To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Brooke Hamby entitled "An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of the Blount Mansion Slave Quarters." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Anthropology.

Dr. Charles Faulkner, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor and Dean of The Graduate School

An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of the Blount Mansion Slave Quarters

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

E. Brooke Hamby
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This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Linda Sue Hamby.

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CHAPTER I
Introduction

Archaeologists have been studying African-American material culture during slavery and subsequent freedom since the 1960's (McCarthy 1995). While most historians believed that no trace of African culture remained through slavery and consequent oppression, archaeologists (McCarthy 1995) and anthropologists (Herskovits 1941) sought to prove that African-Americans persisted with their culture as a rebellion or reaction to their forced migration to the Americas (Ferguson 1992). In studying African-Americans in archaeological context, historical archaeologists have not had to change their methodology but had to modify their interpretive approach. Because a culture historical framework tells us only what types of artifacts African-Americans possessed, the focus of interpretation shifted to searching for the meaning behind these discarded artifacts and what they can tell of the culture that acquired and used them (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991).

The majority of recent African-American archaeological research has focused on the plantation life of the South, particularly in South Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia (see Singleton 1995). While slavery was perpetuated due to the plantation system, other forms of slavery existed throughout the United States. The frontier settlements of Kentucky and Tennessee produced an unusual relationship between slave and master. Slaves and masters worked side by side forcing the wilderness into a livable habitat. If any of these early settlers from Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina brought slaves with them, it was usually less than a handful and, many times, just one slave. Frontier families lived in close proximity to their slaves and their living spaces as opposed to plantation life where slaves and slave houses were often far removed from the plantation house (McCormack 1977). The soil and climate of eastern Kentucky and east Tennessee did not support labor-intensive cash crops such as cotton and rice. The large plantations that sustained slavery in many of the other Southern states did not develop in this area. The result was a form of slavery that had African-American slaves primarily working as laborers on small

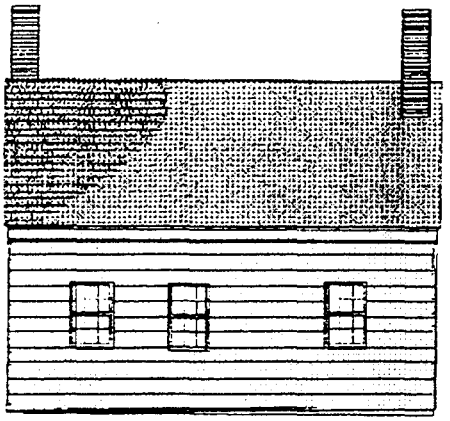
farms or as domestic servants who cared for the children, cooked the meals, and cleaned the homes. Consequently, the relationships between slave and master as well as overall lifeways on the frontier were different than those found in the "classic" plantation system (McCormack 1977).

There has been little archaeological research conducted on frontier slavery largely because frontier slave sites are not as conspicuous as in the former system. One site on the Tennessee frontier where slaves lived in the late 18th and early 19th centuries will be the subject of this thesis research. This is Blount Mansion, an historic site in downtown Knoxville, Tennessee where archaeological excavation was conducted from 1985-1996.

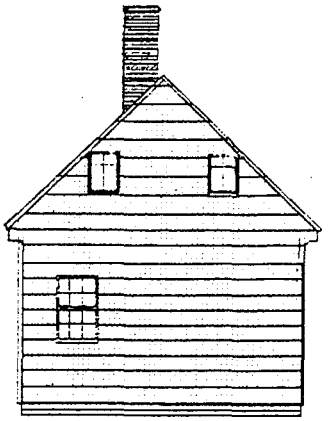
Historical Background

Blount Mansion was built in stages between 1792-1830. Figures 1-3 depict the Blount Mansion during various phases. It was originally constructed for William Blount, the Governor of the Southwest Territory who was appointed by George Washington in 1791. Blount was a signer of the United States Constitution, a land speculator, and later a U.S. Senator. The detached Governor's office, still located in the rear yard, served as the Territorial Capitol from 1792-1796. The mansion was the hub of all political and social activity of the growing capital of Knoxville. The original house consisted of two rooms on the main floor with a half-story loft in addition to a detached kitchen, cooling room, Governor's office, possible smoke house, and a slave quarters. Today, the Blount Mansion is a two story house with east and west additions. The kitchen and a cooling shed have been reconstructed while the Governor's office is still standing.

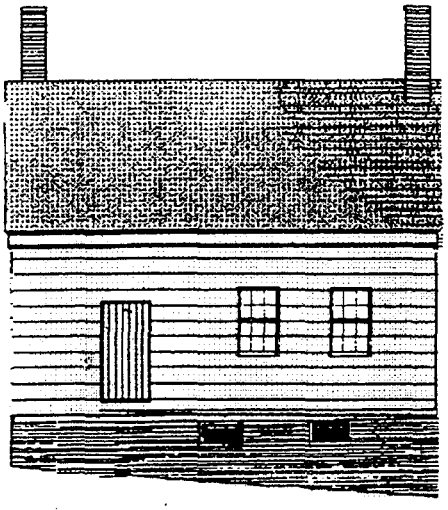
While Knoxville began as a small settlement, by 1792 it was the capital of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio. As Knoxville grew, it served as the regional center for political and economic activity for the territory. When Tennessee became a state, Knoxville served as its capital until 1818. The Blount family owned the house until 1824. Between 1824 and 1926, it was



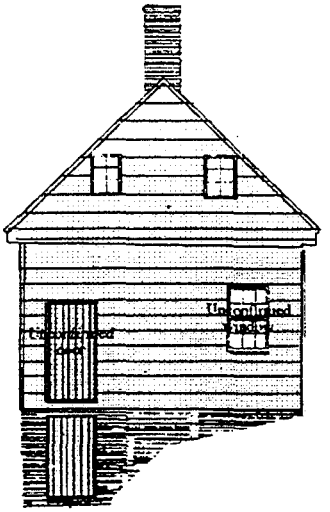
North Elevation ca. 1792 - 1795
not to scale



West Elevation ca. 1792 - 1
not to scale



South Elevation ca. 1792 - 1795
not to scale



East Elevation ca. 1792 - 1
not to scale

Figure 1 - Blount Mansion 1792-1795 (from Emrick and Fore 1992).

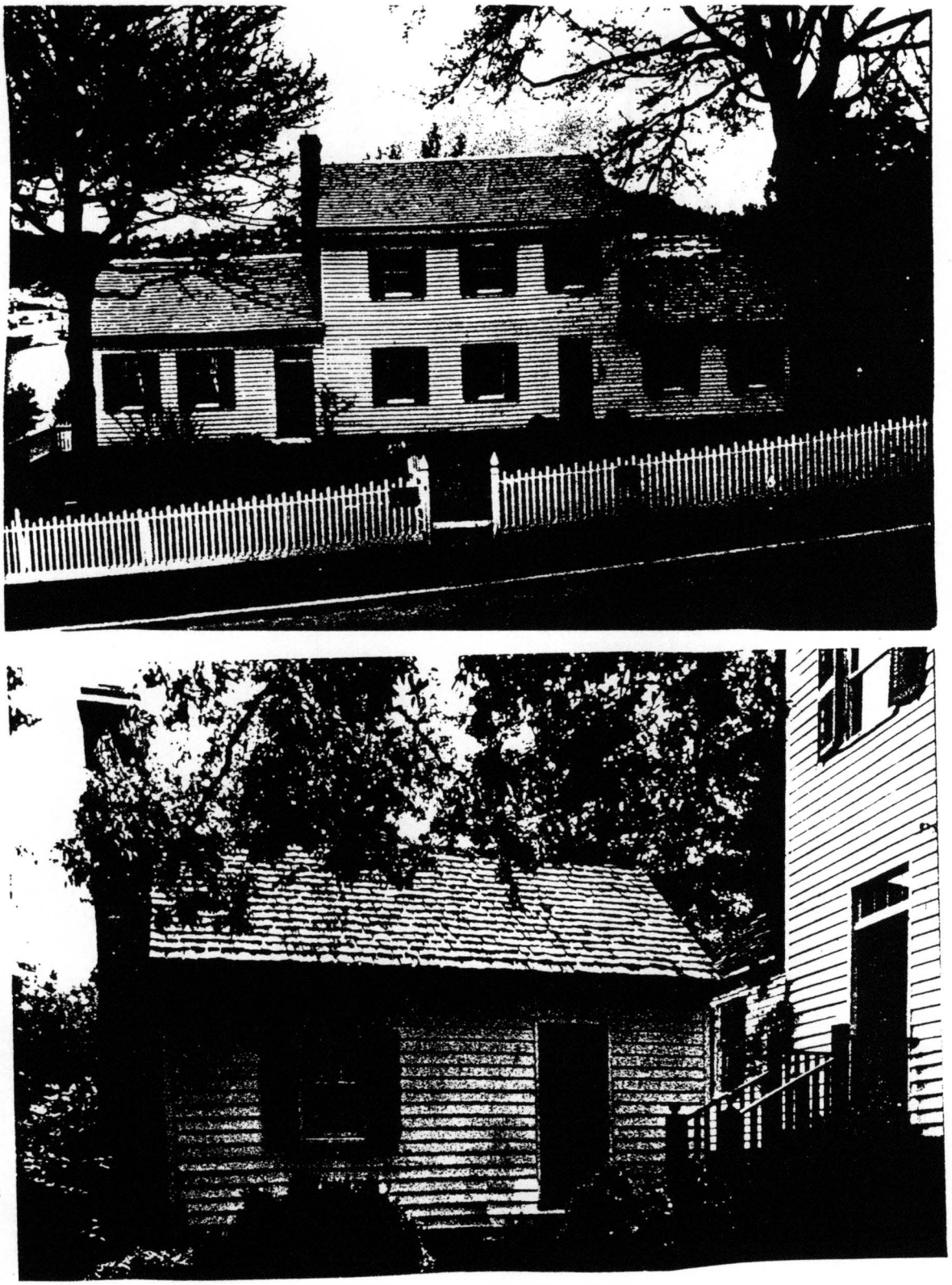


Figure 2 - Blount Mansion and detached kitchen today.

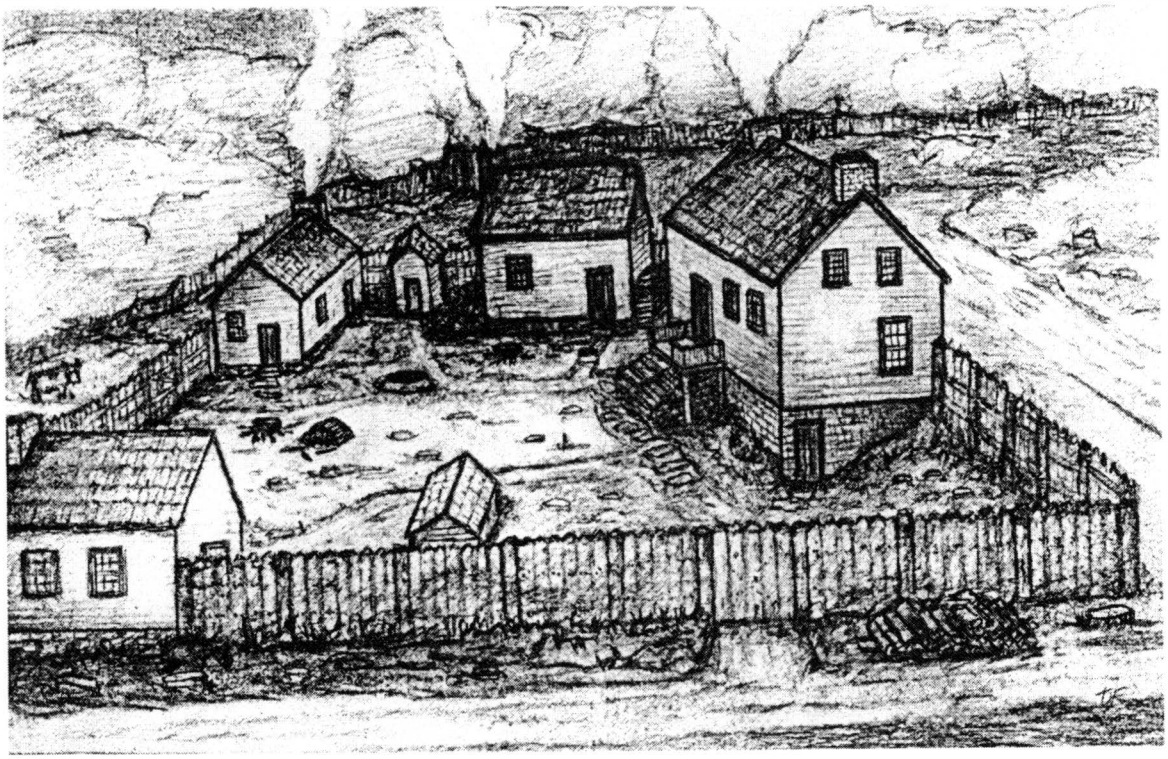


Figure 3 - Artist's depiction of Blount Mansion compound in 1792 by Terry Faulkner.

owned by many families. In 1926, the Mansion was to be razed to become a parking lot for a local hotel. Several citizens raised enough money to save the house and then spent five years raising money and restoring it. After being the home of two governors, a wealthy merchant, a mayor, a physician, as well as being a boarding house and antique store, it opened to the public as a museum in 1930 (Bergeron 1997).

Method

The Blount Mansion Association's key function is to interpret the Blount Mansion and it occupants. Since its inception in 1926, research has been conducted on the Blount family. It was well known through primary documentation that William Blount owned slaves, yet little research had been conducted regarding the site's African-American inhabitants.

In 1992, the Blount Mansion Association requested Dr. Charles Faulkner of the University of Tennessee Anthropology Department to conduct test excavations in the rear yard to locate the original slave quarters. The Anthropology Department had been conducting test excavations in the rear and front yard of Blount Mansion since 1985. Based on previous test excavations in 1985 and an 1865 photograph depicting a building in the southwest corner of the lot aligned with the west wall of the detached kitchen, 3' x 3' test units were excavated to locate the foundation of this building believed to be the slave quarters. A dressed limestone block foundation was discovered in the 1992 field school but it was determined that this was not the building in the 1865 photograph due to its location and orientation. The artifacts and the prehistoric humus layer underneath the foundation suggested that this was one of the earliest buildings on the site and was the original slave quarters (Faulkner 1993). In subsequent field schools in 1993 and 1994, the slave quarters location continued to be excavated with 16 excavation units strategically located to determine its size, function, and orientation (see Figure 4). Dating of ceramics and window glass associated with the building indicate that it was moved off its' foundation about 1830.

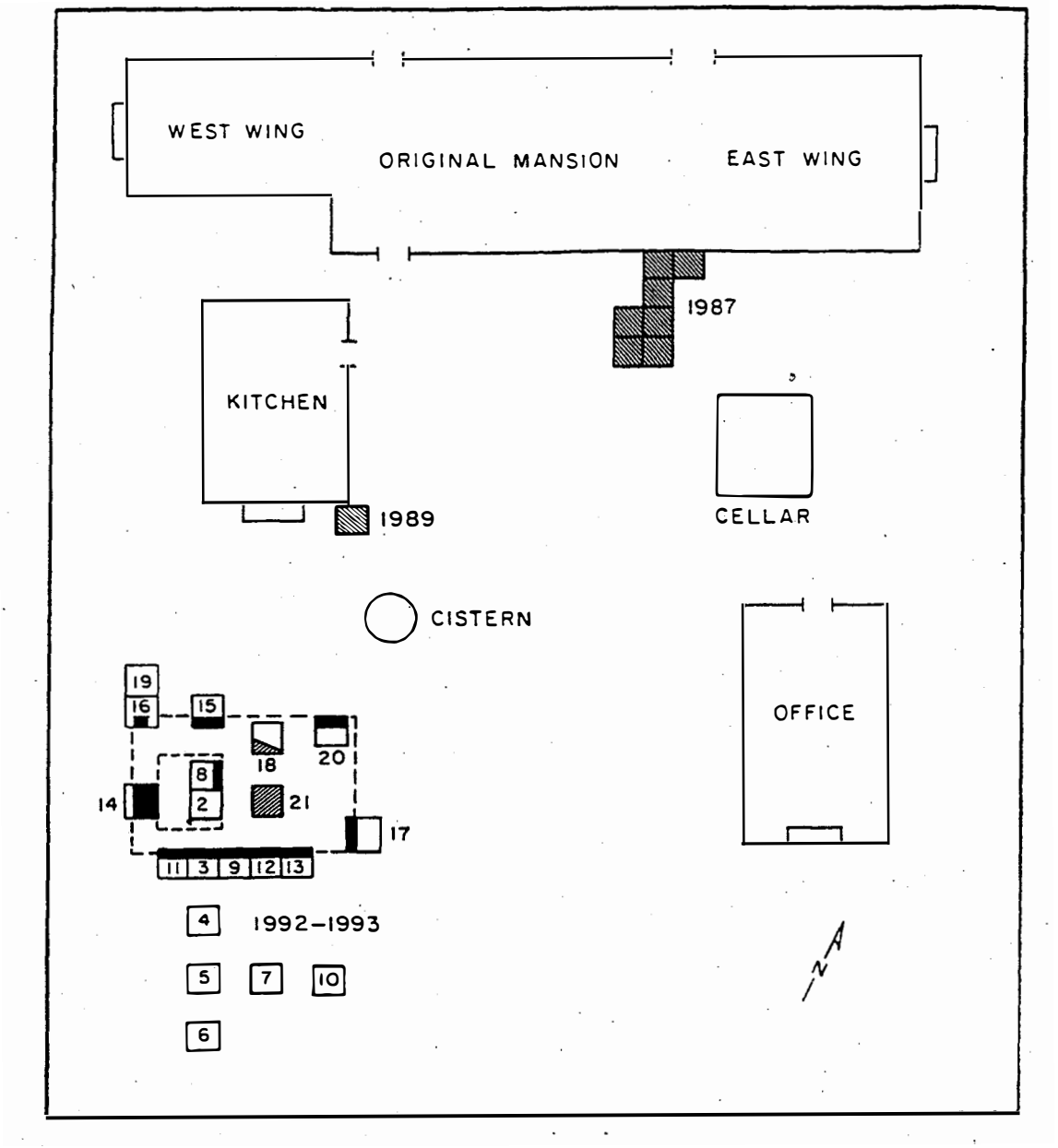


Figure 4 - Excavation areas and units, 1987-1993.

