

An Archaeological Study of Pit Cellars and Ethnic Identity in Tennessee

A Dissertation Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

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May 2022

Acknowledgements

I would first like to acknowledge my committee and their commitment to my dissertation including Barbara Heath, Elizabeth Kellar, Gerald Schroedl, and Derek Alderman. Others who deserve recognition for the information and advice they provided include Larry McKee, Sam Smith, Paul Avery, Jon Marcoux, Patrick Garrow, Zada Law, Laura Bartel, and Linda Carnes. I'd also like to thank the agencies and individuals who helped with my data collection including the University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology and McClung Museum including Charles Faulkner and Tim Baumann. I would also like to thank the Tennessee Division of Archaeology including Mike Moore, Suzanne Hoyal, Paige Silcox, Satin Platt, and Phil Hodge for their tremendous help in gathering data and approval to publish materials from their archive. Marsha Mullin from the Hermitage was also helpful in collecting information from their collections as well as Jennifer Schmidt for providing image permissions. Thanks also to Nina Scall at the Tennessee Wars Commission for consent to reproduce images from archaeological excavations at Fort Loudoun. I would also like to acknowledge the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) for providing data and maps from excavations at the Hermitage including Jillian Galle, Elizabeth Bollwerk, Leslie Cooper, and Lynsey Bates. Thanks to my wife, Crystal, and my son, Dylan, for their patience and support. I would also like to thank the many not mentioned here who helped to support this research.

Abstract

This dissertation examines pit cellars in Tennessee. Pit cellars are pits excavated into the ground typically underneath historic structures and are often referred to as subfloor pits, root cellars, or hidey holes. Archaeologists believe these pits were generally used for the storage of food or personal items and can provide valuable household-level information normally not obtained from other features. These pits were usually filled quickly after their use and often contain artifacts which provide data on diet, personal space, kinship, gender, race, ethnicity, class, spiritual beliefs, and the conditions of slavery. Pit cellars were also regularly constructed by their users and offer a unique perspective to examine identity. Previous excavations within Tennessee have revealed a number of these features at a variety of sites. The following study contextualizes pit cellars to determine if there were similarities between their use and design between different groups of people within the state. While identity is multi-faceted, this research focuses on ethnic and regional identity. Using household data from previous archaeological excavations, patterns in pit location, morphology, content, and function are compared through time between different regions and ethnicities to understand how identity is expressed in the construction and use of pit cellars throughout the state. These data contribute to a regional understanding of when and why pit cellars were used, how they were constructed, and the ethnic identity of those who used them in Tennessee.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Pit cellars, often referred to as subfloor pits or root cellars, are some of the most sought after and informative types of features found at historic sites in the Mid-Atlantic and Upland South of North America. These features are pits dug into the soil typically beneath dwellings. They were used for a variety of purposes including the storage of food and personal items. Historically, many different Indigenous and non-Indigenous ethnic groups have utilized pit cellar storage throughout the world. In North America, research has primarily focused on African Americans, Euro Americans, and Native Americans in areas of the Eastern Woodlands and the Upper or Upland South regions. Pit cellars have attracted significant archaeological attention due to the valuable information they provide about the structures they are associated with and the people who used them through analysis of both the artifacts recovered within them and the features themselves.

Archaeologists believe that these pits are important because they can provide contextual information not normally found in other feature types. Pit cellars are non-portable artifacts associated with structures which can provide information similar to other forms of the built environment. They are also typically constructed or designed by their users, providing a window into the agency and choice of their creators. Pits are also typically used for the duration of the structure's occupation. These sealed deposits are often related to specific, datable depositional events (Ball 1984; LeeDecker 1994). Since they are often filled in a relatively short period of time, they supply fine-grained stratigraphic information and physical context obtained from the primary and secondary deposits left within them (Schiffer 1987). Pits also typically contain a

number of small artifacts and personal objects that supply archaeologists with chronological, functional, personal, and household-level information. These features can provide insights into people's ideas about storage, spirituality, personal space, household composition, and identity in the past (Kelso 1984; Singleton 1995; Samford 1996, 2000, 2007; Fesler 1997, 2004; Franklin 1997, 2004; Neiman 1997, 2008; Fennell 2000, 2007; Hatch 2009; Heath and Breen 2009; Riggs and Belt 2019; Webb 2019). In some instances, these pits are the only indication that a structure once stood at a particular location, an additional factor that contributes to their significance.

