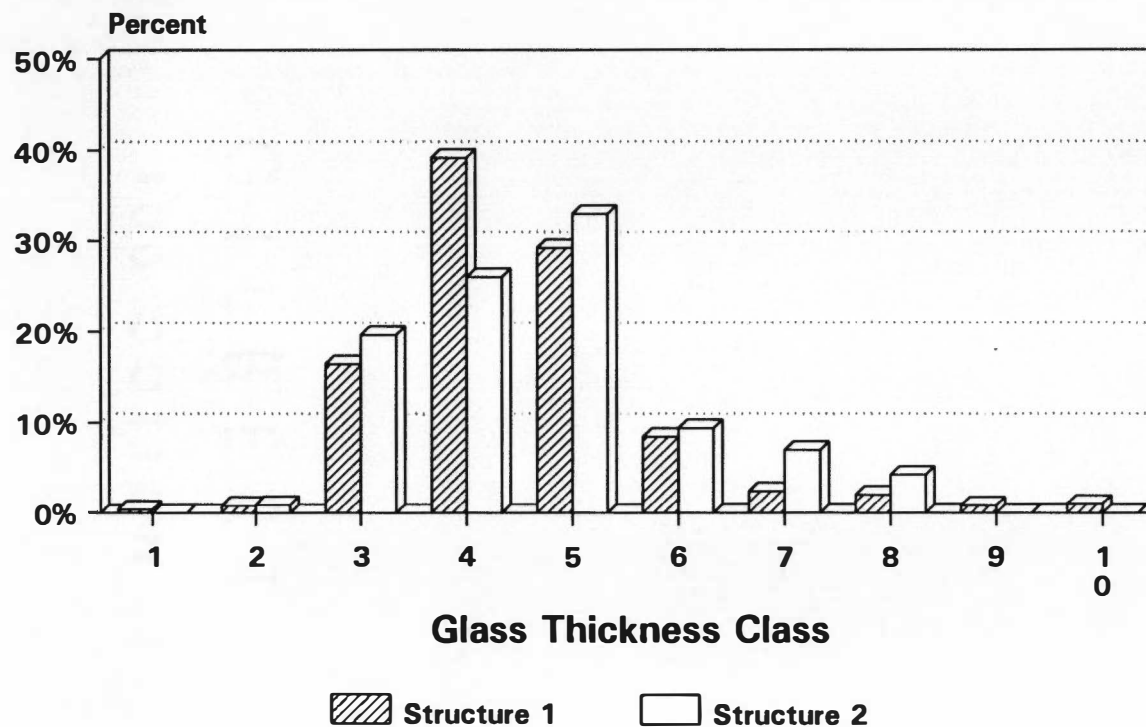


Figure 5.2 Window Glass - Structure 1 and Structure 2

To ascertain whether the dates derived from the schemes of Roenke and Chance and Chance corresponded between the two structures, the Kolmogorov-Smirnoff test was used. A significant difference (at a .05 level of confidence) exists between the two samples. Table 5.4 shows that the significant difference occurs with respect to the glass sherd frequencies, and relative proportions, of Class 4 and Class 5 thickness.

Table 5.4 Kolmogorov - Smirnov Test on Proportions of Glass Thickness in Structure 1 and Structure 2

Structure 1			Structure 2		
Class	N	%	N	%	
1	1	.5	0	0	
2	1	.5	3	1.9	
3	32	14.8	52	18.8	
4	89	41.2	77	27.9	D = .1331
5	66	30.6	91	33.0	
6	18	8.3	25	9.1	
7	6	2.7	19	6.9	
8	5	2.3	9	3.2	
9	2	.9	0	0	
10	1	.5	0	0	

Significance Level = .123. There is a significant difference between the two assemblages of glass.

The significant difference occurs not with regard to the beginning or ending dates, but with respect to the central tendency of the glass distributions. If the quantity of glass sherds is assumed to be strongly associated with the dates of occupation, then the dominant occupation in Structure 1 may have been slightly earlier than Structure 2. However, the proportion of the earliest Class 3 glass is actually higher in Structure 2 than Structure 1. The explanation in this case may simply be that a larger window or more windows were present in Structure 2, resulting in a greater frequency of sherds of this glass thickness. Another factor is the timing of the replacement of panes of glass. The beginning and ending points of the glass distributions in both quarters are markedly similar, and perhaps the differential replacement of broken

panes in the structures created the statistically distinct patterns of glass. There is also a great deal of overlap in the dates assigned this glass thickness by Roenke and Chance and Chance. The dwellings were probably built and abandoned at approximately the same time, with the occupation range suggested at between 1830 and 1860. The later glass, which comprises a very small percentage, is probably the result of refuse disposal from other areas.

The window glass from the quarters was then compared to the mansion deposit. A similarity in the histograms of glass thicknesses supports contemporaneity of construction and occupation in the mansion and slave quarters. As is readily visible from glass thickness associated with the mansion and slave quarters (Figure 5.3), little if any time elapsed between the construction of these structures.

Moir's formula was used to date the lowest two strata in the mansion deposit which were believed to be contemporary with the slave quarters. From a sample of 181 sherds, a date of 1844.15 was established, which is comparable to window glass dates for the slave quarters. The most important point concerning the dates derived from Moir's study is that there can be a difference of plus or minus seven years for each date. This indicates that the dates for the two slave quarters and the mansion deposit overlap, again suggesting similar construction dates for the quarters and the mansion.

Window Placement

An effort was made to determine if the distribution of window glass sherds marked the walls of both structures, and to reconstruct the placement of windows in the quarters. The Axum program was used to generate surface distribution maps of glass sherds. The program draws contour lines using the frequency of glass sherds at grid points

Window Glass Thickness Structure 1, 2 and Mansion

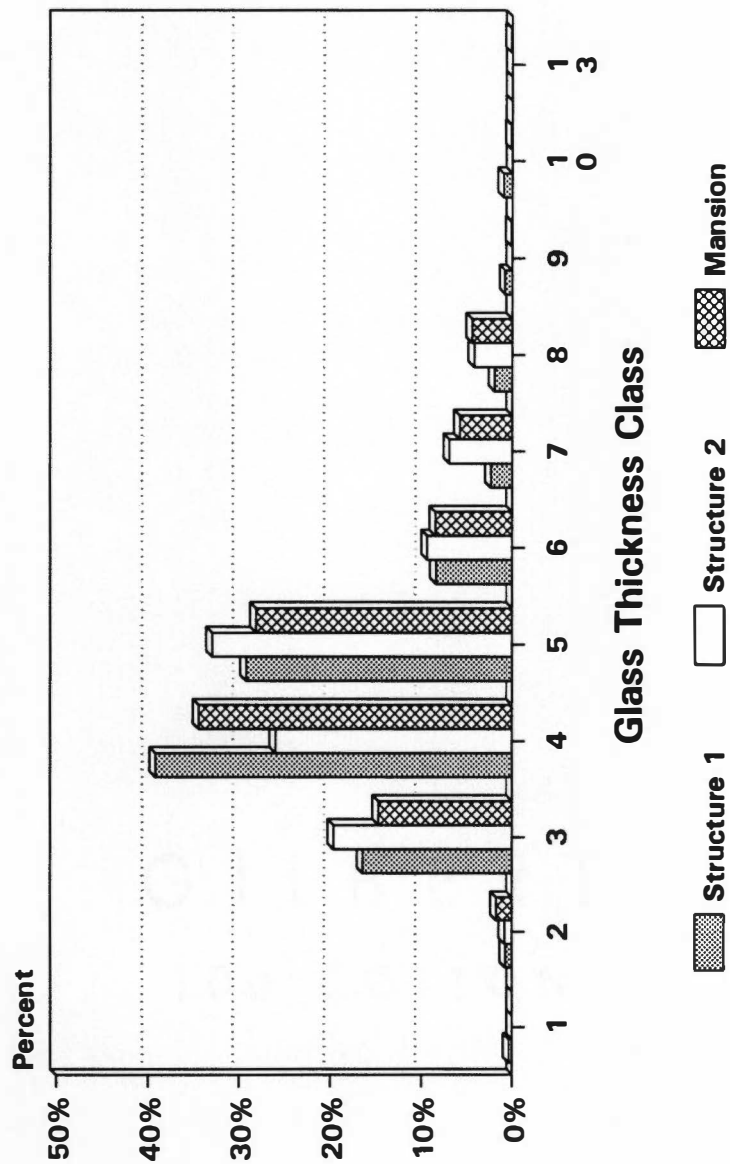


Figure 5.3 Window Glass - Structure 1, Structure 2 and Mansion

throughout the quarter area. The center points of excavated units were associated with the frequencies of glass found in the units and density maps were drawn with this information. As discussed in the methodology section, shovel tests were used around the periphery of the structures and in the interior of the structures where units had not been excavated. The combination of shovel tests and units provide an interesting picture of glass distribution about the quarters. Frequencies of sherds of different glass thicknesses were used in the maps to help detect if the placement of the windows had changed through time.

The following graphs depict the estimated boundaries of the corners of the structures (Triangles), Structure 1 is the easternmost rectangle and Structure 2 is the westernmost. The actual shovel test points (crosshairs) and the placement of the centerpoints (small squares) of excavated units are shown. A word of caution should be stated. These maps are heuristic devices to aid in visualizing the distribution of glass fragments across spatial boundaries. In the process of configuring the graphs, not all the graph "options" remained constant. The differences in artifact counts required using different computer settings for the number of contour lines visible, the density of the grid used in computing the contour lines, and a variety of other options. The following maps present the best visual estimation of artifact density across the site area that could be provided.

Glass Distribution - Shovel Tests

Figures 5.4 and 5.5 show the combined distributions of glass thicknesses 3 and 4, and glass thicknesses 5 and 6 as recovered in shovel tests. The density map for Class 3 and 4 is informative in

**Glass Distribution – Shovel Tests
Thickness Class 3 and 4**

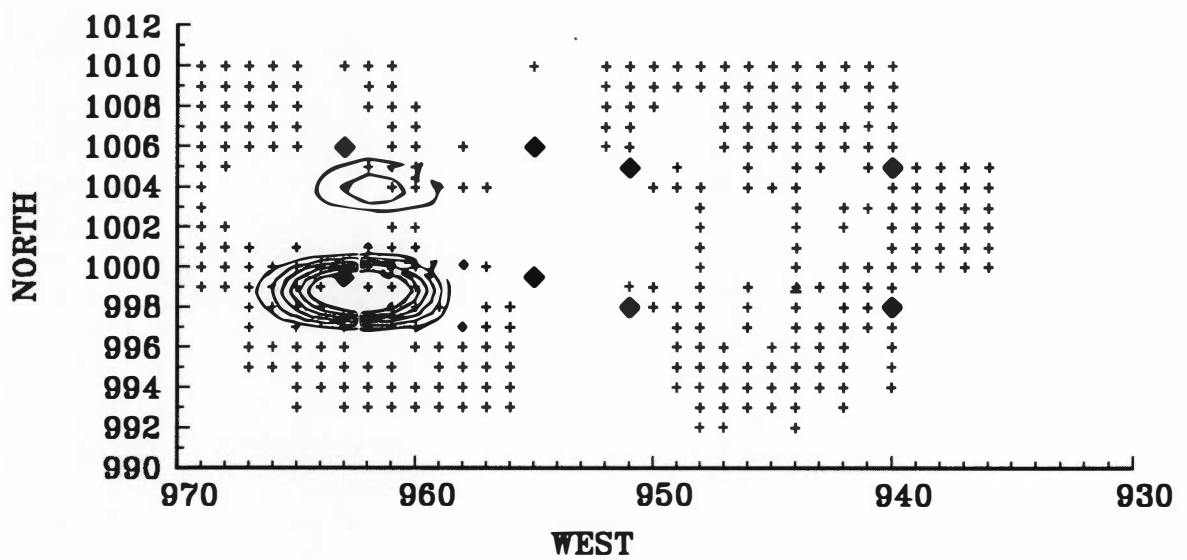


Figure 5.4 Distribution of Class 3 and 4 Glass - Shovel Test

Glass Distribution - Shovel Tests Thickness Class 5 and 6

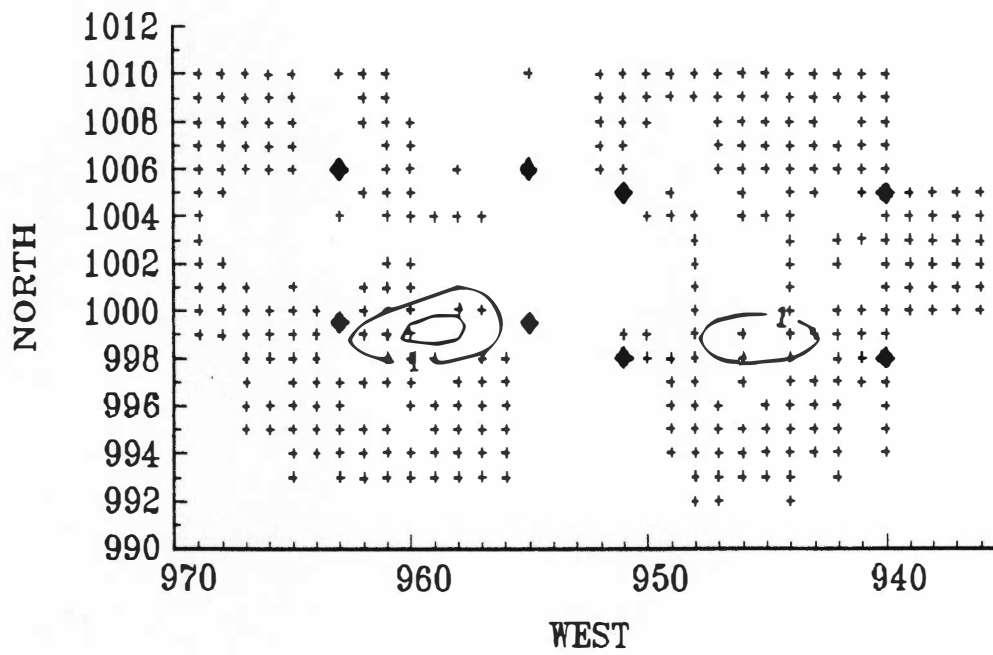


Figure 5.5 Distribution of Class 5 and 6 Glass - Shovel Test

depicting an apparent concentration near the estimated southwestern quadrant of Structure 2 and a lesser density on the northern side. Structure 1 shows no concentrations. The concentration in the southwestern portion of Structure 2 is a pattern that is repeated on the maps for the units as well. Concentrations of thickness Class 5 and 6 indicate possible window areas on the southern side of both structures.

Excavation Units

Figures 5.6 through 5.9 show the distribution of glass sherds recovered in excavation units. The Class 3 glass is clearly concentrated in the southwestern quadrant of Structure 2, while the density in other areas of the quarters is too light to suggest the placement of any windows. The density map for Class 4 sherds is more revealing, as they appear to be concentrated near the south and the eastern borders of Structure 2. Structure 1 has sherds concentrated along the southern central portion of the building as well as at the eastern end. Class 5 glass is distributed almost in the same locations as Class 4. One apparent concentration is at the northwestern corner of Structure 1. This might be explained by a disturbance. A rock pile was located just north of this point, and given the fact that the area between the structures had been disturbed by dirt road construction, the concentration at this location might be interpreted as disturbance. Class 6 is primarily concentrated in the southwestern corner of Structure 2 with lesser concentrations around the southern and eastern perimeter of Structure 1. Since Class 4 and Class 5 glass sherds were the most common, these concentrations suggesting window placement are used. Structure 2 appears to have had a window on the southwestern side of the building. The glass distribution around Structure 1 has

GLASS DISTRIBUTION – UNITS
CLASS 3

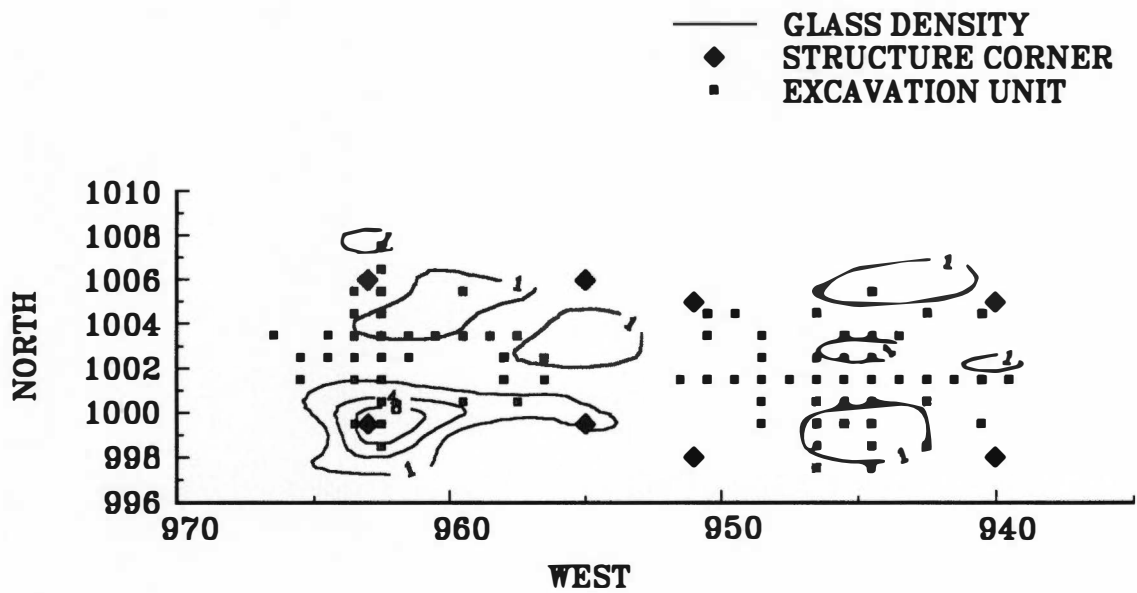


Figure 5.6 Distribution of Class 3 Glass - Units

GLASS DISTRIBUTION - UNITS
CLASS 4

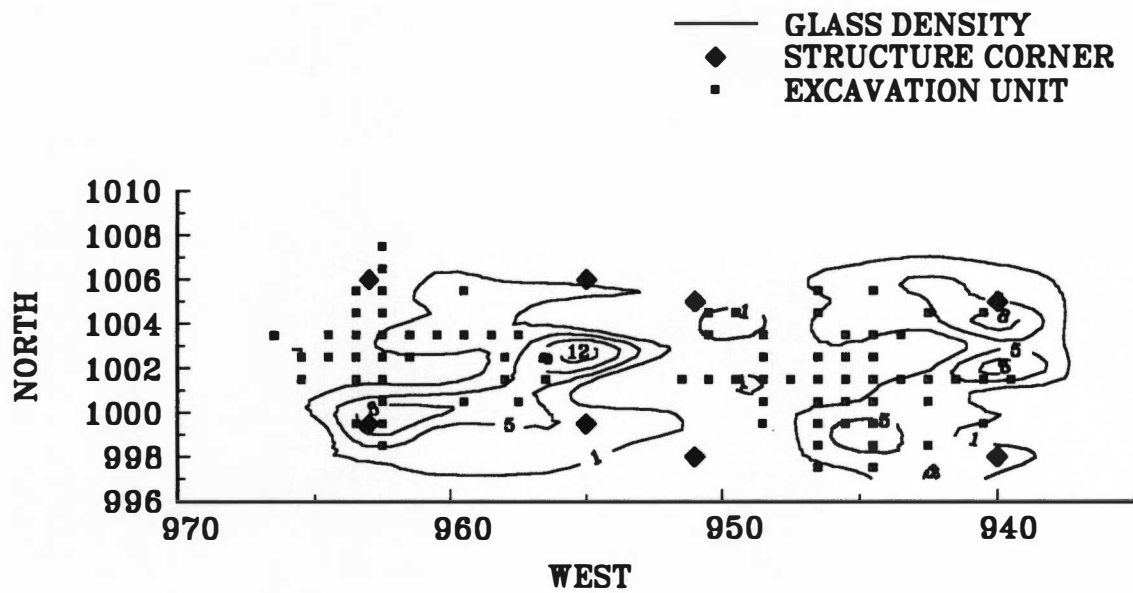


Figure 5.7 Distribution of Class 4 Glass - Units

GLASS DISTRIBUTION – UNITS CLASS 5

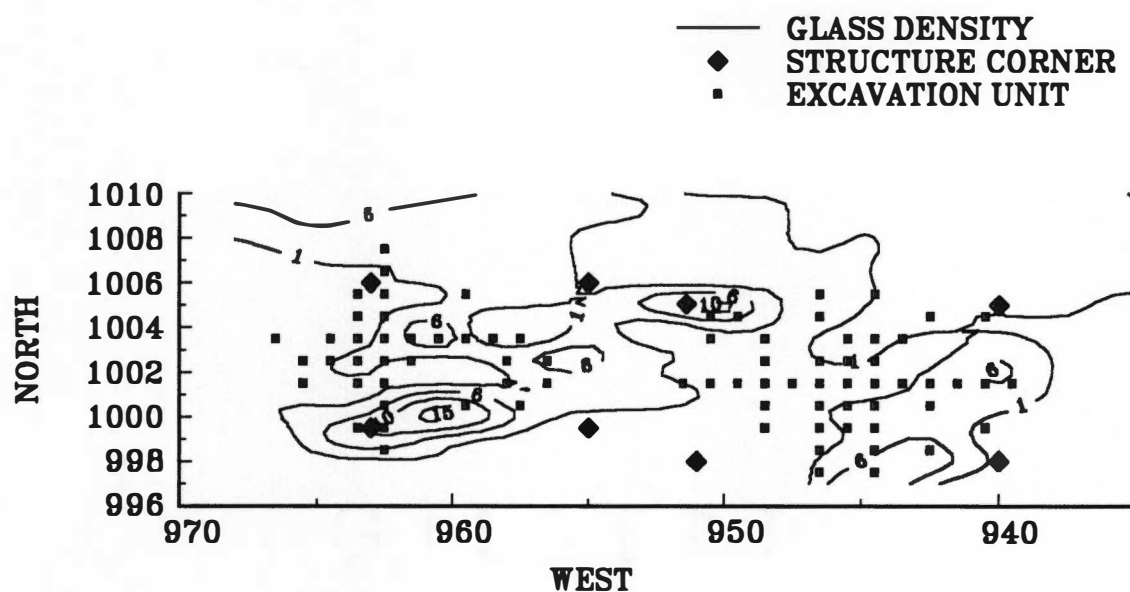


Figure 5.8 Distribution of Class 5 Glass - Units

GLASS DISTRIBUTION - UNITS

CLASS 6

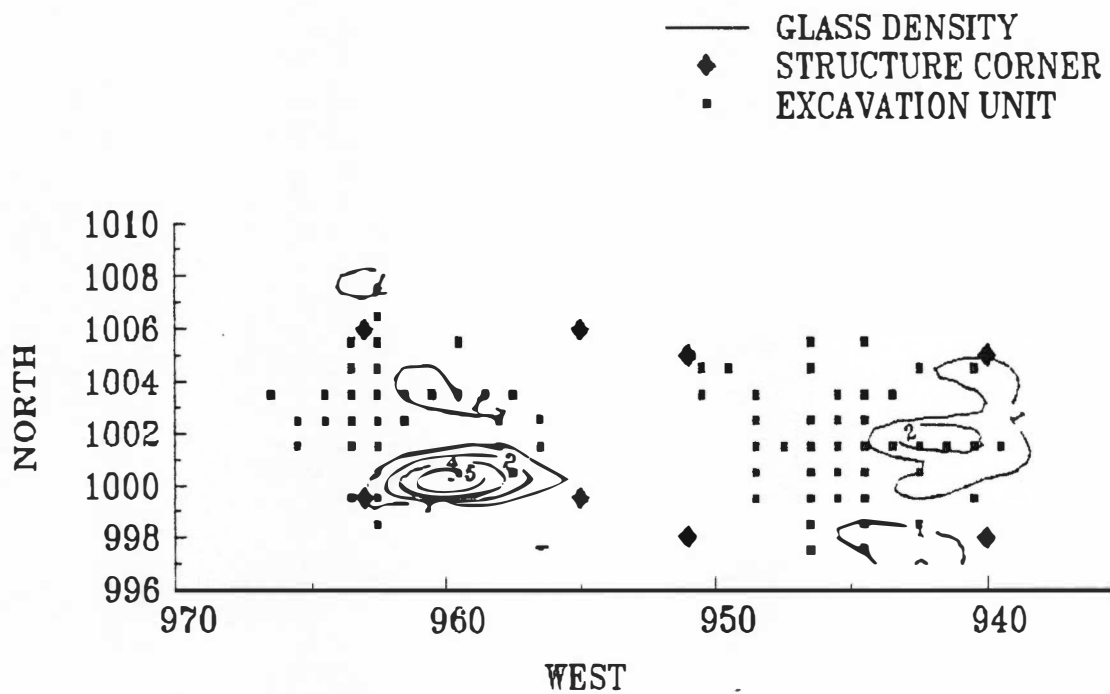


Figure 5.9 Distribution of Class 6 Glass - Units

concentrations at the southern and eastern ends as well. The lighter density of glass on the south side suggests one window of smaller size than in Structure 2, and a window in the eastern gable end as well.

Nails

The nails recovered in units associated with Structure 1 are used here to establish the construction sequence for the dwellings, to determine the type of construction, and locate doors and fenestration. Two types of nails, wrought and cut, could have been used in these structures. The differences between these two basic types is the method of manufacture. Wrought nails are handmade, and are characterized by a square shank, flattened points and distinctive hammered "rosehead" heads. There are variations in wrought nails which are the product of individual blacksmiths.

Cut nails are machine made. The shanks are not square but are rectangular in shape. At first, cut nails had the heads produced by hand. Machine headed nails soon followed. Early machine cut and headed nails were manufactured by cutting an iron plate into a nail shank, then the shank was gripped which compacted the shank directly beneath the applied head (Nelson 1968; Young 1992:13). An improved cut nail machine was quickly developed which did not damage the nail shank. In 1836, nails were manufactured which did not break as easily, an advantage when "clinching" nails, to secure the attachment of two wood pieces. This practice of clinching nails is often seen in the manufacture of board and batten doors for instance. Later, wire nails were made from an iron wire rather than a plate. The wire nails rapidly gained acceptance and replaced cut nails for building purposes late in the nineteenth century,

and were soon manufactured from steel which greatly increased the nail's strength and durability (Loveday 1983; Young 1992:15).

Wrought nails were used throughout the eighteenth century, and were only replaced as less expensive cut nails became available. This transition surely varied regionally in relation to access to factories, modes of transportation, and available stores and markets. There is apparently some discrepancy as to the availability of the machine cut and headed nails. Smith (1975) suggests that nails of this type were available before 1830. The wire nails are late nineteenth century. The dates for the slave structures as derived from the analysis of nails follows.

The overwhelming majority of nails were cut nails, with a minor percentage of wrought nails and wire nails. As shown in Table 5.5 the percentages are comparable, suggesting that the construction date of the two structures is similar based on the types of nails represented. Since fully machine cut nails were available before 1830, the overwhelming dominance of cut nails around the quarters suggests the construction took place after 1830. The most obvious difference between the nail assemblage in each structure is the total quantity of these artifacts. Despite the fact that Structure 1 is estimated at nearly twice as large as Structure 2, the number of nails recovered around Structure 2 is much greater.

Table 5.5 Nail Types in Structure 1 and Structure 2

Nail Type	Structure 1		Structure 2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Wrought	12	3.8	40	5.8
Cut	291	93.9	637	92.7
Wire	7	2.3	10	1.5
TOTAL	310		687	

The chronology of the structures, as suggested from the types of nails recovered, appears similar. The structures were probably

constructed after 1830, suggested by a preponderance of cut nails being used along with some wrought nails, perhaps used for special purposes, such as in doors, or having been recycled in boards from earlier construction projects on the plantation.

Nail Function

Although the dating of the structures is similar, the difference in the total quantity of nails suggests different architecture for the cabins. To aid in refining architectural details of the cabins, the cut nails were divided into four functional categories based primarily on nail size following Young (1992). Roofing nails range in size from 2 to 5 penny (1.5 to 1.75 in). Roofing nails were probably "shake" nails, used to attach wood shingles to the roof boards. Siding nails are 6 to 8 penny (2.0 - 2.5 in), flooring nails are 9 to 10 penny (2.75 - 3.00 in), and heavy framing nails are larger than 10 penny (> than 3.25 in). The number of clinched and wrought nails was also tabulated. The following Table 5.6 depicts the number of nails in each functional category. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to test for significant differences in the types of nails between dwellings.

The test result indicates there is no statistical difference between the sample of nails in Structure 1 and Structure 2 with regard to nail function. This test measures the relative proportions of the different nail sizes (functions) in each sample. The test does not measure whether there is a significant difference in the frequency or density of nails between the structures. The lower frequency of nails around Structure 1 suggests log construction, while the higher frequencies around Structure 2 suggests a timber frame structure, where more joints were nailed. The similarity in the proportions of nails in

each of the four functional categories is difficult to interpret; perhaps some of the flooring and siding nails were actually used in the

Table 5.6 Nail Frequencies by Function

	Structure 1		Structure 2	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Roofing</u>	108	59.3	329	66.7
<u>Siding</u>	60	33.0	128	26.0
<u>Flooring</u>	12	6.6	28	5.7
<u>Heavy Frame</u>	2	1.1	8	1.6
Total	182		493	

Significance level at .05 = .118 D = .074
No significant difference

frame for Structure 2. More likely is that wooden pegs or dowels were also used in the construction of the frame building of Structure 2 rather than heavy framing nails.

Nail Distribution

Nail distribution maps for the structures were computed from nail density in units and shovel tests. Maps were created for each functional category of nails. The distribution of nails is useful to estimate the slave cabin size, or to determine the placement of architectural features such as doors or windows. Roofing nails, siding nails, flooring nails, and heavy framing nails were used for the distribution maps. The distribution of roofing nails was expected to cover the general area of the slave quarters. Siding nails might outline the border of the cabins, while flooring nails would be associated primarily with the interior of the quarters. Heavy framing nails might be found near the estimated corners of the cabins.

Roofing Nails

The map generated from the shovel test data (Figure 5.10) yielded interesting patterns for Structure 2. The nails appear to be associated with the periphery of the western half of the structure. In contrast, Structure 1 does not have any patterning which can be interpreted from the map. The maps generated from the unit data (Figure 5.11) might outline the north and south boundaries for both cabins. The highest density of roofing nails for both structures touches on the estimated eighteen foot width for both cabins. The length of Structure 2 is not well defined for the eastern gable end, nor is the western gable end of Structure 1 well defined. This may be partially explained by the disturbance caused by the field road bisecting the two cabins. The distribution of nails recovered in units was useful in approximating the eastern extent of Structure 1, as the density of nails dramatically increased near the estimated boundary. The pattern expected from roofing nails is different than hypothesized. The roofing nails were expected to be evenly distributed across the proposed cabin interior and just beyond the cabin's walls. The patterning suggested here is that some of the nails proposed as roofing nails might actually have been used in another capacity, for example siding nails. It is also possible that Structure 2 was dismantled, in similar fashion to Structure 1, and the nail patterning was distorted as a result. The general distribution of roofing nails appears to support the estimated 18 ft. width of both cabins, and the total length of 36 ft for Structure 1.