Slavery on the Frontier: A Research Design

The Blount Mansion site offers a unique opportunity to study slavery on the frontier. It is important to look at this site to examine the complex system of frontier slavery in contrast to plantation slavery both in regard to relationships between slave and master and the slaves' lifeways. The research design for studying slavery on the frontier at Blount Mansion is to address questions that can potentially be answered by the archaeological data. This thesis will attempt to answer questions about slave life on the frontier at Blount Mansion.

The first question is who were the occupants of the slave quarters at Blount Mansion? While the Blount family owned the house until 1824, the building was probably moved around 1830 (Faulkner 1993). The quarters could have been left unoccupied after the death of William Blount in 1800; however, if subsequent owners possessed slaves, this is unlikely. Later African-American occupants and perhaps the identity and actual date of when the structure was moved can be found in primary sources such as letters, wills, and tax records of the house owners. Whether the slaves who resided in the Blount Mansion quarters were owned solely by the Blounts or the subsequent owners of the house is unknown. The relationship between these masters and their slaves, as well as the institution of slavery in Knoxville, warrants attention to aid in this overall study of the frontier slavery experience. Several sources reveal this unique and complex relationship. Family letters, wills, and bills of sale relate how slaves were thought of and treated by the family. Obviously, any mention of slaves in particular is a clue to these past relationships.

The second question is how can slave lifeways be characterized at Blount Mansion? An historic structures study conducted in 1992 by the Blount Mansion Association concluded that the west wing of the Mansion was originally a detached outbuilding (Emrick and Fore 1992). The dimensions and date of construction indicate that the west wing was the original slave quarters added to the house in the early half of the 19th century (Faulkner 1993). If indeed this wing is the original

quarters, we can determine how the quarters was constructed as well as the building's window and door orientation and location. This will enhance our interpretation of spatial relationships in the rear yard activities area.

The diet of the occupants of the slave quarters has been studied through faunal remains found at the site (Coxe 1998). Artifacts such as ceramics and glass can determine the slaves' material wealth as compared to the Blounts. Ceramics not only tell what ceramic styles they had, but the functional form of these vessels as well. They can answer the question of whether slaves and their masters used the same vessel form such as tea sets that indicate a certain social situation. If the slaves and the family had the same ceramics, it is possible that the slaves received second hand vessels as well as different vessel forms. Personal artifacts such as buttons and straight pins can be a key to their clothing. Other activities can be discovered through artifacts such as marbles and pipes found under the quarters. Such artifacts can indicate whether or not the slaves had free time to do such activities and, in turn, what type of labor system was employed at Blount Mansion. Gang labor was utilized mainly on plantations that required a great deal of physical labor where large groups of slaves spent all day on one particular task such as tending to the crops. A task oriented system of labor concentrated on specific tasks such as household chores where one or a few individuals were involved. Once certain tasks were completed, laborers had "free" time to do what they wished. This archaeological study of the Blount Mansion slave quarters should reveal a clearer picture of lifeways of the slaves at Blount Mansion, one not recorded in letters, diaries, tax records, and wills.

The third question is whether slaves at Blount Mansion were totally assimilated into the dominant Euro-American culture, or whether their culture exhibited a "creolization" of African and European cultures. There have been several studies to determine if slaves passed down the cultural symbols and meaning of their African descent (Ferguson 1992; Yentsch 1994; Stine, Cabak, and Groover 1996). These studies have concentrated on several key artifacts, assemblages, architectural features, and spatial relationships. While Ferguson (1992) sought to find meaning in pots on plantations, we can also find meaning of the ceramics used by slaves on

the frontier. There is no evidence that the slaves at Blount Mansion produced their own ceramics, but it is possible that they utilized their ceramics in different ways than their Euro-American masters. Ferguson (1992) points out that the majority of West Africans ate out of bowls primarily without utensils and found evidence that African-American slaves practiced the same etiquette. Euro-Americans, on the other hand, while using the same ceramic styles, used plates instead of bowls. In addition, personal artifacts for adornment such as beads and pendants may have had African ritual symbolism. One recent study suggests that blue beads had a symbolic meaning for African-Americans, and may explain why blue beads are far more numerous than those of other colors at slave sites across the Southeast (Stine, Cabak, and Groover 1996). African cultural markers found in the archaeological record can add important details to the lifeways of the Blount Mansion slaves.

The last question is whether the midden found in the archaeological excavations on the south side of the quarters is associated with the Mansion or the slave quarters. Detailed comparison of artifacts found in the slave quarters and the midden will determine whether artifacts from the latter came from the main house. If the midden is associated with the Blount family, it will be a source of comparison between the material culture of the Blounts and the quarter's occupants.

The pursuit of African-American cultural origins through archaeology has been a growing field of study. Without the vast amount of archaeological research conducted on plantation slavery, much of our present knowledge of slavery would remain undiscovered. However, a different kind of slavery may have existed on the frontier. While studies of Euro-American archaeology on the frontier are increasing, the study of frontier slavery is slowly following in their wake. Investigating frontier slave sites will not only lead to a better understanding of the institution of slavery in North America as a whole, but also reveal how African-Americans survived the oppression of slavery in this unique environment. This thesis on slavery at Blount Mansion will provide knowledge about the lifeways of African-Americans on the 18th century western frontier, as well as address the question if slaves far removed from their African ancestry still kept their heritage despite bondage.

CHAPTER II

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Slavery on the Frontier

Little documentary information exists about the first African-Americans on the Tennessee frontier and in Knoxville during the late 18th century. However, bits and pieces of information have been gathered from letters and early records. Regional trends, historic patterns, and these primary sources provide a preliminary data base about slavery on the Tennessee frontier. The first slaves brought into the western region of North Carolina, later to become the state of Tennessee, are believed to have accompanied fur traders during the 17th century (McCormack 1977). Several traders brought slaves into the region with them to help transport bulky furs across the rugged terrain back to the east coast. Because many slaves ran away and joined the Indians, strict regulations were placed on the number of slaves that could be brought into the region (McCormack 1977:2). The first official record of a slave in Tennessee is an individual named Abraham who was living in the Cherokee town of Tannasee with his owner, Samuel Benn, in 1760 (McCormack 1977:3).

Traders and settlers began to push further into the western region bringing their slaves with them. Soon, Euro-Americans were making their permanent mark on the land by building cabins and planting crops. Most of the first white settlers came from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolina Piedmont area. They presumably brought with them their attitudes about slavery. The terrain of these states along the coastal plain and river deltas was ideal for certain cash crops and plantation agriculture. These plantations required a multitude of slaves to operate. The growth of large scale plantations perpetrated the institution of slavery (McCormack 1977).

While the river valleys of Tennessee were flat, fertile, and easily cleared, the terrain of East Tennessee was not suited to growing the typical plantation crops of rice, cotton, and tobacco. Most of the large slave holdings were concentrated along the Holston, Watauga, and Nolichucky river valleys (McCormack 1977). However,

the number of slaves owned by the settlers was small compared to Virginia and the Carolinas. Slave holdings on the Tennessee frontier averaged between one and three slaves per owner. Most of the settlers were too poor to own slaves (McCormack 1977:13).

The slaves that came with settlers into the region worked along side their masters building homes and farm buildings, tending the crops, protecting homesteads, taking care of the children, and preparing food. Since almost no manufacturing existed in this area during the 1770's and 1780's, slaves were often trained in crafts such as blacksmithing, carpentry, and bricklaying. They not only worked closely with their owners, but also lived in close proximity to the master's house in kitchens, lean-tos, or in the attic of the main house. Generally speaking, the master and slave had to have a close relationship if they were to survive against the hostile environment of the frontier (McCormack 1977). While slave and master may have had a cohesive relationship, the bitter truth remained that slaves were personal property according to the laws of North Carolina (Oakley 1993).

As the frontier settlements grew, so did the slave population. By 1800, well over 10,000 slaves had come into Tennessee (McCormack 1977:22). The close relationship of master and slave may have brought about early abolitionist attitudes in East Tennessee. In 1797, Thomas Embree and several other citizens of Washington and Greene counties proposed the formation of an "abolition society" modeled after others in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. However, the main concern of the society was not abolition, but insuring the rights of free blacks. While Embree's society never fully developed, the seeds were planted for future generations of abolitionists. In 1815, some Tennessee Quakers formed the "Tennessee Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves". Branches of the society soon appeared in counties across East Tennessee. East Tennessee produced two of the nation's earliest anti-slavery newspapers. Thomas Embree's son, Elihu, founded *The Emancipator* in 1819 in Jonesboro followed by the founding of the *Manumission Intelligencer* in Greenville in 1822. While it is unclear how effective these early societies were, the fact remains that the free black population in

East Tennessee increased from 309 in 1800 to 2,727 in 1820, and to 4,555 by 1830 (Lamon 1981: 9).

Slave Laws

North Carolina laws, which applied to the settlers of its western regions, recognized that a slave was a living human being: someone who walked, talked, and even had emotions, but who would also run away or rebel if treated badly. However, slaves were also considered chattel, movable property to be bought and sold. The earlier one goes back in North Carolina law, the more "humane" slave laws appear. According to a 1753 statute, a slave owner was legally responsible for his slaves' well-being. If one of his slaves stole something, the owner was liable if it could be proven that the theft was caused by insufficient food or clothing. In 1774, lawmakers were concerned with a 1741 law allowing the casual killing of runaways. The law was revised to make the killing of a slave a criminal offense (McCormack 1977:9). The settlers' treatment of slaves leaned toward a more humane interpretation of the law possibly because of their dependence upon one another for survival upon the frontier (Oakley 1993).

In 1790, President George Washington named the western region of North Carolina the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio. This changed the laws regulating slaves. The liberal laws of North Carolina were supplemented by the stricter federal laws of the 1787 Northwest Ordinance that organized the Northwest Territory. The only amendment to the 1787 laws was the addition of a regulation outlawing the emancipation of slaves in the Southwest Territory. While settlers continued to recognize the dual status of slaves as both property and human, more emphasis was placed on the value of the slave. This new stipulation exemplifies the transformation from the old frontier values to the commercial, "pre-antebellum" values of early 19th century Tennessee which were not often found in East Tennessee (Oakley 1993).

Five years after the Territory was formed, a special session was called to

begin the process necessary to make the Southwest Territory a state. On January 11, 1796, delegates met in Knoxville to write a constitution and form a government. The Tennessee Constitution was an amalgamation of other state documents and the Northwest Ordinance. Only one section of the new constitution, a provision on taxation, dealt directly with slaves. However, many sections applied to blacks. Article III, Section 1, set the age and residency requirement for voters but does not mention restrictions on color. The Constitution also did not prohibit intermarriage among black and white as did a later 1870 Constitution. Other sections applied to the protection of free blacks. One specified that no freeman could be imprisoned or have his life or freedom taken away without judgment of his peers and local law. Another provision required that no man's services could be demanded without adequate compensation. While this did not apply to slaves, it provided protection for free African-Americans (McCormack 1977).

Provisions for emancipation of slaves were omitted from the Tennessee Constitution. However, a case arose in 1797 which forced an amendment. John Stone of Knoxville applied to the County Court for the emancipation of his slave barber named Jack. The county consented but had to wait for the state to pass an act allowing for the emancipation. By 1801, so many emancipation petitions were entered that the state legislature had to drop the requirement for legislative confirmation, placing the decision in the hands of the county court. In 1812, a strong abolitionist attitude forced the passage of a law prohibiting the importation of slaves into the state (McCormack 1977:23).

Other laws enacted later gave some protection to slaves such as the right to food, shelter, clothing, and medical attention. Slaves could not be sent away if they were too old. Tennessee was one of five states that allowed slaves to a trial by jury. However, the same revisions stipulated that slaves could own no personal property including guns and were not allowed out at night. The Nat Turner rebellion of 1831 forced most southern cities, including Knoxville, to reevaluate their stance on slavery. The 1834 Constitution rejected petitions to gradually abolish slavery. Slavery in Tennessee officially lasted until 1865 when it was the only state to abolish

slavery of its own free will.

Slavery in Knoxville

Urban slavery is distinctive from rural slavery in several aspects as evidenced by Wade (1964). Rural slaves usually lived in houses some distance from the master's house. Urban slaves lived closer to the main house . Urban slaves had more contact with the general population because of an urban environment containing a large population concentrated in a small area. Urban slaves were frequently utilized for domestic duties in contrast to rural slaves who were often used for field work. Wade suggests that urban slavery was intrinsically the same from city to city. Basically, the uniqueness of urban life, not differences in region or economics, is the most important influence upon the distinction of urban slavery. In his study of historical documents from southern cities, Wade found that many characteristics of urban slavery were the same across the South. Urban slavery was characterized across the cities with the same regulation of slaves, similar slave tasks or occupations, the practice of "hiring out", treatment of slaves, as well as more freedom of movement for slaves (Wade 1964:38).

Knoxville seems to fit Wade's model in many aspects. Knoxville's beginnings are similar to other western frontier towns. What began as a trading post and frontier fort soon became East Tennessee's center of economic, political , and social activity. While Knoxville did not grow into a metropolitan center like other river towns such as New Orleans, Louisville, and Cincinnati, it succeeded as the center for the Trans-Appalachian West, as the socioeconomic hub and capital of the Southwest Territory and later Tennessee (Creekmore 1991). Like most other towns, Knoxville had a jail, mercantile establishments, taverns, and a newspaper. It is from this newspaper, the *Knoxville Gazette,* founded in 1791, that we find early evidence of African-Americans in Knoxville.

Knoxvillians, on average, owned from four to seven slaves, a relatively large number for Knox County. Slave families were common in Knoxville, and more

often than not, masters tried to keep families together (Oakley 1992:24). While marriage was not legally recognized between slaves in Knoxville, many advertisements mention slaves as husbands and wives; however, they could still be sold separately (*Knoxville Gazette* 1791-1792, 1806-1817). The family seemed to be a central part of the slave community in Knoxville.

Many urban slaves were domestic servants who performed tasks such as cooking, cleaning, gardening, caring for children, and tending to the horses. Other slaves were trained in specialized skills such as blacksmithing, carpentry, and brick laying. These occupations made the slaves more valuable to their masters for their talents and not just as gang labor (Wade 1964; Oakley 1993).

Slave occupations can be readily identified in advertisements of "hiring out". When a master did not have need of a slave or wanted to earn extra money, a slave would be hired by someone who needed their services. Knox County Estate records testify to the fact that widows and heirs hired out slaves to continue the profit or liquidation of estates (Knox County Settlements: 179). Some slaves hired out had the option of working overtime beyond a stipulated contract thereby allowing slaves to earn money of their own (Booker 1992:17). Advertisements in the *Knoxville Gazette* reveal that Knoxvillians practiced hiring out of slaves as well as these individuals having the same occupations as in most other southern cities. In 1794, the *Knoxville Gazette* advertised for the sale of a slave "who understands all kinds of farming business" (*Knoxville Gazette* 1794). A pre-1800 advertisement is the first evidence of this practice in Knoxville, making two slaves available for hire, one of whom is a blacksmith (Rothrock 1972). A later advertiser wants to hire a slave to take care of the stable for a six month or a year period. Hiring out becomes more pronounced into the next decade with more advertisements, one in 1816 and two within a month of each other in 1817. In 1816, a "black boy" is wanted for hire. In 1817, one advertisement states "2 likely young negro men to be hired out, one an excellent blacksmith by trade, the other a common farming hand". The next, a month later, wants to hire a "negro woman" to cook. Again a few months later, an advertisement reads "wanted to hire one or two negro women to cook" (*Knoxville*

Gazette 1817). An earlier example of hiring out comes from the soon to be Governor of Tennessee, John Sevier. In a notation made in 1795, he identified the location of Sevier slaves who were "hired out" to neighbors (Oakley 1993).

The typical slave living space as described by Wade was a quarters located on the main house lot near the rear of the lot. The quarters were often long and narrow and made of brick. Most had no windows with one door and a central fireplace for heat. According to Wade, the quarters were placed within the fenced or walled house compound to remain under the master's watchful eye (Wade 1964). The only archaeological evidence of a frontier slave quarters in Knoxville is at the Blount Mansion. As will be discussed later in this thesis, while the size and style of the Blount Mansion quarters differs from Wade's (1964) generalization, the layout of the house compound remains the same (Faulkner 1993).

Another practice that Wade identifies as unique to urban slavery is that of "living out" of the master's premises. If a slave was hired out, it was the responsibility of the temporary master to provide food and shelter. However, sometimes a slave would live neither with his permanent nor his new master. The slave might live in a room rented from a free black, an abandoned shed, or sometimes with a spouse. While the slave's accommodations were not usually as comfortable as those provided by the master, they had a small amount of freedom from the watchful eye of the master. An obvious indication that this occurred is the passing of city ordinances prohibiting the practice (Wade 1964 pp. 62-75). A Knoxville city ordinance testifies to the fact that "living out" was a threat to the white populace. It states that "if any negro slave shall settle in this corporation under the pretense of hiring his or her time, or shall occupy any house, or by any other means reside therein, unless in the actual service of some free white inhabitant, every such negro slave shall be taken up by the City Constable and by order of some justice of the peace be committed to jail, there to remain until the owner of such slave pay to the treasurer of this corporation for the use and benefit thereof the sum of eight dollars" (Knoxville City County Minutes 1800-1890).