The spatial and temporal distributions of pit cellars and the contexts of their use are not fully understood within Tennessee's historical landscape. The extent to which identity within households played a role in the construction and use of pit cellars is also not known. While identity is multi-faceted and can take many forms, my focus is on the diverse ethnic and regional identities present in Tennessee's past. To better understand these features, I examine their construction and use in Tennessee through a contextualized analysis of previously excavated pits focusing on the physical and social aspects of pit cellars through time. I wish to understand if pit cellars symbolize a form of ethnic boundary maintenance between multiple groups present in Tennessee's past. Tennessee was a multicultural environment where African Americans, Euro Americans, and Native Americans of different genders and classes came together and forged new identities and social relationships. Tennessee also has many different regions spanning the width of the state with different cultures, environments, and economies (Strutt 2010). To examine identity, I conducted a survey of sites containing pit cellars to place them into historical and cultural context using a comparative archaeological database comprised of previously excavated site data. My research examines pit variability and compares their observed characteristics in

order to allow for an interpretation of how they functioned and what they meant to different people in different circumstances over time throughout the state.

Pit Cellars

Pit cellars are typically small, often unlined, square to rectangular pits with flat bottoms that were historically cut into the soil beneath the floor of houses or outbuildings (Figure 1) (Faulkner 1986:54; Neiman 1997; Samford 2000:17). However, their form can vary from circular to oval and they sometimes contain concave or basin-shaped bases. Other times they can be large, with multiple chambers, and contain linings of wood, stone, brick, or even metal. Boxes, barrels, or chests have also been used as lining (Faulkner 1984; Mouer 1993; Reeves 2014). Pits were usually covered by boards or accessed from the room above through a trap door in the floor. Other times they had external entries with steps for access. In some cases, they were left open and covered by furniture alongside the walls. There has been a myriad of terms used to refer to these pits including subfloor pits, root cellars, potato cellars, or hidey holes.

Pit cellars have been defined in the Upland South by Faulkner (1986) as storage pits excavated underneath historic structures which do not extend to the foundation's edge or incorporate the foundation as its walls. He described two forms including small and large pits (Faulkner 1986:54). Small pits were square or rectangular and at times were lined. They rarely had an outside entry and were typically accessed through the floor. Larger pit cellars had walls which conformed to the dimensions of the room above. These were sometimes lined, had exterior entries, and on occasion were accessed through the floor as well. In addition, pit cellars do not provide adequate standing space to be considered an additional below-ground story. Small pit cellars are analogous to what have been described as subfloor pits.



Figure 1. Pit cellars at the Hermitage field quarters (Image courtesy of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, Nashville, TN).

Subfloor pits are generally defined as being less than 6 ft. in length or width (Samford 2007:7). They have also been defined as being 3 x 3 ft. to 4 x 6 ft. and 1 to 3 ft. deep (Neiman 2008:176). Singleton (1991:166) also defines them as ranging from 2 x 3 ft. to 3 x 8 ft. and from 2 to 4 ft. deep. More precisely they have been classified by surface area as being less than 28 sq. ft. (DAACS 2014). A variety of functions have been attributed to subfloor pits; therefore, the term cellar has not been applied to these small, multipurpose features (Neiman 1997; Samford 2007). Smaller pits are believed to have been preferred by enslaved African Americans in Virginia during the 18th through early 19th centuries while larger cellars are typically considered to have been used by Euro Americans (Noël Hume 1968; Mouer 1991, 1993; Samford 2007). These have sometimes been referred to as butteries which were 3 to 6 ft. deep, 6 ft. or longer on a side, and were usually centrally placed in the room (Mouer 1993:149). Butteries could store a variety of food items and served as coolers or dry wells. The term pit cellar has been used synonymously with subfloor pit although it can refer to larger pits as well (Faulkner 1986; Young 1997; Samford 2007).