NAIL DISTRIBUTION – SHOVEL TESTS
ROOFING NAILS

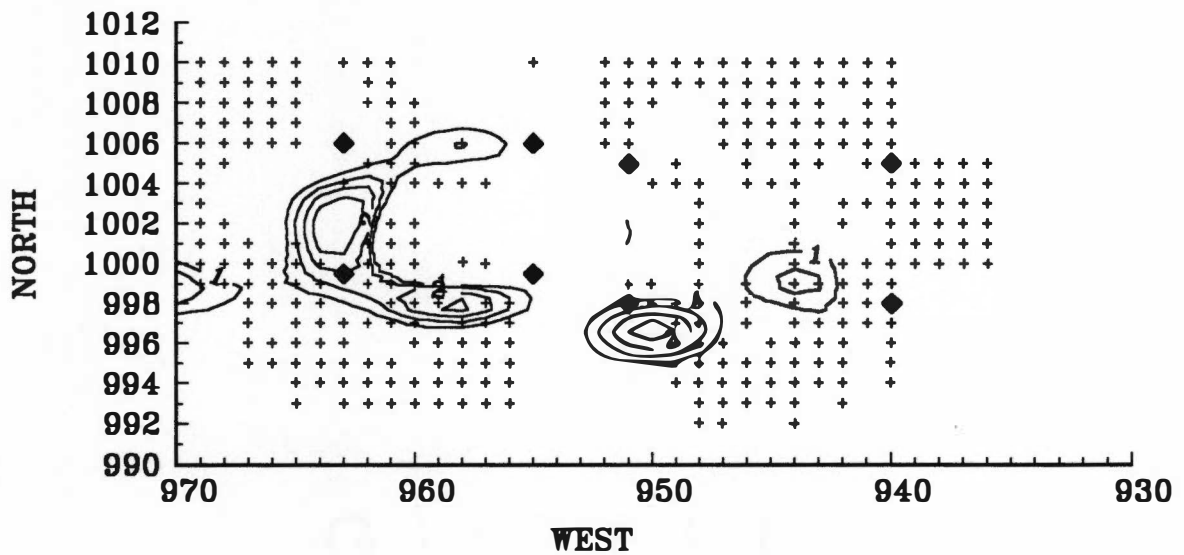


Figure 5.10 Roofing Nail Distribution - Shovel Tests

NAIL DISTRIBUTION – UNITS ROOFING NAILS

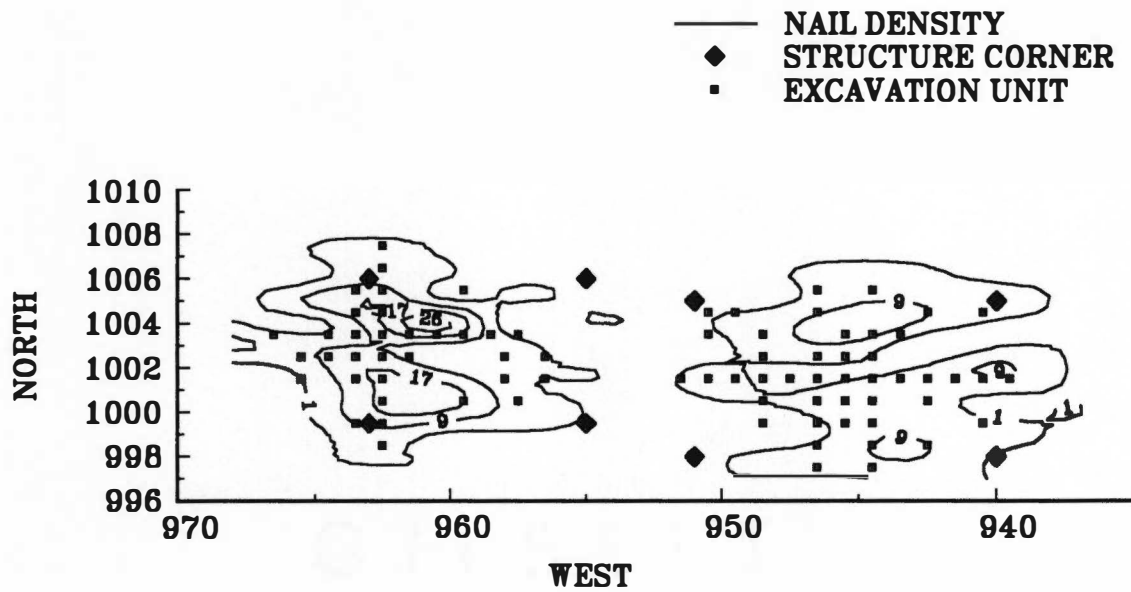


Figure 5.11 Roofing Nail Distribution - Units

Siding Nails

The distributional patterns derived from siding nails correspond closely to the pattern of roofing nails recovered around the quarters. The shovel tests did not demonstrate any distinct patterns (Figure 5.12), but the nails of this size range recovered from units indicate a pattern (Figure 5.13) which may be interpreted as boundaries of the cabin. Structure 2 has a pattern which shows a decrease in siding nails outside the 18 ft. boundaries of the north and south walls of the structures. A higher density of siding nails near the wall on the eastern gable end of Structure 1 is evident as well.

Flooring

There were not many nails of this size recovered in shovel tests; however, as the map demonstrates (Figure 5.14), flooring nails were found on the interior of the structures' proposed boundaries. The maps of nails recovered in units (Figure 5.15) reiterates this pattern, supporting the predicted boundaries of the cabins.

Heavy Frame

There were not enough heavy framing nails found in shovel tests to be useful in constructing an isopleth for this class of nails from shovel test data. The map (Figure 5.16) constructed from nails recovered in units depicts a few nails in the middle of the southern wall of Structure 2. This area was also noted as having a higher density of window glass.

NAIL DISTRIBUTION – SHOVEL TESTS SIDING NAILS

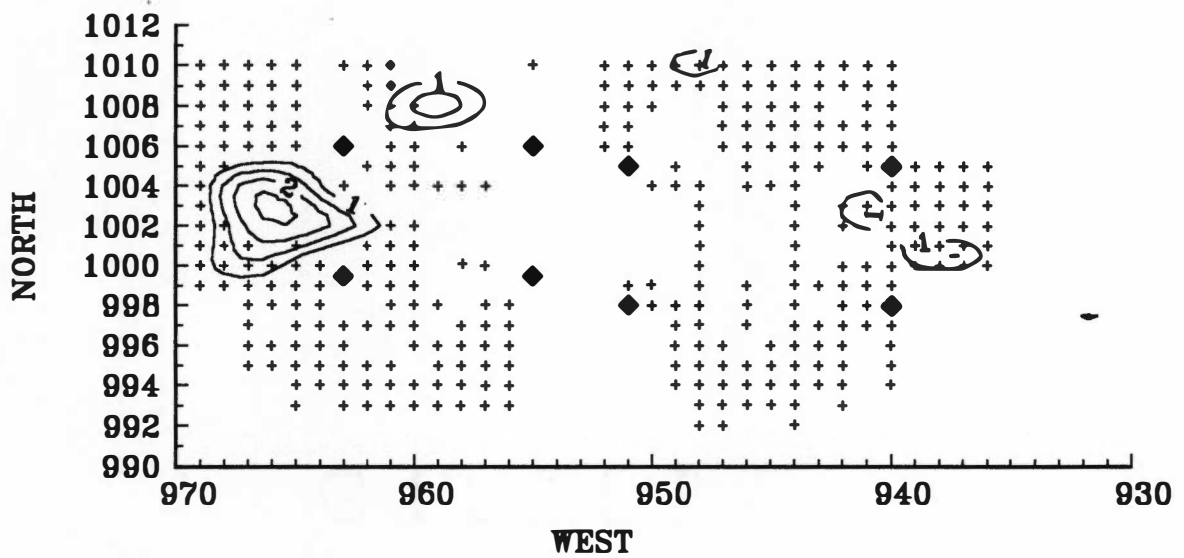


Figure 5.12 Siding Nail Distribution - Shovel Tests

NAIL DISTRIBUTION – UNITS SIDING NAILS

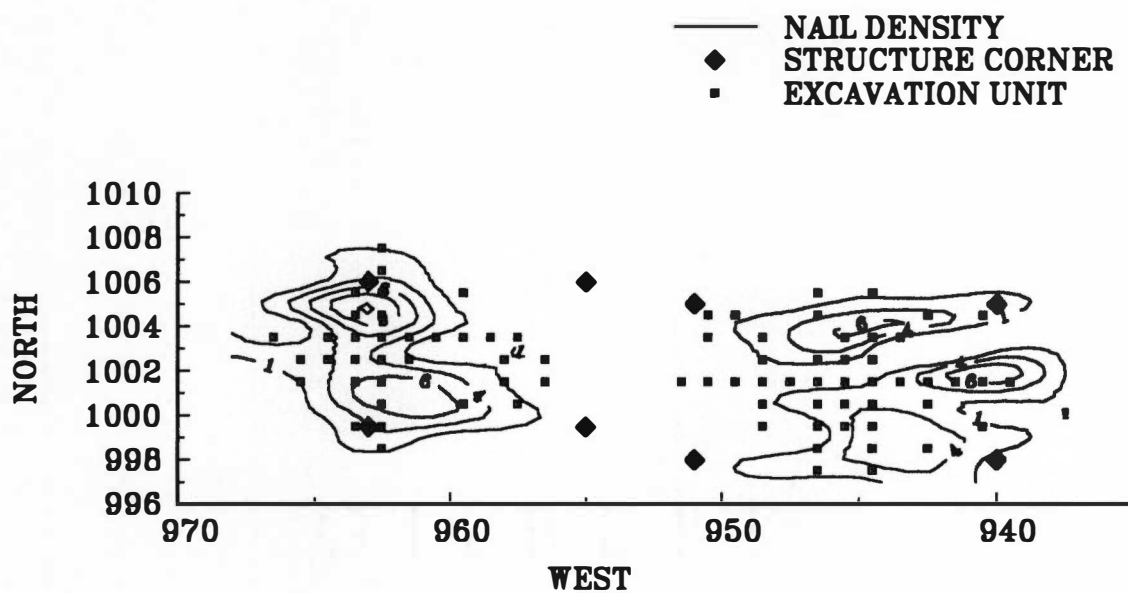


Figure 5.13 Siding Nail Distribution - Units

NAIL DISTRIBUTION – SHOVEL TESTS FLOORING NAILS

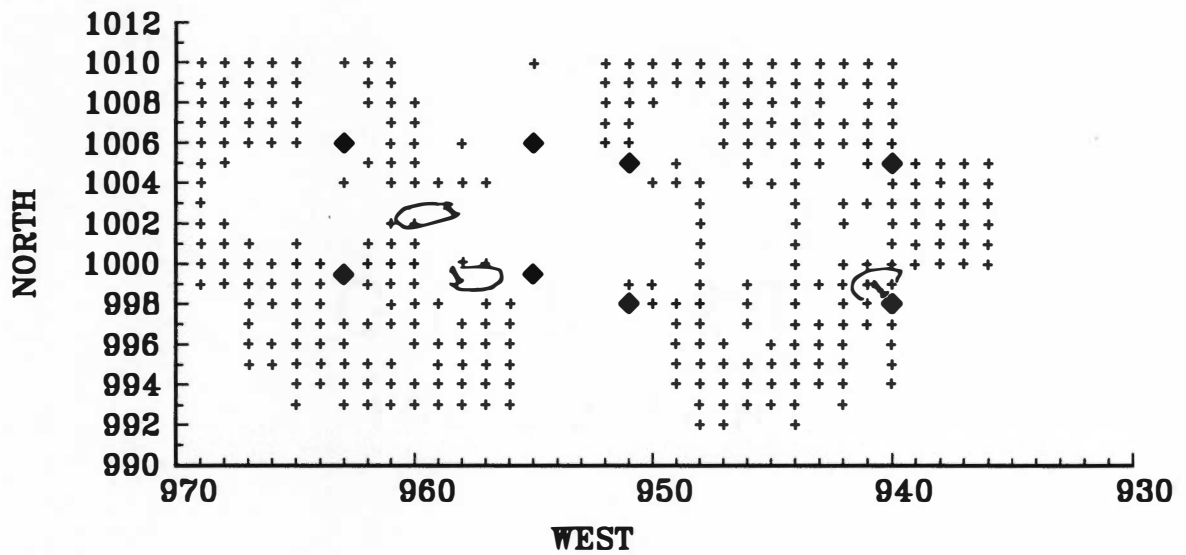


Figure 5.14 Flooring Nail Distribution - Shovel Tests

NAIL DISTRIBUTION - UNITS

FLOORING NAILS

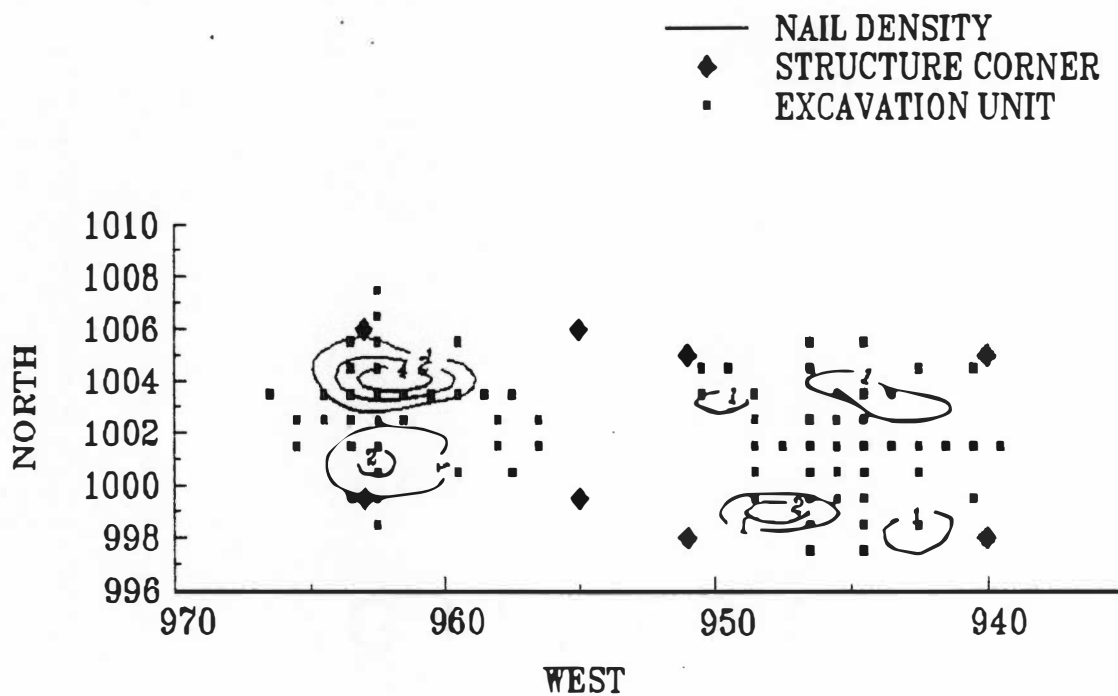


Figure 5.15 Flooring Nail Distribution - Units

NAIL DISTRIBUTION – UNITS HEAVY FRAME

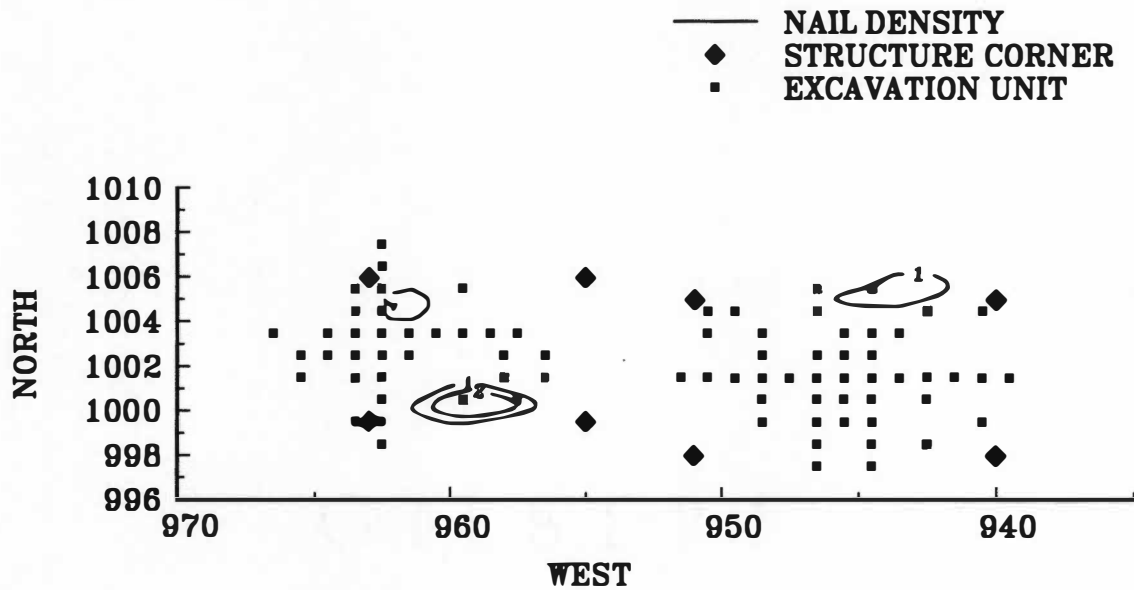


Figure 5.16 Distribution of Heavy Frame Nails - Units

Wrought and Clinched Nails

The placement of wrought nails might be indicative of early architectural elements on the buildings, so that if original construction had used only the earlier wrought nails, and cut nails were used for later additions, the distribution of wrought nails might indicate the placement and timing of these changes. Also, wrought nails were sometimes preferred to cut nails for use in board and batten doors (Dr. Charles Faulkner, personal communication 1990), so that clusters of wrought nails (Figure 5.17) or clinched nails (Figure 5.18) might suggest the placement of doors in the quarters. There are no obvious clusters of clinched nails found in units around Structure 1 that might be interpreted as doorways or other architectural features. Structure 2 does appear to have a significant number of clinched nails in the area of the north wall. This could be interpreted as a doorway or perhaps a window.

Nail Distribution Summary

The nail patterns do not appear to have been particularly useful in determining architectural features, except for the possible doorway on the north wall of Structure 2. There was no patterning that appeared to be associated with any particular nail size or nail function. The general distributions of the nails, however, did conform well to the predicted boundaries of the structures.

NAIL DISTRIBUTION – UNITS WROUGHT NAILS

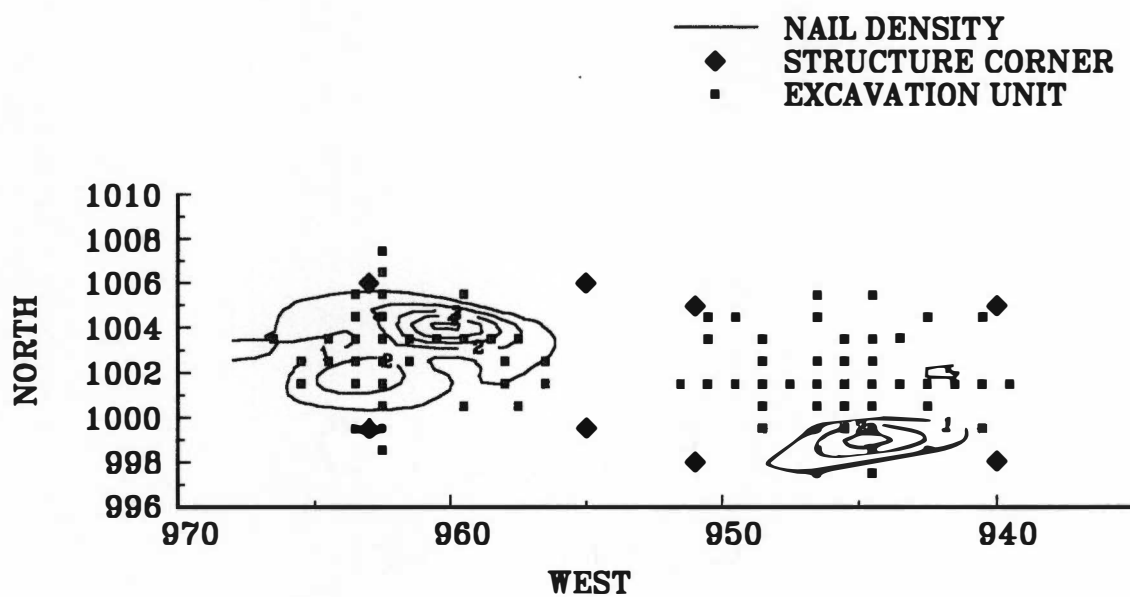


Figure 5.17 Distribution of Wrought Nails - Units

NAIL DISTRIBUTION - UNITS
CLINCHED NAILS

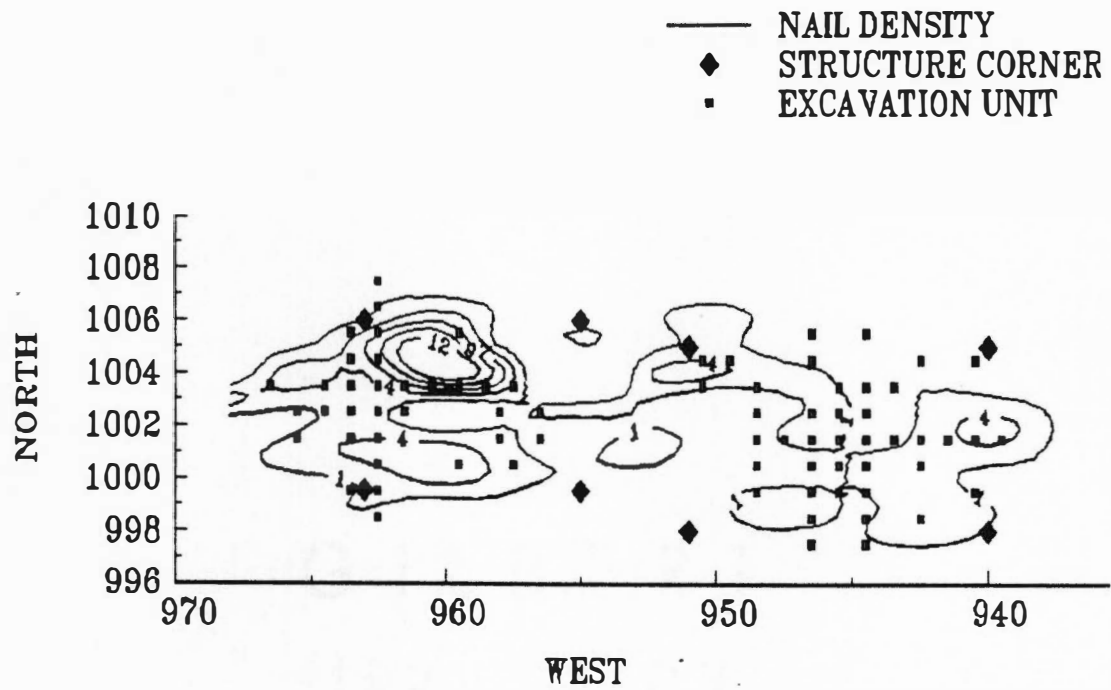


Figure 5.18 Distribution of Clinched Nails - Units

Ceramic Sherd Distribution

Isopleths were generated for ceramics across the estimated boundaries of Structure 1 and Structure 2. Maps of ceramics found within the contexts of shovel tests and units were generated. Ceramics were divided into two size categories; ceramics less than or equal to 1/2 in (size grade 3) and ceramics greater than or equal to 1 in (size grade 4 and 5). This division was used to perceive differences in the disposal patterns of different sized ceramics, both in relation to site formation processes such as trampling, or behavioral factors such as dumping of refuse around doorways or windows. Also, yard cleaning might have had an effect on the distribution of ceramics (Faulkner 1987:12, Wesler 1984).

Shovel Tests

The distribution of size grade 3 ceramics recovered in shovel tests (Figure 5.19) was quite informative from a variety of perspectives. The first is that smaller ceramics are more prevalent outside the boundaries of both structures than are ceramics of larger size. Two processes could produce this pattern. One is trampling in the yard areas around the cabins, which would consistently reduce the size of the ceramics disposed of outside the structures. The other process which might affect sherd distribution is yard cleaning where artifacts of smaller size would be left in the yard area. These two processes probably explain the distributional pattern of ceramics recovered in shovel tests. The distribution of ceramics recovered in shovel tests indicates possible doorways at the southeastern corner of Structure 1 and at the southwestern corner of Structure 2. Ceramic concentrations here occur close to the boundaries of the structures which can be

ALL CERAMICS – SHOVEL TESTS SIZE GRADE 3

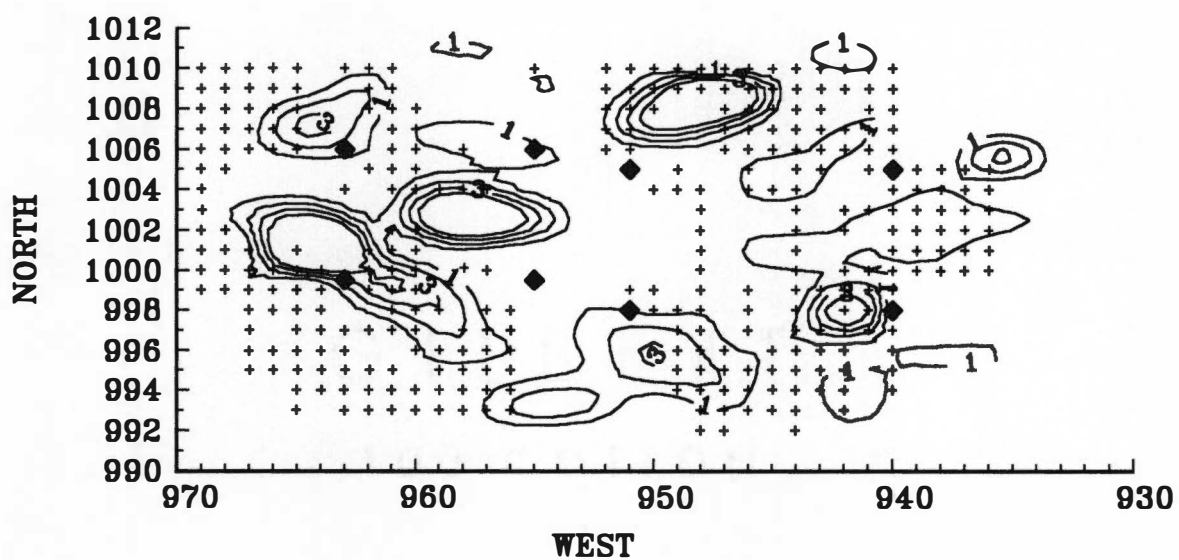


Figure 5.19 Distribution of Size Grade 3 Ceramics - Shovel Tests

interpreted as passage ways. Another cluster of ceramics located on the northern side of Structure 1 (units 51 and 52) is probably a dumping area which contained ashes and other refuse. Another cluster appears in the center of Structure 2, where smaller ceramics may have fallen through the floorboards or been swept around the root cellar of this structure.

There is only one cluster of the larger size ceramics which is located at the western end of Structure 2 (Figure 5.20). This might be additional evidence for the differential deposition of larger size ceramics. The larger ceramic fragments may have been dumped directly behind the chimney of Structure 2. The absence of larger sized ceramics in any other areas of the yard suggests differential deposition and the effect of yard cleaning which removed the larger ceramics from the area. These larger ceramics may even have been curated and used in other ways. Apparently, in the West Indies, large ceramic sherds were used as spoons at the turn of the century by those who could not afford utensils (Dr. Lydia Pulsipher, personal communication 1994).

Excavation Units

The distribution of ceramics retrieved in units yielded interesting patterns. The distribution of ceramics of size grade 3 or less conformed (Figure 5.21) to the estimated boundaries of Structure 1 quite closely, as though ceramics swept against the wall eventually were deposited along the structure's perimeter. Another observation is that there appears to be a concentration of ceramics near the western margin of Feature 20. In Structure 2 ceramics of this size clustered along the estimated wall, and near the center of the structure.

ALL CERAMICS – SHOVEL TESTS SIZE GRADE 4

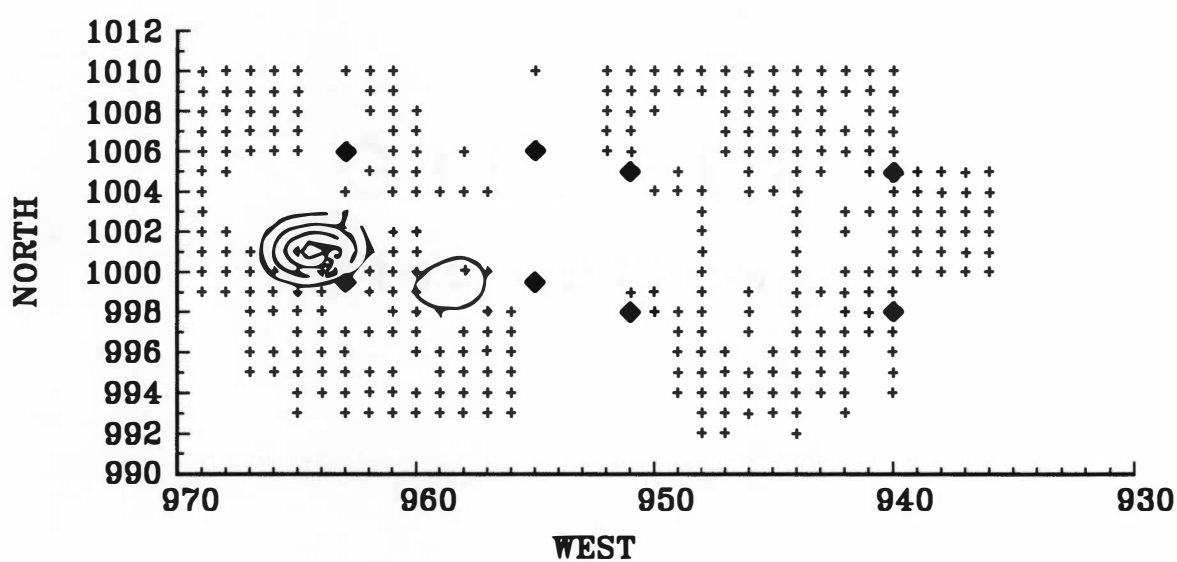


Figure 5.20 Distribution of Size Grade 4 Ceramics - Shovel Tests

CERAMIC DISTRIBUTION - UNITS

SIZE GRADE ≤ 3

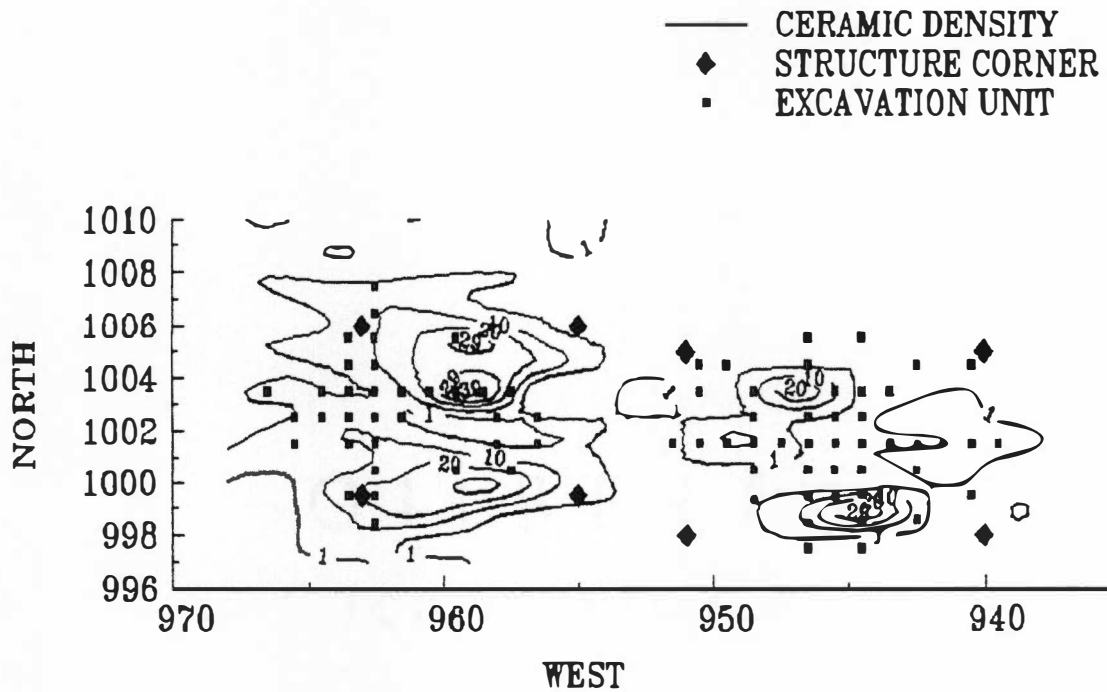


Figure 5.21 Distribution of Sherds Size Grade 3 - Units

The distribution of size grade 4 ceramics (Figure 5.22) was not as effective in delimiting the boundaries of the structures. Larger size ceramics seem to correlate with the location of Feature 3 and Feature 20, which were both located along the chimney of Structure 1. Larger sherds are concentrated near the center of Structure 2. Openings in the floor in this vicinity, possibly associated with the root cellar, explain the cluster of ceramics here.

Summary of Slave Quarter Architecture and Artifact Distributions

The artifact distribution maps support the estimated size of the dwellings based on the architectural features. Dimensions of 18 ft by 36 ft for Structure 1 and 18 ft by 24 ft for Structure 2 appear accurate. The artifact patterns also suggest the placement of windows and doorways, but these locations are not clear cut. The amount of flat glass present indicates windows in both slave quarters. A concentration of window glass occurred along the southwestern wall of Structure 2 suggesting the presence of a window. A window might have been located at the eastern gable end of Structure 1, as a concentration of glass appears here as well. Two doorways may have been present in the southern wall of Structure 1, one opening into each room. The distribution of ceramics along the north wall of Structure 1 probably represents refuse disposal on a downslope area, and a door may have been positioned here as well.

The review of literature regarding slave cabins and the physical remains of known cabins in the Southeast and the Knoxville area suggest that the cabins in this area of the Upland South exhibit a great deal of variability. Future research may eventually define a regional pattern for slave housing in the area, although variability per se might be a

CERAMIC DISTRIBUTION - UNITS

SIZE GRADE ≥ 4

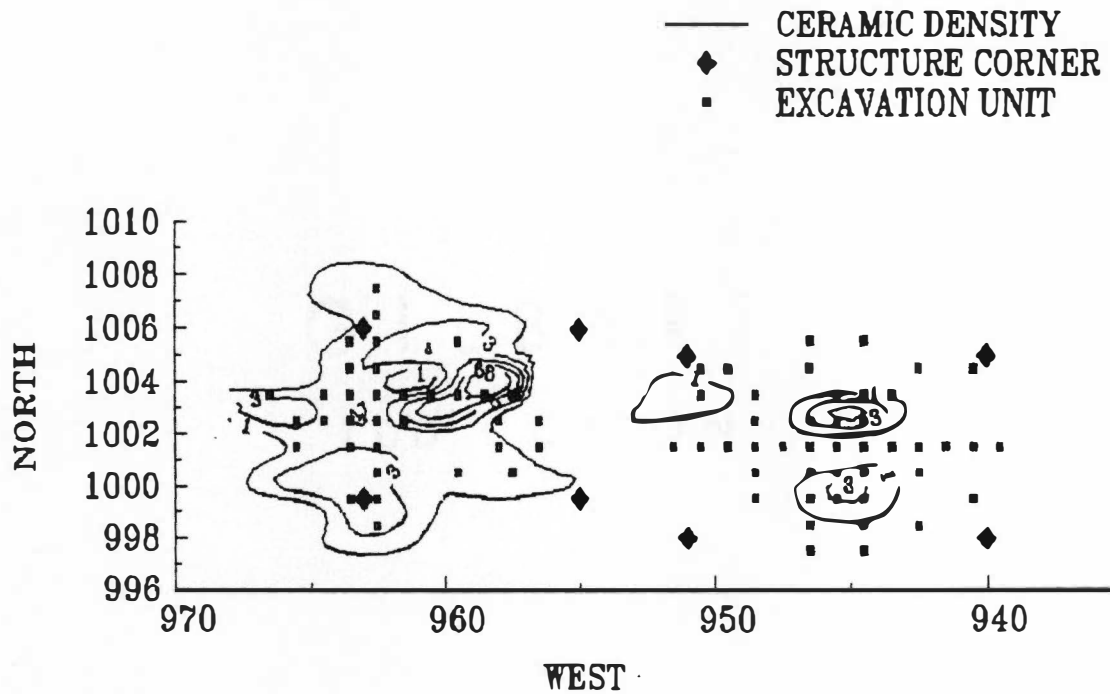


Figure 5.22 Distribution of Sherds Size Grade 4 - Units

pattern in slave housing for this area. Certainly, the Mabry cabins conform to the basic planter's "standards" of the Lowland South, concerning single family rooms, the use of piers rather than foundations, and the size of the structures. The size of the structures appears to be about average, at least in terms of the amount of space allowed for each individual. Determining how many families there were at Mabry is difficult, but the three rooms could have housed 18 slaves in 1850, conforming to the average of 6 slaves per room as discussed by Orser (1990:127). If both structures were still being occupied by 1860, obviously more space was allowed each of the eight individuals. The windows in the cabins were not unusual, although accounts in the Lowland South state that some cabins lacked windows. It is possible that the colder climate required cabins which were better insulated in the winter. Glazed windows might provide better protection against cold, and still provide sunlight to warm the structure. Windows would have been desired in the summer to allow adequate ventilation. Cabins set on piers was another characteristic that was expected based on the literature on slave management. Structure 1 and Structure 2 were probably set on limestone piers. Again, health concerns, and the attempt to prevent bad air from accumulating in the cabins was desired.