The freedom of hiring out in combination with the actual practice caused an

uneasiness in the white population. Across the South, city ordinances were continually being passed prohibiting congregation of slaves, slaves living out, slaves buying liquor, and basically any activity that gave some autonomy to the slave. Early in 1802 a Knoxville city ordinance forbade slaves from "assembling in the street or in kitchens, or in uninhabited houses, on Sundays, or at night or getting drunk in the streets or quarreling or rioting" (Knoxville City County Minutes 1800-1890). While most congregation of slaves occurred in the house of a free black person, grog shops developed that catered to the slave and free black population. They usually sold liquor and sometimes provided a place to meet. The grog shops caused such a stir in southern cities that a multitude of ordinances were passed although many were ignored (Wade 1964:152-155). While there is no evidence of grog shops in Knoxville, the 1817 city ordinance states "if any retailer of spirituous liquors, within the bonds of this corporation shall sell or give spirituous liquors to any slave for his or her own use, other than his or her own slave, such person shall forfeit and pay (if on Sunday) the sum of ten dollars for each and every offense to be forced before any jurisdiction" (Knoxville City County Minutes 1800-1890). Later, the ordinance prohibited even aiding the practice of hiring out and giving outside residence (Knoxville City County Minutes 1800-1890).

Wade (1964) suggests that not only did urban slaves often have more freedom and comfortable quarters, they often had more respectable clothing than their rural counterparts. Many times, white visitors to cities were surprised to find that not only were slaves dressed in fine fashion, but they often mistook them for white people. A principal reason for the high quality of clothing of the urban slave was due to the image of his or her master. Unlike rural slaves in the fields, urban slaves were seen day in and day out in public places like the market. A shabbily dressed slave did not speak well for his or her master (Wade 1964:125-131). The only description of slave clothing in Knoxville is through advertisements for runaway slaves. It is not surprising to find that the clothing that was either worn by the slave when he or she ran away or the clothing that they took with them was of high quality and sometimes quantity. In 1809 a male slave named James ran away taking with

him his wardrobe of three coats, five pantaloons, one pair of trousers, two summer waist coats, two muslin shirts and one new flax shirt (*Knoxville Gazette* May 13, 1809). Two weeks later, another slave escaped from jail having two white shirts, five pairs of pantaloons, a waistcoat, two roundabouts, shoes, and stockings. Apparently some of the slaves in Knoxville were accustomed to fine clothing like other urban slaves throughout the South.

Documentary evidence suggests that urban slavery was declining well before the end of the Civil War. Wade (1964:244-246) argues that the decline was caused by the increasing paranoia of whites causing the exportation of male slaves onto plantations thereby lessening chances of a rebellion. Whatever the reason, slavery in Knoxville seemed to be on the decline as well. Knox County's slave population from 1795 to 1860 increased by only five from 2365 to 2370 (McCormack 1977:22). Five years later slavery was outlawed in the state of Tennessee (McCormack 1977:24).

The institution of slavery on the frontier was unusual in that it often forced a unique relationship between slave and master. They had to work side by side against the rugged wilderness. In its' early days, Knoxville was a frontier settlement. Residing in town also forced slave and master to live in close proximity. Whether these close relationships were positive depended upon the individual slave holder. A closer inspection of the Blount family will give insight into one of these relationships.

Slavery at Blount Mansion

There were seven owners of the Blount Mansion from 1792-1830 (see Table 1). However, five of the seven owners were part of the Blount family. Historic documents about the Blount family who owned the house from 1792-1824 provide the most information about their slaves. The major documents about this family are letters, tax records, wills, and bills of sale.

Governor William Blount was the builder and the first owner of Blount

Table 1 - Ownership of Blount Mansion

Date	Owner
1792-1797	William Blount
1797-1818	Willie Blount
1818-1820	William Grainger Blount, Gov.Blount's oldest son
1820-1823	Dr. Edwin Wiatt, Eliza Indiana Blount's husband
1823-1824	Pleasant Miller, Mary Louisa Blount's husband
1824-1825	Donald McIntosh
1825?-1830	Matthew McClung
1830-1831	James White
1831-1840	Matthew McClung bought back from James White
1840-1845	Mayor Matthew M. Gaines
1845-1919	Samuel Boyd and family
1919-1921	Mr. Rambo
1921-1925	B.H. Sprankle
1926-Present	Blount Mansion Association

Mansion. He was born in 1749 in Bertie County, North Carolina to a prominent slave holding family. William was in business with his family for several years. During the American Revolution he served as paymaster for the Continental army. He later became a signer of the U.S. Constitution as a representative from North Carolina. Years later, George Washington remembered him as a signer of the Constitution and appointed him Governor of the Southwest Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He was described by his peers as genteel, honest, and upstanding (Bergeron 1997). While no will was probated upon his death in 1800, he did transfer ownership of his personal property, slaves, and the Mansion to his half-brother Willie in 1797. The bill of sale records that Blount owned 27 slaves at the time. However, a core of ten slaves seems to be the central focus of his household since they appear in numerous other sources. The remainder of the 27 slaves are presumed to have worked on the Blount farm, whose location is unknown today (Oakley 1993).

The most prominent slaves in the Blount household were Hagar and Jack who were mother and son, and a possible family consisting of Cupid, Sall, and Sall's daughters Nann and Isabella. Four more slaves are mentioned through time in letters and other documents. Venus, Sam, Watt, and Will more than likely lived with the others at the Blount compound.

Jack seems to play an important role in the family as evidenced in a 1796 letter from William to his brother John Gray Blount. The letter implied that Jack was the only one to accompany him into the Territory in 1791. In the letter, Blount states that he needs supplies for himself and Jack, mainly "two good horses, saddles, bridles, portmanteau, clothing and etc.". Blount also wrote "perhaps you may have some strong remanent on hand that may do for Jack.. He must have every rag new" (Keith 1959:68). It is reasonable to ascertain that the Jack mentioned is Governor Blount's slave. Jack is listed as Hagar's son and he may have held a higher status because his mother was Mary Grainger Blount's personal nanny.

Hagar is mentioned for the first time in Mary's father's will in which she is willed to Mary along with Venus. Hagar and Venus were probably brought into the

marriage as Caleb Grainger died before his daughter was to be married. Hagar and Venus are again mentioned in the 1797 trust deed. Hagar apparently lived longer than both William and Mary Blount as indicated in a 1802 guardian report of Pleasant Miller. Pleasant Miller was the husband of Mary Blount, one of William Blount's daughters and also the guardian of Barbara upon the death of her mother in 1802. He claims four slaves given to her by her uncle Willie. Hagar was the first of the slaves mentioned. Apparently from 1802 on Hagar no longer lived at the Mansion. There is no evidence as to what happened to Jack. Venus may have been hired out with many of the other slaves given to Barbara by her uncle (Oakley 1993).

Four other prominent slaves were Cupid, Sall, Nann, and Isabella. Cupid and Sall could have possibly been married, but there is no mention of it in any documents. Nann and Isabella are listed as Sall's daughters. Slave children inherited their status through their mother, fathers were not listed as parents. Sall and Cupid were hired out together in 1804 to H. Dickenson. In 1806, they were sold by William Grainger Blount, William's son. Either Nann and Isabella were sold separately or were kept by William Grainger Blount. Regardless, Sall and Cupid were no longer living at the Mansion in 1804 (Oakley 1993).

The last three slaves listed on the Bill of Sale and mentioned in other documents are Sam, Watt, and Will. These men are also listed in early Blount records and letters. One mentions his man Will, who would be good as a blacksmith in nail manufacturing. These men could have performed numerous tasks, including running the service and stable areas (Oakley 1993). After the 1797 Bill of Sale, there is no further mention of these three individuals in family letters or records. As the majority of the slaves went to Willie in 1797, they could have stayed with him. If they did, Sam, Watt, and Will would have stayed in the Mansion quarters since Willie owned the house until 1818. During the time that William Blount lived at the Mansion other slaves could have stayed at the slave quarters. In a 1797 letter to his brother, Governor Blount relates his hope that Mrs. Grainger, Mary's mother, would bring her slaves with her when she visited (Keith 1959:332). In addition, there is some evidence that Willie lived at Blount Mansion before he owned it. If this is the

case his slaves would have resided there too. John Gray Blount kept records of his family in a notebook, in which are the names of 15 slaves purchased by Willie in 1797. Three of these persons were listed as sent to a place called Parched Corn, perhaps a farm or plantation (Keith 1959:579). It seems impossible for all of Willie's slaves to have lived at the Mansion, since that would raise the number from ten to a minimum of 22 slaves, most of these people presumedly living in the 14' x 20' slave quarters.

William Blount's letters give some insight into his general attitude toward slavery and African-Americans. The Blounts were not thought to have been involved in the slave trade but there is one letter which indicates otherwise. It is from a Matthew Emanuel in Havana dated September ,1782 who wished John Gray and William to purchase for him "six good stout Black Men slaves and two Black Women" (Keith 1959: 31). However, this is the only evidence of William Blount's involvement in the slave trade. An interesting letter from William to John Gray in 1787 reveals some of his feelings on the intellectual capacity of African-Americans. In discussing opening a nail factory and employing slaves to run it he states that "one Week is quite long enough for any person black or white to learn to make a good nail" (Keith 1959:331). A later letter in 1795 while not mentioning the ten slaves, gives both the rudiments of a slave trade, but also reveals a little bit of kindness on the part of William. In this letter, William Blount asks Daniel Smith to accept two slaves in payment for a debt. He wants to give "a likely boy or young Fellow..(and)..a sister of his..The Girl wishes to go with her Brother, and for that reason and no other do I wish it may suit you to take her" (quote from McCormack 1977:19). William Blount's letters give the impression that he was somewhat sympathetic with keeping families together despite evidence that he also participated in the slave trade.

After William and Mary Blount's death, Willie Blount owned the house until 1818. He also owned the slaves purchased in 1797. Willie Blount was first William's secretary and then became governor of Tennessee in 1809. As previously mentioned, Hagar went for the upkeep of Barbara Blount in 1802, Venus

was more than likely "hired out" for an unspecified time in 1803, and Sall and Cupid were "hired out" in 1804 and then sold in 1806. Presumably remaining at the Mansion quarters were Nann, Isabella, Watt, Will, Jack, and Sam. Any additions to these six would be Willie's slaves. While, in 1797, Willie owned 15 slaves (see Table 2), there is no mention of slaves in his will in 1836 (Will of Willie Blount 1836, Montgomery County Records) although he might have moved to Montgomery County as early as 1802 (Tennessee Historical Society Governors Papers). However, correspondence suggests he was in Knoxville throughout these years. Also, Anne Harvey, William's sister, moved to Knoxville in 1804 to take care of her orphaned nieces, Eliza and Mary, presumedly at Blount Mansion (Keith 1958). Mrs. Harvey was a very wealthy women as evidenced in her owning 21 slaves in 1797 (see Table 3: Keith 1959). Since she had a home with her brother Thomas in North Carolina, it is unknown whether any of these slaves attended her when she stayed at Blount Mansion. However, it is likely that she would need a few for her maintenance as a wealthy lady. Family letters, tax records, and wills do not mention any of these slaves either owned by Willie or Anne Harvey.

Since Willie is the owner of the Mansion until 1818, it is helpful to look at his correspondence. While there is no mention of slaves in his personal or business correspondence, it is interesting that Willie was a deeply religious man according to his letters. His religious beliefs led him to write several letters to a John Hillsman regarding the matter. In one he states that he has "been an advocate for a wide spread of American first principles of American education, of an American course of Religion, and for an American course of conduct founded on the principle of liberty, of equal right, of virtue...to these ends I have assiduously and cheerfully labored all my life, and expect to do so as long as I may live, feeling sensible however of my inability much to promote the growth of such grant, interesting, and important objects" (Hillsman Letters 1809-1815). Whether Willie believed in equal rights to all including slaves was unknown, but the letter does provide insight that the third Governor of Tennessee and second owner of Blount Mansion was indeed a liberal. While there is no documentary evidence that he emancipated his slaves, no mention of slaves in

Table 2 - List of Willie Blount's slaves in 1797 (from Masterson 1965).

Name Purchased	Age	Amount
George	35	300
his wife Cherry	30	200
Children of George & Cherry		
Chester	?	80
Mary	?	60
Dorcas	?	90
Gulford	?	60
Dick	55	40
Tim	50	50
Brutus	14	50
Nelly	6	70
Anthony	4	70
Hager Bristows wifes	?	200
Flora Fordham Child	13	160
Ishmael	18	300
Frank	20	400

Table 3 - List of Anne Harvey's slaves in 1797 (from Masterson 1965).

Name Purchased	Age	Amount
Moses	55	100
his wife Oie	50	60
Nero	16	250
Cara	14	200
Moses	12	75
Primus	28	300
Sam	26	300
wife Morete	20	200
Lite	3	200
Ester	2	50
Sal	4 mos	30
Ames Robins Wife	35	170
Milly	14	170
Ruphas	12	175
Bob	10	140
Tomson	8	90
Aaron	6	80
Robin	4	70
Henry	3	50
Alsey	2	40
Jose	2 mos	30
Bristol	26	300
Hagar	22	?
Cook	?	?
Merrium	36	170
Titus	14	180
Bill	6	70
Alley	2	40

his will may indicate that he did free these people.

After the house passed out of the Blount family's hands, it was purchased by Donald McIntosh, a Scottish doctor, for one year. McIntosh did not own any slaves. In 1825, Matthew McClung bought the property and remained in residence until 1840. McClung was a wealthy merchant who owned a local dry goods store. According to tax records he owned four slaves in 1826 and only three the next year (Knox County Census Records 1830, 1840). When he died in 1844, he left three slaves, Lucy, Sarah, and Levi to his wife (Knox County Estate Records 1844). In all probability, Lucy, Sarah, and Levi lived at Blount Mansion possibly in the original slave quarters until it was moved or removed around 1830. Any number of possibilities exist. The only known fact is that McClung owned slaves during his residence at Blount Mansion. While McClung family correspondence does exist, there is no mention of slaves in the letters (McClung letters).

While Sarah, Lucy, and Levi probably lived in the slave quarters for six years, the only information available about their occupation would be in the archaeological record. Unfortunately, it is impossible to distinguish between the Blount occupation and the McClung occupation in the quarter's archaeological assemblage.

CHAPTER III
Archaeological Investigations:
Slave Lifeways

The excavations at Blount Mansion during the field seasons of 1992 and 1993 concentrated on locating and determining the construction and function of the structure behind the detached kitchen. Fifteen 3' x 3' units were excavated in .2 ft or natural levels (see Figure 5). The units were numbered 2,3,8,9,11-21, and 28. Each unit was excavated in .10-.20 feet or natural levels and the soil was screened through 1/4 inch screens. Float samples were taken from each level of the individual units; however, the floats have not been analyzed. From these excavations, the structure was determined to be 14 x 20 feet, roughly the size of the existing detached kitchen and governor's office, with an east-west orientation and a hearth at the west end. Units 3, 9,11-17, and 20 were placed along the foundation of this early structure identified as the original slave quarters. These units were taken down to the foundation of this building. Six 3' x 3' units were excavated inside the foundation of the structure (Figure 2). A hearth was found in Unit 8 (Faulkner 1993). Unit 2 was only taken down two levels due to the discovery of a modern irrigation pipe. The artifacts used for this thesis were from units 18, 21, and 28 which were excavated into the cellar-like crawl space beneath the quarters. Only these units were used because the artifacts found in them were directly associated with the structures' inhabitants. Other units excavated around the exterior of the quarters could have been contaminated by the Mansion's occupants. Artifacts analyzed in this thesis are only from levels in these units dating from the quarters's occupation (c. 1792-1830). Units associated with a possible Blount family trash midden located on the south side of the quarters are unit 4, unit 5, levels 7-29 and Unit 6, levels 6-22 (Figure 1). Unit 4 will not be used due to a 19th century privy disturbance.

The artifacts analyzed for this thesis consist of a very small sample size. Unfortunately, due to numerous limitations, analysis has to be limited to this

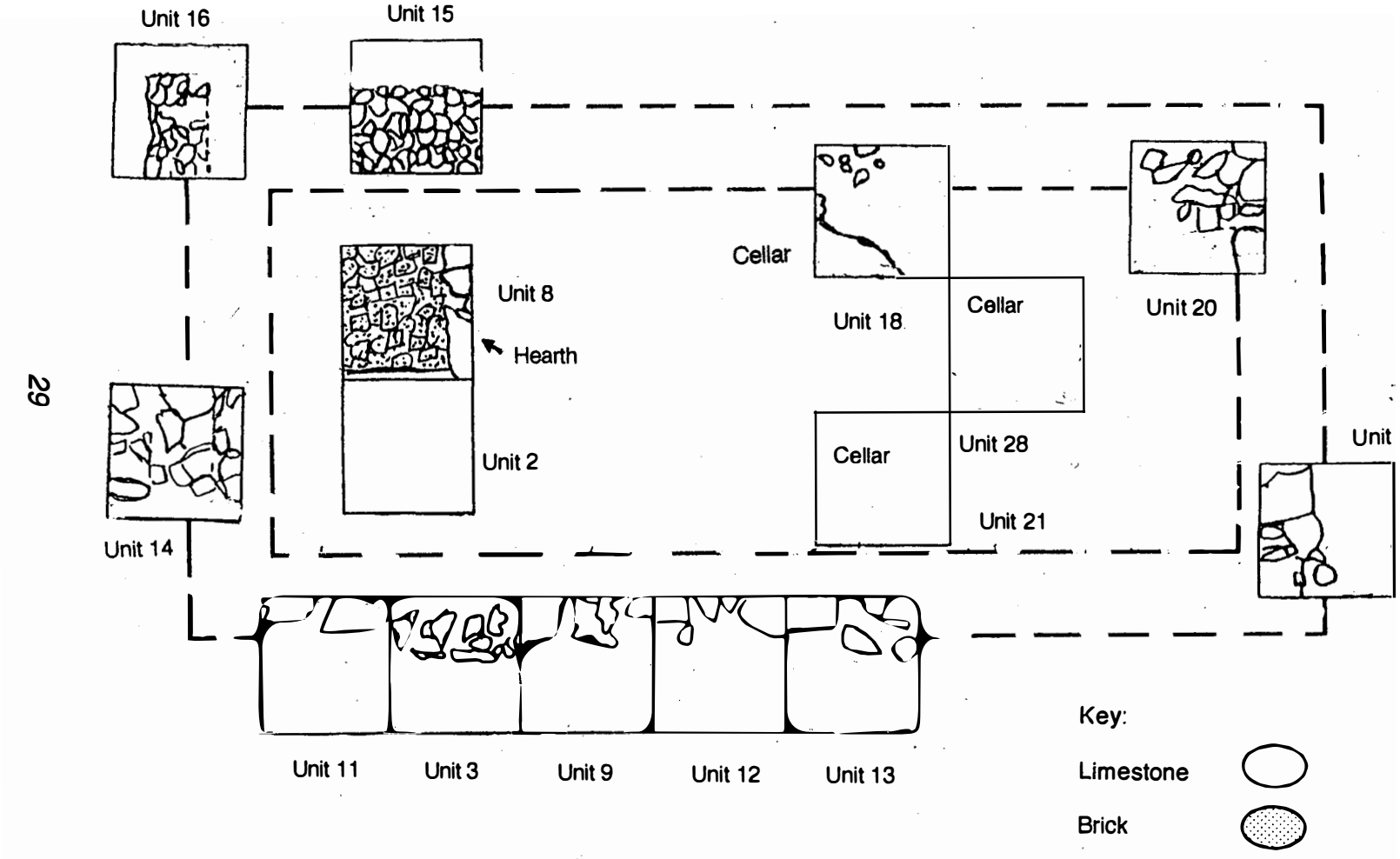


Figure 5 - Plan view of Blount Mansion slave quarters' foundation (not to scale).

assemblage. The small sample size could cause some bias in interpretation.