Cellars are storage areas, or storerooms, which usually occur beneath structures. Cellars that incorporate the foundation of a structure into their walls are described as foundational or structural cellars (Faulkner 1986). Sometimes cellars are referred to as basements; however, basements are usually regarded as a complete lower story of a building that is partially or completely underground (Curl 2006). Basements could be used for storage plus a variety of other domestic activities as well as living quarters (Strutt 2010). Pit cellars also occur within basements (Agbe-Davies 1999; Reeves 2014).

Outbuildings also contain cellars and in some instances were constructed for the explicit purpose of cellaring. These have been referred to as cellar houses, covered cellars, roofed

cellars, or pit houses and are common features in the Chesapeake during the 17th century (Hodges 1990; Agbe-Davies 1999). Outbuilding cellar houses also served as dairies or butteries and were constructed to cover pits used for storing dairy products (Mouer 1993). These structures could have contained a small room and/or loft above the pit cellar (Upton 1980:197). Others might have only had a simple roof covering the pit (Gage 2012:30). Small log and framed outbuildings of this type have been described in Tennessee as root cellars or canning houses (Rehder 2012). I use the term outbuilding cellar to describe instances where the specific purpose of a superstructure was to cover a pit cellar.

Historically, storage included the use of above-ground and below-ground facilities. Other general types of storage facilities include springhouses, icehouses, banked earth cellars or storm cellars, and crawlspace storage underneath historic domestic structures. Springhouses were constructed over springs to keep foodstuffs cold while icehouses stored ice for a cooling effect. Storm or banked-earth cellars are typically walk-in cellars dug into piled mounds of dirt (Faulkner 1986; Gage 2012). Crawlspace underneath structures are also documented as having been used as storage spaces (Faulkner 1997; Hamby 1999). These structures were built on slopes that created open spaces under them that were utilized for extra storage space.

This dissertation focuses on pit cellars due to their close association with households, and the dwellings they inhabited, as well as their acknowledged ability to provide information to archaeologists about past lifeways. These occur within dwellings and under outbuildings. What have been described as subfloor pits are also regarded as pit cellars. The terms subfloor pit, pit cellar, and cellar are all used interchangeably to refer to below-the-floor pits. While these terms are used synonymously to describe similar pits, I have chosen to use the term pit cellar as defined by Faulkner (1986) for the current study since they functioned primarily as storage facilities.

However, some pits occur outside of structures but served the same purpose (Franklin 1997). These are best described as exterior pit cellars which were also included in my survey if in direct association with buildings. Exterior pit cellars were usually covered by soil or hay but could have also been covered with mats, hides, or wooden planks (Agbe-Davies 1999; Gage 2012). They also could have had a lean-to or frame roof cover. The definition used in this study removes size as a primary category of classification and relies on form and function as contributing factors to description. The term subfloor pit is also seen as inappropriate since it can refer to any non-storage pit feature present under the floor of a structure. A more holistic definition for a pit cellar is a pit excavated into the ground and used for storage in association with a building in which the foundation does not serve as the pit's walls.

Several functions have been attributed to pit use in North America. These functions include food storage, storage of personal items, places to conceal stolen or secret objects (hidey holes), African American shrines, and places for ritual concealments (Kelso 1984; Faulkner 1986; DeBoer 1988; McKee 1992, 1995; Kimmel 1993; Heath 1994; Franklin 1997; Samford 2000, 2007; Gage 2012; Lucas 2014; Reeves 2014; Riggs and Belt 2019). Beyond simple storage, Neiman (1997) has argued that these features acted as safe deposit boxes, providing occupants of a structure with a level of security against theft. Typically, these pits served multiple functions prescribed by their users.