The most unexpected characteristic of the cabins was the large root cellar with an external entrance, associated with the western pen of Structure 1 as compared to the smaller 4 ft by 6 ft root cellar under Structure 2. Some slaveholders advocated no storage facilities for slaves because of the belief they might use the space to hide stolen goods (McKee 1992). This large storage facility suggests that Mabry was less concerned about stolen material. The placement of such a large cellar under only one room of Structure 1 also suggests a storage facility shared by the occupants of both pens and possibly both

structures. The cellar was certainly large enough to store material beyond simple foodstuffs. Tools and other necessary items for both work and leisure may have been stored in the facility, and an individual charged with special responsibility, such as a driver, may have lived in the western pen above the cellar. The small storage facility on the northern side of Structure 1 could have been used to cache personal items of individuals in both rooms of Structure 1.

Structure 1 was probably a log dwelling, and Structure 2 a timber frame structure. This difference probably relates to construction dates for the two dwellings. Structure 1 was probably the first cabin built and may have utilized logs produced as land around the cabins was cleared. Structure 2 appears to have been built shortly thereafter to house additional slaves. The builders may have had access to a saw mill at this time, possibly located on the plantation itself, which would have produced the heavy framework timbers and plank siding.

Overall these quarters were probably similar to many cabins of yeoman farmers in the area. The placement of the two structures so close together probably represents a conscious attempt by the master to concentrate his slaves in a restricted area, much like a barracks, in the hope of encouraging and supporting a feeling of community among the slaves residing there, or quite possibly to facilitate easier supervision. The slaves probably built the cabins themselves and may have exercised their opinions about the design. The fact that all slaves would be housed in one facility perhaps would make inspection of the facilities or individuals easier. The possibility also exists that the cabins were connected to each other by a "dog trot" opening. A house owned by Capt. David Campbell near Campbell's Station and built around 1810 was a saddle bag structure connected to another single room log structure by a dog trot opening (Chandler 1992). The placement of

Structure 1 and Structure 2 so close together is quite similar to the Campbell house. Although the construction design of the two Mabry structures is different, there is no reason why they could not have been attached. If this was the case, there would have been a trap door opening on the east side of the dog trot into the large root cellar beneath the west room of Structure 1. This arrangement would have facilitated entry into the root cellar by any individual without having to enter the west pen. Another advantage to this design is that the root cellar was in less danger of water seepage through the bulkhead entrance because the dog trot covered the cellar trap door. The proximity of the cabins certainly suggests a desire to attach the two buildings (Dr. Charles Faulkner, personal communication 1993). Archaeological excavations recently uncovered a rectangular structure with a continuous foundation at the Hermitage. The structure was separated into three pens with a large root cellar located underneath the central room (Dr. Larry McKee, personal communication 1994), indicating similarities to the Mabry slave quarter design. Mabry appears to have provided his slaves with housing considered appropriate for slaves at that time. Although this appears morally responsible, there was also a selfish motivation behind providing slaves with adequate housing. Slaves in poor health, disenchanted with their material conditions and lack of freedom made very poor laborers.

CHAPTER 6

CERAMIC ANALYSIS

Overview

Archaeologists working with prehistoric artifacts have often used ceramics to define cultural groups and areas. The key concept that archaeologists have used is the use of ceramics as symbols to mark an individual's cultural identity. Individuals conform to the norms of ceramic decoration for any particular group. These "social norms" (Gifford 1960) regarding the decoration of a culture's ceramics, change through time for a variety of reasons, but the decorations were always influenced by the social norms and actions of the potter's own culture. Hodder (1982, 1985) has taken the use of decoration and style in ceramics beyond the simple association of decorative traits with a particular culture in space and time. Hodder and others (Wobst 1977; Wiesner 1983) have argued strongly that material culture is used to send messages within and between cultures, which may relate to political alliances between cultures or other perceived social relationships. Hodder (1985:5) states:

Material culture patterning evokes and forms values and expectations. It is through the arrangement of the material world-the association of forms and uses-that the social world is produced and reproduced. Material culture provides the environment within which individuals find their places and learn the places of others, their goals and expectations. Yet it also produces new situations and is, with language and gesture, the medium through which individuals achieve their ends.

Archaeologists are beginning to recognize that material culture carries information that can not only be used to define attributes of cultural units (Wiley and Phillips 1958), but may also be manipulated to achieve and represent social responses in various social contexts.

Historical archaeologists working with plantation sites have a perspective on the use of ceramics as symbols of social relations because of the clear social dichotomy that existed between master and slave. As Orser (1988) notes, the master had ultimate control over the ceramics or any material culture which slaves may have possessed. The use of material culture in a plantation context, and the connection of material culture to social relations, is more easily perceived on a plantation than in a prehistoric site where the social context of the individual participants is not as easily defined.

Jeanne Howson (1991) and Charles Orser (1988) have stressed the symbolic significance of material culture in the context of plantation archaeology. Material culture in an historic context cannot be modified by individuals in the same fashion as prehistoric potters marked designs in the wet clay of their vessels. However, material culture may have been manipulated through choice in the acquisition and utilization by both the master and slave. Choice in the kinds of ceramics which were acquired and the fashion in which those ceramics were utilized may have been a subtle but important mechanism for expressing and maintaining cultural differences in a plantation setting. Material culture in the plantation setting symbolically defined and reinforced the identity of the slaves and their master, the social status of the individuals there, and most likely attitudes of accommodation or resistance between master and slave.

The ability of the slave to acquire ceramics in the plantation setting was dependent upon the master. The slaves "piecemeal" acquisition of ceramics from a variety of sources, including "hand me downs" from the mansion, has been suggested by researchers. Otto (1984) offered the possibility that ceramics were being bought by the slaves themselves, a belief that Adams and Boling recently restated (1991). The

possession of personal property by slaves, ranging from horses and wagons to foodstuffs, has been documented by Morgan (1983:399-434). Although ceramics are not listed in the slaves' claims, it seems likely that ceramics could have been acquired and considered owned by the slaves as well. Howson (1991) suggests that items used by slaves may have carried significance beyond the utilitarian function of the artifact. Material culture may have symbolized the manner of acquisition. The fact that the slaves on a plantation were using ceramics is not as important as the fact that the ceramics may have symbolized the slaves buying power despite their social position.

The modification of material culture can be considered another form of symbolic expression. Items such as ceramics may have been modified or used in ways not associated with the original function conceived for the item by the manufacturers. The symbolism inherent in these modified artifacts would depend on the way in which the modified artifact was used. Yet the mere presence of these modified artifacts surely is a statement of adaptation or rejection of the originally intended purpose of the object - a purpose designed by the master's culture in a plantation setting. The following analysis will focus on the ceramics retrieved from slave quarter and mansion contexts at the Mabry site. There is a wealth of information regarding the manufacture of ceramics, and the reader is referred to Price (1979) and Majewski and O'Brien (1987) for a detailed discussion of nineteenth century ceramics. Four archeological contexts are compared. These are the east (434 sherds) and west (243 sherds) rooms of Structure 1, Structure 2 (440 sherds), and the lower strata of the mansion deposit (463 sherds). The ceramics retrieved from these contexts will be analyzed to better understand the social relations between master and slave and among the slaves.

A cautionary note is necessary regarding the archaeological context of the mansion ceramics. The mansion deposit appears to reflect general household debris, including the ceramics discussed here. There appear to be no post-depositional disturbances that may have biased the ceramic sample so that it does not represent the table wares utilized by the occupants of the mansion. There is the possibility that expensive ceramics reserved for special occasions at the Mabry house were not used, broken, and discarded as often. Expensive ceramics were found in the deposit along with less expensive wares, but there is no way of demonstrating that the sample may not be biased towards everyday ceramics. For the comparisons made here between master and slave, the "everyday" ceramics of the master are the most meaningful anyway. We are presumably using the "everyday" ceramics of the slaves as well. Lastly, the deposit is distanced from the slave quarters so that refuse in the mansion deposit surely originated from the mansion. The ceramic analysis proceeds under the assumption that the mansion ceramic sample, and the slave quarter samples, are representative of the table wares utilized by the occupants.

The ceramics are compared in several ways. The first is through an analysis of vessel forms, a comparison which was utilized by Otto (1977,1984) between planter, overseer, and slave archaeological contexts. Otto was successful in delineating distinct differences in vessel forms which related to both dietary habits and the perceived socio-economic position of individuals on the plantation. Mullins-Moore (1985) and Adams and Boling (1991) synthesized data from several plantation contexts regarding the association of the occupant's wealth and status with vessel form.

Vessel cost indices were developed by Miller (1980, 1991) to address questions of status on historic sites. Mullins-Moore (1985) and

Orser (1988) analyzed ceramic cost data from slave and master contexts at Cannon's Point and Sinclair, again looking for an association between occupant and wealth. The cost of the vessels in slave and master contexts was discussed at length by Adams and Boling (1991) who used data from various other sites, including master and slave contexts from the plantation sites of King's Bay, Harmony Hall, and Cherry Point Plantation, all located in the King's Bay locality (Adams and Boling 1987). If used to symbolize power relations on the plantation, one would expect that ceramics found in the slave quarters would consist of less expensive varieties, to be contrasted with the ceramics of the mansion occupants. Homogeneity in the cost of ceramics between master and slave suggests: 1) that the cost of ceramics was not an appropriate or useful medium to symbolize power relations in this situation; or 2) that the similarity is indicative of equal access to ceramics, suggesting more permeable social boundaries for material culture between slave and master.

Orser (1984) notes that the ceramics found in slave quarters may differ in relation to the social hierarchies of the occupants. Blassingame (1976) argues that social divisions existed in the slave quarters that were not solely based on the tasks of the slaves. These slave social divisions were inversely related to slave tasks and the slave hierarchy perceived by the master. Individuals who were capable of duping the master or caring for the sick in the slave quarters composed the upper level in the slave hierarchy. Individuals working as the master's servants or kitchen hands were lower in the hierarchy, but above willing concubines and cruel drivers. Field hands were in the middle of the slave hierarchy. Material culture may have been manipulated in the quarters to reflect these social differences

according to Orser (1988:747). The use of ceramics by field hands may have differed as compared to kitchen and house servants.

Ceramics between slave and master context are then analyzed in relation to the diversity of ceramic types. This comparison addresses two questions. The first is the manner of acquisition of ceramics by slaves. If ceramics had been acquired "piecemeal" by slaves, then a wide variety of ceramic types would be expected, as individual pieces accumulated through time. This pattern would be in contrast to the pattern of accumulation of ceramics expected for the master. A lack of diversity would be expected in ceramics from the mansion context as the planter accumulated ceramics in sets. The number of ceramic sets found in slave and master contexts is compared.

Analyzing the diversity of ceramics in this fashion measures a visual dissimilarity in ceramic decorations that existed between the slave quarters and the mansion. The economic scaling of the ceramics reflects the cost of the vessels, but does not take into account the different colors of transfer patterns or painted designs. All hand painted ceramics would cost about the same according to Miller, yet the visual contrast between vessels may be striking. The diversity indices measures visual differences between the pottery that the cost indices does not.

An attempt is made to determine the degree to which "hand me downs" or recycled ceramics were used in the slave quarters. The frequency of ceramic matches is used to try and measure this recycling activity. These are duplicate ceramic types, including ware and decoration, found in both master and slave contexts. Young and Andrews (1992) utilized this methodology in their examination of ceramics from the Upper South Locust Grove Plantation in Kentucky. Their interpretation of the percentage of ceramic matches in planter and slave

contexts is interpreted as representing the egalitarian nature of slave labor organized for Upper South plantations. They suggest that all slaves at Locust Grove basically had equal access to the mansion because of alternating work cycles, which was translated materially into equal access to the ceramics utilized at the mansion. Not all ceramics which match between slave quarters and mansion necessarily are indicative of recycling, but this is the only measure currently available.

The ceramics from slave and mansion context are analyzed according to: 1) vessel form; 2) vessel cost; 3) diversity; 4) matched ceramic types; 5) ceramic sets; and 6) vessel modification. These analyses are preceded by a brief discussion of the classification and dating of the ceramics.

Chronology

The overwhelming majority of ceramic sherds in quarter and mansion context was classed as whiteware, with pearlware, creamware, redware, ironstone, and porcelain also present in the assemblage. A brief discussion is necessary regarding the distinction between whiteware and pearlware because the relative percentages of these two wares is crucial in establishing dates for the archaeological contexts of slave and mansion.

As Price (1979) has reviewed, the amount of "puddling" or bluish tint found in the crevices of footrings and rims should not be the only criteria for the classification of a sherd as pearlware rather than whiteware. Price's definition of pearlware includes a color palette which incorporates darker blue and black on transfer printed sherds, and uses "earthen tones" of yellow, orange, brown, and green on handpainted ceramics. Price (1979:14) notes that in the late 1820s the use of a more

varied palette of colors was used in transfer printed and hand painted vessels. Colors including red, green, purple, and lighter blues are associated with whiteware, as are the handpainted colors of pinkish reds, lighter blues and greens. The glaze and color of decoration were both used in sorting sherds into pearlware or whiteware in this study. Sherds exhibiting an overall "bluish" cast were classed as pearlware, sherds exhibiting the brighter white glaze were classed as whiteware.

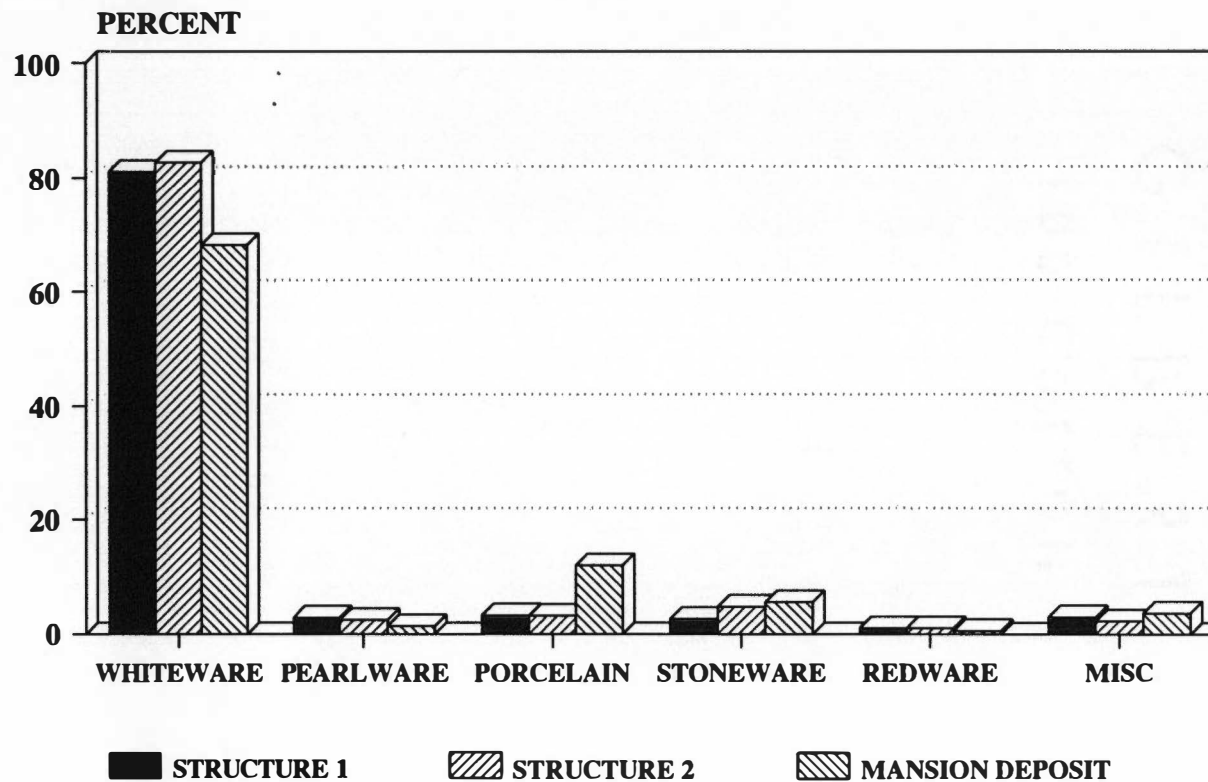
The dominance of whiteware in the assemblage (Figure 6.1), with pearlware comprising a minor percentage, suggests that the occupation in the slave quarters dates to the mid-nineteenth century. The ceramic analysis does not support the notion that there is a time lag regarding the acquisition and use of ceramics by the Mabry slaves. Ceramics from the Mabry slave quarters date consistently to the same period of time as the other material recovered from the cabins. The ceramic assemblages corroborate the construction dates established from window glass and nails in these contexts. The ceramic assemblage from the lower levels of the mansion deposit appears contemporaneous to the assemblage from the quarters. The small percentage of sherds classed as creamware which dates securely before pearlware and whiteware is probably from "hand me down", curated, or heirloom vessels.

Analysis of Vessel Form

Otto's work at the Cannon Point Plantation succeeded in identifying distinct differences in vessel forms between planter, overseer, and slave. These differences related to both the socio-economic status of the households, and the associated dietary patterns of the occupants. Planter vessel assemblages had a higher proportion of flat wares such as platters and plates, whereas overseer and slaves had

CERAMIC WARES

Figure 6.1 Ceramic Wares in Mansion Deposit and Slave Quarters



higher numbers of hollowwares, primarily bowls. Otto (1977) relates these differences to the diet of the occupants; planters were eating better quality cuts of meat, such as roasts and steaks which were served and consumed off of flatware. The slaves and overseers were eating more soups and stews which were served and consumed out of hollowware vessels. The faunal assemblages from each context supported Otto's assertions at Cannon's Point, although a reanalysis of these data by Young (1993) indicates these differences may not have been as pronounced as Otto suggested.

Adams and Boling (1991:66-70) synthesized data from several Lowland plantations (Singleton 1985; Mullins-Moore 1985; Otto 1984). They ranked sites from highest to lowest according to percentages of flatware, and constructed three groupings. Those contexts with the highest percentages of flatware (ca. 55% flatware) were associated with the large plantation of Cannon's Point, and the plantations of Sinclair and King's Bay. The second grouping (45.1%-51.4% flatware) included the planters at Harmony Hall and Cherry Point, which are small plantations, the Cannon's Point overseer, and two slave quarters, one from Harmony Hall and one from King's Bay. The last grouping (19%-39.3% flatware) contained the Pike's Bluff planter and assemblages from five slave quarters, including Cannon's Point, Cherry Point, Sinclair, Butler Island and Hampton (Jones). They conclude that:

Slaves had higher quantities of hollowware, mostly bowls, while planters had more flatware. This generality simply confirms what Otto (1975) found a decade ago, but with a greater range of data we now see the situation is much more complicated. Indeed, some slave sites were found to have a higher flatware frequency than some planter sites had. Thus while there is a strong linear correlation between vessel form and status, with lower status sites having more hollowwares, too many sites show exceptions to this trend for it to be anything more than suggestive (Adams and Boling 1991:70).

The historian's viewpoint of small Upland South plantations, previously discussed, suggests that the social differences between master and slave would not be as distinct as in the Lowland plantations, so we might expect that the difference in the quantity of flatware and hollowware found between master and slave at Mabry would not be significant. Table 6.1 shows the total number of vessels and the percentages of flatware and hollowware vessels in each.

Table 6.1 Percentages of Hollowware and Flatware in the Slave Quarters and Mansion

Context	Total	Flat #	%	Hollow #	%
Structure 1 East	49	34	69	15	31
Structure 1 West	43	27	63	16	37
Structure 2	49	31	63	18	37
Mansion	47	28	60	19	40

A "z" test for proportions (Blalock 1979:195-199) was used to test for significant differences between the proportions of flatware and hollowware, grouped from the minimum number of decorated vessels found in planter and slave contexts at the Mabry Plantation. There were no significant differences at a .10 level of confidence found between any of the assemblages at Mabry (Table 6.2). Considering the groups formulated by Adams and Boling, all contexts at Mabry would fall into the first group, composed of all planters in the sample from the Lowland South.

The most important facet is that there is no difference in vessel form between the planter and slave at Mabry. Adams and Boling's analysis on flatware and hollowware ranked sites, but with no discussion of tests of significance. When their data are viewed from a different perspective, statistically comparing the proportion of flatware between slave and

Table 6.2 Z Scores For Proportions of Flatware

	Structure 1 West	Structure 1 East	Structure 2	Mansion
Structure 1 West		.387	.028	.194
Structure 1 East	.387		.372	.598
Structure 2	.028	.372		.230
Mansion	.194	.598	.230	

master on the same plantation, a different patterning appears as seen in (Table 6.3). The "z" test for proportions (.10 confidence interval) was used to detect significant differences with regard to slave and planter assemblages at Cannon's Point (Otto 1984:180), Sinclair (Mullins-Moore

Table 6.3 Flatware and Hollowware Comparisons: Lowland Plantations

Context	Flatware	%	Hollowware	%	Z Score
Cannon's Point Planter	160	54.4	134	45.6	
Cannon's Point Slave	43	38.4	69	62.6	2.041 *
Sinclair Planter	118	55.9	93	44.1	
Sinclair Slave	14	28.6	35	71.4	2.420 *
King's Bay Planter	168	54.9	138	45.1	
King's Bay Slave	55	48.1	56	51.9	.661
James King Planter's East	100	47.9	109	52.1	
James King Slave	11	39.3	17	60.7	.622
Harmony Hall Planter	74	45.1	91	54.9	
Harmony Hall Slave	57	51.4	54	48.6	.761

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at .10 confidence interval

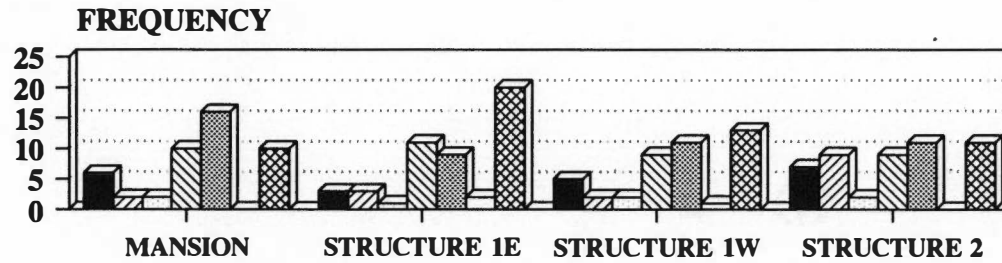
1985), Harmony Hall, King's Bay Plantation, and Cherry Point Plantation (James King Site) (Adams et al. 1987; Adams and Boling 1991:table 4),

where data for planter and slave contexts were present for each plantation. Only Cannon's Point and Sinclair plantations had significant differences between the planter and slave in the proportion of flatware and hollowware. The other plantations, including Mabry, had no distinct differences between the amounts of flatware and hollowware occurring in planter and slave contexts. Ranking sites of master and slave according to percentages of flatware and hollowware produces an association. However, when comparisons are made between slave and planter on these same plantations, there are only two plantations where the vessel forms are significantly different between planter and slave.

The Gowen Farmstead yielded no significant differences in vessel form either between the master and slave contexts. The two slave quarters yielded 57% and 65% flatware, and the planter had 67% (Weaver et al. 1993:331-332). The separation of later refined earthenwares into flatware and hollowware in one slave quarter produced less flatware, and was interpreted as an increased reliance on bowls and associated foods. Increased social distance between slave and master was also suggested, although no statistics were presented for the comparison of the later refined earthenwares.

Mabry ceramic vessels (Figure 6.2) were sorted into plates, platters, saucers, cups, and bowls to see if any differences were evident with these specific vessel forms. Note that the counts of flatware and hollowware remain in the figure. These counts represent sherds which could not be classed beyond this level. Hollowware counts also include serving vessels. There are no marked differences in the frequencies of vessel forms between any of the archaeological contexts analyzed. A statistical test, such as the χ^2 to determine significant differences is not possible due to the low cell counts. Vessel form at Mabry does not differentiate master and slave with regard to the

VESSEL FORMS



CUP	6	3	5	7
SAUCER	2	3	2	9
BOWL	2	1	2	2
HOLLOWARE	10	11	9	9
PLATE	16	9	11	11
PLATTER	0	2	1	0
FLATWARE	10	20	13	11
DECORATIVE	1	0	0	0



Figure 6.2 Vessel Forms in Mansion Deposit and Slave Quarters

frequencies of hollowware and flatware, or with regard to specific vessel forms. Otto's (1977) study at Cannon Point associated the predominance of bowls and cups in the ceramic assemblage of overseer and slave with a diet of soups and stews. The predominance of flatware for the master was associated with a diet of steaks and roasts. Although it is possible for any kind of food to be consumed out of any container, the amount of flatware in association with the Mabry slave quarters suggests the diet of the slaves did not depend on soups and stews. The analysis of slave quarter faunal material indicates the presence of good cuts of meat from both cow and pig along with the remains of goat, rabbit, chicken, and a morning dove (Young 1993). Apparently, Mabry slaves had access to "good" cuts of meat. Of course, the suggestion here of slave access to better cuts of meat is important as it relates to the health and nutrition of slaves on smaller plantations in the Upland South. A better sample is needed from other small upland plantations before definitive statements on the quality of diets on small plantations can be made. As far as status is concerned, there appears to be no association between the frequency of flatware or hollowware vessels and status at the Mabry Plantation.

Vessel Cost

The cost of vessels is another characteristic archaeologists have used to investigate social relations through material culture. Cost indices were developed by George Miller (Miller 1980) and modified recently (Miller 1990) to account for various tariffs and economic incentives for the sale of ceramics in the United States through the nineteenth century. The method utilizes a scaling index or "cost index" to estimate the relative value of a vessel based on decoration, ware

type, vessel size, and the date of manufacture. Orser (1988) and Mullins-Moore (1985) used Miller's 1980 analysis and grouped ceramics into four cost categories. They analyzed ceramics from slave and planter at Cannon's Point (Otto 1977,1984), Sinclair (Singleton 1980), Pike's Bluff (Mullins-Moore 1985), Hampton (Mullins-Moore 1985), and Butler Island (Singleton 1980). The four ceramic cost categories were ranked from least expensive, (plain whitewares primarily) to the most expensive (transfer printed according to Miller's 1980 indices) category. Orser (1988) and Mullins-Moore (1985) classified their ceramics according to these cost categories. The percentage of ceramics within each category was compared between sites, in both planter and slave contexts. Mullins-Moore (1985) concluded that expensive ceramics were correlated with larger plantations, for both planter and slave contexts:

The ceramic data from these sites would tend to support hypothesis 1, - that the size of the plantation affects the material culture assemblage of the site's inhabitants. In the status indicators of ceramic type and form, there appears to be a continuum of availability (or presence) from slave to planter with overlap where the economic positions of the sites inhabitants overlap (Mullins-Moore 1985:152).

Orser (1988) reanalyzed the ceramics from Otto's (1977,1984) work, and from Mullins-Moore's analysis. The plantations studied here were Cannon's Point and Sinclair, both planter and slave contexts, with other slave sites at Butler Island (Singleton 1980) and Jones (Hampton Plantation) (Mullins-Moore 1985). Orser's findings were that the cost differences in ceramics between sites and social classes relate not only to plantation purchasing power, but also to the internal social dynamics at each plantation. Regarding slaves, Orser (1988:747) recognized a pattern regarding ceramic cost between field and domestic slave contexts:

These findings seem to support the idea that greater homogeneity of at least ceramics existed on smaller plantations (at least the ones studied). The difference

between the Cannon's Point field slave and planter samples is greater than the difference between the domestic slave and planter samples. This finding is to be expected given the labor organization of the plantation; the material culture of the domestic slaves should have been more like that of the planters than the field slaves.

Adams and Boling (1987,1991) conclude that the cost of vessels in various plantation sites across the Southeast may be grouped according to status and wealth of the occupants. The average cost of vessel forms at each site was first calculated and then an average ceramic cost at each site was tabulated. As with their analysis of vessel form, they suggest that a grouping of sites by ceramic indices is possible which corresponds with the socio-economic status of the occupants. They state:

Using the mean CC Index, the sites can be ordered in what we would surmise is a reasonable approximation of wealth (Adams and Boling 1991:80).

Although Adams and Boling compiled an impressive array of sites with associated vessel costs, the study suffers in that they provide no means to gauge the statistical significance of differences they see in vessel cost between sites. In addition, many of the sites they use are taken out of socio-historical context, comparing slave's and planter's ceramics across regions, with no discussion of other relevant variables, including inter-regional access to ceramics and regional attitudes towards slave treatment. Again, as with vessel form, the most important aspect of ceramic cost comparisons on plantations is between the planter and slave on the same plantation, where the factors of planter and slave access and choice of ceramics are responsible for differences observed.

The ceramic cost analysis used by Orser (1988), Mullins-Moore (1985), and Adams and Boling (1991) is not directly comparable to the ceramic cost analysis at Mabry. Orser (1988), Mullins-Moore (1985), and Adams and Boling (1991) used Miller's (1980) earlier cost indices which did not take into account vessel cost as related to changing consumer demands, tariffs, and other factors. In addition, the average cost of a

vessel at Mabry refers to only decorated ceramics circa 1850, because the minimum number of plain vessels, which are the least expensive, was not calculated. Comparisons of the average vessel cost between Mabry and other sites must take this into account. Klein (1991) has reviewed the effectiveness of this technique, cautioning against comparing ceramic vessel costs across time periods and regions. The 1850 date used for Mabry ceramics is later than most of the sites tabulated in Adams and Boling (1991).

Miller's (1991) ceramic cost indices were used to determine if the cost of decorated vessels differed both within the slave quarters, and between the slave quarters and the mansion. In order to use the indices, the analyst should determine first the minimum number of vessels associated with the archaeological contexts under study. The analyst must then determine: 1) the decoration on the vessel, either plain, handpainted, transfer, or other decorative techniques; 2) the vessel form, either plate, cup, platter, etc; 3) the vessel diameter; and 4) the manufacture date of the vessel. This procedure was followed with regard to the Mabry ceramics.

The indices are limited in that some ceramic types do not have enough documentation on cost through time. Vessel costs may have varied somewhat from region to region. Another problem is that small sherds of indeterminate vessel form cannot be used. Some wares, such as porcelain, have a very limited time span for cost estimates. The last potential difficulty is that analysts may be able to determine vessel form, but not a vessel rim diameter. Although the cost indices have some problems, the indices are the only means presently available to objectively assess cost differences in the ceramic assemblages from different contexts.

The minimum number of decorated whiteware, pearlware, and porcelain vessels was used in this cost analysis. The percentage of plain and decorated refined earthenwares is comparable among all the samples under study (Figure 6.3). Also, for this analysis, the date of 1850 was used to evaluate the cost of a whiteware vessel. If the cost of a ceramic in 1850 was not listed in Miller's 1991 indices, then the next closest date and associated cost for that ceramic was used. In some situations an average date and average cost was used. For example, if a vessel dating to 1850 only had associated prices for similar vessels in 1840 and 1860, then the average of the cost of the vessels for those two years was used. In cases where the size of a plate could not be determined, the average for all sized plates of the same year was determined and used for that individual vessel. The cost of each decorated vessel was determined in this fashion. The methodology for assessing vessel cost remained constant for ceramics in both master and slave contexts.