Utilizing ceramics as a means of dating the historic levels in the crawl space under the quarters, the earliest occupation dates for this structure were during the 1790's. Ceramics and window glass found on top of the brick fill of the fireplace base indicate that the hearth was destroyed in the early 1830's. The window glass and ceramic sherds are large suggesting that they had either been protected under the building, and when the structure was moved were redeposited in the hearth, or alternatively, they were discarded into the ruins of the foundation and quickly covered. The mean ceramic date for the ceramic sherds found on the fireplace base is 1837.4 and a window glass date calculated using the Moir formula (1987) is 1833.76 (Faulkner 1993). After this time period household deposits accumulated over the quarters area, but these only contained refuse from the Mansion. The midden located in the south section of the yard will be analyzed only in comparison to the time period 1792-1830. These archaeological excavations yielded data to address the last three questions posed in this thesis; what were characteristics of the Blount slave lifeways, how did this lifeway compare to that of the Blounts, and was there evidence of an African heritage in the slave assemblage? The Blount slave lifeways are best revealed in the slave quarters structure, their diet as reflected in faunal remains, and their material possessions.

Slave Housing

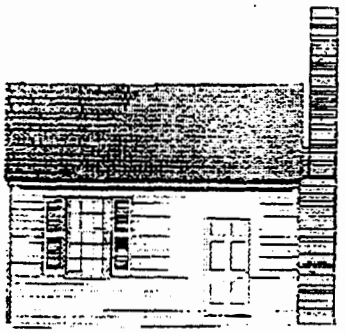
By the early 19th century, slave holders throughout the South became concerned about the care and management of slaves. Housing was an important topic in slave management. Most masters advised that the houses be one-story measuring 16 x 18 feet and elevated two to three feet off the ground. Slave housing should also have a brick chimney and windows for air and light. Most accounts agree that houses should not be overcrowded, averaging 6-10 slaves per house. Each slave would have 28.8-48 square feet of space (Breeden 1980).

The Blount slave quarters was a frame structure built on a dressed limestone

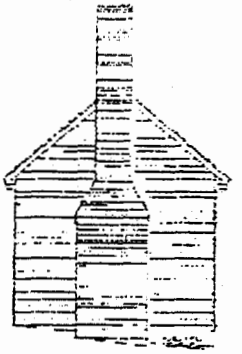
block foundation. The building was 14 feet by 20 feet with an east to west orientation. The east-west axis of the foundation was aligned with the Governor's office indicating that the structure was part of an early compound. Posts from the compound fence indicate the quarters anchored the southwest corner of the enclosure. The base of a gable end fireplace with a dressed limestone foundation was found in Unit 8. Each block measured about two feet in length and one foot in width and height. Within the fireplace foundation was a fill of broken salmon "soaker" bricks forming the base of the hearth. No artifacts were found within the brick fill, and only hammer-dressed limestone flakes from the construction of the foundation were found in the prehistoric humus layer beneath the foundation.

Three units, 18, 21, and 28 were excavated into a "cellar" or crawl space beneath the cabin floor. Most of the domestic artifacts were found within these units. The "cellar" was actually a space caused by a slope in the yard. The slaves apparently deposited household refuse into this crawl space through a trap door or removable boards near the hearth. This suggests the crawl space may have been used for the storage of food stuffs or as a hiding place for valuables before it was abandoned and filled with refuse.

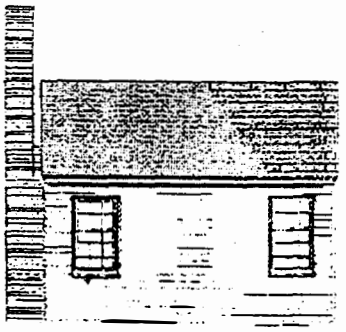
The quarters appears to have been moved in the 1830's and is probably now the existing west wing of mansion (Faulkner 1993). If this is true, then it provides information on the construction of the quarters and spatial relationships in the rear yard. If the quarters was moved directly from the south and attached to the Mansion to the north, then the original location of the windows and doors can be determined by studying the west wing (Figure 6). Doors were located on the northwest side of the quarters and the east gable end. Three windows were in the north, east, and south elevations of the building (Emrick and Fore 1992). Excavations have determined that a defensive fence connected the buildings together with the outside wall of the governor's office, slave quarters, cooling shed, and Mansion acting as an extension of the fence. The original fence was more than likely built as a defense against threat of Native American hostilities. The entry way and most of the windows faced toward the interior of the compound. According to



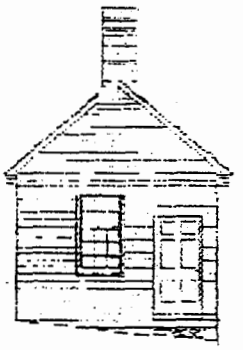
North Elevation ca. 1800 - 1812
not to scale



West Elevation ca. 1800 - 1812
not to scale



South Elevation ca. 1800 - 1812
not to scale



East Elevation ca. 1800 - 1812
not to scale

Figure 6 - West wing of Blount Mansion from Emrick and Fore 1992.

Wade in his study of urban slavery, this was a common practice to enforce the idea of lack of privacy and loss of freedom for the slave (Wade 1964:59-62).

The Blount Mansion slave quarters is comparable to other slave housing found throughout East Tennessee. There are several known extant slave houses in the East Tennessee area dating to about the same time period. An unpublished paper by Deborah German (1992) provides data about standing East Tennessee slave houses. Most of the slave houses are double or multiple pens located in rural areas. It is presumed that a family or unit of slaves would live in each pen.

The Brabson slave house was built in Sevier County around 1830 by John Brabson II, a wealthy land owner. The Brabsons owned as many as 32 slaves (Andrews 1988:26). The Brabson slave house is a braced frame story and a half saddlebag house with a gable roof. The house was built on a continuous limestone and sandstone foundation and measures 17 feet 8 inches by 40 feet (German 1992:8). The two pens were separated by a chimney with a hearth opening on either side. Each pen would equal approximately 20 feet by 17 feet 8 inches or 340 square feet and would presumably hold 16 slaves allotting an area of approximately 21 feet per person if all 32 slaves resided in this structure.

The Brazelton slave house is a double pen story and a half brick structure located in New Market, Tennessee. The house dates to about 1832. The building is approximately 20 feet by 29 feet with each pen approximately measuring 14 by 18 feet or 252 square feet. There are two windows and two doors in the facade of the house. On each gable end there is a window on the main level and two loft windows with a chimney at each end. The rear elevation has one window and one door. William Brazelton owned 48 slaves in 1850 (German 1992:18). This was not the only slave house provided for the Brazelton slaves; therefore, it would be difficult to calculate area per person.

The Fain slave house is located in Dandridge, Tennessee. Dating to about 1843, it is a rectangular brick structure with four pens with evidence of more pens originally. Each pen measures approximately 17 feet 11 inches by 15 feet 2 inches. Each pen had one window in the rear elevation and a door in the facade. At

one time the Fains owned 62 slaves (German 1992:25).

The Lenoir slave houses date to the 1850's, a little later than the Blount slave quarters. The two houses are virtually identical. They are rectangular structures with four interior partitions with a chimney at the gable ends. The four sections were accessible to each other through doorways. One room measures 16 1/2 by 18 feet while the other is somewhat smaller at 16 1/2 by 8 feet. The Lenoirs owned 27 slaves (German 1992:29). Each house may have held 14 slaves with 7 people in each pen with 297 square feet. Presumedly, each individual would have an area of 42 feet.

These four slave houses are larger than the Blount slave quarters. However, if the pens are measured individually, they are roughly the same size as the Blount slave quarters. These data indicate that the Blount slave quarters was similar to area slave houses; however, the amount of individual space the Blount slaves had probably varied through time.

From 1792-1804, there were approximately 10 slaves living in a 280 square foot space. Each slave would presumedly have 28 square feet of space. This amount of space would have been at the low end for slave management during the mid 19th century (Breeden 1980). However, if four of the slaves lived in the kitchen as has been suggested (Oakley 1993), each person would have had 47 square feet of space. The slave quarters may have held anywhere from 6 to 21 slaves during the period 1804-1824. These data indicate each person would have had anywhere from 13 to 47 square feet of space with an average of 30 square feet.

Most of Knoxville's Euro-American population lived in log houses during the frontier period (Bergeron 1997). Surveys of standing log structures found throughout East Tennessee range in size from 18 x 13 to 36 x 18 feet. Typical dimensions were 26 x 20, 25 x 20, 26 x 18, 24 x 18, 25 x 17, 24 x 16, 22 x 16, and 20 x 15 feet (Morgan 1991). The Blount Mansion slave quarters is at the low end of these dimensions. While it is not known how may people lived in these log structures, the average log house in East Tennessee was larger than the Blount Mansion slave quarters.

Slave Foodways

The subsistence of the African-Americans at Blount Mansion has been studied by Carey Coxe in an M.A. thesis (1998) through the faunal material excavated from the slave quarters units and the refuse midden in the rear yard at the Blount Mansion site . The following discussion on slave diet is taken from Coxe's study (1998). In this study, each bone or bone fragment was examined to determine taxon, element, element portion, age at death, and any bone modification. Coxe compared the Blount slave subsistence pattern to other slave sites on Upland South plantations. He found that the slaves at Blount Mansion seemed to have consumed more fish than rural slaves and farmers in the Upland South. He also determined that the quality of pork cuts are better than those recovered at the rural plantations. Coxe warns that several factors should be taken into account for the question to what degree the faunal assemblage is a representative sample of the Blount slave diet. First, the placement of the excavation units may not have encompassed all the areas of refuse disposal, therefore, the sample may not represent all of the faunal material deposited by the slaves. Second, some bones were unidentifiable due to degree of preservation, bone completeness, and bone morphology. In general, certain bones, such as denser mammal fragments, survive better in the archaeological record. Since all the deposits were sifted through 1/4 inch screen, recovery bias is minimized. All these factors should be taken into account when interpreting the diet of the slaves themselves and when comparing this diet to that represented in the south midden.

Coxe examined several aspects of the faunal remains to interpret the slave diet. These include taxa composition, skeletal portions and butchering, age at death indicators, and evidence of burning. A total of 4,237 faunal specimens was recovered from the Blount Mansion slave quarters. Of this total, 77% were vertebrate while 23% were invertebrates. Only 12% were identified to the taxonomic level of order or a lower category while 84% were identified to the class level. Mammals accounted for 60% of the vertebrate faunal assemblage. Pig was

the most consumed mammal with 47% of identifiable species in this class while cow was only 7% of identified species. A single goat or sheep bone was found in the earliest deposits. Identified wild mammal taxa included skunk, opossum, squirrel, wood rat, mouse, and rat. Only 1.5% of the bones identified to species were from wild species and were only found in the crawl space of units 21 and 28. While these smaller bones are less likely to survive through time, the small amount that is present indicates that the Blount slaves occasionally hunted for wild game.

Birds account for 13% of the vertebrate bones recovered. These include domestic chicken (17%), phasianidae or chicken-like bird (5.5%), quail (1%), mallard (<1%), teal (<1%), and Canada goose (<1%). Since avian bones are less sturdy than mammal bones, they may be under represented in the archaeological record. Apparently, chicken bones at the Blount Mansion slave quarters represent the highest minimum number of individuals (7) of any animal on the site. Domestic chicken was most likely used to supplement the slaves' diet and it has been documented that slaves often had their own gardens and raised chickens for meat and eggs (Coxe 1998). Egg shell was recovered from the crawl space within the slave quarters indicating that eggs were a staple of the slave diet.

Fish represent 20% of the overall vertebrate assemblage including freshwater drum, channel catfish, various suckers, sunfish/bass, and gar. These species were available from the Tennessee River, located directly below the Blount slave quarters. Fish remains were well represented in the vertebrate taxa possibly due to the site's location on the Tennessee River. The high number suggests that the Blount slaves fished to supplement their diet.

A single turtle carapace fragment was the only reptile element. Amphibian bones do not preserve well, but were represented by seven bones attributed to frog or toad. It is unusual to have such a small number of this taxa due to its proximity to the river. The low number of turtle and amphibian bones indicates the slaves did not hunt the banks of the Tennessee River.

Depositional areas examined by Coxe indicated that a unit located near the north wall window and door contained the most bone. The second largest bone

assemblage came from the crawl space underneath the cabin in units 18, 21, and 28. The crawl space was evidently an area for refuse disposal as well as the area outside the window and door.

Element frequency can indicate whether the animal was butchered on or off the site. Skeletal portions may reveal the economic status of the slaves. Typical butchering marks include sawing or chopping with a cleaver and cutting with a knife. Each butchering method leaves distinct traces.

Pig portions present at the slave quarters were the head, shoulder, upper and lower forelimbs, back, ribs, rump, lower hind limb, and feet, indicating that nearly every part of the pig was used. The elements of the pig divided in the categories of meat yield reveal the quality of the meat consumed by the slaves. This analysis revealed that each category of high, medium, and low were equally represented indicating that the Blount slaves had access to the best and worst cuts of the pig. There were only seven bones with evidence of butchering marks. Saw, chop, and knife marks were found on these elements indicating both some retail meat purchase and home meat processing. One interesting find is that 65% of the pig bones found at the quarters were cranial and foot elements. While the slaves may have had access to the best and worst cuts, this high percentage indicates that they often received the least desirable cuts.

The quantity of cow bones recovered at the quarters was relatively small. Several factors could have contributed to the low number of these bones, including availability and a different depositional location. Foot bones were the most common element found. However, when comparing the meat yield categories, the high yield categories were the most common. This may indicate that when the slaves dined on beef, they often consumed the best cuts. Since Blount owned a farm, it is possible that the butchering took place there where certain elements were shared with the Mansion and slave quarters residents. However, the Chisholm beef market was located just a few hundred feet from the Mansion making it easier to purchase cuts of meat than to butcher the whole animal (Coxe 1998:75).

The age at which the animals were butchered can answer many questions,

including economy of the site, herd management, and alternative uses of animals. The age at death of pigs at the Blount Mansion slave quarters indicates that none of the individuals were younger than one year old and most were under two years, indicating that the pigs were slaughtered during their prime. Age estimations could only be obtained from two cow elements; one was aged 3 - 3.5 years old the other at 2.5 years old.

Only one percent of the faunal remains show evidence of burning. Burning could indicate the roasting of meat in the fireplace, or could have occurred after consumption when the bones were discarded into the fire. The burned bone was recovered mainly in the crawl space, hearth, and near the location of structure openings (Coxe 1998). These depositional patterns probably indicate cleaning from the hearth into the crawl space and trash midden.

To summarize the protein diet of the Blount slaves, it mainly consisted of meat from domestic mammals, primarily pork, supplemented with chicken. Some wild game was hunted including skunk, opossum, squirrel, quail, duck, and goose. Fish was a main supplement to a meat diet. Turtles and frogs constituted a small portion of the diet. All parts of the cow and pig were represented; however, most of the pork was from the head and foot elements. A smaller portion of beef was available but they usually consumed the more choice cuts of meat. Most of these faunal remains were recovered from the crawl space and near the opening in the north wall. Botanical remains were also found within the structure; however, they have yet to be analyzed.

Ceramics

It has been demonstrated that ceramics are a good indicator of socioeconomic status (Miller and Stone 1970). Other data can also be inferred from ceramics such as mean ceramic dates of archaeological levels, socioeconomic trends over time, use ware patterns, and minimum number of vessels. These data collected from the ceramics found in the slave quarters are compared to the ceramics of the midden in

the rear yard. For the purpose of this study, only the units from the crawl space will be used in order to adequately compare the ceramics to the units in the rear yard midden.