Pit cellars are most widely known as places for root crop storage and are commonly referred to as root cellars. Several varieties of vegetables and fruits, including potatoes, sweet potatoes, beets, onions, carrots, turnips, watermelons, apples, cabbages, and pumpkins, are known to have been stored in pit cellars due to their relatively dry conditions and uniform temperatures (Faulkner 1986, 2008; Samford 2007; Gage 2012). The United States Department

of Agriculture (USDA) provides a listing of recommended storage conditions for vegetables and fruits in pits and cellars (Table 1). These were sometimes covered with straw, pine needles, soil, or sand to prevent bruising, frost damage, and rot (Franklin 1997:89-91; Samford 2007:124; Gage 2012:21-22). Use of these pits for food storage or root cellaring has been described historically by African Americans in Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee at the home of Booker T. Washington, Fredrick Douglass, and Mary Tate (Rawick 1977:212-219; Young 1995:197; Samford 2007:125). Mary Tate was formerly enslaved in East Tennessee, and she noted the use of a pit cellar during the Civil War in which soldiers of both armies raided supplies stored in their cellars (Rawick 1977:212-219; Young 1995:197). Eldon Ellenburg, his wife Zelda, and Katherine Foust were 20th-century Mennonites living in East Tennessee who describe their use for multiple types of storage (Faulkner 1986:55-56). Pit cellars have also been used to store dairy products, canned goods, and meat (Faulkner 1986; Mouer 1993).

Storage of personal items aside from foodstuffs is another typical function of pit cellars (Kelso 1984; Franklin 1997; Samford 2007). Some archaeologists have characterized the use of these storage spaces as hidey holes, a term which implies clandestine use, while others propose that they functioned more openly as safe deposit boxes (McKee 1992, 1995; Heath 1994; Franklin 1997; Neiman 1997). Hidey holes were typically concealed and were used for hiding personal materials or contraband. Safe deposit boxes were pits that were known to exist by all members of a household. They were used openly to store personal belongings with the understanding that others in the household would be aware of, and report, any unauthorized use.

Some researchers have warned against attributing the use of smaller pit cellars solely to enslaved residents, arguing that they were created as borrow pits for housing construction and then adapted for use as subfloor pits (Kimmel 1993). Schroedl (1986) also notes that Cherokee

Table 1. Freezing points, recommended storage conditions, and length of storage period of vegetables and fruits (USDA 1966:7, Table 1).

Commodity	Freezing Point (°F)	Place to Store	Storage Conditions		Length of Storage Period
			Temp (°F)	Humidity	
Vegetables:					
Dry beans and peas	-	Any cool, dry place	32 to 40	Dry	As long as desired.
Late cabbage	30.4	Pit, trench, or outdoor cellar.	Near 32 as possible	Moderately moist.	Through late fall and winter.
Cauliflower	30.3	Storage cellar.	“	“	6 to 8 weeks.
Late celery	31.6	Pit or trench; roots in soil in storage cellar.	“	“	Through late fall and winter.
Endive	31.9	Roots in soil in storage cellar.	“	“	2 to 3 months.
Onions	30.6	Any cool, dry place.	“	Dry	Through fall and winter.
Parsnips	30.4	Where they grew, or in storage cellar.	“	Moist	“
Peppers	30.7	Unheated basement or room.	45 to 50	Moderately moist.	2 to 3 weeks.
Potatoes	30.9	Pit or in storage cellar.	35 to 40	“	Through fall and winter.
Pumpkins and squashes	30.5	Home cellar or basement.	55	Moderately dry.	“
Root crops (miscellaneous).	-	Pit or in storage cellar.	Near 32 as possible	Moist	“
Sweet potatoes	29.7	Home cellar or basement.	55 to 60	Moderately dry.	“
Tomatoes (mature green)	31.0	“	55 to 70	“	4 to 6 weeks.
Fruits:					
Apples	29.0	Fruit storage cellar.	Near 32 as possible	Moderately moist.	Through fall and winter.
Grapefruit	29.8	“	“	“	4 to 6 weeks.
Grapes	28.1	“	“	“	1 to 2 months
Oranges	30.5	“	“	“	4 to 6 weeks
Pears	29.2	“	“	“	2 to 3 weeks

pits could have been initially used as borrow pits for ceramic production. Small pits have also been thought to have spiritual uses and functioned as shrines or places to conceal ritual items such as conjure bottles and medicines (Samford 2000, 2007; Lucas 2014; Reeves 2014). Patricia Samford (2000, 2007) has argued that in Virginia and North Carolina, shrines were Igbo in cultural origin and likely functioned as ritual spaces associated with ancestor veneration and protection. Riggs and Belt (2019) have also noted the use of pit cellars as spiritual spaces in connection with Cherokee worldviews.