The cost of vessels should be statistically distinct between master and slave at Mabry if strong social boundaries were being maintained and symbolized through ceramic cost on the plantation. The vessels, dates, and costs derived are listed in Appendix A. Six price categories, or groups, were constructed. The frequency of vessels in each category was determined for the mansion and slave quarter contexts. This information is displayed in Figure 6.4. There is marked similarity between all the contexts. The one difference suggested is the small amount of higher cost wares for the mansion context. In order to determine whether these differences were significant, the Kolmogorov - Smirnov test (Siegle 1956) was utilized to compare the distributions between the contexts noted. The proportion of vessels falling within each price group for each archaeological context is listed below (Table

PERCENTAGE OF DECORATED SHERDS

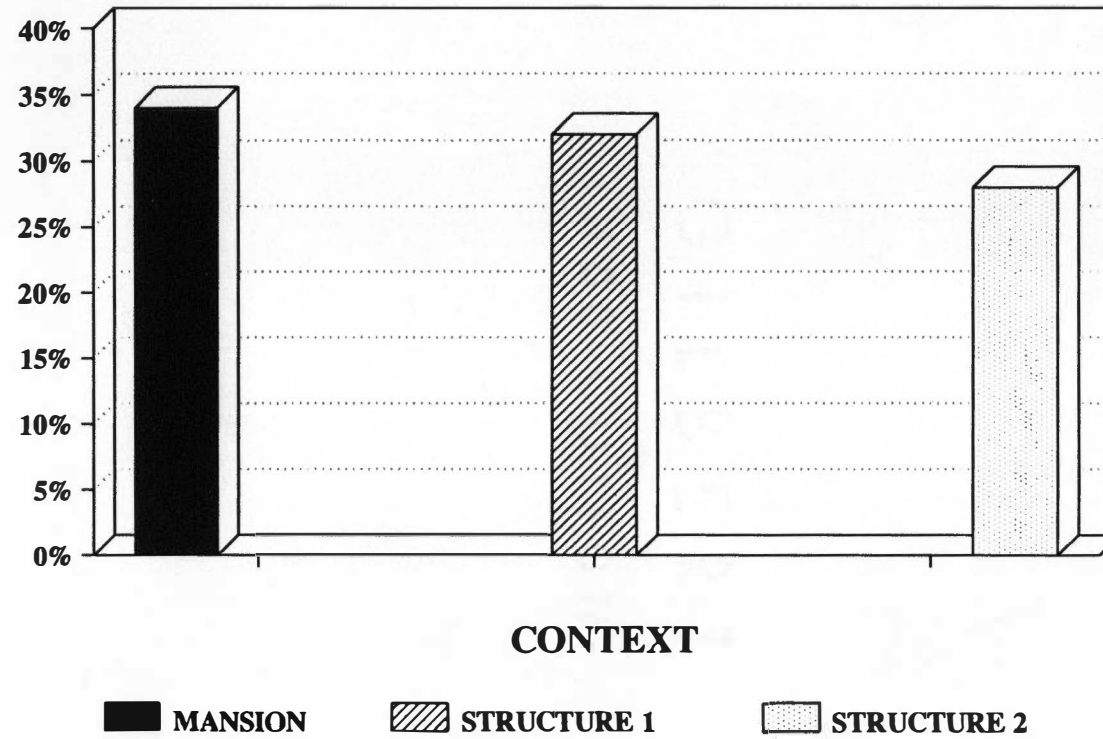
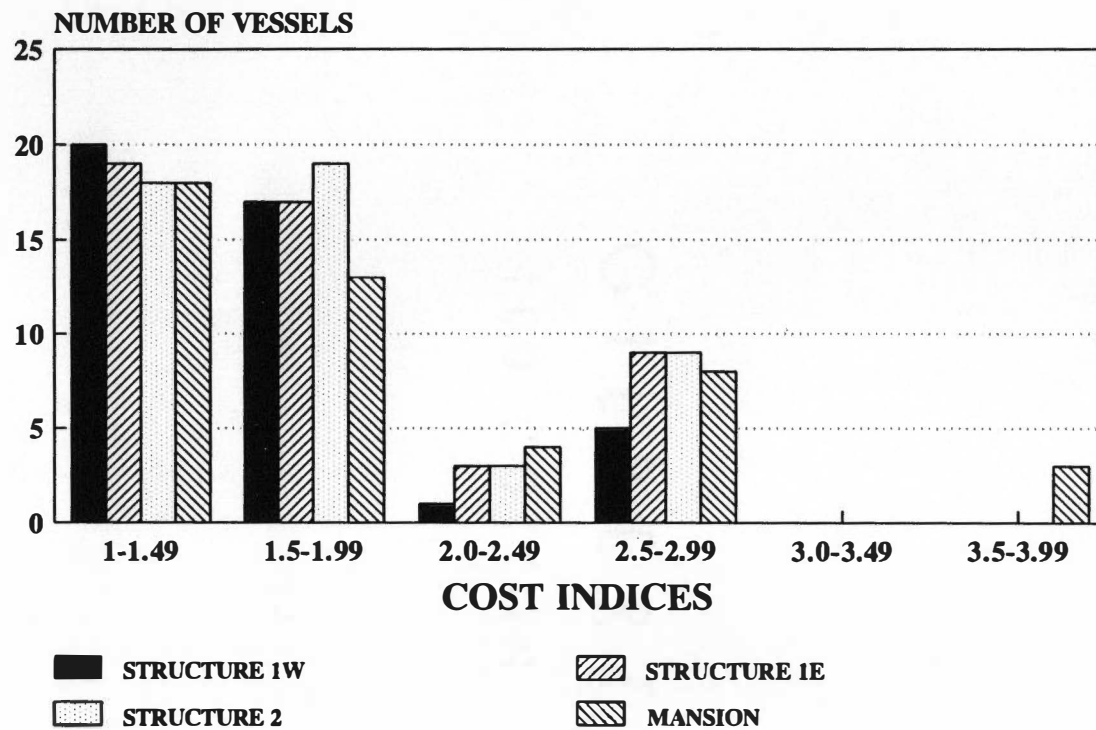


Figure 6.3 Percentage of Decorated Sherds

VESSEL COST

Figure 6.4 Frequency of Vessels in Each Cost Group



6.4). Differences between any cell of any row greater than .2 would indicate a significant difference in vessel cost between two contexts at a .10 level of confidence. There is no statistically significant difference between the cost of vessels between mansion and slave contexts. Nor is there any cost difference found between the assemblage of vessels of the different rooms of the slave quarters. This finding conforms to Orser's (1988) analysis of Cannon's Point (100-200 slaves) and Sinclair plantations (10-50 slaves), where there was a greater degree of homogeneity between master and slave on the smaller Sinclair Plantation. The average cost of the decorated sherds in all contexts is listed below in Table 6.5.

Table 6.4 Percentage of Ceramic Vessels in Each Cost Group

Cost Group	Structure 1 West	Structure 1 East	Structure 2	Mansion
1	46.5	39.6	36.7	39.1
2	39.5	35.4	38.8	28.3
3	2.3	6.3	6.1	8.7
4	11.6	18.8	18.4	17.4
5	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	6.5

The difference between any cell in any row must be greater than .20 to be statistically significant at a .10 level of confidence.

Table 6.5 Average Ceramic Cost in Slave Quarter Contexts

Context	Average Cost
Mansion Deposit	1.9
Structure 1 East	1.78
Structure 1 West	1.62
Structure 2	1.76

Considering that these values do not reflect the number of plain vessels, the costs seem low as compared to values listed in Adams and Boling (1991:table 7). Assuming the values were not lowered significantly by the counts of plain wares, all these values would fall into Adams and Boling's second socio-economic group, comprised of all

slave quarters in the Lowland South, along with small planters and overseers in their sample. The most important aspect of the Mabry ceramic cost analysis is that there is no statistically significant difference between any of the contexts studied. The only Upland South Plantation site where ceramics have been classed according to Miller's (1991) price indices is the Gowen Farmstead. The average vessel cost in the two slave quarters is 1.70 (Structure V), and 1.94 (Structure I). The main house (Structure II) had an average ceramic cost of 2.1. These values appear comparable to the Mabry Plantation, especially in regard to master - slave differences which appear to be slight at both the Mabry Plantation and Gowen Farmstead.

The cost of vessels at Mabry does not appear to have been important in signifying any social hierarchical differences on the plantation. The fact that there is no significant difference between the slave quarter ceramics and those from the mansion suggests that the slaves had access to the same priced ceramics as the mansion occupants, or, that the master did not invest in, and utilize costly everyday household ceramics as symbols to express and reinforce social differences. The porcelain noted in the mansion deposit did suggest that ceramics in the highest cost category, composed of decorated porcelains, were present in the master's household but not in the slave quarters. Expensive porcelain was present in small numbers in the mansion deposit possibly because this ware may have been reserved for special occasions and did not enter the refuse area as frequently. The fact that the "everyday" ceramics of planter and slave show no statistical difference in cost is significant.

Ceramic Diversity Analysis

Plantation studies have suggested that planters often acquired ceramics in sets (Otto 1984:66), while slaves may have acquired their ceramics piecemeal through various means. The use of ceramic sets can be considered another measure of status and wealth, and we would expect differences to be evident regarding the diversity of ceramics between slave and master. Measuring and comparing the diversity in the ceramic assemblages of mansion and slave may be accomplished with the use of a computer program developed by Keith Kintigh (1984,1989). This program (1984,1989) was used to compare the ceramic sherd assemblages between mansion and slave quarter contexts with regard to two facets of diversity; richness and evenness. Richness (Kintigh 1989:26) in this case refers to the number of different classes present in each assemblage. Evenness (Kintigh 1987:26) refers to the uniformity of the distribution of relative proportions of the classes.

If the Mabry planter ceramics were derived from sets, then there would be fewer ceramic types in the planter assemblage than in the slave quarters. The planter assemblage would be less "rich" than the ceramics found in the slave quarters. Slave quarter ceramics would have a higher "richness" than the mansion ceramics because many ceramic types would be represented as a result of piecemeal acquisition. With regard to evenness, the slave quarter ceramic assemblage would have a higher "evenness" than the planter assemblage because the counts of ceramics would be spread among many types. The mansion ceramic assemblage derived from sets would be less "even", because the counts of the ceramics would be concentrated in only a few ceramic types.

For this analysis, ceramic types were grouped into classes defined according to ware, decorative technique, and color. Total sherd counts

of some plain wares, including yellow ware, pearlware, creamware, ironstone, and porcelain were included. This was done to incorporate sherds from vessels that might have been heirloom or recycled pieces, assumed to be an important factor in creating diversity in the ceramics of the slave quarters. Sherd frequency was used because the minimum number of vessels was not determined for plain wares. For whiteware and pearlware, the colors, as well as the placement of the decoration on the vessel, either interior or exterior, were attributes used to form the ceramic classes. For example, ceramics of all patterns of blue transfer printed on the exterior was one ceramic class. Ceramics of all fineline handpainted decorated on the interior comprised another class. The number of different decorative patterns, either hand painted or transfer designs, was not considered. For example, there were over twenty different patterns of blue transfer decorated whiteware; however, these were all classed together. In sum, the classes devised for this analysis is conservative, highlighting major visual differences in ceramic ware, decorative technique and color. There are no other studies of plantation ceramics which have measured the diversity of the ceramic assemblage in this fashion. There is difficulty in using other data for comparison. The ceramic data in reports are usually presented with ceramic attributes needed to construct cost indices analyses. The color of transfer print, edge decorated, and spatter decorated designs are often not listed (Otto 1984:table 3.24, Weaver et al. 1993:table 16). These attributes were critical in grouping the ceramics for the Mabry ceramic diversity analysis.

The counts of plain whiteware were eliminated from the analysis because decorated vessels often had a large area of the vessel without decoration during the mid-nineteenth century (Price 1979). For example, edge decorated wares have a very small area which is actually decorated.

The use of only decorated whiteware sherds was appropriate for this reason. The ceramic classes and frequencies for each context under study are displayed in Table 6.6. All classes of ceramics were present at the Mabry site, indicating these ceramics were available in the local area during the mid-nineteenth century. Differences in the distribution of the ceramic types between planter and slave are a product then of the means of acquisition and of choice.

Comparing the diversity of ceramics in master and slave contexts can provide insights beyond the manner of ceramic acquisition for each social group. Decoration of the ceramics may have played a part in visually symbolizing group differences. Note that the diversity indices measure a different attribute of the ceramics than the economic indices. The economic indices relate strictly to the cost of a vessel. The color of the decorated ceramic is not important in the economic indices, as, for example, all transfer printed wares manufactured in the same period are assigned the same cost value. The variety of ceramic types between assemblages is measured by the diversity indices. The diversity analysis uses ware type, along with the technique, color, and placement of the decoration. A marked visual difference in table ceramics would be observed in a household with a low richness and evenness of ceramics (sets) as compared to one with high richness and evenness (piecemeal). This difference may be as important in symbolizing a group's identity as differences in attire (Wobst 1977) or stylistic attributes of arrow points (Weisner 1983).

The ceramics from the mansion deposit were utilized as the model to compare to the ceramics from the two slave structures. The proportion of ceramics for each class found in the mansion deposit is used to construct the model. Sample size differed between mansion and slave quarter ceramics. To test whether differences in diversity are due to

sample size, Kintigh's program utilizes a Monte Carlo Simulation to determine an expected value for the richness and evenness of the mansion ceramic assemblage at different sample sizes. Confidence intervals are constructed after accounting for sample size. This allows for a direct comparison of the diversity (evenness and richness) of mansion ceramics with the slave quarters. If the diversity scores for richness and evenness of the slave quarters fall outside the confidence intervals, then a significant difference exists between mansion and slave quarters.

For the Mabry site, the results clearly indicate that the ceramic samples from both slave quarters are significantly more rich and more even than the ceramics found in the mansion deposit (Figure 6.5). There is a predominance of certain styles of decoration and color in the mansion context. The Mabry's ceramics have less variety of colors and styles than the slave quarters. It appears there was an attempt by the Mabrys to match colors, but not necessarily exact patterns through the acquisition of sets of ceramics. As seen in Table 6.6, the number of porcelain sherds, molded whiteware sherds, blue and brown transfer sherds were well represented in the mansion deposit, whereas the slave quarters had a wide range of all wares and decorative styles in ceramics.

The higher diversity scores of the slave quarter ceramics may in part be due to the piecemeal acquisition of recycled ceramics from the mansion. Slave quarter ceramics had exact matches of decorative pattern and color with ceramics recovered in the mansion deposit, suggesting that ceramics were acquired and used by the planter, and then handed down to slaves. It is also possible that the slaves bought ceramics which matched the planters, or the planters bought ceramics like their own to give to slaves. These scenarios of slave ceramic acquisition would have created an assemblage of ceramics which mirrored the

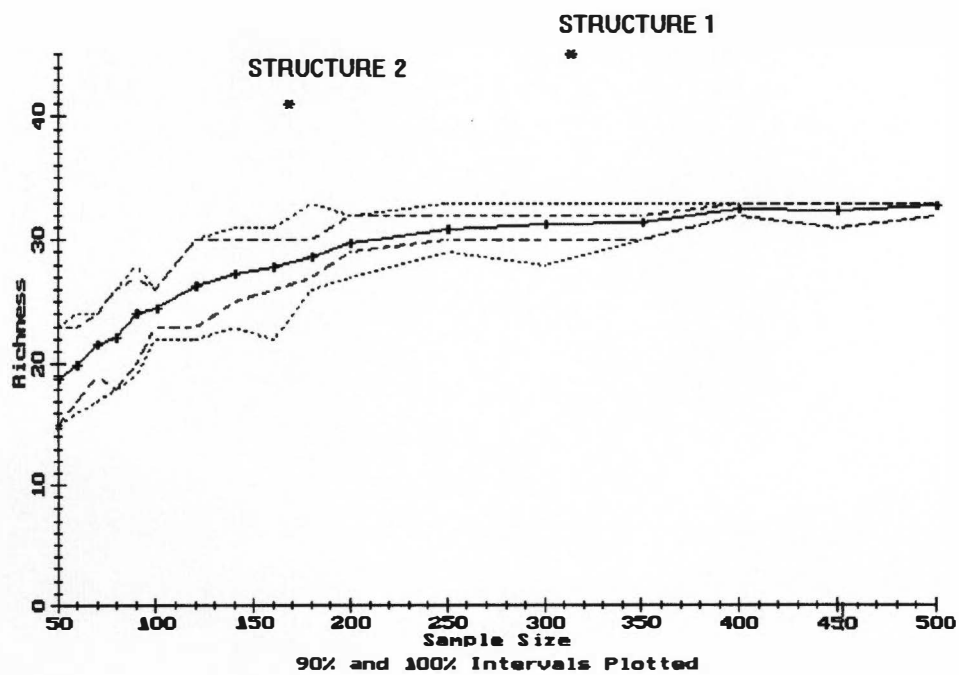
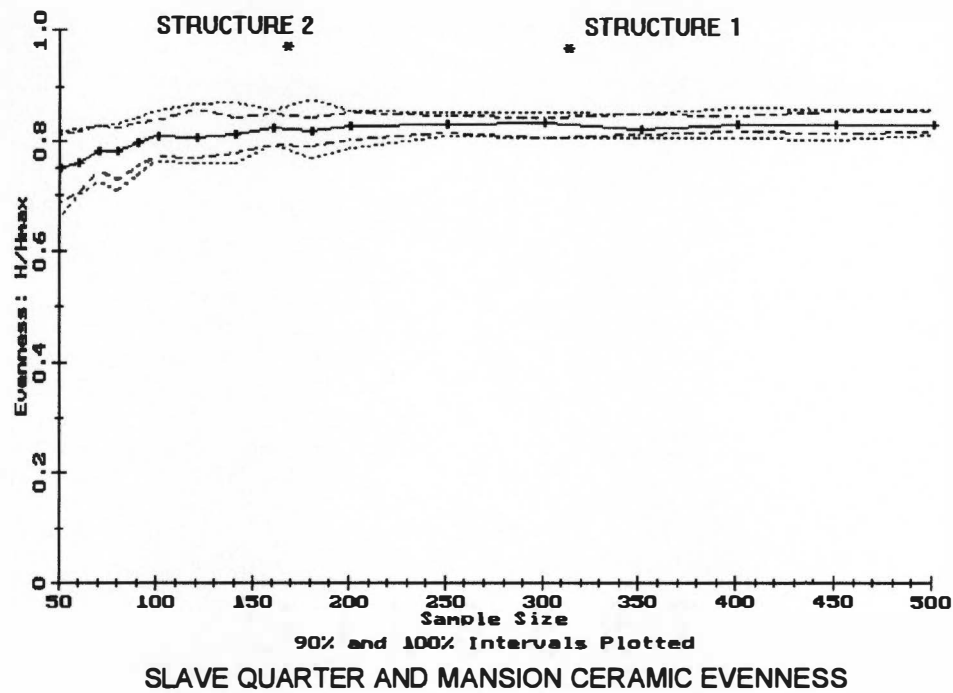


Figure 6.5 Evenness and Richness of Ceramics

Table 6.6 Ceramic Diversity Analysis Classes

Ceramic Class	Structure 1	Structure 2	Mansion
Soft Porcelain Plain	20	10	9
Hard Porcelain Plain	9	4	18
Porcelain Plain	3	1	15
Pearlware Plain	10	9	1
Creamware Plain	2	1	0
Yellowware Plain	7	16	4
Stoneware Plain	4	1	1
Ironstone Plain	14	2	3
Blue Transfer Interior	27	8	14
Black Transfer Interior	9	6	1
Green Transfer Interior	5	5	0
Red Transfer Interior	13	4	2
Purple Transfer Interior	10	2	1
Mulberry Transfer Interior	5	4	0
Flow Blue Interior	7	6	2
Annular Interior	0	1	1
Spatter Green Interior	3	0	0
Spatter Blue Interior	28	8	1
Spatter Red Interior	1	1	1
Sponge Blue Interior	1	1	0
Sponge Brown Interior	0	0	2
Banded Red Interior	1	3	0
Banded Green Interior	8	0	0
Banded Blue Interior	0	0	1
Edge Decorated Blue	27	7	6
Brown Transfer Interior	19	3	8
Handpainted Blue Interior	4	0	1
Handpainted Fineline Interior	4	4	0

Table 6.6 Cont.

Ceramic Class	Structure 1	Structure 2	Mansion
Hand Polychrome Interior	7	9	6
Hand Broadline Interior	0	6	0
White Molded Interior	13	4	20
Blue Transfer Exterior	0	1	1
Black Transfer Exterior	1	1	0
Red Transfer Exterior	0	1	0
Purple Transfer Exterior	2	0	2
Brown Transfer Exterior	3	1	1
Annular Exterior	2	6	5
Molded White Exterior	4	3	2
Red Banded Exterior	0	4	0
Spatter Blue Exterior	5	0	0
Spatter Red Exterior	1	0	0
Sponge Blue Exterior	1	11	0
Handpainted Blue Exterior	4	0	0
Hand Fineline Exterior	2	1	2
Hand Polychrome Exterior	5	1	4
Blue Transfer All	0	1	2
Red Transfer All	3	3	0
Brown Transfer All	4	0	0
Purple Transfer All	7	2	2
Flow Blue All	1	0	0
Banded Green All	3	0	0
Banded Red All	0	3	0
Handpainted Fineline All	1	0	1
Handpainted Polychrome All	3	2	1

Note: The word "all" refers to decoration on the interior and exterior of the vessel.

master's, and there would not be the difference in diversity richness and evenness we see in the analysis. If the Mabrys were buying ceramics for the slaves, they avoided buying ceramics of similar colors and designs. This avoidance of similar colors and styles might represent a conscious decision to buy different ceramics for the slave population, symbolizing a group boundary between slaves and master through the master's choice and manipulation of ceramics.

Although the master ultimately had control over the ceramics the slaves possessed, it seems unlikely the diversity of ceramics in the quarter assemblages could have been "created" only by the master. The master may not have exercised the full extent of his authority to "control" ceramics, and the slaves at Mabry may have used other means of ceramic acquisition at their disposal to assemble ceramics of their choice.

The means of slave ceramic acquisition include, but are not limited to: 1) purchase of ceramics by the slaves; 2) hand me downs; 3) gifts; and 4) even inheritances from other slaves or African-American freemen. The purchase of ceramics by slaves is a practice that has been suggested by Otto, and more recently by Adams and Boling (1991). Morgan (1983) documents numerous slave claims to property in the Lowland South. The slave's ability and desire to acquire property was due in part to the task system which afforded slaves time to raise their own goods for sale or barter. Slaves may actually have earned money when being loaned out to neighbors. Some were allowed, at least according to Morgan (1983), to keep the wages they earned. This money may have been utilized by Mabry slaves for the acquisition of ceramics. Otto (1984:66) notes the heterogeneity apparent in the ceramics of the slave quarters at Cannon's Point, when compared to the planter's assemblage. He assumes in this case that the planter furnished ceramics for the slaves.

On Cannon's Point, the planter family far preferred the popular transfer printed wares to other types. They acquired large, matched sets of transfer printed tablewares, teawares and chamberwares. At the planter's kitchen, 185 transfer-printed forms, representing 60 different patterns, could be recognized from a total of 1520 transfer-printed sherds" (Otto 1984:66).

In contrast, the planter family furnished the slaves with a heterogenous collection of ceramics. At the slave cabin, 33 transfer printed forms, representing 30 different patterns, could be recognized from a total of 154 transfer - printed sherds. Possibly, the planter's family purchased crates of mixed lots of transfer - printed wares to issue to their slaves, or slaves purchased lots from local shop - keepers (Otto 1984:66).

According to the cost indices, the ceramics in mansion and quarter contexts were essentially of equal monetary value. If the slaves were purchasing ceramics, it appears they were making a conscious decision to buy ceramics of a wide variety of colors and decorative styles, in contrast to the usual planter habit of acquiring ceramics with similar colors and decorative patterns. Otto (1984:88) posited that the slaves at Cannon's Point may have had a similar preference for diversity in ceramics:

But the slaves were probably less concerned with the homogeneity and modernity of their ceramics than with their utility. Their ceramics may well have reflected a folklike world view that was characterized by traditionalism and little concern for symmetry and homogeneity in material culture. In contrast, the planter family's matched sets of transfer printed wares may well have symbolized an innovative world view that was characterized by progressivism and concern for symmetry and homogeneity in material culture.

Adams and Boling (1991:80) noted that at the plantation sites they investigated in the King's Bay locality:

Clear differences existed among the decorative quality of dishes on the various sites. By this we mean that a coherent taste, or devotion to ornament, of the family that purchased the dishes emerged from the ceramic assemblage.

They summarize the slave's ceramics, although apparently not with the same thoroughness:

The slaves had plain ceramics, like their masters did also, along with a few expensive decorated ones (Adams and Boling 1991:80).

The piecemeal acquisition of ceramics was apparently allowed in stores at this time according to mid-nineteenth century store inventories (Brett Riggs, personal communication 1991). Perhaps the slaves exercised a choice towards variety in ceramic style. This preference was visible in planter's contexts in the King's Bay locality and at Cannon's Point. There is no reason why ceramics from the slave cabins at Mabry could not represent the slaves' own preference for decoration, if they had a choice.

The alternative explanation for the diverse assemblage in the quarters assumes hand me down ceramics or gifts from other sources. The Mabry slaves may have been able to acquire ceramics from other slave communities through kinship networks or social contacts. Slave narratives and historical documentation suggest that visitations did occur, especially between husband and wife. The narrative of Rachel Cruz, who resided in Knox County about 15 miles northeast of the Mabry Plantation, refers to visitations between husbands and wives:

Many slaves had a wife on a neighboring farm, and Mis' Nancy was always good about seeing that the men quit work at twelve o'clock on Saturday; then they'd get themselves cleaned up and go to visit their wives until Saturday night. She always sent along with each man, as a present to his wife, some kind of food. Sometimes it would be meat or butter, or sweet potatoes, or maybe grapes - but something was always sent with the man for his wife (Mellon 1988:208).

She continues:

Saturday afternoons and Sunday nights were the times the young fellows looked about for likely mates. Gainan Macabee, who owned a large farm across the river, had a great number of lively - looking girl slaves, and all the young men in the neighborhood would make it their business to get over there if possible (Mellon 1988:208).

Genovese sees a preference on the part of the slaves to marry outside of their own plantations, extending family kin networks beyond any one plantation:

Even on the great plantations, pressure from the slaves for freedom of movement overcame the hostility of all except the most determined masters to allow interplantation marriages (Genovese 1974: 472).

According to Genovese, Ella Thomas, a slaveholder in Georgia, recounted that:

the slaves 'all preferred having husbands off the plantation and thought it was exceedingly hard if they could not marry away from home'. The slaves themselves stressed the much greater variety of choice of mates that interplantation marriages afforded and the pleasures of getting away, visiting, and changing pace (Genovese 1974:474).

Slave owners apparently disapproved of the practice but could not combat it:

The greatest complaint was that the slaves' derived too much independence from their increased freedom of movement. ... 'their presence disrupts the quarters, for they bring news, habits, and attitudes from the outside' (Genovese 1974:473).

According to Abrahams (1992:46), the masters eventually accepted interplantation visitations:

They also came to accept the idea that the slaves were entitled to time for the production of much of their own food, the maintenance of their family life, and the festive events that brought slaves together outside the boundaries of the individual plantation.

An important aspect of this interplantation communication and contact is that gifts might be exchanged which could be represented in the archaeological assemblage of the quarters. For example, "When men could, they brought an opossum or chicken or some vegetables or a little gift" (Genovese 1974:474).

The mobility of slaves around Knoxville may have been related to the small size of the slaveholding plantations that dominated the area

(Frankenburg 1992). Slaves probably created and were aware of social networks between plantations. Planters encouraged marriages both for economic reasons, namely the production of children, but also to ameliorate the slave's social needs and reduce tensions within the work force. Small plantations with low numbers of slaves required interplantation networks (Fields 1985). The importance of social networks among the slaves cannot be understated. These networks were essential for the continuity of African-American culture:

That broader community was nourished by religious services and the influence of itinerant preachers, by marriages between slaves of different owners, by the practice of lending slaves to one another, and by an underground network of social contacts and activities which the slave patrols were powerless to prevent, and to which masters often turned a blind eye (Parish 1989:79).

Frankenburg's (1992) research indicated that the slave population in the counties surrounding Knoxville increased primarily because of very high fertility between the years of 1850 and 1860. For this pattern to appear, the slaves must have had access to interplantation contacts and relatively high mobility within the surrounding area.

Another mechanism for the movement of material goods between slave communities was through inheritance. Morgan (1982) discusses the possession and practice of inheritance of property between slaves in the low country of South Carolina and Georgia:

The autonomy of this internal economy is further indicated by the development of a highly significant practice. By the middle of the nineteenth century, if not before, slave property was not only being produced and exchanged but also inherited (Morgan 1982:416).

He continues:

The ability to bequeath wealth and to link patrimony to genealogy serves to indicate the extent to which slaves created autonomy for themselves while they were still enslaved (Morgan 1982:417).

Morgan focuses on instances of slave property ownership, exchange, and inheritance in South Carolina, but apparently the practice was ongoing in Knox County, as seen in the recollections of Rachel Cruz of Strawberry Plains:

No I never received anything from my father's estate. My colored grandmother always used to tell me I would get thirteen acres, a plot of land my father, William, had been given by Old Major - also a cow and a horse. But I never got anything (Mellon 1988:206).

Although difficult to document, it seems likely that material goods were traded, inherited, or given as gifts between slaves around Knoxville. Howson's (1991) work is important in correlating the importance of social networks with the high degree of diversity in the ceramics of the slave quarters at Mabry. Ceramics traded between slaves or presented as gifts through kinship networks may have functioned as visual symbols of slave contacts and relations. This contact and communication was vital in passing on and maintaining the knowledge of appropriate behavior, custom, and kinship of African-American culture.

Matched Ceramic Types

One of the major assumptions in assessing the social relations between planter and slave is that similarity in material culture reflects closer relations and that dissimilarity reflects strong social boundaries. In an overview on the archaeological use of style, Hegmon notes a generally accepted proposition:

The control of material goods and manipulation of ideology are often central to the definition of rank and the exercise of power in complex societies. The style of the material culture may be an important component of these power manipulation strategies (Hegmon 1992:528).

and:

An important component of many studies that associate material culture and ethnicity is the understanding that the

association is not automatic, a result of some kind of mental template; rather, style-a way of making or decorating material culture-is an active component of group definition. In several cases material culture differences are associated with competition and tend to increase as social tensions increase.

Hegmon might add that the style of a ceramic assemblage may be created through the choice or rejection of objects of particular decoration. In any case, archaeologists on plantations have used the idea that social group differentiation may be reflected in the material culture on the plantation.

This assumption is apparent in looking for differences in vessel form, cost, and numbers of ceramic sets. Matched ceramic types, those sherds exhibiting the same decoration, are utilized here to gain some insight into the sharing of ceramic types by planter and slave. The benefit of this technique is that a strong visual symbol of the master, the very ceramics present in his household, can be used to gauge possible differential treatment among the slaves. Just as important is understanding the presence or absence of ceramics like the master's in the quarters as a symbol of social strategies - slave accommodation or resistance to the master. At Mabry, slaves who resisted the master may be expected to have fewer ceramics that resembled ceramics used in the mansion. Favored individuals or domestic servants may have had greater access to and less resistance to ceramics resembling those on the master's table.

Comparing matched pattern sherds from planter and slave was used by Otto (1977, 1984:61) and by Adams and Boling (1991:85). Otto states that there were only 4 types out of 126 possible matches for ceramic patterns (3.2 %) in one of the slave cabins, believed to have been occupied by a field slave, located about 2 km south of the main house. Adams and Boling (1991:94) do not give counts for matched patterns in slave and planter contexts. However, they state:

Few, if any, of the ceramics from the slave quarters of the three plantations were hand-me-downs, for the matches between the planter and the slave assemblages were in the commonest types of dishes and those assemblages showed no evidence of any substantial time lag.

At the Upland South Locust Grove Plantation, Young and Andrews (1992) tabulated the sherds in three slave cabin contexts which matched sherds of the planter's mansion. Young and Andrews divided sherds found in slave quarter contexts into three categories: sherds which did not match, sherds which were indeterminate, and sherds which matched exactly the patterns found on sherds in the mansion context. The counts of the number of sherds matching patterns is important in their computation of the percentage of matched decorative types between slave and plantation settings. The percentages of matches they found in the planter and the three slave cabin assemblages was 12.66%, 12.88% and 7.25% . The similarity in the percentage of matched sherds was interpreted by Young and Andrews (1992) as indicative of equal access to discards from the mansion by many slaves.

The percentages of matched decorative types at Mabry is tabulated as was done by Otto (1977:97), and is calculated differently than by Young and Andrews (1992). The number of different decorated pearlware and whiteware types between the two contexts under study was tabulated; for example, between Structure 2 and the mansion deposit there were 47 different decorated ceramic types present. The number of matching decorated types in both assemblages is divided by the count of decorated types in both contexts. The percentage is a direct reflection of the number of ceramic decorated types shared by planter and slave. The number of sherds of each type is not used in the computation. The rationale for this is that taphonomic processes, the archaeological context of the ceramics, and sampling procedures may all affect the frequency of sherds retrieved which "match." If a large number of sherds

are recovered from a single vessel with a decorative type which matches, the computation procedure used by Young and Andrews (1992) can result in a high and perhaps biased percentage of matches. The percentage is high because sherds from a single vessel are over represented in the sample. Computation according to types alone avoids this difficulty. Sherds used in this analysis are listed in Appendix B. The percentage of matching types between slave quarter contexts and the mansion is presented below in Table 6.7.

The percentages show several interesting patterns. The first is the apparent difference in proportions of matches between the rooms of Structure 1 and mansion as compared to Structure 2 and the mansion. Apparently, more stylistically similar ceramics from the mansion entered Structure 1, especially the western pen of Structure 1.