The ceramics (Table 4) found under the slave quarters consisted of creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and porcelain. While ceramics in each level changed through time, the overall ceramic assemblage consisted of pearlware (58%), followed by porcelain (22.8%), creamware (11.4%), whiteware (6.6%), and one sherd of jackfield redware (<1%). The pearlware types included: plain (41%), transfer print (25%), underglaze polychrome hand-painted broad line (10%), underglaze blue hand-painted fine line (10%), underglaze polychrome hand-painted fine line (8%), underglaze blue hand painted broad line (3%), and green shell edge (3%). The Chinese export porcelain consisted of overglaze enameled (39%), plain (30%), underglaze hand painted (22%), and gilted (9%). Whiteware types included plain (71%), transfer print (14%), and annular (14%). Creamware types were plain (83%), annular (8%), and overglaze enameled (8%). The high frequency of pearlware (58%) and small concentration of whiteware (6.6%) indicate a date during the early 19th century. No utilitarian ware was found under the slave quarters. This could indicate that there was little meal preparation done in the quarters itself. Since the kitchen was directly in front of the slave quarters, this assumption seems plausible.

Levels 8-18 in units 21 and 28 were dated as follows using Stanley South's (1977) mean ceramic date method: level 8 - 1828, level 9 - 1814, level 10 - 1813, level 11 - 1808, level 12 - 1808, level 13 - 1808, level 14 - 1806, level 15 - 1803, level 16 - 1805, level 17 - 1800, and level 18 - 1803. The range for the slave quarters occupation would be from 1800-1828 according to these mean ceramic dates. Since only two units were analyzed, this is a very small sample from the artifact assemblage under the slave quarters. The large gap in time from levels 8 and 9 from 1814 to 1828 could indicate that the slave quarters was left unoccupied during this time. While mean ceramic dates are an average, the fact that the other levels have dates all within a few years of each other suggests that there may have

Table 4 - Ceramic Distribution for slave quarters.

Type	L8	L9	L10	L11	L12	L13	L14	L15	L16	L17	L18	Tot
Pearlware:												
Polychrome Fine Line	1				1		1				2	**5**
Polychrome Broad Line	3	1		2								**6**
Underglaze Blue Broad Line	2		2			1						**5**
Underglaze Blue Fine Line	1					1	1		1		4	
Transfer Print	1	4	3		2	4	1					**14**
Green Shell Edge		1		1								**2**
Plain	2	4	2	4	2	3	3	2	1	1	1	**25**
Creamware:												
Overglaze Enameled	1											**1**
Annular					1							**1**
Plain	2			1			1	1		4	1	**12**
Whiteware:												
Transfer Print	1											**1**
Annular	1											**1**
Plain	3	1										**4**
Porcelain												
Chinese Export Overglaze	1		1		3	1				2	1	**9**
Chinese Export Underglaze				1	2	2						**5**
Chinese Export Gilted		1		1								**2**
Chinese Export Plain	4			1		2						**7**
English Plain		1										**1**
Total												**105**

been a lapse in time when no one occupied the quarters. This time period, 1814-1828, is also a gray area in the occupation of the Mansion. While Willie Blount owned the house until 1818, some sources point to him living in Middle Tennessee. In addition, the Mansion passed through sons-in-laws' hands within a few years of each other. It is possible that they did not actually live in the house. Matthew McClung bought the house in 1825 which may have been the actual date the quarters was reoccupied.

Many recent studies have analyzed vessel forms as indicators of the diet of site occupants (Ferguson 1992;Yentsch 1996). Thirty-six ceramic sherds were identified as hollowware, comprising 34% of the total ceramic sherds while 43 (41%) were identified as flatware and 26 were unidentifiable as to vessel form. As for specific vessel function, the ceramic sherds could be identified from saucers (15%), plates (14%), flatware (12%), cups (15%), hollowware (15%), bowls (4%), platters (1%), and unidentifiable (15%).

Different wares discovered in ceramic assemblages can be used as status indicators. The least expensive of the wares according to Miller (1980) are the undecorated white earthen wares (creamware) referred to as CC for cream color. The second cheapest would be the edge decorated vessels including pearlware and creamware. The third would be hand painted types followed by transfer printed with blue willow as the least expensive of this latter type. There are no data for porcelain.

The most abundant ware in the slave assemblage is made up of plain pearlware (24%); however, the plain pearlware sherds are undoubtedly fragments of decorated vessels. The next most abundant type is transfer printed pearlware (14%) which is the most expensive in the late 18th and early 19th century (Miller 1980). The prices of most of these types fluctuate as their popularity and availability change; however, the transfer print pearlware is found in levels 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, and 14 with mean ceramics dates of 1828, 1814, 1808, 1808, 1806, respectively. There are no transfer printed pearlware vessels in the lower levels, but this could be due to the introduction of transfer printed pearlware in the early 19th century. With

these mean ceramic dates, the transfer printed pearlware is present when it was at the height of its popularity and the most expensive. The transfer printed pearlware could have belonged to William and Mary Blount and was given to the slaves after the Blounts died in 1800 and 1802, respectively. The next most abundant type is plain creamware which is the cheapest. The third is overglaze enameled porcelain, which at import prices, should have been a more expensive product. It is interesting that the slaves had both expensive and inexpensive ceramics in almost equal quantity.

Cut marks and nicks on ceramic vessels indicate specific use of those vessels. Some archaeologists have utilized wear marks on vessels (Ferguson 1992) to find that vessels made for a certain purpose are utilized for something else. Some hollow ware vessels functioned as bowls for stews and soups. Cut marks inside a tea cup could sometimes indicate that the cup was used for more than just consuming beverages. Similarly, many knife marks on a plate indicate that the plate was used for a long time. However, no unusual use wear marks were noted on the ceramic sherds found under the slave quarters. This could possibly be due to the small sherd size or small sample size of the assemblage. It could also mean that the slaves were using the vessels as they were normally used by Euro-Americans.

There are also different frequencies in ceramic types in the levels excavated in the slave quarters. Some changes can be attributed to the appearance of new vessel types over time but some can perhaps indicate a change in the quarter's occupation from the Blounts to the McClungs. Shifts in typological frequency may also be due to different households living in the quarters and the Mansion. Transfer printed pearlware and Chinese export porcelain occur frequently throughout the assemblage. In level 15 with a date of 1802.8, Chinese export makes up 33.3% of the entire ceramics, while it makes up 20% in Level 17 (1800.5), and goes up to 50% in level 12 (1808.4). The percentage for this type in Levels 9-11 (1807.2-1814.2) is low while it increases to 22.7% of the assemblage in Level 8 (1828). This could possibly indicate a change in occupation of the quarters. Level 8 also has the most diversity of types than all the other levels. Transfer printed pearlware is

especially abundant in Level 13 with 33.3% (1808.5), Level 10 with 42.9% (1813.4), and Level 9 with 33.3% (1814.2). There is a very small amount of transfer print in Level 8 while the second most abundant decorative type is underglaze polychrome pearlware (18.2%), which is not found anywhere near this quantity in any other level. Both the differences in vessel styles and the gap in mean ceramic dates from levels 8 to level 9 may indicate a period when the quarters was abandoned until the McClungs moved into the Mansion in 1825.

At the Mabry site in Knox County, the slaves had a larger diversity of ceramic sets than the master (McKelway 1994). Such diversity can result from the slaves obtaining "hand-me-down" ceramics from the master. Another alternative would be that the slaves purchased their own ceramics. The Blount Mansion quarters reveal a considerable diversity in ceramics but it is also to important to determine how many vessels are represented and whether they are from the same set. Of the 105 ceramic sherds, a minimum of 14 sets are represented by at least four overglaze enameled porcelain cups, two overglaze enameled porcelain saucers, a minimum of four underglaze blue pearlware saucers, and a minimum of three sets of blue transfer printed pearlware. All the Chinese export porcelain appears to be from the same set. These vessels represent a wide diversity of ceramic sets.

Dress

Clothing artifacts such as buttons and pins reveal what slaves wore and how they obtained their clothing. There was an abundance of clothing items found in the crawl space of the slave quarters. These small artifacts could have fallen between cracks in the floor, discarded through a floor opening, or they could have been hidden under the building.

Pins. Metal straight pins were the most common item found under the quarters. There was a total of 99 pins found within the crawl space. These pins were often used by women to fasten their short gowns. Short gowns were typical

garments worn during the 18th and early 19th century by the working class as well as the wealthier for daytime wear. Pins were also used to fasten the neckerchief which was worn around the neck for modesty. Most women during the 18th century wore these garments (Gilgun 1993). Pins were a useful item when sewing garments, and their abundance may indicate the practice of sewing, suggesting the slaves manufactured or repaired clothing for the Blounts or for their own use.

A grommet that was used to hold shoe laces was found in Unit 18, level 8. The grommet was rather small, perhaps suggesting a woman's shoe. Grommets became common in the manufacture of shoes as early as the 1830's (Pat Clarke, personal communication). This date coincides with the latest date of the quarter's occupation.

Buttons. Buttons were the second most abundant clothing artifact found within the quarters. There was a total of 17 buttons found in the crawl space (see Table 5). The majority of the buttons were yellow metal (68%), followed by bone (13%), glass (10%), ceramic (3%), horn (3%), and shell (3%). Yellow metal buttons are the most abundant of all the materials (68%). The term yellow metal is used to describe buttons made of brass, copper, bronze, or a combination of metals. Atomic absorption spectroscopic analysis of metal buttons reveals that different metals were often present in buttons (Faulkner 1986). According to one study, most metal buttons were imported and were used as a base for a fabric covering (Pool 1989). Fabric covered buttons were at the height of their popularity in the 18th century because they were the easiest to manufacture. Many of the metal buttons found were probably fabric covered. The larger metal buttons (see Table 5) would have been used for vests, coats, and cloaks (Young 1993). The bone buttons were often used for undergarments since they were not as attractive as the fabric covered types. Bone buttons were also used for men's breeches (Young 1993). Mother of pearl buttons were imported from Europe until the mid-19th century. Pearl and shell buttons were also difficult to produce making them more expensive than bone or metal. Most glass buttons were made in

Table 5 - Buttons from Blount Mansion slave quarters.

Provenience	Material	Diameter	Description	Clothing Type
Unit 18 Level 9	brass	10 mm	no eye or back	sleeve
Unit 18 Level 10	copper	14 mm	unsoldered eye	sleeve
Unit 18 Level 16	copper	21 mm	eyehole	coat/vest
Unit 18 Level 16	ceramic	14 mm	round	dress
Unit 21 Level 11	copper	17 mm	round w/flat eyehole	sleeve
Unit 21 Level 12	copper	14 mm	eyehole attached	sleeve
Unit 21 Level 12	copper	14 mm	round ball w/ eye	dress
Unit 21 Level 12	copper	29 mm	round flat no eyehole	coat/vest
Unit 21 Level 12	glass	12 mm	black faceted	dress
Unit 21 Level 12	shell	10 mm	four hole	
Unit 28 Level 10	brass	18 mm	missing shank	
Unit 28 Level 11	brass	17 mm	shanked	
Unit 28 Level 11	bone	12 mm	five hole	breeches/under
Unit 28 Level 11	horn	13 mm	shanked	dress
Unit 28 Level 15	milk glass	11 mm	four hole	
Unit 28 Level 17	bone	16 mm	one hole	breeches/under
Unit 28 Level 18	brass	24 mm	flat	coat/vests

Czechoslovakia (Pool 1989). The glass button found in the crawl space was black faceted, and was probably from a dress. The horn button and a round shanked yellow metal button found were also from dresses. The variety of button types and sizes suggests that the slaves at Blount Mansion were adequately clothed and that both men and women were living in the quarters.

Other than the buttons found under the slave quarters, the only other evidence for slave clothing in Knoxville is from advertisements in the local newspaper for runaway slaves. The advertisements do not mention quality or manufacture of the clothing; however, the presence of formal items such as waistcoats, roundabouts, and stockings is evidence for a higher quality of clothing. One advertisement lists two muslin shirts and one new flax shirt. Flax or linen was a more expensive fabric than muslin or cotton. There are also numerous items of clothing mentioned in the runaway advertisements. The buttons found under the Blount Mansion slave quarters fit the advertisements' descriptions of Euro-American style clothing.

Beads and Jewelry. Beads are the next most abundant artifact within the clothing category, and are significant cultural indicators (see Table 6, Figure 7). During the 18th and early 19th centuries, beads were often worn by African-American women (Foster 1997), and have been associated with slaves in other areas of the South.

Beads are often found at African-American sites (Stine, Cabak, and Groover 1996). The Blount Mansion slave quarters is no exception. There was a total of 33 glass beads found under the quarters: 13 blue (39.3%), 5 yellow (15%), 3 black (9.1%), 3 white (9.1%), 3 clear (9.1%), 2 off-white (6.2%), 2 green (6.2%), 1 red (3%), and 1 brown (3%). Six beads were seed beads, probably sewn on bags, belts, or clothing. The remainder are probably from necklaces.

A marine shell bead was also recovered from Unit 18, Level 10. The bead's hole was made naturally. The bead was made of a shell known as a "bubble" shell. There are several species of bubble shells indigenous to the Atlantic coast area from

Table 6 - Beads found under Blount Mansion Slave Quarters

Provenience	N=	Color	Description
Unit 18 Level 9	1	white	cylindrical
Unit 18 Level 9	1	blue	round
Unit 18 Level 10	1	green	round
Unit 18 Level 12	1	clear	faceted
Unit 18 Feature 34	1	green	cylindrical
Unit 21 Level 9	1	clear	seed
Unit 21 Level 10	1	brown	round
Unit 21 Level 11	1	yellow	seed
Unit 21 Level 11	1	white	seed
Unit 28 Level 8	1	off-white	round
Unit 28 Level 9	1	off-white	round
Unit 28 Level 10	1	blue	round
Unit 28 Level 11	1	white	cylindrical
Unit 28 Level 11	1	black	faceted
Unit 28 Level 11	2	blue	round
Unit 28 Level 12	1	blue	round
Unit 28 Level 12	1	blue	seed
Unit 28 Level 12	1	yellow	seed
Unit 28 Level 12	1	blue	round
Unit 28 Level 12	2	blue	round
Unit 28 Level 12	1	yellow	round
Unit 28 Level 13	1	blue	round
Unit 28 Level 13	1	blue	seed
Unit 28 Level 13	1	blue	cylindrical
Unit 28 Level 14	1	red	faceted
Unit 28 Level 14	2	black	round
Unit 28 Level 15	1	clear	faceted
Unit 28 Level 15	1	blue	round
Unit 28 Level 18	2	yellow	cylindrical

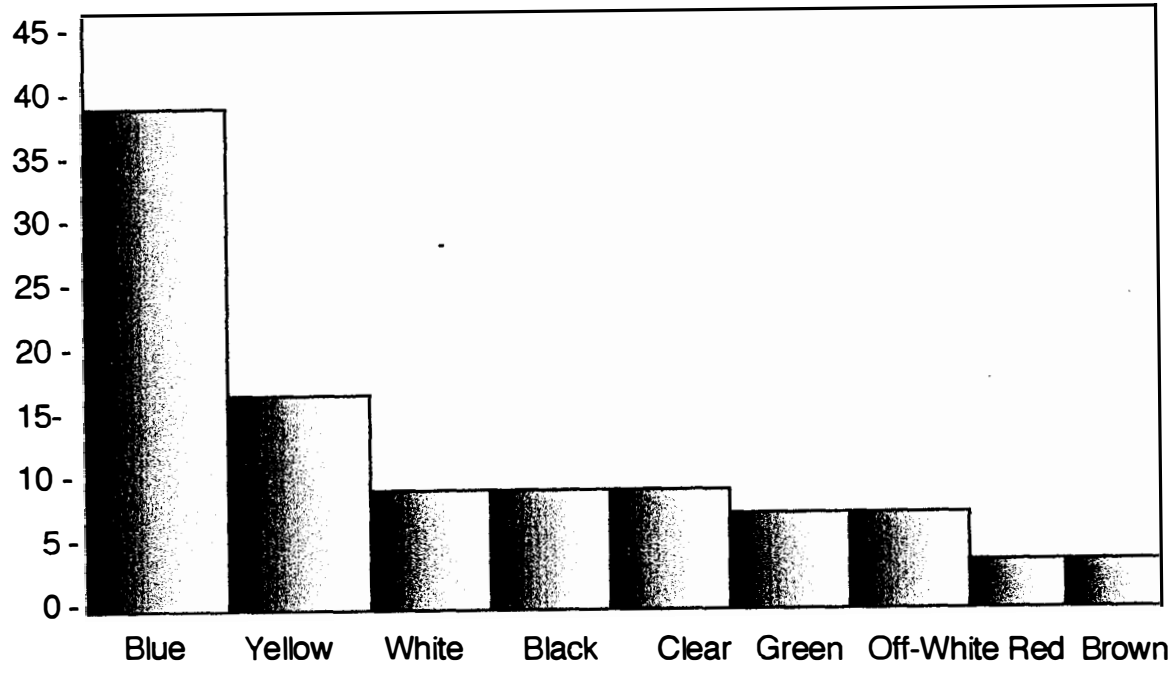


Figure 7 - Distribution of beads by color

Florida to North Carolina (personal communication Judith Patterson). The bead may have been acquired from trade with Native Americans or other African-Americans.

The beads found at slave quarters are not an indication of the amount of beads the slaves owned. The excavated objects would have fallen between the cracks of the quarters or on the ground outside, in contrast to whole necklaces that would have been found with burials. The number of beads recovered from a site can also depend on the amount of flotation or fine water screening of soil.

Compared to Euro-American sites the number of beads found in the Blount Mansion slave quarters is high. Only five beads were found at the James White Second Home Site . These included an opaque white bead, two fragments of a dark blue bead, and an opaque black spheroidal bead (Faulkner 1984). No beads were recovered from the Nicholas Gibbs (Faulkner 1988) and Bell (Stinson 1999) sites. Flotation and fine water screening was conducted at both the Gibbs and Bell sites (Faulkner, personal communication). One faceted jet bead was found at the Ramsey House (Roberts 1986). The small number of beads found at Euro-American sites in Knoxville indicates that beads were more common on African-American sites in the area. Other jewelry found within the slave quarters was a possible yellow metal pendant. The object has a clasp with an attached metal ring. This may be a recycled item.