Previous Research

Pit cellars have been found at historic sites dating from the 17th through 20th centuries throughout the United States, but have primarily been studied archaeologically in Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee (Faulkner 1986; Pogue 1988, 1990; Mouer 1991; Ferguson 1992; McKee 1992, 1995, 2000; Kimmel 1993; Young 1997; South 1999; Samford 2000, 2007; Kelso and Straube 2004; Leone 2005; Gage 2012; Greene 2019; Riggs and Belt 2019). They have also been recovered archaeologically elsewhere along the East Coast, including South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, as well as in Alabama, the Midwest, and in Canada (Phillippe and Walters 1986; Ferguson 1992:67; MacDonald 1997; Wesson 1999; Baumann 2001; Harper 2012; Pecora and Burks 2012; Wright et al. 2014; Crawford et al. 2019; Webb 2019; Berger 2020; Davidson 2021). These pits have been associated with African Americans, Euro Americans, and Native Americans, indicating their universal use by different groups present in Tennessee's past (Pogue 1988, 1990; Mouer 1991, 1993; Kimmel 1993; Linebaugh 1994; Riggs 1987, 1999; Young 1997; Samford 2000, 2007; Marcoux 2008, 2012; Unger 2009; Riggs and Belt 2019; Webb 2019). Previous archaeological studies additionally

"indicate that sub-surface storage both inside and outside of structures is very common on 19th- and 20th-century sites" (Kimmel 1993:109). Today, there is continued limited use in some rural settings (Faulkner 1986; Gage 2012).

Since the Late Archaic, Indigenous peoples have used pit cellars in North America (Bentz 1998). The use of pit cellars intensified in the Woodland period with increased sedentism (DeBoer 1988). During the Mississippian period, the use of household-related pits diminished in favor of external communal storage spaces (Wesson 1999:149). However, the Cherokee and other tribes began using interior pit cellars in the historic period with the arrival of Europeans and Africans (Wesson 1999; Marcoux 2008, 2012; Crawford et al. 2019). Subterranean household storage pits increased in number, size, and variability after the Cherokee contact period (Marcoux 2012). The Cherokee initially used simple round or oval basins and pits, while later they incorporate rectangular pits and exterior outbuilding storage facilities described as "pits with posts" (Schroedl 1986; Marcoux 2012; Webb 2019). These outbuildings comprised about 15% of the late-18th-century Cherokee pits sampled in a study conducted by Marcoux (2012:203). The changes in pit cellars were interpreted as being influenced by seasonal abandonment related to the deerskin trade and a shift in foodways that includes the incorporation of foods more suited to subterranean storage like sweet potatoes (Marcoux 2012:203).

Europeans also used pit cellars (Upton 1980:199-201; Kelso 1984:201; Kimmel 1993:104, 107; Linebaugh 1994:11; Gage 2012:14-15). This cellaring tradition continued in North America and pit cellars were constructed at some of the earliest colonial settlements in Virginia (Noël Hume 1968; Pogue 1988; Mouer 1991; Kimmel 1993; Kelso and Straube 2004). Early historical references discuss below-ground storage or cellaring beginning in 1609 and continuing throughout the 17th century (Linebaugh 1994:11). However, the use of these pits by

Euro Americans in Virginia at this time does not occur in any great abundance. Upton (1980:197) found that of 165 structures surveyed in Southeastern Virginia, only 12% of those had cellars. Some archaeologists and historians have also proposed that the use of these pits was a practice adopted from Native Americans to cope with a new American environment (Linebaugh 1994:9; Gage 2012:3). These early examples ranged from unlined pits to more substantially constructed varieties with linings and floors (Noël Hume 1968). On more affluent farms or plantations, indoor cellars are also thought to fall out of favor in the middle of the 17th century in preference for outbuilding storage facilities (Linebaugh 1994:11). However, Linebaugh (1994:11) argues that Euro Americans of lower socioeconomic status in this region continued to use less substantially constructed interior pits through the 18th century. Upton (1980:199-201) additionally notes that pit cellars occur in Euro American houses throughout the antebellum period and that their construction could be possibly attributed to Irish or Scots Irish influences.