TABLE 6.7 Matched Ceramic Types

Context	Total Types	Types Shared	% Match
Structure 1 & Mansion West Room	47	7	14.8
Structure 1 & Mansion East Room	61	8	13.1
Structure 2 & Mansion	52	2	3.8
Structure 1 & Mansion	81	10	12.3
Structure 1 & Structure 2	103	21	20.5
Structure 1 & Structure 1 West Room East Room	71	15	21.2

The difference in proportions of matched ceramics between Structure 2 and the west room of Structure 1 is statistically significant using a "z" test for proportions (Blalock 1979: 195-199). The probability for a difference in proportions of this magnitude is .0784, statistically significant at a .10 level of confidence. Two explanations seem plausible. The first is that Structure 1 was occupied

for a longer period than Structure 2 and therefore its' occupants had access to a greater number of discards from the mansion. Archaeological evidence concerning the cabin architecture suggests that Structure 2 may have been built after Structure 1. However, if this was true then we would also expect to see a higher percentage of shared ceramics between the rooms of Structure 1 than the percentage of shared ceramics between Structure 1 and Structure 2. The same logic applies, in that if Structure 1 were occupied for a longer period, the individuals in each room would have more shared ceramics than Structure 1 and Structure 2. This is certainly not the case, as the proportions are nearly equal. The similarity in ceramic wares found in each cabin suggests contemporaneous occupation as well. Another explanation is that the individuals in the western room of Structure 1 had greater access to, and used, recycled ceramics from the mansion as compared to their neighbors in Structure 2. These ceramics may have been distributed to occupants of the eastern room. We can say with certainty that few of the ceramics, in fact only one decorative style of spatter-blue, which came from the mansion as a recycled ceramic, reached both Structure 1 and Structure 2. A domestic servant or trusted field hand may have had differential access to material from the main house. In some situations, slaves who were domestic servants in the mansion received special privileges:

Reputedly, house servants fared much better than field hands: they had more and better food and clothing, more comfortable quarters, and more personal consideration from the whites..... Materially, the house servants often did live better, partly because of the closer sympathy and attention they received from one or more members of the white family and partly because they were in a position to take what they wanted anyway (Genovese 1974:331).

House servants often slept at their own quarters, rather than in rooms at the mansion:

Some slaves lived in the quarters, many more in cabins that stood closer to the big house; but almost all who did not work in the aristocratic Big Houses of the plantation legend

sought a close social relationship with the field slaves. Life would have been lonely without it (Genovese 1974:339).

House servants apparently had greater access to goods than the "field hands." Another class of slaves were the drivers, who may have had additional access to goods as well. On large plantations, "drivers" were slaves appointed to supervise the work of others. On smaller farms and plantations, drivers acted as foremen:

The small slaveholders who dominated the Upper South, and many of those who lived within the great plantation belts of the Lower South, could not afford and did not need white overseers. Their drivers or simply their ablest men assumed many of the responsibilities normally associated with white overseers (Genovese 1974:366).

They also had access to certain privileges doled out by the master:

The privileges accruing to the drivers varied a great deal, but usually included some extra food and clothing, as well as allotments of tobacco and whiskey. Sometimes they lived in more comfortable quarters than others. The most valued could expect cash bonuses of five or ten dollars at Christmas time (Genovese 1974:370).

Individuals residing in the west room of Structure 1 may have occupied a position of house servant or driver which afforded them easier access to material goods from the mansion. These individuals apparently brought recycled ceramics back to the quarters with them. It is also possible that a driver or trusted field hand was perceived by the master as the primary individual to receive goods from the mansion. The differential presence of ceramics directly from the master may also represent a more accommodating attitude towards the master. The differences here may represent a slave hierarchy as perceived by the master.

As Orser (1988:747) has stated:

...the material culture of the domestic slaves should have been more like that of the planters than that of the field slaves. This unequal distribution of material goods is to be expected since the domestic slaves on the plantation, especially in the regions studied by Otto and Moore, were shown special favors that encompassed material culture.

We cannot ignore the possibility that the occupants in Structure 2 may have chosen not to utilize ceramics from the mansion even if they had access to them. Ceramics coming from the mansion were clearly associated with the master and his control. The refusal to use ceramics associated with the master, if true, strongly suggests an attitude of resistance. Orser has suggested that differential use of ceramics may denote a field hand versus domestic servant dichotomy, or a slave hierarchy. This suggestion is supported by 3.2 % of the ceramics from the Cannon's Point field slave quarters matching the planter's ceramics, a similar percentage as retrieved from Structure 2 at Mabry.

As Orser (1988:747) states:

Field slaves may have tried to maintain a material culture unlike that of the masters and their house servants. They may have symbolized their boundary maintenance in a number of ways: They may have used a different assemblage of artifacts (gourds rather than earthenware bowls), they may have used artifacts with dissimilar decorations, (handpainted bowls rather than annular - decorated ones), or they may have used different vessel forms (bowls rather than plates).

This is especially interesting considering that Mabry slave ceramics which did not have matched patterns in the mansion deposit were commonly used by both Structure 1 and Structure 2 occupants. A very small percentage of Structure 2 ceramics, (3.8 %) had matched patterns in the mansion deposit. Of the slave ceramics not found in the mansion deposit, 20% matched between Structure 1 and Structure 2. This is a statistically significant difference at a .05 level of confidence using a "z" test for proportions. Ceramics acquired by occupants of Structure 2 and Structure 1, which were not matched with those from the mansion were apparently redistributed to the other occupants of the quarters, or there was a similar taste or devotion to the particular ceramic decorations acquired piecemeal by slaves. There is the possibility that

ceramics were bought by the Mabrys and distributed throughout the quarters without the Mabrys utilizing the ceramics themselves. This would reflect manipulation of nearly all ceramics, including recycled pieces to the slaves and again would represent a presentation of ceramics to slaves quite different than ceramics of the mansion. The total control of ceramics is seen here as unlikely, especially considering the equal monetary value of ceramics in the mansion and slave quarters. If the Mabry's were furnishing all ceramics to the slaves, we would expect slave ceramics to be less expensive because of the financial burden to the master. There is no cost difference between master and slave ceramics. A similar taste in ceramic decorations and possibly sharing and redistribution of ceramics in the quarters is a plausible explanation for this pattern.

Ceramic Sets

The number of ceramic sets is another tool that has been used to assess status and wealth differences in archaeological contexts. High status or wealth has usually been associated with a large number of sets of ceramics. The rationale for this assumption has been that wealthy individuals had the means to buy ceramics in sets and preferred to set a table with vessels of the same design. Individuals of lesser status would not have the financial capacity to acquire ceramics in sets. On the plantation then, slaves would be expected to have less sets of ceramics associated with their households than in the ceramic assemblage associated with the mansion. We might expect differences to appear within rooms of slave households if ceramic sets were also used to symbolize status within the slave community.

Klein (1991:81) states that table wares were bought separately from teawares in the first half of the nineteenth century. Teawares were more apt to be bought in sets than tablewares, because of the European tea ceremony tradition. Although different vessel forms may not have been commonly bought with the same decoration during the mid-nineteenth century, buying several vessels of the same form and decoration would not be unusual. Large sets of tableware, however, composed of different vessel forms did not become available until the late nineteenth century according to Klein (1991).

The minimum number of vessel forms for decorated pearlware, whiteware, and porcelain were determined and this information was used to assess the number of sets present in all three pens of the slave quarters and in the mansion deposit. A ceramic "set" is defined as any two different vessel forms of the same decoration. The identification of ceramic matches between the slave structures and the mansion deposit was informative as well, as this methodology allowed for the identification of sets which had been split and redistributed throughout the plantation (Appendix B). The vessel form often could not be determined beyond flatware or hollowware, and most decorated sets were composed of only two vessel forms.

The counts of sets within each archaeological context revealed little difference. The mansion deposit had two sets, composed of whiteware. The two decorated sets included whiteware with molded rings and whiteware with a sponge brown decoration. The east room of Structure 1 had two sets of decorated whiteware. One set consisted of one cup and flatware piece decorated with a handpainted blue design. The other set was composed of a plate and hollowware form with a purple transfer design. The west room of Structure 1 contained three sets. One set of whiteware consisted of one flatware and one hollowware piece of the same

handpainted blue design found in the east room. The other sets consisted of a saucer and plate of blue transfer and pieces of flatware and hollowware from a set decorated with a purple transfer design. Structure 2 had two ceramic sets. The sets in this structure were both whiteware. A cup and bowl were present with a banded red decoration. A plate and hollowware piece decorated with a handpainted polychrome design composed the second set.

The small number of sets found within the mansion deposit is interesting because the ceramic diversity analysis showed less ceramic diversity and greater evenness than in the slave quarters. This difference in diversity was expected to have been explained by a preference on the part of the mansion occupants for tableware sets. This was not the case. The lack of diversity in the mansion deposit is created by the choice of similar decorations, but not of exact matches. For example, there is a high quantity of porcelain, molded whiteware, and blue transfer ceramics in the mansion deposit as compared to the slave quarters. However, there are many different decorative patterns found within the assemblage of blue transfer sherds. There is a tendency towards common colors and decorative techniques in the mansion deposit, but not towards exact matches. When exact matches occur, the vessels are not of different forms.

Unfortunately, few researchers on plantation sites appear to have quantified the number of sets in the collections, having focused on other attributes of the ceramic assemblage. Otto (1984:66) does not quantify the actual number of sets, but states that the planter's assemblage at Cannon's Point had 60 different transfer-patterns identified from 185 transfer-printed vessel forms. In contrast, the slave quarters had 33 transfer printed vessel forms identified, exhibiting 30 different patterns. Obviously, the planters assemblage had

more vessels with duplicate transfer patterns. He does not quantify how many of these vessels with duplicate patterns were from different vessel forms. Weaver et al. (1993:335) state that no ceramic sets were identified at the Gowen Farmstead:

No extensive table sets were found among the collections, although limited matches were observed. The matches were, for the most part, limited to vessels of the same form, and table sets that included plates, platters, serving bowls, tureens, cups and saucers were totally absent. Plates or saucers with matching transfer printed designs were found, but those vessels probably related more to buying vessels in batches as they were needed than to any attempt to assemble actual table sets.

At the Mabry Plantation, comparing the numbers of sets within the rooms of the slave quarters and with the mansion deposit, there is little difference. However, viewing the number of sets just within each room of the slave quarters and the mansion deposit is quite deceptive, because sets were apparently broken up and redistributed. The most striking differences occur when the matched ceramics from the quarters and mansion are compared. Many of the matched types apparently originated from sets, because different vessel forms are represented.

Sets which contain ceramics from different site contexts are termed here "composite sets." Determining composite sets illustrates sharing and redistribution patterns across the site. There are no studies I am aware of which have compared ceramic sets in this fashion.

Mansion ceramics and Structure 1 ceramics, both rooms combined, yield four composite sets between these contexts. The same four ceramic sets are spread throughout Structure 1, and the presence of elements of this set in the mansion deposit suggests the redistribution of pieces of no longer used mansion sets throughout Structure 1. Structure 2, as discussed above, only had two ceramic "matches" with the mansion. One of the composite sets found in Structure 1 and the mansion deposit was also

found in Structure 2. One of the mansion sets, a whiteware spatter blue set, was spread throughout both slave structures.

The number of composite sets found throughout the slave quarters numbered seventeen sets, a far greater number of ceramic sets than found in the mansion deposit alone, or than were split between the mansion and the quarters. The source for these ceramics is impossible to identify. The sets may have been bought by the Mabrys for the slaves, may have been used by the Mabrys and recycled (yet did not enter the mansion deposit), or were acquired by the slaves themselves. The important point to stress is the high degree of similarity in taste or sharing and redistribution that occurred among the slaves with regard to ceramic sets. The composite sets represent elements of the sets spread throughout the quarters, so that few whole sets were present within the rooms of the slave quarters. Again, the suggestion is that the slaves preferred diversity in their ceramics within the quarters, not homogeneity in the decoration of their tablewares. Also important to note here is that the calculation of the numbers of sets within each room and mansion deposit yields little information concerning the status of the sites' occupants. Far more useful is the composite set, which highlights sharing and redistribution of ceramics and of choice in the desired ceramics.

A question asked in plantation archaeology (Otto 1984:166; Adams and Boling 1991:68) has been whether slaves adopted the tea ceremony, as this would suggest the acceptance of a European custom. The kinds of vessels included in the ceramic sets were by no means restricted to cups and saucers. Of the seventeen sets observed in the slave quarters, two were composed of cups and saucers. Not one of the composite sets between mansion and quarters is composed of a cup and saucer. Of the sets defined in either room of Structure 1, Structure 2, or the mansion

deposit, not one set was formed with cup and saucer. Important to note, however, is that the visibility of the tea ceremony may be obscured, in that many vessels could only be classed at the level of flat or hollowware, so that some cup and saucer sets might have been missed. The visibility of the ceremony may also be lessened in this analysis because only decorated vessels were considered. Based on the data at hand however, the adherence to the tea ceremony was not reflected in the vessel forms of the sets.

One last point on the concept of the presence of ceramic sets should be made. At Mabry there were few ceramic sets identified. Using "exact matches" as was attempted in the previous ceramic analysis to identify "recycled" ceramics, or to gauge the conformity of slave's preference in ceramics to styles in the mansion, may not be necessary. There were relatively few ceramics anywhere on the site which had an "exact match." The attempt to identify and quantify which ceramics are associated with and represent the mansion can proceed at a less specific level than is used here. Simply put, it is probably as accurate to use a more general level of ceramic identification to define the similarity between mansion and slave ceramics, or the identification of recycled pieces. Ceramic matches perhaps should be calculated by just the number of blue transfer sherds, rather than the number of matches of exact patterns of blue transfer sherds.

Vessel Modification

There is one example of a vessel modified for another unknown use. The ceramic pineapple-shaped finial from a lid of a serving vessel was modified by chipping the base to smooth the edge. The item was found on the southern side of the Structure 2 chimney base. The actual use of the

object is uncertain. Considering the fact that Structure 2 had few ceramics associated with the master, the possibility that occupants of this structure maintained a stronger "social boundary" as compared to other slaves arises again.

Summary of Ceramic Analysis

Ceramic analysis from mansion and slave contexts focused on plantation relations. Analysis of vessel forms, vessel cost, and the frequency of ceramic sets shows no significant differences between planter and slave or within the slave group itself. This suggests that there was no difference in the vessel forms or in the cost of the vessels that were being used between the slaves or between the planter and his slaves. The social relations on the plantation do not appear to be symbolized through vessel form, vessel cost, or the numbers of ceramic sets. Adams and Boling (1991), Mullins-Moore (1985), and Orser (1988) all found differences with regard to ceramic cost that were associated with differences in the status of the plantation's occupants. The numbers of sets in Structure 2, the mansion deposit, and in each room of Structure 1, were similar. Simple correlations between: 1) vessel form; 2) vessel cost; and 3) set frequency with socio-economic status of the occupants of the Mabry Plantation are not apparent. At Mabry, the social boundary between master and slave did not significantly affect the cost or shape of the vessels they used. Two other analytical techniques detect useful patterns in understanding the social relations at Mabry, and demonstrate how material culture can be used to symbolize these relationships. The diversity analysis demonstrates that statistically significant differences exist between the ceramics associated with the slave quarters and the ceramics

associated with the mansion. Ceramics found in the quarters have a greater array of wares, decorative styles, and colors than the ceramics in the mansion deposit. The diversity of styles in the mansion deposit does not reflect more sets, but a tendency towards similarity of decoration and color.

Several factors of choice and acquisition contribute to this pattern. The first is that the Mabrys exercised their choice in acquiring ceramics of similar decoration, most likely entirely through purchase at a local store. The slaves had potentially several means of acquisition. One was the acquisition of ceramics recycled through the mansion. This seems to have occurred at Mabry. Another possibility was that the Mabrys bought ceramics which were then given directly to the slaves. If this occurred, the Mabry's were buying a wide variety of decorated ceramics for the slaves, in contrast to the homogenous pattern of ceramic decoration they acquired for themselves. There is no cost difference between slave and master ceramics though, which would be expected considering the amount of capital it would require to furnish all slaves with their ceramics.

Other possible modes of acquisition include: 1) slaves bought ceramics themselves; 2) ceramics were acquired as gifts, or through exchange; or 3) may have been inherited as part of a kin's estate. All of these mechanisms to acquire ceramics were probably in operation, facilitating the diversity seen in the ceramics from the slave quarters at Mabry. The importance of acquiring ceramics through either purchase or sale is that a level of group autonomy is maintained. The diversity in decorative styles at the quarters may also reflect a conscious attempt to differentiate the ceramics of the quarters from the ceramics at the mansion. Perhaps the slaves' choice of variety in ceramic style may be one of the subtle ways they could resist total acculturation and

symbolize some measure of independence and cultural integrity through their material culture.

The transfer of ceramics as gifts or as inheritances may have symbolic significance, in that ceramic exchange may have functioned to represent and maintain social contacts with the African-American community outside the Mabry Plantation. This contact is integral in the maintenance of a culture that has the family unit consistently at risk through sale, and must develop and maintain outside social contacts to communicate, and form traditions, beliefs, and codes of behavior.

The analysis of matched ceramics was also useful in determining possible social differences between occupants of the slave quarters. The analysis determined that the proportion of Structure 1 ceramics which matched sherds from the mansion was higher than in Structure 2. The difference between the west room of Structure 1 and the mansion was statistically significant. This suggests that the occupants of the west room of Structure 1 had greater access, or were more willing to acquire and use ceramics similar to the mansion than did the occupants of Structure 2. Two possible explanations are offered. The first is that an individual of greater respect, from the master's perspective, had differential access to recycled ceramics. The second possibility is that the occupants of Structure 2 may have had the same access to recycled ceramics, but did not choose to utilize them. Mansion ceramics could be considered "symbolically laden", and may have been refused because of such a direct association with the master. The proportion of shared ceramics between Structure 2 and the mansion was significantly different than the proportion of matched ceramics between Structure 2 and Structure 1, again indicating differential use of ceramics depending on the source of those ceramics. The social strategies of the occupants of the two quarters might be a factor as well, in that slaves willing to

accommodate might accept or acquire ceramics similar to those used in the mansion, as compared to slaves following a strategy of subtle resistance.

The ceramic types found in the two rooms of Structure 1 match at a rate of 21.2 %. The ceramic types between Structure 1 and Structure 2 match at a rate of 20.5 % . There appears to be a high degree of matching ceramic types throughout the quarters. This pattern was duplicated in studying sets. Set frequency by rooms of Structure 1, Structure 2, and the mansion deposit showed little difference. However, when composite sets are determined, there were seventeen sets of ceramics, none of which were found in the mansion deposit. These sets may have been bought by the mansion and divided among the quarters, or acquired by the slaves themselves by any of the processes discussed above. The interesting factor here is that the vessels in the sets remained separated, suggesting either a preference for diversity in ceramics within the quarters, contrary to a more homogenous assemblage as in the mansion deposit, or acquisition of these ceramics piecemeal.

The social boundary between slaves and master is not obvious as represented in the ceramics. The cost of vessels, the vessel forms, and possibly food consumption patterns do not show strong differences between master and slave. Slaves also had access to ceramics as expensive as acquired by the mansion occupants.

There is evidence of differential distribution or use by some slaves of ceramics recycled from the master. This pattern was detected by analyzing matched ceramics. Distinct differences between master and slave occur with regard to the diversity of ceramics. The high diversity of ceramics in the quarters is surely a result of the varied means of ceramic acquisition on the part of the slaves. The high ceramic diversity probably represents exchange and interaction throughout the

slave community around Knoxville along with their purchase of ceramics and the acceptance of recycled mansion ceramics. Diverse ceramics may have come to symbolize the manner of acquisition: autonomy through purchase, kinship networks through trade, and inheritance among slaves. Diversity may have become a preferred attribute of the ceramic assemblage within the quarters. These patterns of relations between master and slave and among slaves are evident through an awareness of the importance of material culture as a visual symbol of social relations.

CHAPTER 7

CONTAINER GLASS, GLASSWARE, AND LIGHTING GLASS

The descriptions of this class of artifacts are focused on the slave quarters, as it provides insights into their living conditions and to some degree the access they had to medicines and alcohol. The glass recovered from excavations at the Mabry site originated from either bottles or jars to store liquids, drinking glasses or "tumblers", and lamp chimneys used in oil or candle lamps. Unfortunately, few curved glass artifacts were diagnostic of vessel forms as the glass fragments were usually small. Mold seams were uncommon, and manufacturer's marks found on the glass recovered around the slave quarters were infrequent. As a result, the dating of the glass is problematic.

The lower levels of the mansion deposit contained little container glass and no nearly complete bottles. Another problem was that much of the glass recovered in the mansion deposit had been burned and melted, so that analysis of this material was quite limited. Although the mansion deposit did not contain much glass, Feature 12 contained a great quantity of diagnostic glass containers. This material was quite useful in understanding the chronology of the privy fill, and these artifacts provide a glimpse into the liquid products consumed by the Mabry's. Limited comparisons can be made between glass recovered in the privy with the glass recovered from the slave quarters. Appendix C contains the data summarized below.

Analysis

The analysis of curved glass focused on determining: 1) the function of the glass vessel, either as a storage vessel, drinking

vessel or lighting device; 2) the date of manufacture; and 3) the probable contents of the container.

Date of Manufacture

The date of manufacture was estimated through: 1) determining the manufacturing process associated with the vessel, including the body of the vessel and the lip portion; or 2) using the patent or company manufacturing dates embossed on the vessel. Descriptions of bottle glass and glassware, vessel forms, manufacturing processes, and dates are discussed by Baugher-Perlin (1982) and Jones and Sullivan (1985).

The color of the glass was noted, although there is some subjectivity inherent in this classification. Glass is colored by minerals, either as natural inclusions or added by the manufacturer. The concern here was primarily to note the presence of purple or "amethyst" glass and "milk" glass. Amethyst glass began to be manufactured around 1880 (Munsey 1970:55), when magnesium was added to the glass recipe. The glass turns a purplish color when exposed to sunlight and is distinctive. Milk or white glass has been manufactured as long as glass has been made, but milk glass became common as it was used in "containers, tablewares, and lighting devices" in the late nineteenth through twentieth century (Jones and Sullivan 1985:14). Blue glass is another color which had great popularity in the later nineteenth century. Clear or colorless glass came into demand with the growing public desire to see the contents of the bottles, and was more popular in the late nineteenth century (Baugher-Perlin 1982:261).

Bottle Contents

The contents of the bottle can be suggested from the shape of the bottle, and sometimes from the color. Bottles and contents became standardized in the nineteenth century (Baughner-Perlin 1982:269). There was some variation in all classes of bottles, from medicine through wine bottles. Jones and Sullivan (1985:12) caution against the use of color in categorizing the contents of bottles, but there is a consensus that most wine bottles were a dark olive/green color (Jones and Sullivan 1985:14). The shape of the bottle was noted with reference to the possible contents as discussed in Baughner-Perlin (1982).

Glassware

Glassware is represented by tableware, including decorative containers, like decanters or cake plates, or by drinking glasses, such as wine glasses or the more common tumblers. Several clear glass paneled tumblers were recovered in Feature 12. Although there were no whole tumblers recovered in the quarters, several of the clear glass sherds are believed to have been from tumblers.

Lighting

The lighting category refers to glass from lamp chimneys. Several whole lamp chimneys were recovered from Feature 12, and several of the very thin clear glass sherds found in association with the slave quarters are believed to be lamp chimneys.

Glass Associated with the Mansion

Feature 12 (Mansion Privy)

The most, and best preserved glass was recovered from the mansion privy, Feature 12. Container glass was collected throughout the feature and was the primary material used to date the privy deposit. Brief references regarding the stratigraphic levels where the material was recovered are cited here so that the dating of the feature is easier to comprehend. This material is described here primarily to provide a picture of the container glass and glassware present in the mansion.

The lowest levels of the privy contained a hand blown wine container with a "laid on ring" of dark green glass. The capacity is over one gallon so the term "demi-john" applies here (Jones and Sullivan 1985:72). This vessel had an iron pontil mark, dating between 1845-1870 (Baughner-Perlin 1982:266-267). An oval bottle base of light green color was found in the same level and had a glass pontil mark, with no evidence of grinding or polishing, suggesting a date before 1870 when the use of pontils in glass manufacture had given way to the use of the snap case (Jones and Sullivan 1985:45). Contents of this vessel are unknown. A complete paneled bitters bottle was found in level 3 of Stratum 5, about 60 cm above the base of the privy. The bitters bottle was embossed with the name of the contents and the patent date of 1864. In the same level an early Mason's jar had a rough screw lip and a patent date of 1858. Pickle jars, chemical bottles, and a perfume bottle from France highlight the household uses for bottles at the Mabry residence, not to mention the liquor bottles. In addition to the large wine bottle at the base of the privy, a corn whiskey bottle, manufactured in Baltimore, was recovered. An ale bottle was collected

that was manufactured in a Ricketts mold, dating 1820-1929 (Jones and Sullivan 1985:30).

Glassware

Drinking glasses of clear glass, or tumblers, were also recovered from the mansion privy, representing several styles of paneled containers manufactured in the mid-nineteenth century. Jones and Sullivan (1985:143) note that tumblers often contained foodstuffs like peanut butter or mustard when originally acquired, and then they could be reused at the table. The tumbler glass was usually colorless.

Lighting

Lamp chimneys were found in the privy in almost complete condition. The manufacturing "heyday" of lamp chimneys according to Berg (1980) is from 1785-1840. There were attributes of the lamp glass, however, that suggest a later manufacture date. One lamp chimney recovered about 80 cm from the base of the privy had a patent date of 1864. Several of the lamp chimneys had a slight purplish color which could be indicative of the addition of manganese which was popular in glass formulas later in the nineteenth century. Most of the lamp chimney glass was colorless.

The dating of the privy from the glass remains suggests a date beginning around 1860 (the mean date for the manufacture of the demijohn) and continuing till about 1880. The terminal date is suggested primarily on the basis of: 1) the lack of more amethyst and milk glass, popular later in the nineteenth century; and 2) the lack of greater numbers of turn paste molded bottles. The other artifacts found within

the privy, including marked ceramics, support the time range of 1860-1880. The contents of the bottles certainly indicate the Mabrys were not "tea-totalers" and used alcoholic beverages. The wealth of the Mabry family is perhaps represented by the presence of one fine decorated whiskey flask from Baltimore, and the bottle of French perfume. Canning and pickle jars indicate foodstuffs were both purchased and prepared at home. The Mabrys apparently subscribed to the medicinal practices of the day, and consumed the contents of the bitters bottle (which usually included alcohol as well !).

Glass Associated with the Slave Quarters

The investigations around the slave quarters collected glass through unit and feature excavations and through shovel testing along the periphery of the structures. Relevant characteristics regarding chronology of glass ware represented or bottle content information are summarized in text in relation to each room of Structure 1, Structure 2, and Feature 1.

Structure 1 - West Room

One hundred and ninety four glass sherds were recovered from this room of Structure 1. The sherds were primarily colorless, numbering 117. Light blue, light green, and olive colored sherds numbered 62. The number of clear or colorless sherds was surprising in that clear bottles predominate in the later nineteenth century. Other colors popular in the late nineteenth century, such as milk or white glass, cobalt blue and especially amethyst, comprised very small percentages. The Gowen Farmstead early to mid-nineteenth century structures I, II and V

contained a predominance of clear bottle glass sherds as well (Weaver et al. 1993:Table 28). The tumblers and chimney glass found in the privy were clear, and some of the very small unidentified clear glass sherds may have come from glass tumblers and lamp chimneys.

Other chronologically relevant attributes of sherds in this room include one bottle lip which was ground, and 4 sherds which indicated mold manufacture. This indicates a nineteenth century date. No sherds were recovered which were diagnostic of an automatic bottle machine.

The olive and dark green colored sherds suggest that some bottles contained wine. The patent bottle shape and one sherd with a "prescription" lip suggest medicines as well.

Glassware

Four glass sherds came from tumblers. One sherd of cut glass, probably from a decorative serving vessel was identified.

Lighting

There was one sherd of lamp chimney glass positively identified in this room of Structure 1.

Structure 1 - East Room

There were 109 sherds recovered from units on this side of Structure 1. Forty-seven sherds were clear. Light green was the second most common sherd color with sherds totaling 30. The sherd from a partial vessel base exhibited a remnant of a pontil mark. One sherd had

mold seams. There were no sherds with vessel lips. One sherd came from a panel bottle suggesting medicines were consumed.

Glassware

Eight glass sherds from tumblers were present.

Lighting

Four lamp chimney glass sherds were present.

Structure 2

There were 254 glass sherds recovered from units associated with Structure 2. The glass assemblage is markedly similar to Structure 1. The clear sherds are the most common. The dark olive and olive colored sherds, which may represent alcohol containers, numbered 33. Two sherds exhibited seams indicative of a bottle making machine, dating to the late nineteenth century. A crown cap lip was also noted. The proveniences of these sherds indicated they were close to the ground surface. There were also 16 sherds with dark blue coloring, most were collected near the ground surface. Although dark blue vessels were most popular beginning in the later part of the nineteenth century, they were manufactured throughout the nineteenth century. There were 16 sherds which probably came from panel bottles, again suggesting the presence of medicines.

Glassware

Fifteen sherds originating from tumblers were collected. One small sherd of cut glass, from an unidentified vessel was collected.

Lighting

Two sherds from lamp chimneys were identified.

Glass Analysis Summary

The glass from the slave quarters dates primarily to the nineteenth century, although there were few diagnostic attributes. The characteristics of the container glass sherds suggests the slaves at Mabry had access to wine, and also to medicines. Jars suggest storage of some food stuffs. The presence of tumblers, and at least one sherd of cut glass from a decorative vessel shows the slaves had access to glass vessels aside from foodstuff and medicine containers. Lamp chimneys were present.

The main difference between the privy and the slave quarter glass are "high status" items like perfume bottles and highly decorated whisky flasks. These items could have been present in the quarters, but identification was not possible due to the fragmentary nature of the sherds. The greater quantity of glass found in the privy primarily relates to the difference in associated disposal patterns of the samples. The slave quarter sample was composed of small glass fragments from the floors and yard areas of the cabins. The privy sample contained whole vessels, purposely dumped, probably from cleaning episodes within the mansion.

CHAPTER 8

MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS AND ACTIVITIES

The following descriptions refer to low frequency items that were retrieved from slave quarter and mansion contexts. Artifacts are discussed in relation to chronology and then the slave quarter artifacts are discussed in relation to the activities these artifacts represent. The data summarized below appear in Appendix D.

Structure 1

There were no significant differences in the frequencies of particular artifact categories in relation in the two rooms of Structure 1. The discussion of miscellaneous artifacts encompasses both rooms. Feature 1, the large root cellar, is discussed separately because artifacts from both structures were deposited there. This was determined through cross-mends of ceramic sherds from the interior of Structure 2 with ceramics from Feature 1.

Clothing

Two beads, one round cobalt blue, and one hexagonal light blue were collected. Four buttons and two clothing fasteners include a porcelain button fragment dating from 1837-1865 according to South (1964), and two four hole bone buttons that probably predate 1850 according to Olsen (1963). One button is wood with a single hole, and may have been manufactured by hand. A thimble was also recovered.

Personal Items

Three coins were recovered from one unit in the eastern end of Structure 1, and all three dated to the 1930's. This unit was collected in one provenience, and the coins were presumably near the surface. Three ceramic pipe bowl fragments were collected, one was hand made, and another fragment had molded decoration.

Toys

A ceramic marble was recovered.

Firearms

One recent 22 calibre bullet was collected from Structure 1.

Furniture

A brass drawer pull was recovered.

Other

An iron nut and bolt were collected.

Structure 2

Clothing

Thirteen buttons were recovered, 7 made of porcelain or milk glass, dating to the mid-nineteenth century. Two porcelain buttons are decorated "calico" buttons which date 1848-1856 (Gillio et al. 1984:23,26). One brass button of South's Type 26, dating 1837-1865 was collected along with one shell button of Type 22 dating 1800-1865. Three beads, one a six faceted clear tube, and 2 round beads, one lavender and one black were recovered.

Personal Items

The most significant personal item was a gold dollar coin minted in 1854. An artifact which might be considered an Africanism was manufactured from a pewter spoon handle tip. The end of the handle had been roughly ground on the edges into a "tear drop" shape and was drilled for suspension. One other dining implement handle tip of the same size was recovered from Structure 2. A sherd from a Euro-American pipe with a molded figure of a bearded male was collected.

Firearms

A Mine' ball was recovered during removal of flotation samples from the balks in Structure 2. The bullet was especially interesting since it had the impressions of teeth marks.

Other

A padlock of mid-nineteenth century design was collected in the center of the structure. A wrought iron hook may have served as a farm implement or possibly as a hook to hang clothes or other items on the wall of the house.

Feature 1

Clothing

Seven bone buttons were recovered in the Structure 1 root cellar. There were three button types that could be typed according to South's (1964) button classifications. Four bone buttons recovered conform to type 19 in South's (1964:121) classification. These buttons date between 1800 and 1865. The porcelain buttons date between 1837-1865. One metal button appears to conform to South's type 6 (1964:116), dates 1726-1776. according to South. Two glass beads, one clear, round, and multifaceted, the other a small light blue, tubular bead with six facets were found as well.

Personal

A small portion of a brass comb was found.

Toys

A marble had the hardened exterior worn off, leaving an irregular soft clay. Perhaps this was a handmade item.

Firearms

There are three items which fall into the firearms group. The first is a lead shot used for shot guns. The second item is a ramrod. The indentation at the tip of the rod suggests it could be used for a musket. A brass percussion cap was also collected.

Mansion Deposit

As previously discussed, the two lowest levels of units excavated in the mansion deposit appear to represent a time period of ca. 1835-1860, and provide a comparative look at activities ongoing in the mansion as compared to the activities of the slave quarters.

Clothing

Almost 75% of the miscellaneous artifacts recovered in the mansion deposit were buttons, and the overwhelming majority of these were made of either glass or porcelain. South mentions the dominance of these types (23) of plain buttons in the Fort Fisher ruins dating 1837-1865 (South 1964:122). Four porcelain buttons had transfer print decoration which may be characterized as "calico." These buttons were manufactured from the mid-nineteenth century through the twentieth century (Weaver et al. 1993:238). Other buttons which could be typed and dated included a bone sleeve link of South's (1964:124) type 33. A brass button of type 26 (South 1964:123) was collected. These types date 1837-1865 according to South. Two black beads, one of which was tubular and faceted, the other round and faceted, were recovered. Three straight pins attest to the activity of the manufacture and mending of clothes.