Activities

Marbles. Ten marbles were found under the slave quarters (Table 7). The majority of the marbles were stone (80%) while there was one clay and one made of marble. Slave narratives yield evidence that young slave children played with marbles in the early 19th century (Webber 1980), while marbles were primarily played by young men in European society (Walker 1971). Marbles may have had a different function for adult African-Americans. Marbles with an "x" carved into them have been found in the slave quarters at Locust Grove in Kentucky and the Hermitage in Nashville, Tennessee. The "x's" and other symbols are believed to

Table 7 - Marbles found under slave quarters.

Provenience	Material	Diameter	Description
Unit 18 Level 9	clay	16 mm	tan
Unit 18 Level 10	marble	15 mm	grey
Unit 18 Level 12	stone	14 mm	grey
Unit 21 Level 9	stone	17 mm	grey
Unit 21 Level 9	stone	17 mm	cream
Unit 21 Level 11	stone	16 mm	grey
Unit 21 Level 12	stone	16 mm	grey
Unit 28 Level 9	stone	15 mm	grey
Unit 28 Level 10	stone	15 mm	grey
Unit 28 Level 11	stone	16 mm	yellow

be related to West African cosmology (Young 1995). The marbles found at the Blount Mansion slave quarters do not have any identifiable symbols, but two stone marbles had been modified. The marbles were carved on the surface with some small instrument. There is no obvious pattern to the engravings but it is evident that the markings were deliberate.

The number of marbles may be an indication of some free time for the slaves. Having free time is additional evidence for a task related system rather than one based on gang labor. With a task system, once certain tasks are completed, the slaves have "free" time. The practice of "hiring out" in Knoxville also points to the task labor system.

The number of marbles is comparable to Euro-American sites in Knoxville. There were six marbles found at the Ramsey house (Roberts 1985). Three of these marbles were made of baked clay. No early marbles were recovered at the Nicholas Gibbs House (Faulkner 1989). The James White second home site yielded 18 marbles. Twelve were made of limestone, five were clay, and one was a ribbon swirled glass marble (Faulkner 1984). By far, the most marbles were found at White's Home. The other two Euro-American sites yielded less or no marbles at all.

Tobacco Pipes . Clay tobacco pipes are commonly found on 18th century sites. However, they have a special significance in relation to slave sites. In Virginia, a variety of hand-made clay pipes was discovered in various plantation contexts (Yentsch 1994). These hand made pipes were originally thought to have been manufactured by Native Americans because of the bowl designs. However, it was later discovered that while the form of the pipe was European, the designs were both Native American and African suggesting the pipes were made by slaves. Pipes were made in West Africa and have been found at 18th century sites in that area (Yentsch 1994). Of all the artifacts uncovered at Blount Mansion, clay tobacco pipes and beads are the only artifacts found that have also been recovered from West African sites.

Smoking was apparently of great importance to Africans. Richard Jobson (1623) describes that both African men and women were more often than not seen with pipes. It is also said that they could not live without the tobacco pipes. The pipes were very much like the European design made of clay with a long stem; however, pipes from Africa were made from red clay (Yentsch 1994). The pipe fragments found at the Blount Mansion slave quarters were more than likely of Euro-American design and make. Five stem and two bowl fragments were found. One of the bowl fragments had a wavy design probably hair on a face pipe. The stems of clay pipes were often broken off due to the moisture of smoking. The pipe bowls were only found in the units associated with the cellar, indicating a more intentional disposal method. While only seven pipe fragments were found, it is evident that smoking was an important aspect of the slaves' lives.

Firearms. A spherical lead shot, 4.5 mm in diameter was found in Level 15 of Unit 28. This is buckshot from a shotgun, and is similar in size to a buckshot found on the James White site (Faulkner 1984:137). An unused 40 caliber musket ball was found in Unit 21 Level 12. The musket ball is larger than the typical 36 caliber used in a pistol and smaller than a rifle musket ball. The smaller size suggests it would have been used in a pistol. A side of the ball was damaged during its manufacture, indicating that the slaves may have been molding musket balls in the quarters. A single lead shot and the damaged musket ball are not believed sufficient evidence that the Blount slaves had access to firearms.

CHAPTER IV
African Cultural Markers

Archaeological investigations at Blount Mansion have shown certain characteristics of slave lifeways. Faunal analysis suggests their protein diet was adequate, consisting of domestic as well as wild taxa. The slaves were provided with beef and pork which they supplemented with fish, opossum, squirrel, quail, duck, and goose. Their living space was small with approximately 280 sq feet for 5 to 10 slaves. The quarters was a frame structure approximately 20 x 14 feet with four windows, two doors and a crudely constructed limestone foundation. Ceramics indicate that they had a wide variety of decorated ceramic types and vessel forms. They had an equal quantity of expensive and inexpensive wares. There was no indication that the slaves used their ceramic vessels differently than Euro-Americans. Buttons indicate that clothing was adequate and generally in the Euro-American style. The abundance of straight pins suggests that the slaves were possibly manufacturing their own or the Blounts' clothing. Beads found are an indicator of personal adornment and self expression. The presence of marbles may suggest that the Blount slaves had some leisure time. While the artifacts found under the Blount Mansion slave quarters give insight into slave lifeways, other artifacts and documentary evidence suggest a continuation of certain African traditions.

Archaeologists began studying African-American sites in the 1960's and 1970's. Fueled by the civil rights movement and government funding, they concentrated on issues of interest to historical archaeologists. Archaeologists were mainly concerned with comparing lists of artifacts to detail the socioeconomic differences between slaves and masters. They did little to look at the slave mind set. While cultural anthropologists like Melville Herskovits (1941) were busy pointing out the strengths of the African cultural heritage, archaeologists were concerned with African assimilation. It was not until the late 1980's and early 1990's that archaeologists realized that African-American rebellion against their repression was also reflected in their material culture.

One theory of how the African-Americans adjusted to bondage in a strange land is Ferguson's "creolization" (1992). According to Ferguson, creolization is a sort of blending of cultures through interaction and exchange of ideas. But beyond the idea of creolization, there exists the idea of a series of subcultures existing within slave communities outside the Euro-American norm (Ferguson 1992).

Charles Joyner was the first anthropologist to apply the concept of creolization or subcultures to African American history (Joyner 1984). Joyner applied the linguistic creolization of African and European languages to the material culture and lifeways of 19th century slaves on Waccamaw Neck in South Carolina. He argued that while the material culture of the slaves might appear Euro-American in origin, the way the items were used was strictly African. The way the material things are perceived and used is just as important as where they originated. This is the case of ceramics that were manufactured in England and America but were conceived and used in different ways by African-Americans.

An example would be John Otto's study that demonstrated that slaves on Cannon's Point Plantation in Georgia were eating from English manufactured bowls while the master's family was using plates. Otto suggests that the slaves were eating traditional African meals out of these bowls instead of using plates. Basically, they were using African foodways with European material things. Here the structure of African etiquette is applied to Euro-American material culture (Otto 1984).

While there have been numerous investigations conducted on African American sites, these studies were primarily within the plantation system. Otto's and Ferguson's studies have concluded that there were indeed African influences upon the material culture of the plantation slaves. However, many historians believe that the isolation of rural slave quarters retarded cultural assimilation because it offered few opportunities to be around the rural whites (Yentsch 1994). While this may be a plausible argument within the plantation system, it is unlikely for black-white relationships in an urban environment. Also, a handful of slaves living with a white family as in the upland South or a frontier environment like East Tennessee would also tend to assimilate. There was little separation between the two cultures in the

city with the small lots, a market place, and bustling streets, especially on the frontier where day to day survival was often dependent upon cooperation. It would be more likely for total cultural assimilation to occur at a place like Blount Mansion if it were to occur at all.

Yet, fleeting glimpses of African culture can even be seen through historical documents. While the majority of letters, etc. focus upon the Euro-Americans' culture, the slaves themselves stand out as a testament to their African heritage. It is not known exactly where the slaves from Blount Mansion originated. Most were probably born in the Colonies. It may have been their parents or grandparents who were from Africa. The majority of slaves imported during the slave trade into North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia came from West Africa. The Blounts came from North Carolina and brought most of their slaves with them . However, it is not evident where McClung's slaves, Levi, Lucy and Sarah, were born. While it is impossible to trace their heritage, their names can tell us a little about the struggle of many African-Americans to retain their heritage.

Names

Linguistic studies have compared many West African dialects and naming patterns to discover how slaves received their names (Wood 1974). For many Africans, names had social and personal significance. Some were named for the day of the week, still others were named for certain characteristics or family lineages. Names could describe personal temperament, animal names, place names, birth rank, weather conditions, and African myths. Many of the original African names have been misinterpreted by the English into English sounding names. A few of the slaves that lived at the Blount slave quarters had distinctly African derived names. The name of Venus, for example, was often misinterpreted. Originally, the name was Benah, from Cubena which meant Tuesday. Hagar, Mary Blount's personal nurse, corresponds to the name Haga which is Mende for the feminine meaning lazy. Hagar's son, Jack, was often the misinterpreted Quaco meaning Wednesday.

Cupid might have been a derivation of Cuba meaning Wednesday as well. Sambo, the Hausa name for the second son of the family and signifying disgrace in Mende and Vai, often was shortened to Sam (Wood 1974). Another African name from a McClung slave was Lucy, possibly derived from the African name Liceta (Yentsch 1994). Some of the slaves' names could have biblical origins as well. While it is likely many of the slave's names were strictly Euro-Americans names, it is evident that some are not. Naming practices were a very important factor in African culture; however, many slaves may not have had the freedom to name their own children. Slave names could have significant African cultural origins only if it they were able to name their own children.

Material Culture

While documents about the African-American lifeways at Blount Mansion are important, the only direct evidence is through the archaeological record. Material objects indicate the Blount slaves had a creolized culture. While Blount Mansion's frontier and urban environment probably hindered the retention of African cultural traditions, in small ways, African culture patterns existed in the tobacco pipes, beads, and other material possessions.

Stine, Cabak, and Groover (1996) have cited several arguments as to the interpretations of beads found at slave sites. Some believe that beads were used in similar ways and had the same value as they had in Africa while others hold that the symbolic meaning placed upon beads and jewelry are the archaeologist's invention (Stein, Cabak, and Groover 1996). From the abundance of beads found at African-American sites it is often assumed that they are ethnic markers for African-American sites. Since beads were not worn by European women until the mid-19th century, it is safe to assume that the beads found at Blount Mansion slave quarters occupied from 1792-1830 belonged to the female slaves (Yentsch 1994). Clearly, the beads can tell us a great deal about the slaves at Blount Mansion.

In interpreting jewelry and beads in particular, it is necessary to look at several

factors. The first would be where the slaves acquired the beads. Were they bought or traded in the United States? Second, are the beads a clear link to the customs and traditions of Africa? Also, what was their function? Were they a means of adornment? It is beneficial to examine these factors in order to interpret these small items.

The slaves at Blount Mansion could have acquired beads in three ways. If the slaves at Blount Mansion worked in a task labor system or were hired out, they could have had cash to buy beads. They could have traded locally or with near by Native Americans for these objects. The shell bead was undoubtedly traded from the coast, either with Native Americans or other African-Americans. In Knoxville during the 18th century, there was a commercial network with the east coast but many of the local stores carried only the bare necessities. A third source would be that beads were given to them by the Blount family as gifts. It is almost impossible to tell exactly where the slaves acquired these personal items. In all the possible scenarios, evidence of the beads' importance may be simply in the difficulty of acquiring them. If they had extra money or traded for these items, it would seem more practical to use these means to attain the bare necessities of life. This could also be an indication of the Blount slave socioeconomic status.

It is evident today that beads were highly valued in African society (Steiner 1990). They were originally introduced into West Africa as early as the 15th century where they were used as a means of exchange. Made in Venice, Holland, and Bohemia, beads were soon sought after as exotic items and signs of wealth and status among West Africans (Steiner 1990).

Jewelry had three functions 1) as markers of prestige, 2) for personal adornment, and 3) for protection (Foster 1998). Many travelers through Africa gave accounts for the use of jewelry as markers of prestige (Foster 1998). Important male leaders were adorned in the most eye catching items while closely related people were allowed to wear the next finest adornment. The less beads a person wore the lower they were in social rank (Foster 1998). While amount of ornamentation would not be comparable to blacks and whites within the American

South, it could have been a factor within the black community.

Jewelry and beads could have been worn for personal adornment. However, the difficulty of acquiring jewelry may be an indication that jewelry was not just worn for this purpose. It is more probable that beads and jewelry held more importance for African-Americans.

A third function of jewelry is for protection. There are many instances in former slave accounts of their belief in the object's protective powers (Foster 1998). In West Africa, there is a similar belief. Many slave narratives speak of the use of jewelry as a means of protection from the evil eye, sicknesses, and to guard against general evils. The color blue in particular has special powers of protection in many cultures. In a recent study it has been pointed out that blue beads are the most common color of glass beads found in African-American sites (Stine, Cabak, and Groover 1996). This could be a clear indication of the African-American world view that was passed down from their African heritage. At Blount Mansion, blue beads are the most common color.

There was one other possible piece of jewelry, a copper pendant, found at the quarters. The artifact is made of two parts; a clasp holding a thin ring. The clasp has a hole in it for a necklace or string to loop through. The pendant appears to be constructed of recycled parts from some other object. Pendants were often used like beads as a source of protection against evil. Coins with holes pierced in them were often worn by slaves as pendants and have been found at African-American sites (Young 1995). This copper pendant may be a carry-over of that tradition as well.

While there is only a small amount of jewelry compared to the overall assemblage, it is significant to find even this amount of jewelry in the slave quarters midden. As mentioned previously, the south midden contained only four beads. This is a vastly smaller number if the relative amount of the artifacts found is taken into consideration. While it is more likely that personal items would be found within a domestic space, the rarity of jewelry in the midden could also indicate a cultural difference.

The artifacts at the Blount Mansion slave quarters appear to reflect the African

heritage of the slaves. Jewelry is probably an indication of an African tradition. Tobacco pipes were definitely an important aspect of African culture in the colonies and by extension at Blount Mansion. Linguistic studies have shown that a few of the Blount slave names may have been African derived. Of all the evidence, the glass beads and naming practices stand out. These may be small vestiges of African culture in the slave lifeways at Blount Mansion. The majority of the material culture at the quarters, however, indicates an assimilation into the Euro-American society around them. However, any African material culture present indicates ties to the slaves' heritage. It would have been difficult to retain cultural traits in the context of an urban and frontier environment . They were not totally segregated from their white neighbors as in a plantation setting. The slaves at Blount Mansion, while working and living around other slaves, would have also lived among other classes and races. It is surprising that they retained any African traditions.

CHAPTER V
Slaves and the Blount Household

The final objective in this study is to determine whether a trash midden found in the rear yard of the Blount Mansion site is associated with the slave quarters or the Mansion. If the midden is associated with the Mansion's occupants, it will provide data to compare the socioeconomic status of the Blount household and their slaves. The artifacts should indicate the overall wealth of the slaves and the Mansion occupants. The two areas are compared by examining faunal remains, ceramic wares/types, ceramic vessel forms, and clothing items such as buttons and pins, personal adornment such as beads, and other activities artifacts.

The midden was located south of the quarters separated by a fence from the quarters. Five 3' x 3' units were excavated in this area (Figure 1). Units 7 and 10 were in an area of recent fill while Unit 4 contained a 19th century privy disturbance. Units 5 and 6 were the only units that produced *in situ* late 18th and early 19th century material contemporary with the slave quarters.

Faunal Remains

While the slave quarters excavations revealed 4,237 faunal specimens, the south midden only yielded 372 bones. These were studied by Coxe (1998) and his data are presented below (Figures 8-11). One problem was the small number of units excavated in the midden. Also, bone preservation was not as good in the open midden as under the quarters. To adequately compare the two areas, all factors must be considered including preservation and recovery, taxa composition, skeletal portions and butchering, age at death, and evidence of burning.

Mammals represented 89.81% of the taxa while the quarters mammal bone constituted 60% of the taxa. No wild mammals were represented in the midden. Poorer preservation in the midden could account for the lack of wild taxa but this is unlikely since fragile domestic bird bones were present. Cow, pig, and sheep or

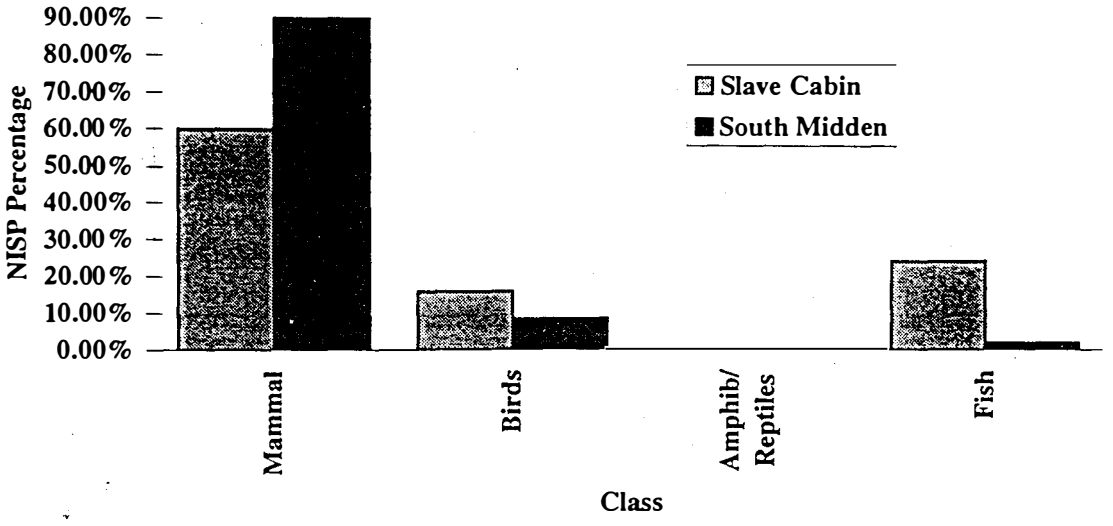


Figure 8 - Quarters and Midden class percentages (from Coxe 1998).