Toys

A piece of a bone gaming piece, either a die or part of a domino was collected, along with a chert or mottled agate marble, a type which was manufactured in the mid-nineteenth century (Carskadden and Gartley 1990:55).

Firearms

A mine' ball was recovered from the mansion deposit.

Other

An iron cotter pin probably represents farm equipment. A pencil lead was recovered.

Privy Feature 12

Clothing

The overwhelming majority of 53 buttons collected were made of glass and porcelain. There was a great deal more variation in the color and decoration of buttons found in the privy than in the quarters. This probably relates to a greater variety of clothes and ornamentation the Mabrys had access to, and the greater variety of buttons that were being produced from 1860-1880, when the privy was filled. The glass and porcelain button colors consisted of white, black, brown, and one button each of pink and blue. The decorations included hand painting and

transfer decorations characteristic of "calico" buttons. Buttons of porcelain as noted by South (1964:132) were popular in the mid-nineteenth century and the colored glass buttons were being manufactured throughout the nineteenth century and are still being made today. Six beads were collected, three amber colored, two of milk glass, and one a cigar shaped black glass bead.

Personal items

A hard rubber comb or part of a hair adornment piece, such as a tiara was found at the lowest level of the privy. The comb is marked with a patent date of 1851 and was manufactured by the IRC Co.

Toys

Two ceramic marbles were retrieved from the privy, along with a bone domino fragment.

Firearms

A brass cartridge for a 32 cal. firearm was collected. Brass cartridges attained popularity around 1870 (Gillio et al. 1984:36-37) and this calibre was not introduced until 1861. This corroborates the dates suggested for the privy of ca. 1860-1880.

Artifacts and Activities

The miscellaneous artifacts found in association with the slave quarters are discussed below in relation to the activities they

represent. Apparently the slave accounts, which historians such as Genovese (1974), Abrahams (1992), Owens (1976), Blassingame (1976), and Boles (1984) have used are biased towards states in the upper South (Blassingame 1977:xli), so these descriptions of the many aspects of slave life in the South have relevance for interpretations at Mabry.

Slave Clothing

Adams et al. (1987) note that descriptions of slave clothing can be gathered from runaway slave advertisements which describe the slaves' clothing and from store purchase records. An account by Olmsted in 1856 described the slave's clothing as primarily rough grey cloth with little variation and resembling uniforms (Adams et al. 1987:218).

Genovese (1974:555-561) recounts that slaves' clothing was handed out from the big house. Used clothing was recycled to the slaves, with house servants having the first choice of second hand clothes. Masters and mistresses perceived the quality of their servants clothes to be another measure of the care they were willing to give their slaves. Extra clothes were sometimes given as gifts at Christmas. Slaves apparently took great effort to dress well for Sunday church, and had a preference for the color red. Slaves expended their own earned money for clothes:

But much of the slaves special clothing came through their hard earned effort. They spent much of their earnings from garden plots or bonus work in this manner. They also made their own fine clothes when they could, and made or bought buttons to decorate their clothing (Genovese 1974:557).

According to Boles (1984) "masters were sparing in their clothing." Store keeper's records indicate a different quality of clothing described as "negro clothing." The cloth was rough with little

color, and the garments were loose fitting. Most of the slave cloth was manufactured locally. The flax and hemp that was grown on the Mabry farm may have been used to clothe slaves and to sell at market. Boles notes that hand-me-downs were modified to fit the slaves' own taste in adornment:

Many slaves displayed ingenuity at finding ways to spruce up their meager wardrobes with snatches of material from the planters and pieces of finery bought or bartered from the storekeepers. Bondsmen became artful scavengers, seizing everything thrown away or discarded and finding uses- practical and decorative- for a vast kaleidoscope of items for their persons and in their homes. In clothing as in food, and, indeed, in their whole culture, slaves never simply accepted what the white man gave or left them; they took what was given, shaped and reshaped it, supplemented it with what skill and nature provided, and produced something unique. The result was quite literally a crazy quilt of colors and forms and influences, but it was, most importantly, something of the slaves own creation. Travelers in the South and planter's careful descriptions of runaways again and again exhibited an implicit astonishment at the variety of slave clothing and the aplomb with which the idiosyncratic adornment was worn (Boles 1984:87).

There is some variety in the buttons found in association with the slave quarters, but as can be seen from the descriptions of the buttons from the privy, there appears to be a greater variety exhibited by deposits associated with the planter. The ceramic analysis certainly supports the notion of slave's preference for diversity of style rather than homogeneity.

Garments were dyed either red, gray, or tan with handmade dyes made from the bark of several trees for a red dye, and cedar moss would produce a yellow color. Walnut bark made a brown dye (Genovese 1974:558). All these materials would have been readily available around the Mabry Plantation. The thimble and pin found in association with the slave houses attest to the fact that slaves were partly responsible for fashioning and mending their own clothes. The straight pins and brass eyelets were used as fasteners for the slaves clothes also (Adams et al.

1987:219). The diameter of the buttons suggest coat and shirt buttons. Coats were provided slaves on most plantations for the winter months.

The items of personal adornment found in the slave quarters do exhibit some idiosyncrasies. The "pendant" found in Structure 2 was apparently manufactured from the handle of a dining implement and reflects the ingenuity of one of the slaves. This artifact, the hand-made stub stem pipe bowl, and the modified ceramic finial might be considered "Africanisms." The beads found in the quarters appear to be relatively common at historic sites of this period. The fact that slaves had beads, handmade pendants, and pipes, is important from the perspective that they were expressing a measure of individuality or perhaps their group or ethnic identity in the social context of enslavement.

Leisure

The recovery of what can be considered leisure items, such as pipes and marbles, reminds us that slaves were allowed some time to their own devices. Planting and tending their own gardens to supplement their diet and bring in additional cash from the sale of surplus items probably took much of this time. The coin recovered in Structure 2 probably represents cash earned by the sale of surplus from a garden, a raised hog, or tasks he or she may have been hired out to do. On rainy days most field hands were directed to spend time cleaning their cabins or other indoor labor. This time was undoubtedly used for social activities on occasion:

Masters would direct the men to clean out their houses, shuck corn, repair tools, and cut firewood, and the women to make baskets and mats and catch up on their sewing. But with masters and overseers snugly indoors themselves, and the

assigned tasks not pressing, the slaves converted these frequent hours and days into occasions to gossip, sing, nap, and lounge around (Genovese 1974:567-568).

This time to socialize should not be trivialized. Considering that they could be directed at any time to perform a chore directed by the master, any "free" time was cherished. This time was also used to maintain gardens or other activities that helped to maintain a degree of independence from the master.

The marbles recovered certainly suggest leisure time. There might be some differentiation between master and slave represented in the material the marbles are made of. Those recovered in the mansion deposit and privy are made of stone, while ceramic marbles were found in the quarters. The possibility exists that the marbles were not even used for the Anglo-American game, but were adapted for some other game or purpose by the slaves.

Firearms

Materials associated with firearms have been consistently documented in the archaeological remains from slave quarters, beginning with the work of Fairbanks (1984) at Kingsley Plantation. Adams et al. (1987) recently recovered remains of firearms at the King's Bay Plantation. One shotgun pellet and a ramrod were recovered from Feature 1, and a mine' ball (although chewed) was recovered from Structure 2. One mine' ball was recovered from the mansion deposit. The shotgun pellet may have fallen from an animal during consumption and may not be direct evidence for the use of firearms within the quarters. The ball in Structure 2 was gnawed and may have been utilized to suppress pain. The ramrod and percussion cap are more direct evidence of firearm use, and are not inconsistent with archaeological finds across the Southeast.

Olmsted, during travels in 1856 remarked that one planter's slaves were permitted to purchase firearms and ammunition and were allowed to keep them in their cabin (Adams et al. 1987:228). As Adams notes:

Despite laws prohibiting slaves possessing firearms, they had access to them and even owned them. Almost every slave site on the Georgia coast investigated by archaeologists has produced gunflints or lead shot (Adams et al. 1987:228).

The faunal remains support the assertion that slaves had access to firearms at Mabry, undoubtedly to aid in their hunting efforts to supplement their diet (Young 1993).

Cabin Furniture

There were only two items which could be considered part of household furniture. The first was a drawer handle found in Structure 1. Slave furniture according to most of the early travelers' accounts was simple. Oftentimes the furniture was the responsibility of the slaves to construct. This included items such as beds and chairs. A Louisiana slave quarter, according to Olmsted (1856:629-630) included sparse furniture consisting of two dirty beds, and "rude" stools. Adams et al. (1987) quote Charles Lyell's 1849 description of the interior of a slave cabin on Hope Island, Georgia. The interior consisted of a chest, a table, two or three chairs and shelves to hold ceramics. Lyell noted that wooden padlocks were on their doors to protect their valuables. According to the historian Flanders (1933:152), slaves in Georgia cabins could expect to have a chest for their personal belongings. The drawer handle probably represents a minimal piece of furniture for storing clothes. The padlock found in Structure 2 could have been used on the cabin door or on a chest. Padlocks such as this were found in

association with the slave quarters at the Hermitage Plantation in Nashville, Tennessee (Dr. Larry McKee, personal communication 1991).

Kitchen Items

The ceramics are discussed at length elsewhere. Other kitchen items recovered include a complete silver plated spoon and a large piece of an iron kettle. Adams et al. (1987) suggested that meals may have been cooked on small plantations at a central kitchen in the mansion and then distributed to the slaves. The amount of ceramics recovered in and around the cabins, in addition to the kettle fragment, dining implements, and faunal remains suggests the cooking and dining activities probably took place at the quarters.

CHAPTER 9

FAUNAL MATERIAL

The faunal remains retrieved from the Mabry site were analyzed by Amy Lynne Young (1993), and provide the first data from an Upland South plantation. Her results are summarized here. The analysis addresses possible differences in diet between Mabry slaves and the planter, but also discusses several important points about site formation processes at Mabry.

Structure 1, which included the large root cellar, contained 390 specimens, 165 of which were identifiable. Included among the identified remains were domesticated and wild animals. Pig, cow, rabbit, opossum, raccoon, ground hog, chicken, squirrel, mourning dove, and egg shells were represented. Structure 2 did not contain as much faunal material, but again both wild and domesticated animal remains were collected. Pig, rabbit, chicken, mourning dove, and opossum were represented in the assemblage. Several of the bones show cut marks. The mansion deposit contained the remains of pig, cow, sheep, rabbit, chicken, and morning dove. Complete tables of the faunal material, including species, elements, and the associated context can be found in Young (1993).

The faunal assemblage from the quarters appears to coincide with documentary evidence regarding the diet of slaves. Rations were provided slaves on most plantations of the South which included about 4 lbs of bacon per week, supplemented with other commodities:

On an almost regular basis molasses was distributed, and when possible coffee, sweet potatoes, peas and beans, squash, various greens, poultry and eggs, and beef were provided. the corn -pork basic element was normally given out every week, and other foods were available on a more seasonal basis (Boles 1984:89).

The agricultural census of 1850 and 1860 for the Mabry Plantation includes sweet potatoes in large quantity, in addition to beans. Beef, chicken, eggs, and pork were present in the slave quarter contexts at Mabry. The slaves at Mabry probably were allotted their own garden plot as well. This was common on most plantations, as this allowed slaves to supplement their rations from the planter in addition to accumulating cash by selling surplus to either the planter or at the market. Slaves supplemented their diet through hunting and trapping at other plantations throughout the South, and this appears to be true at the Mabry Plantation. Young identified elements from wild fauna as stated above. As has been discussed, artifacts associated with firearms were found in the quarters, suggesting slaves had the means to hunt. A surprising result in Young's analysis is that there were no wild fauna present in the slave quarters which were not present in the mansion deposit as well. The planter and slave apparently had equal access to the wild fauna in the surrounding area.

Young included the Mabry assemblage in an analysis of selected plantation sites from different regions of the Southeast to see if faunal assemblages varied in relation to the local environment, as well as differences which might be related to social status (slave or master) on plantations. Two tests were utilized. The first was a diversity test, to see if planter diet was more diverse than the slaves, demonstrating differential access to resources based on status. The second test utilized the cut of meat, to see if significant differences existed between the fauna associated with planter and with slave. Her results indicate that diets on plantations varied dependent on the local environment, and that plantations along the coastline gave slaves and planters greater access to estuarine resources creating a more diverse diet than inland plantations such as Mabry. Her results also indicate

that there was no significant difference between the cuts of meat consumed by slaves on the Mabry Plantation versus those consumed by the occupants of the Mabry mansion. She cautions that the faunal material from the mansion may not be representative of the Mabry diet, partly because of small sample size. She also notes that the mansion deposit contained a high number of teeth, suggesting the sample is biased.

Her results are interesting in that there is little difference between slaves' and master's access to meat at Mabry, based on the archaeological faunal sample. These results support the interpretations derived from the ceramic analysis, which revealed no distinct difference between mansion and slave assemblages with respect to: 1) economic value of the ceramics; and 2) the vessel forms represented.

Young's analysis provides other archaeological insights. She supports the interpretation of the slave cabin's placement on piers because the slave quarter material, from Structure 2 especially, exhibited evidence of gnawing by rodents and dogs. The analysis of material from Feature 1 indicated some gnawed material, yet a lack of snails. This supports the notion that Feature 1 was backfilled with yard refuse, including some faunal remains, and was filled rather quickly before gastropods could enter the deposit.

CHAPTER 10

ARTIFACT PATTERN COMPARISONS

The artifact patterns evident in the slave quarters at Mabry can be compared to Euro-American domestic sites to see if the difference between the Euro-American and the African-American's economic and social position can be discerned by this method. The artifact assemblage from the Mabry slave quarters may be compared to other Euro-American sites through the use of South's (1977) artifact patterns. This method has been used by other researchers in plantation archaeology. Singleton (1980) initially constructed a Slave Artifact Pattern for Coastal Georgia. Mullins-Moore (1985) compared artifact profiles from slave and planter contexts in the vicinity of St. Simons Island, Georgia, and found no statistically significant differences. Wheaton and Garrow (1985) argued the technique was useful in identifying acculturation at slave sites in South Carolina. Joseph (1989) compared artifact profiles from slave and planter sites in South Carolina and Georgia and argued that the differences can be explained by slave acculturation. This proposition is examined more carefully in the following discussion.

South's (1977) artifact pattern formula groups artifacts into broader categories for comparison. The Kitchen Group includes material associated with kitchen refuse, such as ceramics, container glass, and tableware items. The Architectural Group includes artifacts directly associated with the construction of a dwelling, primarily nails and window glass. The Clothing Group contains buttons, hairpins, beads, and other items associated with adornment. The Furniture Group contains artifacts associated with household furniture, including chest handles and lighting paraphernalia. The Arms Group incorporates gun parts and ammunition. The Personal Group includes an individual's possessions such

as money, combs, and keys. The Activities Group encompasses toys, farming implements, and a wide variety of other artifact classes. A Pipe Group includes all artifacts associated with smoking.

The Mabry slave artifact patterns are compared to two local Euro-American sites to see if the patterns are similar. Wheaton and Garrow (1985) suggested that mid-nineteenth century slave artifact profiles might be indistinguishable from Euro-American sites of the same time period because slaves had "acculturated." The mansion artifact profile was not constructed because the context of the mansion deposit, primarily a kitchen dump, reflected a dominance of kitchen and household debris as compared to artifacts in the Architecture Group. As Joseph (1989) notes, different excavation strategies, or different contexts of the deposits can create different artifact profiles which are not at all related to cultural or behavioral differences. The slave quarters were excavated with a consistent methodology, and the artifacts from the interior and periphery of the structures were used to generate the artifact profiles.

The artifact pattern was calculated for each structure, to see if significant differences were evident between the structures. Note that two profiles were constructed for Structure 1, one which included artifacts from Feature 1 (Table 10.1) and one that did not (the percentages of both tabulated artifact groups for Structure 1 are given in Figure 10.1). This was done because the cellar was believed to have been filled with yard refuse which might have created an unrepresentative artifact profile for Structure 1. Artifact counts from Structure 1 and 2 were then combined to generate an overall artifact pattern for the Mabry slave quarters.

The results are compared to the Carolina and Georgia slave artifact patterns (Joseph 1989:table 1) and two local Euro-American

sites: the Gibbs site and the James White site. Joseph presents artifact profiles combined from several slave sites in South Carolina and Georgia, and argues that South's artifact patterns are useful in understanding African-American culture change.

Joseph (1989) notes that the primary difference between the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern and the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern is reflected in the Kitchen and Architecture Groups. The South Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern has a high amount of Kitchen Group artifacts, a result of the high counts of the slave manufactured ceramic called Colonoware, whereas the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern has a predominance of artifacts in the Architectural Group. He interprets the South Carolina Artifact Pattern to be a result of the low frequency of architectural material from the 18th century mud-walled slave quarters, in combination with the slave's production of their own ceramics. The shift in slave housing to frame structures with larger numbers of architectural artifacts (primarily cut nails and window glass), and the slave's dependence on planter supplied European ceramics results in a dominance of architectural artifacts for the nineteenth century Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern. Most importantly, Joseph sees the Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern as an indication of improved material conditions for slaves in the early to mid-nineteenth century. The shift to European ceramics reflects the planter's desire and ability to provide slaves with more suitable ceramics (Joseph 1989). Joseph does not entertain the possibility that ceramics were acquired by the slaves themselves.

Table 10.1 presents the Artifact Patterns derived from the slave quarters at Mabry. The tabulation for Structure 1 includes Feature 1 artifacts. Obviously, there is a marked difference between the two cabins.

Table 10.1 Mabry Slave Artifact Pattern

	STRUCTURE 1		STRUCTURE 2		COMBINED	
GROUP	N	%	N	%	N	%
KITCHEN	2636	78.48	975	48.24	3611	67.12
ARCHITECTURAL	684	20.36	1011	50.02	1695	31.50
FURNITURE	6	.017	2	.098	8	.015
ARMS	3	.001	3	.148	7	.013
PERSONAL	2	.001	5	.025	7	.013
CLOTHING	22	.065	18	.089	40	.074
PIPE GROUP	3	.001	1	.005	4	.008
ACTIVITIES	2	.001	6	.03	8	.015
TOTAL	3359		2021		5380	

Structure 1 has an overwhelming dominance in the artifact assemblage of the Kitchen Group, while Structure 2 has a relatively even distribution between the two groups. The difference between the artifact patterns of the two structures surely relates to the number of nails associated with each cabin. Structure 2 appears to have been a braced frame structure with a far greater quantity of nails than Structure 1, increasing the percentage of architectural artifacts for this cabin. Slaves resided in both structures at the same time, yet the two different cabin construction methods has resulted in two different artifact patterns. And as Joseph (1989:63) states in support of South's artifact patterning:

If cultural behavior is patterned (the key assumption to the validity of artifact patterning), then specific artifact patterns should exhibit the greatest degree of agreement among the smallest cultural group. For example, it would be expected that two slave cabins from the same plantation, if excavated using the same strategy, should yield nearly identical artifact patterns.

A clear problem exists in that the architectural group can dominate the "patterning." Joseph acknowledges this difficulty; however, the differences in architecture between the Carolina and Georgia slave sites are supposed to represent slave acculturation. At Mabry, the differences in artifact patterning do not reflect acculturation, but an

architectural difference in the slaves' living quarters. This difference surely relates more to the master's access to framing lumber and nails, rather than acculturation.

The Mabry slave artifact pattern, both structures combined, is interesting in comparison to the Carolina and Georgia slave artifact patterns (Figure 10.1). The amount of Mabry slave Kitchen group artifacts is similar to the South Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, but the eighteenth century South Carolina slaves were using Colonoware at this time. There was no Colonoware found at Mabry. The European ceramics found in Georgia slave sites comprise a far less percentage of the artifact assemblage than seen at Mabry. Joseph (1989:62) believes the ceramics at Georgia slave sites were provided by the master, and he notes that Moore's (1981) research associates an "increase in economic status with an increase in the percentage of Kitchen Group artifacts." Judging by these interpretations, slaves at Mabry had exceptionally high material wealth for slaves. In fact, the Kitchen Group artifact percentage of 67.12 is higher than the percentages given for both Georgia and Carolina planters in Joseph's discussion which were 54.09 and 53.2 respectively (Joseph 1989:Table 1). At Mabry, there does not appear to be a direct correlation between social status and the percentage of kitchen related artifacts.

The slaves at Mabry appear to have had greater access to European ceramics than slaves in the coastal areas of South Carolina or Georgia. The fact that slaves in South Carolina had a higher degree of Kitchen Group artifacts surely relates to their ability to manufacture the amount they desired. The high percentage of Kitchen Group artifacts at Mabry can be explained by their desire and ability to acquire European ceramics in a variety of ways.

Mabry Artifact Patterns Artifact Group Percentages

Group	Structure 1 (F1)	Structure 1	Structure 2	Mabry Combined
Kitchen	78.48	71.61	48.24	67.12
Architectural	20.36	26.91	50.02	31.5
Furniture	0.017	0.003	0.098	0.015
Arms	0.001	0.001	0.148	0.013
Personal	0.001	0.001	0.025	0.013
Clothing	0.065	0.065	0.089	0.074
Pipe	0.001	0	0.005	0.008
Activities	0.001	0.001	0.03	0.015

Artifact Pattern Comparisons Artifact Group Percentages

Group	Mabry Combined	South Carolina Slave	Georgia Slave	Gibbs House	James White Site
Kitchen	67.12	77.39	24.34	70	47.6
Architectural	31.5	17.81	70.78	20	48.1
Furniture	0.015	0.07	0.02	1.3	0.3
Arms	0.013	0.17	0.14	0.2	0.4
Personal	0.013	0.49	1.03	1.7	1
Clothing	0.074	0.11	0.09	0.1	0.2
Pipe	0.008	3.53	3.32		0.1
Activities	0.015	0.51	0.28	6.9	2.2

Figure 10.1 Artifact Pattern Comparison

Wheaton and Garrow (1985) noted gradual changes in the slave artifact pattern through time at Vaughan and Curriboo plantations in South Carolina. They suggested the possibility that slave sites would be indistinguishable from Euro-American sites:

It is entirely feasible that later nineteenth century sites occupied by Afro-Americans will prove to be indistinguishable from white-occupied sites based on artifact pattern studies (Wheaton et al. 1983:286).

The James White Second Home site, located in Knoxville, was occupied in the late eighteenth through the middle nineteenth century. James White was a high status figure in the history of East Tennessee, yet lived an unpretentious lifestyle (Faulkner 1984:207). The artifact pattern generated for his dwelling has 47.6% of the artifacts associated with the Kitchen Group, and 48.1% belonging to the Architecture Group. This pattern deviated from the Carolina Artifact Pattern because of the proximity to another structure where industrial activities took place (Faulkner 1984:198-200). The artifact pattern profile generated by the James White site is similar to Structure 2 at Mabry. Another local historic site in Knoxville is the Gibbs site, occupied in the late eighteenth through nineteenth century by a German-American family. The Artifact Pattern generated for the Gibbs site yields 70% Kitchen Group artifacts and 20% Architectural, with small percentages of the other artifact groups presented. This pattern is quite similar to the pattern of the Mabry site Structure 1 and the overall Mabry slave quarter pattern. An important note here is that the assemblage from the Gibbs site was produced from the dumping of refuse, as compared to excavations at Mabry where artifacts were clearly associated with the interior and immediately adjacent areas of two structures.

The amount of architectural debris has a major impact on the pattern produced at any site. Site formation processes such as the dismantling of a building, where architectural debris is removed for

recycling or the razing and abandonment of a structure, will affect the amount of architectural material and the resultant pattern. The different artifact patterns created for the South Carolina and Georgia slave sites are explained in part as a change in the architecture of the later slave cabins in South Carolina, which increases artifacts in the Architecture Group. The architectural difference in the construction of the two slave quarters at Mabry created two distinct patterns for contemporaneous African-American families of the same socio-economic group. There were no colono-ware vessels found in the Mabry slave quarters, indicating the percentage of Euro-American ceramics increased in comparison with the South Carolina and the Georgia slave sites. South's artifact pattern, however, is not needed to perceive this trend. The comparison of the Mabry slave artifact pattern to local Euro-American sites suggests that slave sites may indeed be indistinguishable using this methodology.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSIONS

Archaeological research at the Mabry Plantation focused on two primary objectives. The first was to describe the material culture and lifeways associated with the slaves who resided at Mabry. There have been no intensive archaeological investigations directed at rural slave lifeways in the East Tennessee region of the Upland South, and we have insufficient knowledge of slave material culture on the many small plantations like Mabry that existed in this area in the 19th century. Documentation of the material culture is presented, including descriptions of slave quarter dimensions, associated features, and relevant artifacts. This archaeological research continues the reconstruction of early African-American lifeways in the Upland South.

The second objective was to address the slave-master relations at Mabry. This is done primarily through the analysis of ceramics. Ceramics have been at the center of material culture studies on plantations since Otto's (1984) seminal work at Cannon's Point Plantation in Georgia. Research by Adams and Boling (1991), Potter (1991), Mullins-Moore (1985), and Orser (1988) has discussed ceramics and how attributes of this artifact class may reflect the social identity of those who possess them. The following discussion serves to summarize the findings from the archaeological research at the Mabry site.

Architecture

Documentary records list two structures on the Mabry property as slave quarters. Archaeological investigations located what are undoubtedly these two structures south of the Mabry mansion that were

constructed between 1830 and 1860. The dates for construction and occupation are securely dated through window glass, nails, and the ceramic assemblage.

Structure 1 was oriented east-west and had a central stone chimney. The dimensions are estimated at 18 ft wide by 36 ft long. The structure was probably log, based on the low quantity of nails in comparison to Structure 2. A window is believed to have existed on the eastern gable end of the house, and the door and possibly another window were located on the southern side of the structure. A large root cellar, measuring 10 by 10 ft , with an external bulkhead entrance, was constructed under the western end of the building. An additional storage pit was located on the northern side of the chimney pad.

Structure 2 was probably a braced frame structure measuring 18 ft by 24 ft. The larger quantity of nails suggests this type of construction. A much smaller root cellar, measuring about 4 by 6 ft was associated with this cabin. This cabin may have been constructed slightly later than Structure 1 based on window glass dates. The distribution of glass and ceramics around Structure 2 suggests a window and doorway on the southwestern side of the cabin. The possibility also exists that these structures were attached by a "dog-trot", considering the close proximity of the structures is very unusual unless they were connected in some way. A structure like this existed near Campbell's Station in the early nineteenth century. Certain features of these slave quarters, for example the external entrance to a large root cellar, and the well made central chimney pad suggest that the building was constructed according to Euro-American standards. However, Structure 1 also had an additional storage facility adjacent to the northern end of the chimney, similar to "hidey holes" and root cellars in documented slave quarters, suggesting that African-American modifications were made

after the initial standards for the building were met, a situation found in the slave quarters at the Hermitage (McKee 1993).

These structures appear to conform to most slave housing specifications suggested by the advice of other masters in the mid-nineteenth century. The quality of the cabins appear to be above average when compared to some of the earlier slave quarters of the Lowland South. Mabry slave quarters had glazed windows, had space equivalent to that recommended by planters in agricultural journals, and were built on piers to maintain slave health. Barracks-like structures similar to the John Fain House and possibly the slave quarters at Mabry, and the recently uncovered three room rectangular slave structure at the Hermitage, suggest a pattern of multiple room dwellings in Tennessee.

These housing conditions were, of course, not the absolute best housing Mabry could provide, but the housing he chose to provide. The most striking contrast between the material culture of the slaves (as seen here in the archaeological record), and their master (as discerned from documents) occurs with regard to their housing. The Mabry mansion, with circular staircase, brick construction and expensive furnishings, visually subjected slaves to the hard fact of their social inequality. The living conditions Mabry provided his slaves were dictated by social norms governing what a "good" master should materially provide his slaves. He appears to have adhered to that advice.

Slave Lifeways

In many ways the lives of the Mabry slaves appears similar to the lives of Lowland South slaves after accounting for differences in the surrounding environment (Young 1993). The diet, at least as represented through the faunal remains, appears similar to the master's diet at

Mabry, judging from the faunal remains. The slaves probably acquired supplements to the food rationed by the master. Hunting was probably allowed and slave kitchen gardens were probably grown at Mabry. The presence of firearm accoutrements, in combination with bones of wild game support the interpretation of hunting activity by the slaves. A coin found in Structure 2 supports the suggestion that additional monies were being made either through labor "hired out" or through the sale of surplus items, possibly vegetables raised in gardens. The analysis of curved glass suggests the slaves had access to alcohol as well as medicines of the period. The furniture within the structures appears similar to that described for Lowland South slaves, consisting of a chest and rude furniture. The paucity of furniture group artifacts, aside from a single drawer pull and a padlock, attest to this. A large quantity of ceramics was found in the quarters. Glass artifacts include sherds of tumblers for drinking and lamp chimneys for lighting. Dining implements and an iron kettle sherd indicate the preparation, cooking, and serving of meals that occurred in and around the quarters.

The soil analysis around the slave quarters undertaken by Myster (1994) yielded interesting results. Soil anomalies, reflecting higher than normal amounts of minerals and elements in the soil, were correlated with the presence of structures and activities. The lack of soil anomalies immediately surrounding Structure 1 is interpreted as yard cleaning activity. A cluster of anomalies, located 10 m south of Structure 1, contained high salt content and other chemical elements associated with structures. Myster interprets this cluster as the location of a possible smoke house. Other activities, such as salting and processing wild game might produce higher salt content in the soil as well. The archaeological evidence around the quarters does not give the full picture of the numerous activities which took place there.

The daily duties of the slaves were undoubtedly quite varied judging from the Agricultural Census records. One useful means to provide a picture of daily life for the slaves is to utilize the informant records of activities around farmhouses in the vicinity of the Mabry Plantation. The map of the Prater farmstead (Faulkner 1992) denotes the many activities taking place on a farmstead in the early 20th century. The Prater farmstead map depicts several outbuildings, such as smokehouses, granaries, and a dairy house. Although the exact nature of the features just west of the Mabry mansion are difficult to ascertain, these must have been associated with similar outbuildings and activities referred to on the Prater farm, all of which the slaves must have been involved in. The Prater farmstead map depicts a large garden to the north of the house. The location of the Mabry garden is unknown, but gardens surely existed near the quarters for the slave's use, and a separate garden probably provided the Mabrys with vegetables. Some of the produce from the slave gardens may have been bought by the Mabrys. The Prater farmstead and the Dowell Place, a farm on Middlebrook Pike several miles to the northwest had pig pens. The slaves probably had pig pens as well, and their houselots most likely had chickens wandering about. The agricultural censuses note swine and sheep, along with horses and cattle, and we also know from the agricultural census that much of the Mabry Plantation was in pasture. The pond, creek, and probably a stock pond provided water for the cattle, sheep, and other animals in pasture. At Mabry, the barn appears to have been located over 120 m west of the mansion. The Prater farmstead notes activities and buildings across Kingston Pike from the main house. Several outbuildings at the Mabry Plantation may have been located across Kingston Pike, but were subsequently destroyed by commercial development.

The slaves would have been responsible for numerous and varied tasks during the day, most of which probably took place away from their own cabins at the barn, smokehouse, granary, and mansion. They arose at daylight and headed towards the mansion and barn; wherever they had been directed to spend the day performing the tasks they were responsible for. They tended their own gardens, hunted, trapped, and visited kin or friends in the evening and weekends, after toiling for the master all week. Since the barn and other structures associated with the management of the plantation were located away from the quarters, it appears the slaves had their own area within the plantation, segregated to a small degree from activities directly associated with the mansion. Recently, Vlach (1993:13-17) has suggested that slaves took advantage of opportunities to build their cabins away from the master's direct supervision and created, as best they could, their own landscape. Slaves even developed a claim to plantation territory; the space and buildings associated with their tasks, again expressing a measure of self autonomy.

Figure 11.1 shows the reconstructed cabins, in this case with a "dog trot", with doors and windows, and other surroundings as might be expected based on archaeological and ethnographic evidence. The artifact patterns constructed from the material remains around the cabins indicate two patterns. The first pattern for Structure 1 is similar to the Carolina Pattern, emphasizing the high percentage of kitchen debris. The second pattern has a relatively even distribution of material between the architecture and kitchen groups. A reasonable explanation for the differing patterns between the two structures is that the log architecture of Structure 1 had fewer nails than Structure 2.