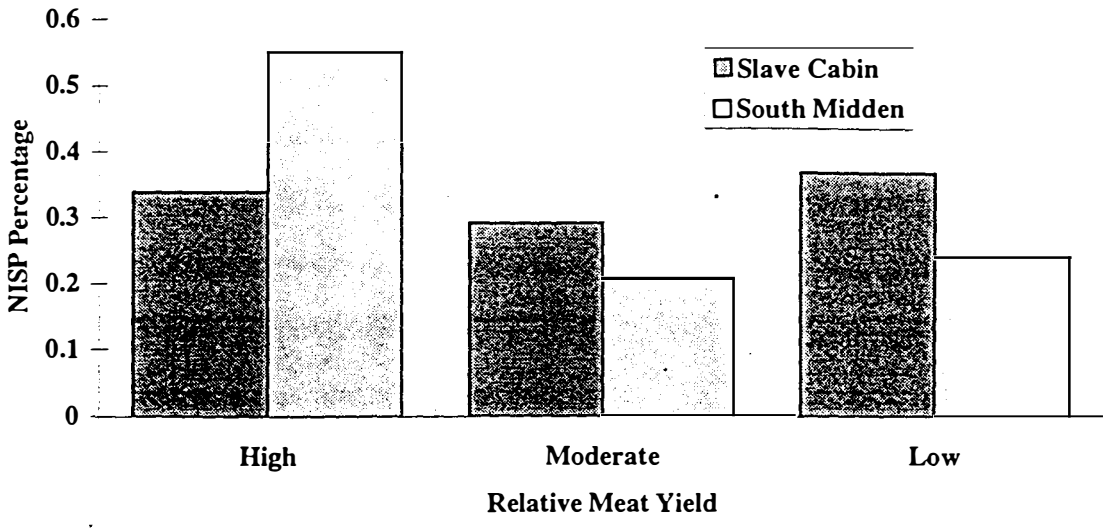


Figure 9- Quarters and midden relative meat yield of pork cuts (from Coxe 1998).

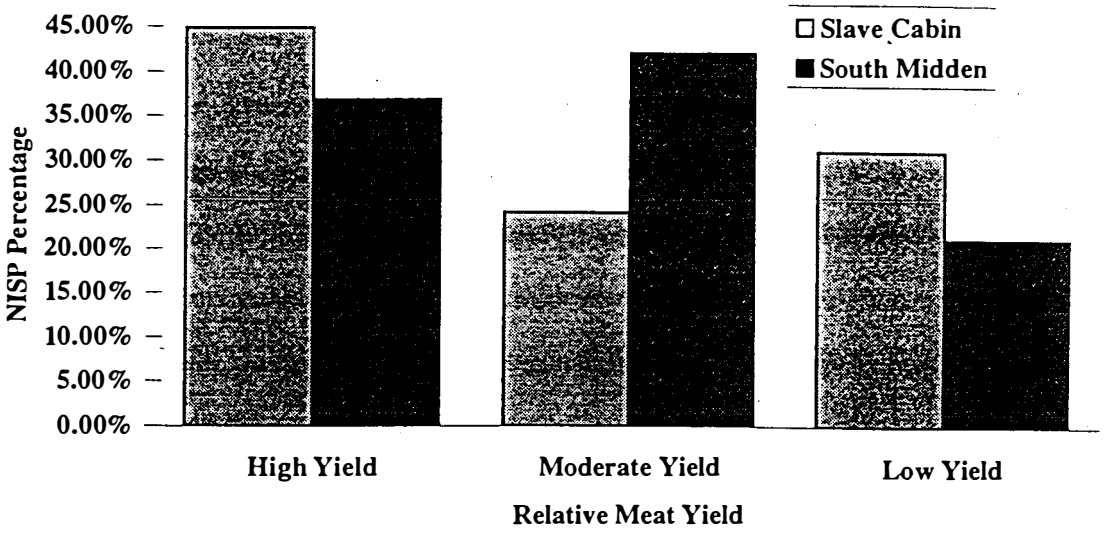


Figure 10 - Quarters and midden relative meat yield for beef cuts (from Coxe 1998).

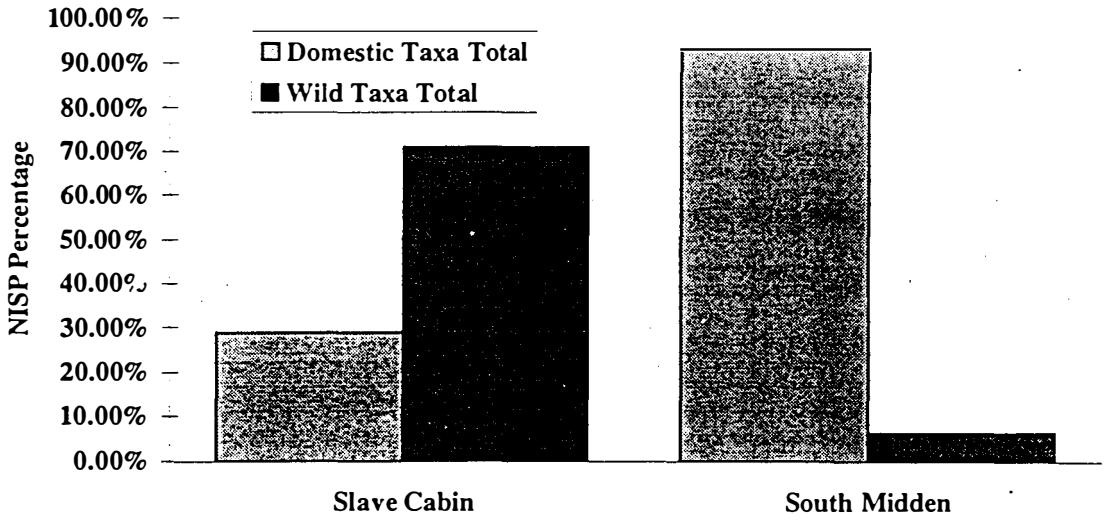


Figure 11 - Quarters and midden wild and domestic taxa composition from (Coxe 1998).

goat were identified as the only mammalian species. Pig was more prevalent in the south midden (80%) than in the quarters (47%). There was also more representation of cow (17.5%) in the midden in terms of percentages than in the quarters (7%).

Bird remains comprised 8% of the total assemblage of the south midden. Bird bones made up 13% of the slave quarters vertebrate assemblage. The south midden assemblage contained mostly chicken and some unidentifiable phasianid and a trace amount of turkey. There were no wild avian bones found in the assemblage in contrast to the quarters.

Fish remains occurred in very small numbers in the south midden. Only six fish bones were found including channel catfish, suckers, and gar. These species were available in the nearby Tennessee River. This small number of fish present in the midden is in stark contrast to the quarters where 20% of the vertebrate taxa was comprised of fish.

The small amount or lack of fish, bird, and wild mammal could be due to preservation bias or recovery techniques. There was less water screening and flotation conducted with the south midden excavations. It is also possible these taxa were not deposited in the midden. If the slaves were depositing their refuse into the south midden then fish, bird, and wild mammal bones would be expected here since they account for a significant portion of their diet in the quarters midden. These differences could also possibly imply that Mansion kitchen refuse was deposited in the south midden. If this is the case, then there is definitely a marked difference in meat consumption in the Mansion and the quarter. If the midden was the refuse from the Mansion and taphonomic bias is not significant, then the family ate mostly domesticated mammals. The slaves relied more upon the wild taxa acquired from the nearby river and forests.

In the south midden, pig elements represented virtually every portion of the skeleton, but foot elements comprised the majority, followed by ribs and vertebrae. Some head elements were also found although in smaller quantity. The portions of the hog, when placed into the meat yield category, indicated high yield cuts were

twice that of low and moderate yield cuts. This reveals that a higher quality of pork cuts were consumed by persons whose food bones were dumped into the midden. Chop marks, knife marks, and saw marks are all evident on the pig bones. Some elements revealed age at death markers. The bones reveal that both immature and mature pigs were slaughtered.

Almost every portion of the cow was found in the midden. Beef represented 17.5 % of the identifiable mammals, compared to the quarter's 7%. Mammals comprised 59.78% of the quarter's faunal remains and 89.81% in the south midden. Relative meat yields indicate that most of the cuts rank in the moderate and high yield categories, indicating better cuts were more often consumed. Only four bones had signs of butchering, including chop and saw marks. As indicated by the beef cuts in the quarter, Coxe (1998) suggests that the cows were probably not slaughtered in the Mansion lot but the meat was either brought from the Blount farm or was bought at the nearby beef market.

The south midden's mammal faunal remains differ from those from the quarters in both taxa represented and meat yield. This suggests these dumping areas were from two different populations at the Mansion. It is possible that the slaves dumped their refuse along with the mansion's refuse in the south midden, explaining the differences between the two areas. However, this does not explain why there were so few wild taxa in the south midden. If the slaves were also dumping there, then similar fauna to that found in the quarters should occur in addition to what originated in the Mansion's kitchen. The faunal remains indicate the south midden was a refuse disposal area for the Mansion's occupants based upon the difference in taxa and meat yield (Coxe 1998).

Ceramics

Ceramic sherds found in the south midden were far more numerous than under the slave quarters (Table 8). While there were only 105 sherds in the quarters deposit, there were 232 ceramic sherds found in the south midden. Evidently, there

Table 8 - Ceramic distribution for South Midden.

Type	Level															
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Pearlware																
Polychrme Fine Line	1															
Polychrme Brd Line		1			1											
Blue Undrglze Brd																
Blue Undrglze Fine	1					1			4			1		3		
Transfer Print	1	2	1	1		4	2	1								
Green Shell Edge	1						1	1	1		5			2		
Plain	3	3	2	2	2	3	4	5	5	4	7	4	2	3	4	
Overglaze															1	
Creamware																
Overglaze Enamel						1	1	1						1		
Annular	1	2		1												
Plain	2	9	1	3		2	6	19	8		5	2	5	5	6	5
Whiteware																
Transfer Print		1														
Annular																
Plain	2	3	1	1						1						
Gilted	1															
Porcelain																
Chinse Exp Ovrglze		1	1			1	1				1			1		
Chinse Exp Undrglz		1			1	1	2			1		1	1			
Chinee Exp Plain				1	1	1		1								
English Plain	2	1														
English Ovrglze	1	1					1									
Redware																
Lead Glazed		1		3				1	1		1	1				
Refined	1	3		1												
Stoneware		3														
Total																

is a difference in intensity of dumping in these two deposits, but this difference in frequency also possibly due to the length of time the south midden was being used. These data could also indicate that ceramics were broken in higher frequency in the Mansion. The mean ceramic dates in the lowest levels are earlier than those in the quarters. Levels 10 through 23 were used for the purpose of comparison due to their corresponding dates to the quarters. The dates range from 1791 in level 23 to 1815 in Level 10. The levels in between are dated as follows: level 11 - 1809.7, level 12 - 1814.5, level 13 - 1806.6, level 14 - 1806.2, level 15 - 1809.8, level 16 - 1801.4, level 17 - 1796.6, level 18 1797.7, level 19 - 1803.2, level 20 - 1801.3, level 21 - 1801.3, level 22 - 1796.6, level 23 - 1798.4, and level 24 - 1797.4. There is a marked difference not only in the earliest deposit dates, but in the overall ceramic styles as well.

Ceramic Wares. Like the slave quarters, the ceramic wares found in the midden were whiteware, pearlware, creamware, and porcelain but also include redware and stoneware (Table 8). The creamware consisted of plain (32.8%), annular (1.7%), overglaze enameled (<1%), and under and overglazed enameled (<1%). The pearlware was distributed into eight categories: plain (24.6%), polychrome hand-painted fine line (<1%), polychrome hand-painted broad lined (<1%), underglaze blue hand painted fine lined (4.3%), underglaze blue hand painted broad lined (<1%), transfer printed (5.2%), green edge decorated (4.3%), and overglazed enameled (<1%). Whiteware included plain (3%), transfer printed (<1%) and gilted (<1%). A broad range of porcelain included English plain (1.3%), English overglazed enameled (1.3%), Chinese export plain (1.7%), Chinese export underglaze (2.6%), and Chinese export overglaze enameled (2.2%). Redware consisted of lead glazed (3%), lead/manganese glazed (<1%), refined plain (<1), and overglaze enameled refined (<1%). There were 3 stoneware sherds (1.3%). See Table 4 for the assemblage distribution.

While the difference from the quarters to the midden in percentages for pearlware and creamware is probably due to the dates of deposition, the difference

in percentage of porcelain is not so easily explained. There was a rather high percentage of porcelain in the slave quarters during a time when porcelain was still popular. The small percentage of porcelain in the midden could indicate that the Blounts were not discarding their porcelain but giving it to the slaves, where it was reused and finally deposited a few years later. Many of the differences in ceramic wares could be explained by date of deposition and not who deposited the material. There were many different decorated wares found in both the quarters and the midden; however, there was more variety of decorated types found in the midden. While the quarters had 18 different decorated types, the midden had 23. This could be due in part to the total length of time the midden was used or the larger amount of ceramic sherds found. Redware was found in the midden while there was no redware found in the quarters. The presence of redware and stoneware indicates these ceramics came from the Mansion kitchen where food was prepared (see Figure 12).

Vessel Forms. If the midden was being used as a primary depositional area by the Mansion's occupants, then ceramic vessel forms might also be different from those found under the quarters. Examination of vessel forms in the two areas reveals some contrasts. Figure 13 shows the large differences in the forms mainly in teaware, serving pieces, and dessert plates. While 20% of the quarter's ceramics have been identified as bowls or hollow ware, this vessel form constitutes 12.6% in the midden. The percentage of the quarter's flatware is 38.7% which is equal to 36% flatware in the midden. Teaware including saucers and cups comprises an overwhelming 40% of the identifiable ceramic forms in the slave quarters. Tea vessels make up only 20% of the known ceramics in the midden. This could indicate that teaware was used extensively before it was discarded passing from the household to the quarters where it was then deposited. It could also indicate that since tea vessels were more delicate, if the slaves received broken or discarded vessels, they would many times receive fragile tea wares. Another possibility is that the slaves were using tea vessels for other purposes than serving tea. Serving

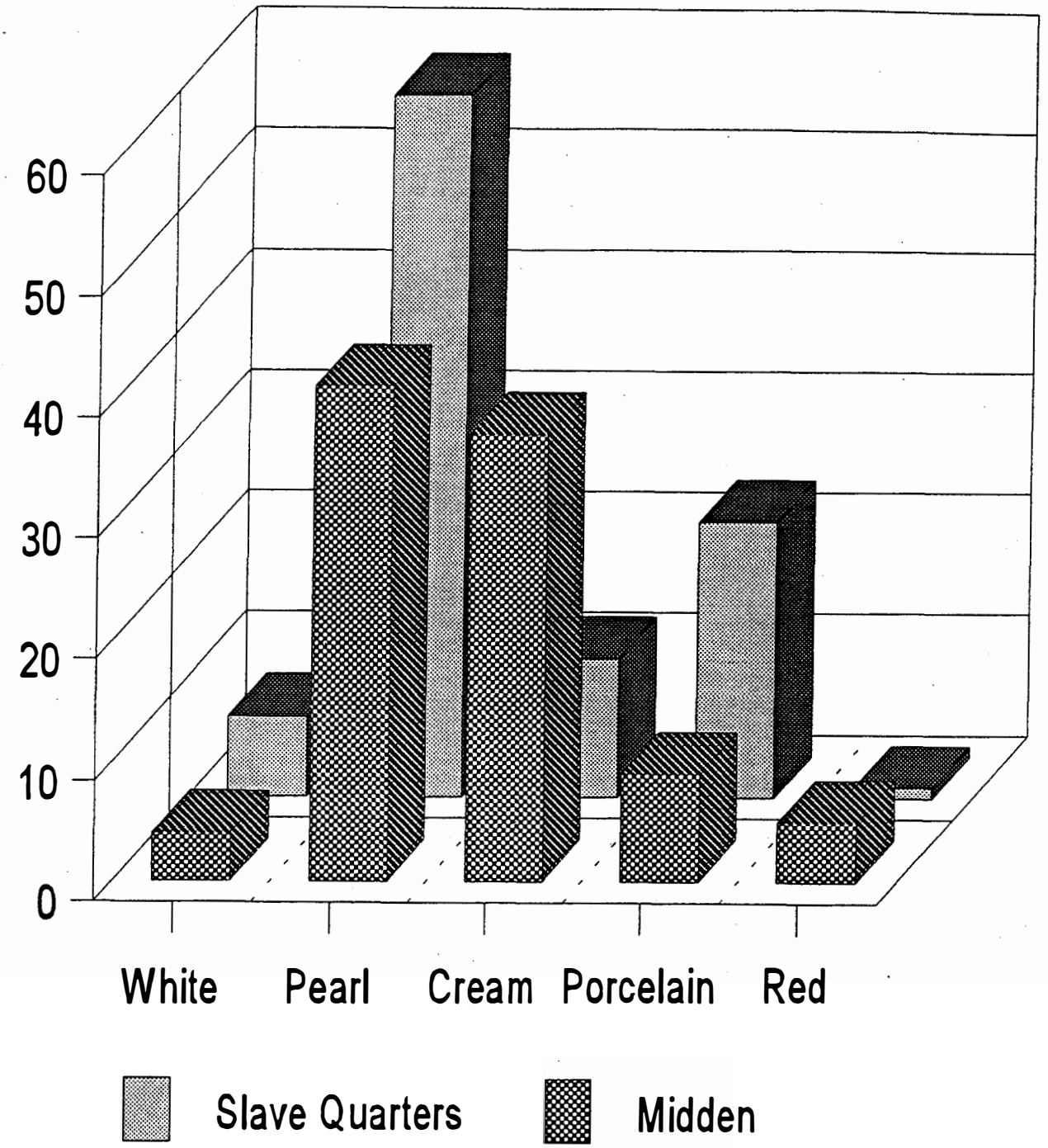


Figure 12 - Comparison of ceramic vessel wares for quarters and midden.