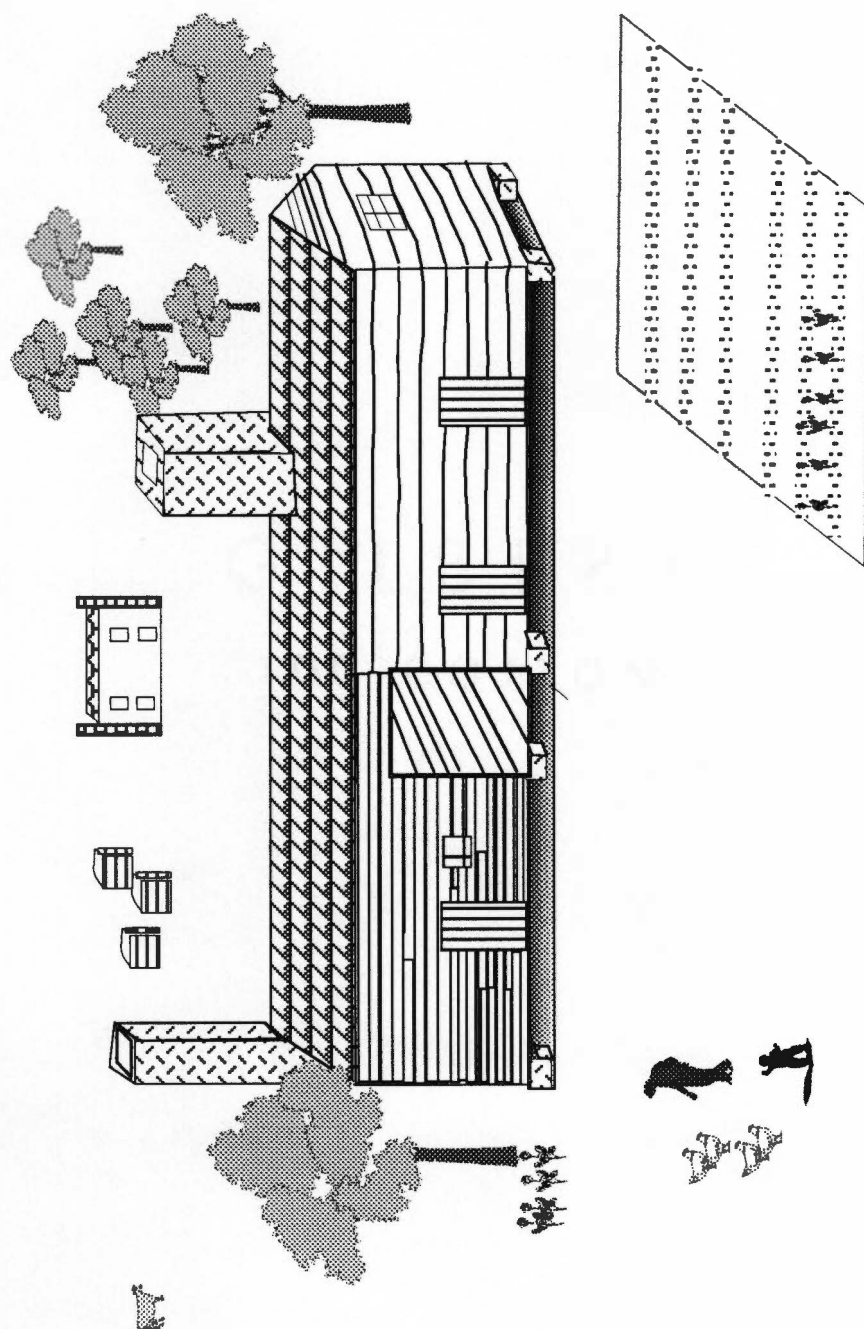


Figure 11.1 Slave Quarters at Mabry

There were some interesting results in comparing the artifact patterning at the Mabry slave quarters with the Carolina and Georgia slave artifact patterns. The high percentage of Euro-American ceramics at Mabry suggests that the slaves did have easier access to factory manufactured ceramics than slaves in the Lowland South of Georgia and Carolina. This supports the interpretation that slaves were acquiring ceramics in a variety of ways, most likely including purchases at the nearby shops at Loveville and Campbell's Station, if not Knoxville, or accepting gifts from friends and kin traveling down the main thoroughfare of Kingston Pike. Frankenburg's (1992) demographic data suggests one important behavioral difference for slaves in the counties surrounding Knoxville. Her research shows a higher fertility rate for slaves in this area, which is indicative of slave mobility and inter-plantation relationships. The slaves at Mabry probably maintained contact with slaves on neighboring plantations. The contact and communication of Mabry slaves outside the plantation may have contributed to the high diversity of ceramics found in the quarters and may be related to patterns of ceramic exchange among slaves in the area. The location of the Mabry Plantation on Kingston Pike, and the proximity of two small towns of Loveville and Campbell Station to the west, may have facilitated contact with neighboring slaves. This communication and contact is an important aspect of slave lifeways that would have nurtured the survival of African- American culture in the area.

Social Relations

The question of social relations was addressed through the ceramic analysis. The analysis here attempts to show how ceramics may have been used as a visual symbol of relations amongst the slaves as well as

between master and slave. The major findings of this research suggest that the distinctions between master and slave were not marked with regard to the cost of the ceramic vessels, the form of the vessels, or the numbers of sets of ceramics found in master and slave contexts. These ceramic assemblage characteristics have been used as measures of status on other plantations. At Mabry, however, there are no clear status differences with regard to these assemblage attributes. There was a clear, statistically distinct, difference in the diversity of refined earthenware ceramics recovered from the quarters as compared to mansion ceramics. This indicates that the ceramics recovered in the slave quarters exhibited a wide array of colors and styles, possibly preferred by the slaves, as compared to the decorated ceramics from the mansion deposit exhibiting a preference for similarity in design. Slaves probably bought, traded, inherited, and were given ceramics. Ceramics may have symbolized the action of buying items or maintaining important social contacts. These actions were important in maintaining a degree of independence from the master and preserving the slaves' cultural identity.

Recycled ceramics from the mansion are probably one source of ceramics for slaves. There were interesting differences discovered when ceramics of identical decorative patterns were compared between mansion and slave quarters. Structure 2 had less of these recycled ceramics than did the occupants of Structure 1. Ceramics from the mansion can be considered symbolically laden, and perhaps the occupants of each structure had different access to and/or disposition towards the use of ceramics associated with the mansion. The slave force at Mabry, although relatively small as compared to Lowland South plantations, may have included slaves of special status. One of the slaves was probably designated as a "driver", or a domestic slave whose relationship with

the master and his family on this small plantation may have increased the opportunity to take home ceramics or other special favors. Structure 2 occupants may have been field hands, whose tasks may have varied a great deal, but who did not have the same contact or relationship with the family of the master. Although there were differences in the flow of ceramics from the mansion to the quarters, there appeared to be a high degree of sharing, or preference for, the same kinds of ceramics within the quarters. Ceramics of matched decorations were commonly found between structures, about one out of every five ceramic sherds had a pattern of decoration that could be found in the other slave cabin. Although the ceramics were quite diverse, slave quarter occupants were buying or acquiring the same patterns piecemeal, or breaking up acquired sets between cabins. The master could also buy several vessels of the same pattern and distribute them within the quarters. If this was the case, the master was buying different ceramics for slaves than for the mansion, symbolizing the differences between master and slave through ceramics, and the slaves had no desire to reassemble ceramics into sets. Also of interest is the matter of ceramic "sets." The number of ceramic sets in any room of the quarters or in the mansion deposit is low. When sets are reconstructed, and viewed as "composite sets", it appears that sets were broken up between quarters. This might relate to ceramics bought and distributed by the master to the slaves at different points in time. Again, there appears to be no desire on the part of the slaves to assemble ceramics of matched designs or colors, a pattern that the diversity indices associates with the Mabrys.

Can the social distance between master and slave at Mabry be determined from the archaeological material culture? The most visually striking, and symbolically powerful differences, occur with regard to the respective dwellings and interior furnishings, of master and slave.

The diet of slave and master shows no distinct differences nor do their glassware or the cost, and form of their ceramic vessels.

Archaeologically, the more mundane aspects of the slaves and master's lives look similar. The hard documentary facts of the master's freedom and the slaves' bondage reveals an impermeable social boundary (Potter 1991), even though some aspects of their material culture do not.

Was the personal relationship between master and slave closer at Mabry as some historians have suggested for the East Tennessee area? Judging from material remains and standards of the mid-nineteenth century, the slaves had adequate housing. Their diet was comparable to the planter. The high mobility and outside social contact for slaves at Mabry is suggested through demographic data and the high ceramic diversity. If ceramics associated with the mansion can be seen as a measure of a closer relationship with the master, then this appears true for the individuals residing in Structure 1, especially the western room of Structure 1. The occupants of Structure 2 may not have had access to mansion ceramics or may have avoided ceramics associated with the mansion. Clearly, the living conditions, as judged from material remains provided slaves by George Mabry were at least comparable, and possibly better, than those of Lowland South slaves. The increased contact between master and slave due to the small labor force, the intense paternalistic responsibility of the master for his slaves in the mid-nineteenth century, and a selfish desire to manipulate slave morale to extrapolate greater work efforts, probably all contributed to the attempt by Mabry to provide adequate material conditions for his slave force. Mabry's economic success depended on the work of his slaves. He knew that and so did his slaves. Slaves managed to acquire privileges and material from the master, as indicated by material culture which was similar to that of Euro-Americans in the area. This is important as

slaves are seen here as responsible and active participants in improving their living conditions. The "kinder, gentler master" may have done nothing more than to allow them to work overtime! Through the manipulation of the free time they were allowed, their own initiative, their hard work, and a desire to maintain their kinship with others of similar condition, the slaves maintained a distinct ethnicity of their own, in spite of the dominant Euro-American culture.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
Vessel Cost

VESSEL COSTS

Area	Ware	Decoration INT	Decoration EXT	Diam	Vessel form	CCount	Cost	Date used
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
feat 1	white	tran-purple/4	tran-purple/4		ind	1		
feature 1	white	edge decor/15			plate	1	1.14	1853
strat	white		annular		bowl	1	1.14	1854
strat	porcelain		banded-gold		cup	1	3.70	1836
strat	porcelain		banded-gold&blu		hollow	1	3.70	1836
strat	porcelain		enamel-black		decor	1	3.70	1836
strat	white		hp-blue/4		cup	1	1.23	1853
strat	white		hp-poly/4		cup	1	1.23	1853
strat	white		hp-poly/9	3.94	cup	1	1.23	1853
strat	white		tran-blue/35		cup	1	2.89	1848
strat	white		tran-purple/10		hollow	1	2.90	1848
strat	white		tran-purple/7		hollow	1	2.90	1848
strat	white		underglaze-blue		hollow	1	1.44	1853
strat	white	banded-blue/1			plate	1	1.24	1873
strat	ironstone	banded-copper			plate	1	2.09	1846
strat	white	edge decor/15			hollow	1	1.27	1853
strat	white	edge decor/19			plate	1	1.14	1853
strat	white	edge decor/2			flat	1	1.14	1853
strat	white	edge decor/20			plate	1	1.14	1853
strat	white	edge decor/21			plate	1	1.14	1853
strat	porcelain	embossed	embossed		hollow	1	2.40	1871
strat	white	flow-blue/1			ind	1		
strat	white	hp-poly/12			plate	1	1.68	1853
strat	white	hp-poly/4			flat	1	1.68	1853
strat	white	hp-poly/9	hp-poly/9	3.94	cup	1	1.23	1853
strat	iron	molded			flat	1	2.09	1846
strat	white	molded ring			plate	1		
strat	white	spat-blue, hpgr			flat	1	1.25	1855
strat	white	spat-blue/6			plate	1	1.25	1855

VESSEL COSTS

Area	Ware	Decoration INT	Decoration EXT	Diam	Vessel form	CCount	Cost	Date used
strat	white	spat-blue/ind			flat	1	1.25	1855
strat	white	spat-r&g/1			plate	1	1.25	1855
strat	white	sponge-brown/1			hollow	1	1.30	1
strat	white	sponge-brown/1			plate	1	1.25	1855
strat	white	tran-blue			plate	1	1.74	1854
strat	white	tran-blue/13			flat	1	1.74	1854
strat	white	tran-blue/20			plate	1	1.74	1854
strat	white	tran-blue/21			saucer	1	2.89	1848
strat	white	tran-blue/22			flat	1	1.74	1854
strat	white	tran-blue/24			plate	1	1.74	1854
strat	white	tran-blue/25			flat	1	1.74	1854
strat	white	tran-blue/26			hollow	1	2.90	1848
strat	white	tran-blue/27			saucer	1	2.89	1848
strat	white	tran-blue/29			flat	1	1.74	1854
strat	white	tran-blue/29			hollow	1	2.90	1848
strat	white	tran-brown/4			ind	1		
strat	white	tran-brown/6			plate	1	1.74	1854
strat	white	tran-brown/7			plate	1	1.74	1854
strat	white	tran-purple ver		5.51	plate	1	1.62	1854
strat	white	tran-purple/4	tran-purple/4		hollow	1	2.90	1848
strat	white	tran-purple/9		5.51	bowl	1	2.00	1854
strat	white	tran-red/3			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1	white	edge decor/2			flat	1	1.14	1853
struct1	white	flow-blue/1			ind	1		
struct1	white	tran-blue/14			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1	white	tran-blue/15			plate	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	porcelain			3.93	cup		1.50	1848
struct1E	porcelain			3.93	cup		1.50	1848
struct1E	porcelain			7.88	plate		3.80	1871
struct1E	white		annular/1		hollow	1	1.14	1854

VESSEL COSTS

Area	Ware	Decoration INT	Decoration EXT	Diam	Vessel form	CCount	Cost	Date used
struct1E	white		annular/3		hollow	1	1.14	1854
struct1E	white		hp-blue/2		cup	1	1.23	1853
struct1E	white		hp-poly/7	3.93	cup	1	1.23	1853
struct1E	pearl		spat-blue/3		hollow	1	1.30	1856
struct1E	white		tran-blue/12		hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct1E	white		tran-blue/12		hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct1E	white		tran-brown/4		hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct1E	white	banded-green/1			bowl	1	1.64	1853
struct1E	white	banded-green/4			flat	1	1.24	1873
struct1E	white	edge dec-blue/6			platter	1	1.20	1853
struct1E	pearl	edge dec-grn/1			plate	1	1.14	1853
struct1E	white	edge decor/15			plate	1	1.14	1853
struct1E	white	edge decor/16			flat	1	1.14	1853
struct1E	white	edge decor/17			flat	1	1.14	1853
struct1E	white	edge decor/22			plate	1	1.14	1853
struct1E	white	edge decor/4		8.66	plate	1	1.11	1853
struct1E	white	flow-blue/3			hollow	1	2.56	1854
struct1E	white	hp-blue/1	hp-blue/1		cup	1	1.23	1853
struct1E	pearl	hp-blue/2			flat	1	2.23	1838
struct1E	white	hp-blue/3			flat	1	1.68	1853
struct1E	white	hp-poly/1			flat	1	1.68	1853
struct1E	white	hp-poly/10		7.00	flat	1	1.63	1853
struct1E	white	hp-poly/2			flat	1	1.68	1853
struct1E	iron	molded ribs			plate	1	2.09	1846
struct1E	white	molded ring			plate	1		
struct1E	white	spat-blue/2		4.72	flat	1	1.33	1855
struct1E	white	spat-blue/2			saucer	1	1.50	1848
struct1E	white	spat-blue/3			flat	1	1.25	1855
struct1E	white	spat-blue/3			hollow	1	1.30	1
struct1E	white	spat-blue/4			flat	1	1.25	1855

VESSEL COSTS

Area	Ware	Decoration INT	Decoration EXT	Diam	Vessel form	CCount	Cost	Date used
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
struct1E	white	spat-r&g			flat	1	1.25	1855
struct1E	white	tran-black/1			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	white	tran-black/2			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	white	tran-blue/1			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	white	tran-blue/13			saucer	1	2.89	1848
struct1E	white	tran-blue/24			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	white	tran-blue/28			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	white	tran-blue/32			plate	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	white	tran-brown/3			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	white	tran-brown/9			platter	1	2.30	1854
struct1E	white	tran-brown/9			saucer	1	2.89	1848
struct1E	white	tran-green/1			plate	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	white	tran-green/1	handpaint-red		hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct1E	white	tran-purple/2			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	white	tran-purple/5			hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct1E	white	tran-purple/5			plate	1	1.74	1854
struct1E	white	tran-purple/8			hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct1E	white	tran-red/9			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	pearl		annular/1		bowl	1	1.14	1854
struct1W	white		annular/3		hollow	1	1.14	1854
struct1W	white		hp-blue/2		hollow	1	1.46	1853
struct1W	white		hp-blue/4		hollow	1	1.46	1853
struct1W	white		hp-poly/2		cup	1	1.23	1853
struct1W	white		hp-poly/3	4.68	cup	1	1.23	1853
struct1W	white		spat-blue/1		cup	1	1.50	1848
struct1W	white		spat-blue/4		hollow	1	1.30	1856
struct1W	white		sponge-blue/1		cup	1	1.30	1859
struct1W	white		tran-purple/8		hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct1W	white		wormtrail		hollow	1	1.14	1853
struct1W	white	handed-green/2			saucer	1	1.22	1873

VESSEL COSTS

Area	Ware	Decoration INT	Decoration EXT	Diam	Vessel form	CCount	Cost	Date used
struct1W	white	banded-green/4			flat	1	1.24	1873
struct1W	white	edge dec-blue/6			platter	1	1.20	1853
struct1W	white	edge decor/12			plate	1	1.14	1853
struct1W	white	edge decor/15		8.66	plate	1	1.11	1853
struct1W	white	edge decor/18		7.87	plate	1	1.13	1853
struct1W	white	edge decor/4			plate	1	1.14	1853
struct1W	white	edge decor/5		9.38	plate	1	1.12	1853
struct1W	white	flow-mulb/1		5.51	plate	1	2.50	1855
struct1W	white	hp-blue/2		5.46	flat	1	1.80	1853
struct1W	white	hp-poly/13		6.29	plate	1	1.62	1853
struct1W	white	hp-poly/2		8.66	plate	1	1.67	1853
struct1W	white	hp-poly/3	hp-poly/3	3.93	cup	1	1.23	1853
struct1W	white	hp-poly/5			flat	1	1.68	1853
struct1W	white	spat-blue/2			plate	1	1.25	1855
struct1W	white	sponge-blue/1			hollow	1	1.30	1
struct1W	white	tran-black/7			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-blue/10			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-blue/13			plate	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-blue/17			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-blue/23			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-blue/3			plate	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-blue/3			saucer	1	2.89	1848
struct1W	white	tran-brown/3			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-brown/4			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-purple/3	tran-purple/3		flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-purple/3	tran-purple/3		hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct1W	white	tran-purple/5			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-purple/7		8.66	bowl	1	2.00	1854
struct1W	white	tran-red/1			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct1W	white	tran-red/2			hollow	1	2.90	1848

VESSEL COSTS

Area	Ware	Decoration INT	Decoration EXT	Diam	Vessel form	CCount	Cost	Date used
struct1W	white	tran-red/3			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct2	porcelain				saucer		1.50	1848
struct2	white		annular/2		hollow	1	1.14	1854
struct2	white		annular/3		hollow	1	1.14	1854
struct2	white	.	annular/6		cup	1	1.14	
struct2	white	.	banded	3.14	cup	1	1.22	1873
struct2	white		banded-red/5		cup	1	1.22	1873
struct2	white		hp-poly/19		cup	1	1.23	1853
struct2	white		sponge-blue/1		hollow	1	1.30	1859
struct2	white		tran-blue/37		hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct2	white		tran-red/2		hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct2	white	annular/1			hollow	1	1.14	1853
struct2	white	banded-red/1		3.93	cup	1	1.22	1873
struct2	white	banded-red/2			saucer	1	1.22	1873
struct2	white	banded-red/3			flat	1	1.24	1873
struct2	white	banded-red/4			flat	1	1.24	1873
struct2	white	banded-red/4			hollow	1	1.64	1853
struct2	white	edge dec-blue/9		6.29	plate	1	1.16	1853
struct2	white	edge decor/2			plate	1	1.14	1853
struct2	white	edge decor/3			plate	1	1.14	1853
struct2	ironstone	embossed		9.44	plate		1.93	1846
struct2	white	flow-blue/2		3.93	cup	1	2.83	1846
struct2	white	flow-mulb/1			plate	1	2.40	1855
struct2	porcelain	gilt edge		5.51	saucer		2.08	1846
struct2	white	hp-poly/1			plate	1	1.68	1853
struct2	white	hp-poly/10			flat	1	1.68	1853
struct2	white	hp-poly/17			flat	1	1.68	1853
struct2	pearl	hp-poly/18			saucer	1	1.50	1845
struct2	white	hp-poly/2			flat	1	1.68	1853
struct2	white	hp-poly/2			hollow	1	1.44	1853

VESSEL COSTS

Area	Ware	Decoration INT	Decoration EXT	Diam	Vessel form	CCount	Cost	Date used
struct2	white	hp-poly/2			plate	1	1.68	1853
struct2	white	hp-poly/6			plate	1	1.68	1853
struct2	white	spat-blue/2		5.51	saucer	1	1.50	1848
struct2	white	spat-blue/3			flat	1	1.25	1855
struct2	white	spat-blue/6			saucer	1	1.50	1848
struct2	white	sponge-blue/1			cup	1	1.50	1848
struct2	white	sponge-blue/2			plate	1	1.25	1855
struct2	white	tran-black/7		8.66	plate	1	1.75	1854
struct2	white	tran-black/7			saucer	1	2.89	1848
struct2	white	tran-blue			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct2	white	tran-blue/16			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct2	white	tran-blue/4			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct2	white	tran-blue/5		4.72	saucer	1	2.89	1848
struct2	white	tran-blue/6			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct2	white	tran-brown/5			saucer	1	2.89	1848
struct2	white	tran-green/1			plate	1	1.74	1854
struct2	white	tran-green/7			saucer	1	2.89	1848
struct2	white	tran-purple/3	tran-purple/3		hollow	1	2.90	1848
struct2	white	tran-purple/6			flat	1	1.74	1854
struct2	white	tran-purple/7		5.51	bowl	1	2.00	1854
struct2	white	tran-red/1			bowl	1	2.00	1854
struct2	white	tran-red/1			saucer	1	2.89	1848
struct2	white	tran-red/6			plate	1	1.74	1854

APPENDIX B

Ceramic Composite Sets and Matches

MATCHING CERAMICS AND COMPOSIT SETS

Area	Ware	Int. Dec.	Ext. Dec.	Vessel form 1	Vessel form 2	Vessel form 3	Vessel form 4
struct1e	white	handpainted-poly/10		flat			
struct2	white	handpainted-poly/10		flat			
feature 1	white	handpainted-poly/11		saucer	flat		
struct1	white	handpainted-poly/11		ind			
feature 1	white	handpainted-poly/2		plate	saucer	hollow	
struct1	white	handpainted-poly/2		flat			
struct1e	white	handpainted-poly/2		flat			
struct1w	white	handpainted-poly/2		plate			
struct2	white	handpainted-poly/2		hollow	plate		
struct1e	white	handpainted-poly/5		flat			
struct1w	white	handpainted-poly/5		flat			
feature 1	white	handpainted-poly/6		cup	flat	saucer	
struct2	white	handpainted-poly/6		plate			
mansion	white	molded/rings		hollow	plate	saucer	
struct1e	white	molded/rings		plate			
feature 1	white	spatter-blue/2		flat			
struct1e	white	spatter-blue/2		plate			
struct1w	white	spatter-blue/2		plate			
struct2	white	spatter-blue/2		flat			
struct2	white	spatter-blue/2		ind			
feature 1	white	spatter-blue/3		flat	hollow		
struct1e	white	spatter-blue/3		flat			
struct2	white	spatter-blue/3		flat			
struct1e	white	spatter-blue/3	spatter-blue/3	hollow			
feature 1	white	spatter-blue/4		flat			
struct1e	white	spatter-blue/4		flat			
struct2	white	spatter-blue/4		hollow			
feature 1	white	spatter-blue/6		hollow			
mansion	white	spatter-blue/6		plate			
struct1e	white	spatter-blue/6		ind			

MATCHING CERAMICS AND COMPOSIT SETS

Area	Ware	Int. Dec.	Ext. Dec.	Vessel form 1	Vessel form 2	Vessel form 3	Vessel form 4
struct1w	white	spatter-blue/6		ind			
struct2	white	spatter-blue/6		saucer	flat		
feature 1	white	spatter-green/1		flat			
struct1e	white	spatter-green/1		ind			
struct1w	white	spatter-green/1		ind			
feature 1	white	spatter-purple/1		ind			
struct1e	white	spatter-purple/1		ind			
mansion	white	spatter-red & green		plate			
struct1e	white	spatter-red & green		flat			
feature 1	white	sponge-blue/2		hollow			
struct2	white	sponge-blue/2		plate			
mansion	white	sponge-brown/1		hollow	plate		
feature 1	white	transfer-black/1		ind			
struct1e	white	transfer-black/1		flat			
feature 1	white	transfer-black/2		flat			
struct1e	white	transfer-black/2		flat			
struct1w	white	transfer-black/7		flat			
struct2	white	transfer-black/7		saucer			
feature 1	white	transfer-blue/11		plate			
struct2	white	transfer-blue/11		cup			
feature 1	white	transfer-blue/19		flat			
struct1	white	transfer-blue/19		plate			
feature 1	white	transfer-blue/23		flat			
struct1	white	transfer-blue/23		flat			
struct1e	white	transfer-blue/23		flat			
struct1w	white	transfer-blue/23		flat			
feature 1	white	transfer-blue/24		ind			
mansion	white	transfer-blue/24		plate			
struct1e	white	transfer-blue/24		flat	plate		
struct1w	white	transfer-blue/3		saucer	plate		

MATCHING CERAMICS AND COMPOSIT SETS

Area	Ware	Int. Dec.	Ext. Dec.	Vessel form 1	Vessel form 2	Vessel form 3	Vessel form 4
feature 1	white	transfer-blue/9		flat			
struct1	white	transfer-blue/9		plate			
feature 1	white	transfer-brown/1		hollow			
struct1	white	transfer-brown/1		cup	hollow		
unit 52	white	transfer-brown/1		hollow			
feature1	white	transfer-brown/3		plate	flat	ind	
mansion	white	transfer-brown/3		platter			
struct1e	white	transfer-brown/3		flat			
struct1w	white	transfer-brown/3		flat			
unit 52	white	transfer-brown/3		ind			
feature 1	white	transfer-brown/4		flat			
struct1	white	transfer-brown/4		flat			
mansion	white	transfer-brown/4		ind			
struct1e	white	transfer-brown/4		ind			
struct1w	white	transfer-brown/4		flat			
feature 1	white	transfer-brown/7		hollow			
mansion	white	transfer-brown/7		plate			
feature 1	white	transfer-brown/8		platter			
struct1e	white	transfer-brown/8		flat			
feature 1	white	transfer-flow mulberry/1		plate			
struct1w	white	transfer-flow mulberry/1		flat			
struct2	white	transfer-flow mulberry/1		plate			
feature 1	white	transfer-green/1		ind			
struct1e	white	transfer-green/1		plate			
struct2	white	transfer-green/1		plate			
unit 51	white	transfer-green/1		flat			
struct1e	white	transfer-green/3		hollow			
struct2	white	transfer-green/3		ind			
feature 1	white	transfer-purple/2		flat	ind		
struct1e	white	transfer-purple/2		flat			

MATCHING CERAMICS AND COMPOSIT SETS

Area	Ware	Int. Dec.	Ext. Dec.	Vessel form 1	Vessel form 2	Vessel form 3	Vessel form 4
feature 1	white	transfer-purple/3		flat	cup		
struct1w	white	transfer-purple/3		flat	hollow		
struct1e	white	transfer-purple/3	transfer purple/3	ind			
struct2	white	transfer-purple/3	transfer-purple/3	hollow			
feature 1	white	transfer-purple/4	transfer-purple/4	hollow			
mansion	white	transfer-purple/4	transfer-purple/4	hollow			
struct1e	white	transfer-purple/5		flat	plate	hollow	
feature 1	white	transfer-purple/6		plate			
struct1w	white	transfer-purple/6		ind			
struct2	white	transfer-purple/6		flat			
feature 1	white	transfer-purple/7		hollow	ind		
struct1w	white	transfer-purple/7	transfer-purple/7	bowl			
struct2	white	transfer-purple/7	transfer-purple/7	bowl			
feature 1	white	transfer-purple/8		flat			
struct1	white	transfer-purple/8		saucer			
struct1e	white	transfer-purple/8		hollow			
unit 32	white	transfer-purple/8		flat			
feature 1	white	transfer-red/1		flat	ind		
struct2	white	transfer-red/1		hollow			
struct1w	white	transfer-red/1		flat			
struct2	white	transfer-red/1		bowl			
struct2	white	transfer-red/1	transfer-red/1	saucer			
struct2	white	transfer-red/2		flat			
unit 51	white	transfer-red/2		ind			
unit 52	white	transfer-red/2		cup			
struct1w	white	transfer-red/2	transfer-red/2	hollow			
mansion	white	transfer-red/3		flat			
struct1w	white	transfer-red/3		flat			
feature 1	white	transfer-red/6		bowl			
struct1	white	transfer-red/6		plate			

MATCHING CERAMICS AND COMPOSIT SETS

Area	Ware	Int. Dec.	Ext. Dec.	Vessel form 1	Vessel form 2	Vessel form 3	Vessel form 4
struct2	pearl			cup	plate		
feature 1	pearl		handpainted-blue/1	hollow			
struct1	pearl		handpainted-blue/1	cup			
struct1e	pearl		handpainted-blue/1	cup			
feature 1	pearl		handpainted-blue/2	hollow			
struct1e	pearl		handpainted-blue/2	hollow			
struct1w	pearl		handpainted-blue/2	flat	hollow		
mansion	pearl		handpainted-blue/4	cup			
struct1w	pearl		handpainted-blue/4	hollow			
feature 1	pearl		transfer-blue/12	ind			
struct2	pearl		transfer-blue/12	ind			
struct1e	pearl		transfer-blue/12	hollow			
feature 1	pearl		wormtrail/1	hollow			
struct1e	pearl		wormtrail/1	hollow			
struct1w	pearl		wormtrail/1	hollow			
feature 1	pearl	handpainted-blue/1		flat			
struct1e	pearl	handpainted-blue/1		cup			
feature 1	pearl	handpainted-poly/13		flat			
struct1w	pearl	handpainted-poly/13		flat			
feature 1	pearl	handpainted-poly/4		hollow			
mansion	pearl	handpainted-poly/4		hollow			
feature 1	pearl	handpainted-poly/7		cup			
struct1e	pearl	handpainted-poly/7		hollow			
mansion	pearl	transfer-blue/13		flat			
struct1e	pearl	transfer-blue/13		saucer			
struct1w	pearl	transfer-blue/13		plate			
feature 1	porcelain			flat	hollow	ind	plate
mansion	porcelain			cup	decor	plate	doll
struct1e	porcelain			cup	hollow	plate	

MATCHING CERAMICS AND COMPOSIT SETS

Area	Ware	Int. Dec.	Ext. Dec.	Vessel form 1	Vessel form 2	Vessel form 3	Vessel form 4
mansion	soft por			hollow	saucer		
struct1e	soft porc			cup	hollow	saucer	
struct1w	soft porc			hollow	plate		
feature 1	white			bowl	cup	plate	saucer
mansion	white			bowl	cup	saucer	plate
struct1e	white			bowl	cup	platter	saucer
struct1w	white			cup	flat	hollow	lid
struct2	white			bowl	cup	plate	
struct1e	white		annular/3	hollow			
struct2	white		annular/3	hollow			
feature 1	white		annular/4	hollow			
struct2	white		annular/4	ind			
feature 1	white		annular/6	hollow			
struct2	white		annular/6	cup	hollow		
feature 1	white		banded-red/5	hollow			
struct2	white		banded-red/5	cup	bowl	hollow	
feature 1	white		handpainted-poly/7	cup			
struct1e	white		handpainted-poly/7	hollow			
feature 1	white		spatter-blue/1	hollow			
struct1w	white		spatter-blue/1	cup			
feature 1	white		spatter-blue/3	hollow			
struct1e	white		spatter-blue/3	hollow			
mansion	white		spatter-red & green	plate			
feature 1	white		transfer-brown/1	hollow			
struct1	white		transfer-brown/1	hollow			
unit 52	white		transfer-brown/1	hollow			
struct1e	white		transfer-brown/4	hollow			
mansion	white		transfer-purple/7	hollow			
mansion	white		transfer-purple/7	hollow			
feature 1	white		transfer-red/2	cup			

MATCHING CERAMICS AND COMPOSIT SETS

Area	Ware	Int. Dec.	Ext. Dec.	Vessel form 1	Vessel form 2	Vessel form 3	Vessel form 4
unit 52	white		transfer-red/2	cup			
feature1	white	annular/1		hollow			
struct2	white	annular/1		hollow			
feature 1	white	banded-green/2		flat			
struct1	white	banded-green/2		cup			
struct1w	white	banded-green/2		saucer			
struct1e	white	banded-green/4		flat			
struct1w	white	banded-green/4		flat			
feature 1	white	banded-red/2		saucer			
struct2	white	banded-red/2		saucer			
feature 1	white	banded-red/3		ind			
struct2	white	banded-red/3		flat			
feature 1	white	edge decor-blue/15		ind			
struct1	white	edge decor-blue/15		flat			
mansion	white	edge decor-blue/15		hollow			
struct1e	white	edge decor-blue/15		plate			
struct1w	white	edge decor-blue/15		plate			
mansion	white	edge decor-blue/2		flat			
struct2	white	edge decor-blue/2		flat			
struct1e	white	edge decor-blue/4		plate			
struct1w	white	edge decor-blue/4		flat			
struct1e	white	edge decor-blue/6		platter			
struct1w	white	edge decor-blue/6		flat			
struct1e	white	handpainted-blue/2		flat	cup		
feature 1	white	handpainted-poly/1		plate			
struct2	white	handpainted-poly/1		plate			
struct1e	white	handpainted-poly/1		flat			
struct2	white	handpainted-poly/1		plate			
feature 1	white	handpainted-poly/10		saucer			
struct1	white	handpainted-poly/10		cup			

MATCHING CERAMICS AND COMPOSIT SETS

Area	Ware	Int. Dec.	Ext. Dec.	Vessel form 1	Vessel form 2	Vessel form 3	Vessel form 4
struct2	white	transfer-red/6		plate			

APPENDIX C
Curved Glass

SLAVE QUARTER CONTAINER GLASS

Bag check #	Area	Context	Context #	Stratum	Level	Color	Shape	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Weight	Comments
217	struct1	st				cb	cy			1	.4	
230	struct1	st				cg	cy			1	.8	
230	struct1	st				cg	cy			1	1.6	ribbed
235	struct1	st				cg	cy			1	.5	ribbed
240	struct1	st				c	cy			1	2.1	
240	struct1	st				c	cy			1	21.0	
242	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.5	
248	struct1	st				c	cy			1	1.5	rough txt
253	struct1	st				br	cy			1	1.0	
278	struct1	st				c	cy			2	.6	
281	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.5	
283	struct1	st				cb	cy			1	1.5	melted
291	struct1	st				cp	disk		mold	1	7.0	stemmed?
292	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.5	
301	struct1	st				c	cy			1	1.5	
303	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.8	
308	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.1	
309	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.4	
349	struct1	st				o	cy			1	1.2	
353	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.8	
356	struct1	st				c	cy			1	2.0	
356	struct1	st				cp	cy			1	1.0	dr glass
360	struct1	st				cb	cy			1	.6	
363	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.2	
367	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.2	
368	struct1	st				cob	cy			1	.8	
385	struct1	st				o	cy			1	.4	

GLASS COLOR CODE:

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SLAVE QUARTER CONTAINER GLASS

Bag check #	Area	Context	Context #	Stratum	Level	Color	Shape	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Weight	Comments
388	struct1	st				c	cy			1	1.9	paint dec
395	struct1	st				c	cy	screw	machine	1	1.8	
397	struct1	st				c	cy			2	1.2	
407	struct1	st				c	cy		molded	1	7.2	decor cut
752	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.7	
754	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.7	
754	struct1	st				c	oct			1	5.3	
759	struct1	st				cg	cy			1	.1	
760	struct1	st				c				1	1.5	melted
761	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.4	
762	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.1	
763	struct1	st				cp	cy			1	2.7	
764	struct1	st				br	cy			1	.3	
766	struct1	st				c	cy			2	4.9	
767	struct1	st				c	cy			1	1.5	
787	struct1	st				c	cy			1	.2	decor etch
806	struct1	st				c	cy			2	.9	
806	struct1	st				cg	cy			1	.3	ribbed
808	struct1	st				br	cy			1	.2	
811	struct1	st				c	cy			5	3.5	
812	struct1	st				c	cy			1	1.0	
812	struct1	st				cb	cy			1	.4	
817	struct1	st				cb	cy			1	1.0	
826	struct1	st				o	cy			1	.6	
827	struct1	st				cb	cy			1	.5	
830	struct1	st				c	cy			1	3.6	dr glas fr
830	struct1	st				c	cy			2	.6	
841	struct1	st				cb	cy			1	.3	

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SLAVE QUARTER CONTAINER GLASS

Bag check #	Area	Context	Context #	Stratum	Level	Color	Shape	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Weight	Comments
933	struct1	st				mlk	cy			1	5.6	jar mouth
1	struct1e	unit	18	2	3	c	cyl			1	.1	
1	struct1e	unit	18	2	3	cg	cyl			1	.4	
1	struct1e	unit	18	2	3	cg	cyl		hb	1	2.7	pontil mar
1	struct1e	unit	18	2	3	dko	cyl			1	1.3	
13.1	struct1e	unit	20	1	2	c	cy			1	2.3	
13.1	struct1e	unit	20	1	2	c	cy			1	3.4	
13.1	struct1e	unit	20	1	2	c	cy			1	7.4	
13.1	struct1e	unit	20	1	2	cg	cy			2	.9	
13.1	struct1e	unit	20	1	2	o	cy			1	.3	
81	struct1e	unit	20	2	2	cg	cy			1	4.6	
81	struct1e	unit	20	2	2	cg	cy			4	4.6	
7	struct1e	unit	29	1	1	c	cy			1	.1	
7	struct1e	unit	29	1	1	cg	cy			2	.3	
8	struct1e	unit	29	2	1	cb	cy			1	1.2	
9	struct1e	unit	29	2	2	c	cy			1	.3	
9	struct1e	unit	29	2	2	cg	cy			3	.9	
45	struct1e	unit	37	2	1	cg	cyl			1	2.2	
51	struct1e	unit	37	2	2	c	cy			1	.3	
51	struct1e	unit	37	2	2	cg	cy			2	1.5	
52	struct1e	unit	37	2	3	cb	cy			1	.1	thin
31	struct1e	unit	38	2	2	cg	cy			1	1.4	
31	struct1e	unit	38	2	2	cp	cy			1	2.6	
31	struct1e	unit	38	2	2	cp	cy			1	13.9	
31	struct1e	unit	38	2	2	dko	cy			1	.6	
31	struct1e	unit	38	2	2	o	cy			1	.5	
34	struct1e	unit	38	2	1	c	cyl			1	1.6	thick
34	struct1e	unit	38	2	1	clg	cyl			1	.1	

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SLAVE QUARTER CONTAINER GLASS

Bag check #	Area	Context	Context #	Stratum	Level	Color	Shape	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Weight	Comments
34	structle	unit	38	2	1	dko	cyl			1	1.1	
383	structle	unit	38	1	1	cg				1	.1	melted
24	structle	unit	39	1	1	o	cy			1	1.1	
27	structle	unit	39	1	2	c	cy			1	.5	
27	structle	unit	39	1	2	cg	cy			1	1.9	small base
25	structle	unit	40	1	1	br	cy			1	.6	
25	structle	unit	40	1	1	c	cy			1	.2	
25	structle	unit	40	1	1	c	cy		molded	1	2.6	decor mold
33	structle	unit	40	2	2	c	cy			2	.9	
39	structle	unit	40	2	2	c	cyl			1	.5	burned
39	structle	unit	40	2	2	c	cyl			1	3.2	cut deco
39	structle	unit	40	2	2	cg	irreg			1	1.0	
39	structle	unit	40	2	2	mlk	cyl			1	6.7	
40	structle	unit	43	2	1	c	cy			1	2.8	decor cut
40	structle	unit	43	2	1	c	cy			3	1.6	
40	structle	unit	43	2	1	cg	cy			1	.6	
40	structle	unit	43	2	1	o	cy			2	3.2	
43	structle	unit	43	2	2	c	cy			2	.7	
43	structle	unit	43	2	2	dko	cy			2	.5	
50	structle	unit	44	1	1	cg	cy			1	1.6	
67	structle	unit	44	2	1	cg	cy			1	2.9	
72	structle	unit	47	1	1	br	cy			1	.1	
72	structle	unit	47	1	1	br	flat			1	7.1	
72	structle	unit	47	1	1	c	cy			1	1.6	melted
72	structle	unit	47	1	1	c	cy			1	2.9	
72	structle	unit	47	1	1	c	cy			1	3.0	
72	structle	unit	47	1	1	c	cy			9	7.4	ribbed
72	structle	unit	47	1	1	cb	cy			1	1.7	

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SLAVE QUARTER CONTAINER GLASS

Bag check #	Area	Context	Context #	Stratum	Level	Color	Shape	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Weight	Comments
72	structle	unit	47	1	1	mlk	cy			1	20.6	large diam
72	structle	unit	47	1	1	modg	cy			1	1.5	
77	structle	unit	47	1	2	br	cy			3	6.9	
77	structle	unit	47	1	2	c	cy			1	9.8	
77	structle	unit	47	1	2	c	cy			9	14.0	
77	structle	unit	47	1	2	c	oct			1	3.5	
77	structle	unit	47	1	2	cg	cy			1	.4	
77	structle	unit	47	1	2	cob	cy			1	.1	
77	structle	unit	47	1	2	mlk	cy			1	.3	
84	structle	unit	47	2	1	c	cy			1	.6	
84	structle	unit	47	2	1	cg	cy			2	.2	
84	structle	unit	47	2	1	dko	cy			1	3.2	
788	structle	unit	54	bulk	bulk	c	cy			1	.5	
931	structle	unit	58	bulk	bulk	br	cy			1	1.5	
931	structle	unit	58	bulk	bulk	c	cy			1	14.3	
931	structle	unit	58	bulk	bulk	cb	cy			2	2.3	
931	structle	unit	58	bulk	bulk	cg	cy			3	2.5	
931	structle	unit	58	bulk	bulk	o	cy			1	.8	
912	structlw					c	cy			9	4.8	
912	structlw					cg	cy			1	.2	
129	structlw	feat	1			c	flat			1	.8	
155	structlw	feat	1			c	cyl			1	11.5	
155	structlw	feat	1			c	cyl			2	1.1	
155	structlw	feat	1			cb	cyl			4	7.4	
155	structlw	feat	1			cg	cyl			4	10.2	
155	structlw	feat	1			cg	cyl	crown		1	4.8	crown?
155	structlw	feat	1			cp	cyl	patent		1	21.3	
23	structlw	feat	1	1	2	cg	cyl			1	2.0	

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SLAVE QUARTER CONTAINER GLASS

Bag check #	Area	Context	Context #	Stratum	Level	Color	Shape	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Weight	Comments
23	structlw	feat	1	1	2	o	cyl			1	.1	
55	structlw	feat	1			o	cy			1	1.1	
62	structlw	feat	1	1	6	c	cy			2	1.5	
63	structlw	feat	1	1	6	c	cy			1	.1	
85	structlw	feat	1			mlk	multisd			1	10.7 jar?	
20	structlw	feat	28	1	1	c	cy			2	.5	
20	structlw	feat	28	1	1	cb	cy			2	4.8	
20	structlw	feat	28	1	1	modg	cy			1	3.2	
69	structlw	feat	3			c	cy			1	.6 feat 20 ?	
69	structlw	feat	3			c	cy			1	11.7 drink glss	
10	structlw	unit		1	1	c	cy			1	.2	
1028?	structlw	unit		2	2	mlk	cy			1	1.1	
59	structlw	unit		1	2	c	cy			1	4.3	
912	structlw	unit				c	cy			9	4.8	
912	structlw	unit				cg	cy			1	.2	
929	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy			1	6.3 decor cut	
929	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	cg	cy			1	1.7	
930	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy			1	.4	
930	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy		molded	1	6.9	
931	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	br	cy			1	1.5	
931	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy		pbmold	1	14.3	
931	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	cb	cy			2	2.3	
931	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	cg	cy			3	2.5	
931	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	o	cy			1	.8	
932	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy			1	7.8 jar mouth	
932	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy			5	5.1	
932	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	cg	cy			2	1.0	
936	structlw	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy			1	1.9 "...s..."s	

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SLAVE QUARTER CONTAINER GLASS

Bag check #	Area	Context	Context #	Stratum	Level	Color	Shape	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Weight	Comments
936	struct1w	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy			1	4.1	"..raf.."s
936	struct1w	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy			1	4.4	"..st.."s
936	struct1w	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy			3	4.6	
936	struct1w	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy			20	31.0	
936	struct1w	unit		bulk	bulk	c	cy	screw		1	2.3	
936	struct1w	unit		bulk	bulk	c	pan			1	3.1	
936	struct1w	unit		bulk	bulk	cg	cy			1	.4	"..0.."s
936	struct1w	unit		bulk	bulk	dko	cy			5	14.5	thick
3	struct1w	unit	26	2	2	c				1	2.4	melted
4	struct1w	unit	27	1	1	o	cyl			1	.7	
5	struct1w	unit	27	1	2	c	cy			1	2.7	
5	struct1w	unit	27	1	2	c	cy			2	1.2	
20	struct1w	unit	28			c	cy			1	.5	
20	struct1w	unit	28			modg	cy			1	.2	
32	struct1w	unit	28			c	cy			1	4.7	dr glass
37	struct1w	unit	28	1	4	c	cy		molded	1	6.3	
37	struct1w	unit	28	1	4	white	cy			6	1.5	
42	struct1w	unit	28	1	5	c	cyl			3	1.8	
42	struct1w	unit	28	1	5	c	cyl		molded	1	3.9	decor mold
42	struct1w	unit	28	1	5	cg	cyl			2	.6	
42	struct1w	unit	28	1	5	cg	cyl	ground		1	1.7	
6	struct1w	unit	28	1	2	cb	cy			1	.1	
6	struct1w	unit	28	1	2	o	cy			1	1.2	
22	struct1w	unit	30	2	2	cg	cy			1	.4	
11	struct1w	unit	31	1	1	cb	cy			1	.1	
13	struct1w	unit	31	1	1	c	cy			1	1.2	
480	struct1w	unit	31	1	1	cb	cy			2	.5	
71	struct1w	unit	31	2	1	br	cy			1	1.0	

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SLAVE QUARTER CONTAINER GLASS

Bag check #	Area	Context	Context #	Stratum	Level	Color	Shape	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Weight	Comments
71	structlw	unit	31	2	1	c	cy			1	.2	
71	structlw	unit	31	2	1	cb	cy			1	.1	
71	structlw	unit	31	2	1	cb	cy			3	.5	
71	structlw	unit	31	2	1	cg	cy			1	.2	
74	structlw	unit	31	2	2	c	cy			1	4.4	decor cut
74	structlw	unit	31	2	2	cg	cy			1	.5	
?	structlw	unit	31	1	1	cg	cy			1	.3	
12	structlw	unit	32	1	1	c	cy			1	.4	
58	structlw	unit	32	2	1	c	cy			1	.3	
14	structlw	unit	33	2	1	c	cy			2	1.8	
14	structlw	unit	33	2	1	c	cy			3	25.9	burned
14	structlw	unit	33	2	1	c	cy			5	2.6	
14	structlw	unit	33	2	1	cp	cy			1	11.5	
14	structlw	unit	33	2	1	mlk	cy			1	6.7	
14	structlw	unit	33	2	1	o	cy			2	1.0	
28	structlw	unit	34	2	1	cg	cy	prescrip		1	.2	
28	structlw	unit	34	2	1	cp	cy			1	.2	
36	structlw	unit	36	1	1	br	cy			1	.8	
48	structlw	unit	36	2	1	o	cy			1	.6	
483	structlw	unit	36	3		cb	cy			1	.2	
556	structlw	unit	36	2	3	amb	cy			1	5.0	"exc"molde
57	structlw	unit	36	2	2	o	cy			1	.8	
26	structlw	unit	41	1	1	c	cy			1	.5	
26	structlw	unit	41	1	1	cp	cy			1	.9	
29	structlw	unit	41	1	2	c	cy			1	2.0	decor cut
29	structlw	unit	41	1	2	c	cy			1	6.0	dr glass
29	structlw	unit	41	1	2	c	cy			2	2.6	
29	structlw	unit	41	1	2	cg	cy			1	.7	heel ?

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SLAVE QUARTER CONTAINER GLASS

Bag check #	Area	Context	Context #	Stratum	Level	Color	Shape	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Weight	Comments
29	struct1w	unit	41	1	2	cg	cy			1	1.0	ribbed
29	struct1w	unit	41	1	2	cp	cy			1	.8	
38	struct1w	unit	41	2	1	c	cy			10	.9	
38	struct1w	unit	41	2	1	dko	cy			1	1.1	
38	struct1w	unit	41	2	1	o	cy			1	.7	
142	struct1w	unit	42	1	2	br	cy			1	10.4	
142	struct1w	unit	42	1	2	c	cy			2	4.9	
142	struct1w	unit	42	1	2	cb	cy			1	.8	
128	struct1w	unit	45	2	1	c	cy			1	.5	dec moldng
128	struct1w	unit	45	2	1	c	cy			4	6.9	
66	struct1w	unit	45	1		c	cy			2	.6	
66	struct1w	unit	45	1		mlk	cy			1	1.4	
66	struct1w	unit	45	1		o	cy			1	.6	
73	struct1w	unit	45	1	2	c	oct			4	10.3	
73	struct1w	unit	45	1	2	cb	cy			1	.4	
54	struct1w	unit	5	2	1	cg	cyl			3	4.4	
286	struct1w	unit	51	1	1	c	cyl			1	.5	
710	struct1w	unit	51		2	amb	cy			1	7.6	
710	struct1w	unit	51		2	c	cy			4	5.9	
773	struct1w	unit	51	2	1	c	cyl			7	7.7	
773	struct1w	unit	51	2	1	cg	cyl			2	5.0	
777	struct1w	unit	51	3	1	cg	cy			1	.4	
777	struct1w	unit	51	3	1	cg	cy			1	3.6	
75	struct1w	unit	52	2	2	c	cy			1	1.9	
785	struct1w	unit	52	3	2	br	cy			1	.4	
793	struct1w	unit	59	bulk	bulk	c	cy			1	.1	thin
76	struct1w	unit	6	2	1	cg	disk			1	32.5	vessel bas
76	struct1w	unit	6	2	1	dko	cy			1	6.3	

GLASS COLOR CODE:

C=CLEAR, CB=CLEAR BLUE, O=OLIVE, AMB=AMBER, CY=CLEAR YELLOW, MK=MILK, CG=CLEAR GREEN

SLAVE QUARTER CONTAINER GLASS

Bag check #	Area	Context	Context #	Stratum	Level	Color	Shape	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Weight	Comments
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
76	structlw	unit	6	2	1	modg	cy			1	.2	

GLASS COLOR CODE:

C=CLEAR, CB=CLEAR BLUE, O=OLIVE, AMB=AMBER, CY=CLEAR YELLOW, MK=MILK, CG=CLEAR GREEN

FEATURE 12 - MANSION PRIVY

Bag check #	Stratum	Level	Color	Item	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Comments
			c	tumbler		molded	2	panels
			cb	bottle body frag			1	"..R/Y&Co/..K"
			cb	whiskey flask	smoothed	2 piece mold	1	Baltimore "Corn for the World"
			dco	bottle body frag		3 piece mold	1	makers mark -"W"
274	2		cg	bottle mouth	ground		1	
274	2		cy	prescription vial			1	complete
275	3		c	tumbler		mold	1	hexagonal base, ground bottom
275	3		cg	Hand blown bottle?	flanged	blown?	1	glass pontil mark, no seams
275	3		cy	lamp chimney base		blown?	1	
275	3		o	Cylindrical bottle base		2 pc mold	1	cm with 318
318	4		o	Cylindrical bottle base		2 pc mold	1	cm with bcl 275
381	5		c	bottle body		machine made?	2	star on base- seams appear machin
381	5		c	lamp chimneys			2	
381	5		c	perfume bottle		molded	1	"LUB../Parfumer/A Paris." 1865-18
381	5		c	tumbler		molded	1	panel
381	5		c	tumblers		molded	2	panel cut
381	5		cb	bottle neck	lip tool	turn paste ?	1	lip tool,turn paste mold? 1870-19
381	5		o		prescrip		1	medicine bottle ?
398	5a		amb	bottle base			1	no diagnostic marks
398	5a		c	lamp chimney			1	rough finished lips, cm with 505
398	5a		c	tumbler		molded	1	panel
504	5	1	c	lamp chimney		molded	1	patent-DEC 3 1867, E.B. Reolas
504	5	1	c	lamp chimney	rough		2	
504	5	1	cb	canning jar base		mold	1	cm with jar in 510
504	5	1	cb	jar mouth frag	screw	mold	1	"..The C.."
504	5	1	cp	lamp chimney	rough		1	purplish tint, amythyst glass-186
504	5	1	cy	lamp chimney			1	
504	5	1	cy	lamp chimney	rough		1	
505	5b	1	c	lamp chimney			3	one cross mend with 398

FEATURE 12 - MANSION PRIVY

Rag check #	Stratum	Level	Color	Item	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Comments
505	5b	1	c	lamp chimneys		?	3	
505	5b	1	c	tumbler			1	panels narrower than in 537
505	5b	1	c	tumbler		mold	1	lead glass, panels
505	5b	1	cb	pickel jar	bead	2 part mold?	1	decorative leaf and branches
505	5b	1	cg	canning jar	screw	mold	1	probably mason jar similar to 521
505	5b	1	cg	tumbler			1	lead tumbler, same style as 537
505	5b	1	cg	tumbler			1	lead tumbler, same style as 537
505	5b	1	cy	tumbler		press mold	1	
510	5	2	c	lamp chimney	rough	2 piece mold	1	
510	5	2	cb	canning jar			1	Mason jar similar to 521
510	5	2	cb	pickel jar		2 piece mold	1	branch & leaf molded dec.
511	5b	2	c	lamp chimney			2	solarized?
511	5b	2	c	lamp chimney			3	
511	5b	2	c	tumbler			3	panels
511	5b	2	cb	bottle base			1	glass pontil mark
511	5b	2	cb	canning jar			1	Mason Jar, patent 1858
521	5		cb	canning jar	screw	mold	1	1858 patent listed, string lip
521	5	3	c	lamp chimney			1	rough lip
533	5a	3	Amb	bitters bottle	hand	molded	1	1864 patent, "Seward Bentley", NY
533	5a	3	c	lamp chimneys	rough		5	rough finished lips
536	5a	4	c	tumbler			1	panel
537	5b	4	c	tumbler			1	lead tumbler
537	5b	4	c	tumbler		mold	1	paneled base
537	5b	4	cg	tumbler		cutmold	1	lead tumbler
549	5	5	c	lamp chimney		?	1	rough, irreg. lip
549	5	5	c	tumbler, panels		press mold	1	panels on tumbler
549	5	5	cg	bottle, cylindrical	?	mold	1	neck irreg., seams rough
552	5	6	c	bottle neck	hand	molded	1	
552	5	6	c	tumbler		molded	1	cut panels
552	5	6	c	tumbler		molded	1	panels, leaded (pre 1870)

FEATURE 12 - MANSION PRIVY

Bag check #	Stratum	Level	Color	Item	Lip	Manufacture	Count	Comments
552	5	6	cg	bottle, rectangle		molded	1	glass pontil mark (prob. pre 1870
552	5	6	dco	"demi-john"	hand		1	Iron pontil mark 1845-1870

APPENDIX D
Miscellaneous Artifacts

FEATURE 1 MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Material	Item	Measurements	Count	Comments

CATEGORY	cloth			
bone	button	d=15.99	1	Type 19 South
bone	button	d=16.78	1	Souths type 19
bone	button	d=17.92	1	Type 19 South
brass	button	d=26.89	1	flat disk face and concave back
brass	eyelet		1	
cerm	button	d=11.37	1	reddish swirl, crimped on back-AGATE?
copper	button	d=11.27	1	domed face, design, type 6 South
glass	bead	d=5.69, l=5.06	1	round, clear , multifaceted
iron	button	d=11.52	1	flat face, convex back
leather	?		1	
porc	button	d=10.34	1	4 hole recessed back, white
CATEGORY	farm			
iron	cast iron piece		1	used for weighing?R&E106, south wall fea
CATEGORY	firearm			
iron	ramrod	Ball area ID=10mm	1	length is 19.5 in
lead	shot	d=8.32	1	shotgun shot?
CATEGORY	person			
brass	comb		1	
clay	marble	d=10.66	1	irregular and soft
glass	bead	d=4.45, l=4.87	1	clear blue, multi facet hexagon
slate	slate board		1	

STRUCTURE 2 MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Bag check	Context	Context#	Material	Item	Count	Measurements	Comments

farm ?							
firearm							
437	st		lead	bullet	1		
909	st		lead	bullet	1	22 cal	
448	unit	73	lead	miniball	1		underneath root in profile wall
kitch							
111	unit	64	silver?	spoon	1		
person							
571	st		clay	marbel	1	d=12.5	irregular
852	st		glass	bead	1	l=5.33, d=3.16	lavender
91	unit	62	graphite	pencil lead	1	d=2.10	
105	unit	68	iron	padlock	1		russell & Irwin 1865
personal							
138	unit	77	ceram	pipe	1		anthropomorphic
pre							
682	st			lithic	1		
91	unit	62		lithic	1		
134	unit	72	lithic	lithic	1		
138	unit	77	lithic	lithic	1		
unk							
160	unit	82	plastic	unk	1		

STRUCTURE 2 MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Bag check	Context	Context#	Material	Item	Count	Measurements	Comments
archit							
666	st		wood	wood	1		painted
cloth							
82	unit	63	bone	button	1	d=16.34	5 hole recessed type 19 South
166	unit	80	brass	button	1		South type 26
94	unit	65	brass	fastener	1		
198	unit	84	glass	bead	1	d=3.53,l=34.31	clear, 6 sided tube
198	unit	84	glass	bead	1	d=6.41,l=8.02	black, irregular and round
138	unit	77	glass	button	1		molded decoration
205	feat	6	glass	button	1	d=10.57	4 hole, recessed face on back
148	unit	75	glass	button	1	d=11.20	4 hole recessed back, brown paint deco
139	unit	74	glass	button	1	d=11.38	4 hole recessed back
148	unit	75	glass	button	1	d=8.13	4 hole milk glass
193	unit	83	glass	button	1	d=8.27	4 hole, recessed convex back, flat decfac
196	feat	6	glass	button	1	d=9.98	4 hole recessed back, milk glass
101	unit	69	hard rubbe	button	1	d=12.27	2 hole, lipped edge, 1851-today
91	unit	75	plastic	button	1	d=12.77	2 hole, blue
148	unit	75	shell	button	1	d=14.8	4 hole convex back, irregular
113	unit	66	wood	button	1	d=16.5	4 hole recessed, flat face, convex back
farm							
125	unit	73	iron	hook	1		possibly farm equipment or household
97	unit	63	iron	tool frag?	1		spike?
137	unit	71	iron	turn buckle	1		for bricks ? Russell and Irwin 1865 p148
121	unit	73	wire	wire	1		recent
farm ?							
111	unit	64	iron	"D-ring"	1		

MANSION DEPOSIT MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Rag check	Context	Context#	Material	Item	Count	Measurements	Comments

CATEGORY unk							
618	unit	111	bake lite	unk	1		unknown
923	unit	114	iron	cast iron piece	1		

MANSION DEPOSIT MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Bag check	Context	Context#	Material	Item	Count	Measurements	Comments

CATEGORY cloth							
628	unit	112	shell	button	1	d=9.35	4 hole/ cut design around edge?
655	unit	113	shell	button	1	d=9.73	2 hole disk
604	unit	110	white meta	button	1	d=14.61	domed face, crimped over back

CATEGORY farm							
923	unit	114	iron	cotter pin	1		
923	unit	114	iron	pipe	1		

CATEGORY furni							
923	unit	114	brass	coffin plate	1		Russell and Irwin manuf. 1865 p 331

CATEGORY kitch							
923	unit	114	iron	stop cock ?	1		

CATEGORY person							
635	unit	112	bone	game piece	1		
554	unit	110	bone?	game piece?	1		
635	unit	112	brass	straight pin	1	l=24.14	l=24.14
645	unit	112	glass	bead	1	l=7.7 d=9.07	black, multifaceted
624	unit	110	graphite	pencil	1		
641	unit	112	graphite	pencil	1		
604	unit	110	graphite	pencil?	1		
624	unit	110	iron	needle	1		
624	unit	110	iron	straight pin	2		
624	unit	110	kaolin	marble	1	d=16.49	
554	unit	110	slate	slate board	1		
698	unit	113	stone	marble	1	d=18.4	chert

MANSION DEPOSIT MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Bag check	Context	Context#	Material	Item	Count	Measurements	Comments

CATEGORY cloth							
554	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=10.66	4 hole, recessed back, milk glass
554	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=10.74	4 hole, recessed back, cobalt blue
635	unit	112	glass	button	1	d=10.82	milk glass, four hole, recessed back
696	unit	113	glass	button	1	d=10.90	4 hole recessed, lite brown
628	unit	112	glass	button	1	d=10.95	4 hole milk glass
624	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=10.99	milk 4hole recessed,
923	unit	114	glass	button	1	d=11.03	4 hole, recessed back, painted plaid
557	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=11.12	4 hole recessed back
624	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=11.47	milk 4hole recessed,
489	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=12.67	4 hole recessed, convex back and face
653	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=15.38	milk, 4 hole recessed back
604	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=9.72	4 hole recessed, milk glass
635	unit	112	glass	button	1	d=9.95	fragment- 2+ holes
604	unit	110	iron	button	1	d=14.5	brass eye on back, pressed design, oval
624	unit	110	iron	button	1	d=19.13	crimped on back
554	unit	110	metal	fabric hook	1		
618	unit	111	porc	button	1		incomplete-2+ holes
624	unit	110	porc	button	1		incomplete
637	unit	110	porc	button	1	d=10.54	4 hole recessed tapered face, brown paint
604	unit	110	porc	button	1	d=10.62	4 hole recessed back
641	unit	112	porc	button	1	d=10.98	4 hole recessed, brown paint
641	unit	112	porc	button	1	d=11.15	4 hole recessed, white
489	unit	110	porc	button	1	d=11.19,	4 hole recessed, convex back and face
646	unit	113	porc	button	1	d=11.47	4 hole recessed
554	unit	110	porc	button	1	d=12.8	4 hole, recessed back, white
624	unit	110	porc	button	1	d=15.71	recessed face and decal design
635	unit	112	porc	button	1	d=16.09	white, four hole, recessed back
624	unit	110	porc	button	1	d=16.30	3 + hole recessed back
535	unit	110	shell	button	1	d=8.38	4 hole recessed

STRUCTURE 1 MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Material	Item	Measurements	Count	Comments
unk				
iron	unk		1	

MANSION DEPOSIT MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Bag check	Context	Context#	Material	Item	Count	Measurements	Comments
CATEGORY ?							
489	unit	110	plastic	fragment	1		blue
CATEGORY cloth							
698	unit	113	bone	button	1		fragment
635	unit	112	bone	button	1	d=10.9	gaming piece
698	unit	113	bone	button	1	d=13.92	5 hole recessed back
554	unit	110	bone	button	1	d=14.84	1 hole disk type 15, South
696	unit	113	bone	button	1	d=16.68	3+ hole recessed back
624	unit	110	bone	button	1	d=17.20	3 + hole recessed back
641	unit	112	brass	button	1	d=10.9	domed with design face, Type 26 South
535	unit	110	brass	button	1	d=12.51	u-eye South type 35
604	unit	110	brass	button	1	d=14.61	eagle ?
641	unit	112	brass	button	1	d=15.56	eagle design/"RICH/COLOR"
604	unit	110	brass	button	1	w=9.32.l=9.2	
646	unit	113	brass	straight pin	1	l=26.69	
647	unit	112	brass/copp	button	1	d=22.43	disk, back says T-EL G-LE9(orange)
604	unit	110	button	button	1	d=12.48	4 hole irregularly shaped
604	unit	110	button	button	1	d=8.75	domed and engraved design type 33 South
923	unit	114	glass	bead	1	l=16.44, d=8.04	tubular, black, multi faceted
624	unit	110	glass	button	1		brown, dome face
489	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=10.06	4 hole recessed, grey
645	unit	112	glass	button	1	d=10.09	4 hole recessed back
621	unit	111	glass	button	1	d=10.42	4 hole recessed, milk glass
635	unit	112	glass	button	1	d=10.48	4 hole recessed back brown paint on face
489	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=10.51	4 hole recessed, black
922	unit	114	glass	button	1	d=10.52	4 hole milk glass, brown paint face
624	unit	110	glass	button	1	d=10.53	4 hole, black tapered towards front
641	unit	112	glass	button	1	d=10.61	4 hole recessed, milk glass

STRUCTURE 1 MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Material	Item	Measurements	Count	Comments
cloth				
bone	button	d=15.99	1	Type 19 South
bone	button	d=16.78	1	Souths type 19
bone	button	d=16.84	1	4 hole recessed back, flat faced
bone	button	d=16.89	1	South type 19
bone	button	d=17.92	1	Type 19 South
brass	button	d=26.89	1	flat disk face and concave back
brass	eyelet		1	
brass	fastener	l=8.9mm, w=8.39	1	
brass	stud/rivet	d=11.38	1	
brass/copp	button	d=12.55	1	stamped design
cerm	button	d=11.37	1	reddish swirl, crimped on back-AGATE?
copper	button	d=11.27	1	domed face, design, type 6 South
glass	bead	d=5.69, l=5.06	1	round, clear , multifaceted
glass	bead	d=8.35	1	cobalt blue, round
glass	bead	l=8.43,d=9.46	1	tubular, multi faceted
iron	button	d=11.52	1	flat face, convex back
leather	?		1	
nylon			1	road spoil prov.
porc	button		1	incomplete
porc	button	d=10.34	1	4 hole recessed back, white
wood	button	d=19.85	1	single hole, irregular
farm				
iron	bolt	1/4 inch	1	
iron	cast iron piece		1	used for weighing?R&E106, south wall fea
iron	nut	1/4 inch	1	

STRUCTURE 1 MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Material	Item	Measurements	Count	Comments

firearm				
iron	ramrod	Ball area ID=10mm	1	length is 19.5 in
lead	bullet		1	
lead	shot	d=8.32	1	shotgun shot?
furn				
iron	handle		1	possibly coffin handle-Russell Irwin 333
kitch				
cerm	tile?		1	
person				
brass	comb		1	
ceramic	marble	d=15.41	1	
ceramic	pipe bowl		1	
ceramic	pipe bowl		1	
ceramic	pipe bowl	d=20mm	1	molded decoration
clay	marble	d=10.66	1	irregular and soft
copper	thimble		1	
glass	head	d=4.45, l=4.87	1	clear blue, multi facet hexagon
leather	clothing?		1	
nickel	coin		1	1934 nickel
nickel	coin		1	1935 nickel
silver	coin		1	1937 quarter
slate	slate board		1	
pre				
	lithic		1	
	lithic		1	

VITA

Henry St. Clair McKelway was born in Washington D.C. and raised in nearby Kensington, Maryland. He attended Landon High School, a prestigious private school in Bethesda, Maryland and graduated with absolutely no honors. He attended Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia and graduated in the usual four years, with absolutely no honors. He did, however, enjoy working in archaeological excavations while there. After graduation, he worked for a contract firm doing archaeological work in southeast Arkansas until the company went bankrupt. He was fortunate to gain employment with the Arkansas Archaeological Survey, and worked as an Archaeological Station Assistant in Monticello, Arkansas for three years and learned much about archaeology. He applied to graduate school and gained his Master's degree from the University of Arkansas, although he graduated with absolutely no honors. His thesis concerned ceramics from a Protohistoric site in southeast Arkansas. He attended the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, working on prehistoric and historic sites for the Anthropology Department and the Transportation Center at the University. He appears to have graduated with a doctorate in Anthropology from the University of Tennessee, with absolutely no honors, and is currently employed as Research Project Coordinator within the Transportation Center at the University of Tennessee.