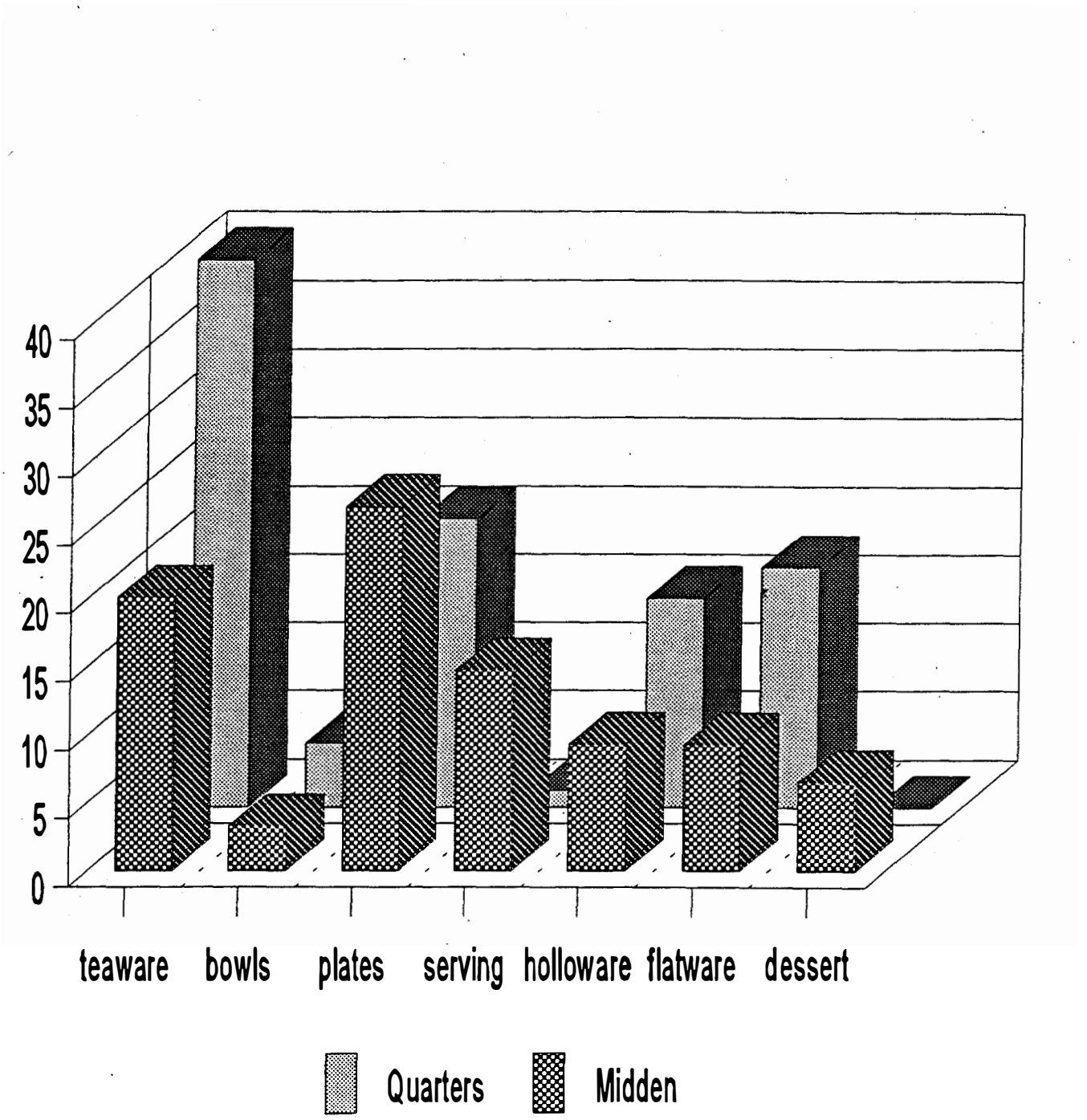


Figure 13 - Comparison of ceramic vessel forms for quarters and midden.

pieces are one category of vessel form that is under represented in the quarters. While 14.7% of the midden vessels are serving pieces, only one serving piece sherd (1.2%) was found in the quarters. This is additional evidence that the midden was used by the Blounts, who would be frequently using serving dishes in entertaining. Slaves would have little need of this particular vessel form. Small dessert dishes would have also been used for entertaining guests during large elaborate meals. There were ten dessert plate sherds found in the south midden, mostly from different vessels. None of these vessels were found in the slave quarter units. While many of the vessel forms are similar between the quarters and the midden, they differ enough to indicate that the midden deposit came from a household which had different foodways than the slave quarters.

Glass

Container or curved glass found in the midden consisted of bottles, pharmaceutical vials, tumblers, jars, and unidentifiable sherds. There was a total of 68 sherds of container glass found in the slave quarters. The container glass sherds consisted of bottles (25%), pharmaceutical vials (2.9%), a stopper for a decanter (1.4%), stemware (1.4%) and unknown (69.2%). The midden contained 87 sherds of glass including preserving (1.1%), pharmaceutical vials (5.7%), bottles (32%), tumblers (6.9%), stemware (2.2%) and unknown (51.8%). The main difference in container glass between the midden and the quarters is the absence of tumblers and preservation containers in the quarters. This could indicate the differential status and use of the two disposal areas. However, there was a sherd of a decanter stopper found in the quarters and a foot ring from a stemware glass. The stopper's finial had been ground down and had been burned. The stopper could have possibly been a recycled item. The stemware foot ring suggests that the slaves had some finer pieces of glassware. There were also two sherds of stemware found in the midden. They were bases of two hand blown glasses. The remaining container glass is very similar in both contexts.

There were two different sherds of pharmaceutical vials found in the slave quarters in Unit 21 levels 8 and 12 as opposed to five sherds found in the midden. The vials found in the midden were all from different vessels indicating a variety of medicinal cures. Although they are both small quantities of pharmaceuticals, it does indicate that the slaves had some access to medical care.

Clothing and Personal Items

Personal items such as buttons, clothing pins, tobacco pipes, and beads can reveal different socioeconomic status as well as cultural preferences. It would be helpful to compare these artifacts from the slave quarters and the south midden. However, it would be expected that more personal items would be found within the quarter's crawl space. Items are more likely to be stored or discarded within the area of the house than if refuse was thrown over a fence into a trash midden. In addition, preservation bias could play a role in the recovery of smaller items. The midden contained only a few personal items. There were 7 buttons found; 5 milk glass, 1 mother of pearl, and 1 metal loop shank. A pencil lead was also found in the midden. There were 4 seed beads in the midden representing a wide variety of colors; one each of white, clear, neutral ceramic, and dark blue ceramic. This is a relatively small amount of beads compared to the quarters.

CHAPTER VI
Conclusions

The excavations of the Blount Mansion slave quarters, located in both an urban and frontier environment, contributes a great deal to the growing field of African-American archaeology. During the past 30-40 years, many studies have focused upon the plantation system of slavery and its associated archaeological remains (see Moore 1980; Lange and Handler 1985; Epperson 1990; Fairbanks and Mullins- Babson 1994). While a number of plantation sites have been excavated, there are fewer studies of urban slave sites. Excavated frontier slave sites are rare as well. Archaeological investigations at the Mansion slave quarters provide a rare glimpse into a unique form of slavery, as well as to the relationships it produced between slave and master.

This thesis sought to answer four major questions. The first question was who were the occupants of the slave quarters at Blount Mansion? Letters, wills, and estate records of the Mansion's occupants gave evidence as to the quarters' occupants. The Governor William Blount family owned the house until 1824. However, William and his wife died in 1800 and 1802, respectively. The Mansion's title stayed in the hands of the Blount family through his brother Willie, and his sons-in-law. This suggests that the slaves owned by the Blounts may have occupied the quarters located behind the Mansion from 1792-1830.

The Blounts owned many slaves; however, there were ten key names that appeared throughout correspondence and wills. These ten slaves were probably living close to the Blounts and not at their farm. The probable quarters occupants in the late 18th century were Jack, Hagar, Sall, Nann, Isabella, Cupid, Venus, Sam, Watt, and Will. These slaves would have taken care of the family and the day to day tasks of running a wealthy and prominent household. Some of the ten slaves

stayed with the family and in the slave quarters. Sall and Cupid were "hired out" in 1804 and then sold in 1806. Hagar moved with Barbara Blount to her sister's home in 1802. There is evidence that Venus was "hired out" in 1803. The remaining slaves living in the quarters in the early 19th century would have been Nann, Isabella, Watt, Will, Jack, and Sam. Other slaves belonging to Willie Blount or Anne Harvey may have resided in the quarters as well. The occupants of the quarters could have ranged in number from 6 to 40. However, the size of the slave quarters would limit its capacity. It is probable that the 280 square foot structure would have had on average 10-20 slaves.

The McClung family owned the house after the Blounts. They owned three slaves; however, aside from a will, there is no mention of these people in the family documents. Questions about these slaves can only be answered through archaeological investigations.

The second question to be answered was how can slave lifeways be characterized at Blount Mansion? Several artifact types and assemblages as well as the construction of the quarters has shown a great deal about the lifeways of the quarters' occupants. The slave quarters was small. It was a frame structure roughly 14' x 20', a small house for 10-20 slaves. At a time when most dwellings in Knoxville were log constructed, a frame structure was the exception. The quarters was about the same size as other slave houses found in rural East Tennessee. The structure had four windows and two doors. Glass would have been difficult to acquire in late 18th century Knoxville. This indicates that the slaves had a more modern dwelling than their rural counterparts.

Faunal analysis indicates that the slaves had a sufficient protein diet. They subsisted on both wild and domesticated animals. Their meat diet consisted of pork,

beef, and chicken supplemented with fish and wild game. The presence of wild game suggests that they hunted or fished on their own. This seems likely due to their close proximity to the river. However, it is also likely that the slaves had to supplement their diet because they were not provided with enough calories. They were able to get beef and pork but only occasionally did they receive the higher quality of meats. The faunal analysis indicates that they had the freedom to pursue their own subsistence but it also suggests that hunting and fishing was a necessity. There has not been any analysis completed on the botanical remains found.

Their material possessions also reflect the slaves' lifeways. Their ceramics indicate they had a wide variety of wares and vessel forms. The ceramic assemblage included both expensive and inexpensive wares and decorative types. It is probable that the slaves received hand-me-downs from the Blount family. It has been suggested that slaves could have bought their own ceramics (Otto 1984). It is possible for "hired out" slaves to purchase or trade for their own possessions. While two of the Blount's slaves were hired out , it is not known whether the Blounts hired any other slaves. However, since there is a number of expensive ceramic wares in the assemblage, it is probable they received their vessels from the master's household.

Flatware and hollow ware were present in equal frequencies. These data indicate that one form was not used more than the other. It is therefore unlikely that the Blount slaves subsisted on stews and soups. No unusual nicks or cuts were observed that suggested use of vessels other than a Euro-American function. There was a significant number of teaware vessels found in the crawl space. This could possibly be due to the fact that they received the discarded ceramics from the Mansion and teaware is the most fragile of vessel forms. It could also suggest that

they drank English or herbal tea. English tea was expensive during the late 18th century. Baumann and Groover (1997) have suggested that herbal teas were used by African-Americans to cure various illnesses. Although their study was based upon archaeology and ethnographic data in South Carolina, the tradition could have carried to the frontier. Given the typical lack of professional medical care for slaves, the use of herbal remedies at the Blount Mansion slave quarters is a possibility. The tea wares could have also been used for some other unknown purpose.

The absence of utilitarian ware suggests that meals were not prepared in the quarters. This explanation seems plausible since the kitchen was located directly in front of the slave quarters. While they may not have been cooking in the quarters, the number of ceramics and faunal remains indicate they were at least dining there.

The presence of fragments of two pharmaceutical vials may suggest that the slaves were provided with some form of medical treatment, however, one sherd may not be evidence of the presence of medicine. It is not known whether the medical establishments treated the entire population of Knoxville. Some cities had their own hospitals for slaves; however, there is no evidence that Knoxville had such an establishment. A stopper from a decanter and a stemware foot ring were found in the slave quarters. Since the stopper seemed to have been modified, its function is unknown. The stemware fragment suggests that the slaves may have had access to more expensive glassware.

Other artifacts indicate how the Blount slaves were clothed. Several buttons were found under the slave quarters. The buttons were metal, bone, and shell. The majority of the buttons were metal and were probably fabric covered. This suggests that the slaves' clothing was perhaps more than adequate for a slave. The Blount slaves were probably seen more publicly than most slaves in Knoxville

suggesting that it was necessary for them to have nicer clothing.

The jewelry found suggests that they had a means of self-expression other than their everyday attire. The possible copper pendant indicates that the Blount slaves had more material wealth and could afford the luxury of jewelry. The numerous beads found also attest to this fact. Other items such as marbles and tobacco pipes mean the Blount Mansion slaves could afford certain items outside the basic necessities. The presence of marbles indicates that the quarter's occupants may have engaged in recreational activities. Whether these items were provided to them by the Mansion occupants or whether they traded or bought them is unknown.

In many ways, the slave life styles at Blount Mansion follow Wade's model of urban slavery. While they may not have had a strict schedule like certain rural counterparts, the fact remains that they were enslaved African-Americans.

The third question is whether the slaves at Blount Mansion were totally assimilated into the dominant Euro-American culture, or whether their culture exhibited a "creolization" of African and European cultures.

There is little evidence for African culture markers at the Blount Mansion slave quarters. The names of some of the slaves could be interpreted to be of African origin. However, it is not known whether the slaves could name their own children or whether the owners would name them. If they named themselves then it would seem plausible for them to retain some African names from earlier ancestors. This could be some indication of their African cultural heritage or the tradition of using these names could have lost any African meaning.

Beads may be an indication of African heritage. Beads are often found on slave sites and are still worn in present African cultures. Blue beads were more

numerous than any other color. This is not an unusual occurrence for slave sites. Evidence suggests that blue beads were more predominant due to their religious symbolism and the West African traditions of color association (Stine, Cabak, and Groover 1996).

Other indications that slaves maintained their African cultural heritage are different vessel use and modified artifacts for religious or symbolic purposes. In some cases cups were used for traditional African stews or medicines but the cups found at Blount Mansion did not have any nicks or cuts suggesting use as eating vessels. Two marbles had been modified with irregular markings by a small object. The only other modified artifact was a decanter stopper. It could have possibly been used for another function but this is unknown.

The last question to be answered was whether the midden found in the archaeological excavations on the south side of the quarters was associated with the Mansion or the slave quarters. Faunal remains, ceramics, glassware, and personal items were analyzed to determine the origin of this midden. The faunal remains found in the midden and the slave quarters are different. The slave quarters has wild game and fish present while the midden does not. If the quarters' occupants were also depositing their refuse into the midden, then these faunal species should be present. The yields from the beef and pork faunal remains are of the higher yield categories in contrast to the slave quarters. These two factors indicate that the quarters and midden each had their own unique faunal assemblage.

Ceramic ware and vessel forms were compared between the two areas. The midden contained serving pieces and dessert plate sherds that would be expected from occupants who entertained. The quarters did not produce any of these vessel forms. There was also a larger variety of vessel wares in the midden.

Redware was found in the midden suggesting refuse disposal from the kitchen. The ceramic assemblages suggest that these were two distinct dumping areas.

Glassware found in both areas is very similar in vessel forms and types. There are some differences in quantity and quality found throughout. Both the midden and slave quarters produced stemware and pharmaceutical vials although the midden contain these items in higher quantity.

There was a small amount of personal items found in the midden. This would be expected in an area that is not under a domestic structure. However, this could also indicate that the midden was a dumping area for the Mansion's occupants. Lack of certain artifacts such as marbles and tobacco pipes support this conclusion.

The archaeological data suggest that the refuse in the south midden and the refuse under the slave quarters were deposited by two separate households. There are enough differences to indicate that the Mansion's occupants dumped their refuse into the south midden. However, if these are two separate households, many similarities can not be ignored. Small differences are seen but overall, the ceramic styles/wares and most faunal types are markedly similar. Similarities may indicate that the Mansion occupants provided the slave quarter's occupants with some of their material culture.

Historical research and archaeological investigations at the Blount Mansion can provide data to aid in the development of the archaeology of frontier and urban slavery. While investigations on plantation archaeological sites suggest that some plantation slaves had a distinct culture from their Euro-American owners, the material culture of Blount Mansion was not markedly different than that of the Blounts. A possible reason would be that the close proximity to the Mansion forced the Blount slaves to assume many Euro-American customs and traditions. However, there also

appears to be some continuity of the slave's African culture. While they have many material possessions similar to other Euro-Americans, they were able to maintain some ethnic ties evident in African material culture. This seems remarkable since they were so far removed in time and space from their ancestral country. Other studies need to be conducted in order to ascertain whether this is a trend found in urban and/or frontier slavery or whether it is only present at Blount Mansion.

The study of African-American material culture through archaeological investigations is an expanding field. In the past, archaeologists have focused upon the differences between slave and master. Only recently has research concentrated on the uniqueness of the African-American cultural remains. Slavery on the frontier is an especially unique situation where African-Americans and Euro-Americans worked side by side often fighting against the elements. Urban slavery is an unusual institution as well due to the close proximity and day to day interaction of different cultures. The Blount Mansion site located in both an urban and frontier environment offers insight into a totally distinct lifeway apart from the traditional rural plantation often depicted in African-American archaeology. The future of the field lies in regionally focused studies like Blount Mansion to aid in the overall study of the complexity of slavery and African-American culture.

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