Small pit cellars have, however, primarily been found in abundance at slave quartering sites in Virginia from the 17th through the 18th centuries (Samford 2007). Their proliferation at slave quarters has led many archaeologists to equate them with the presence of enslaved African Americans (Kelso 1984). There is also a correlation between the number of residents, their associations, and the number of pits within slave quarters (Neiman 1997; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007). Unrelated people within a quarter created the need for more personalized space and the use of more pits. Subfloor pit construction has also been considered a pre-diasporic, cross-cultural phenomenon with their use being noted in West Africa (Yentsch 1991; Samford 2007). This claim is, however, based on a single available description by a European traveler. No significant historical or archaeological examples in West Africa have been recovered yet that

meet the specifications of a pit cellar (Davidson 2021). McKee (2000:196) notes that they also were likely a Euro American tradition brought to the Americas and adopted by enslaved African Americans for storage.

Since the beginning of historical archaeology in the United States, pit cellars have been recovered primarily at domestic sites. Ivor Noël Hume was the first to document small pit cellars archaeologically although he first identified them as refuse pits and associated them strictly to European settlers (Noël Hume 1966, 1968). Early examples ranged from subterranean pits to more substantively built versions with wall linings and floors at their base (Noël Hume 1968; Mouer 1991; Franklin 1997; Unger 2009). William Kelso (1984) noted their proliferation at slave quarters at Kingsmill Plantation in Virginia. He had found examples previously at Carter's Grove but misidentified them as tanning pits (Kelso and Frank 1972). Kelso was the first archaeologist to associate their use with enslaved African Americans and the probability that they would typically be found in this context. Their function was also associated with storage, hidey holes, and spiritual beliefs (Kelso 1984; Singleton 1985). Franklin (1997) later examined the function of subfloor pits through an interpretative approach looking at size, location, and recovered artifacts. She also attributed their function to the storage of root crops, their use as hidey holes, and the storage of personal items (Franklin 1997). Fraser Neiman (1997) identified these features as safe deposit boxes which were controlled personal spaces known to others in the household or community. He correlated the number and use of pits within structures with shifts in slave housing and sex ratios within quarters (Neiman 1997).

The most recent comprehensive study of subfloor pits was conducted by Patricia Samford (2000, 2007). She examined these features in a contextual framework to understand their use at slave quartering sites in Virginia. Function was aligned with previous research, but Samford

(2000, 2007) also suggested that some pits functioned as shrines adapted from use in Africa. Her work focused on Igbo ethnic identity and the creolization of pit cellars as shrines. Others have also attributed their function to spiritual practices including as places for the concealment of ritual objects (Lucas 2014; Reeves 2014).

The extensive use of small pit cellars in Virginia by African Americans is believed to have subsided by the early 19th century due to changes in slave housing construction, consumerism, and slave demography (McKee 1992; Samford 2000, 2007; Neiman 2008; Hatch 2009; Heath and Breen 2009). However, archaeological data suggests that African American pit use continued in the Virginia Piedmont throughout the antebellum period (Heath and Breen 2009; Heath 2010) and into the 20th century (Mouer 1991, 1993). Booker T. Washington has also been noted to have grown up in bondage using a pit cellar in the 1850s (McKee 1992:205). Unexcavated examples also exist (Kelso 1984:30; McKee 1992:205). Numerous other studies of pit cellars in the context of Virginian slavery have contributed to a better understanding of how these features functioned and what they meant to the people who used them (Yentsch 1991; McKee 1992; Fesler 1997, 2004; Unger 2009).

Regionally, pit cellars are thought to have been brought to other areas of the South with the expansion of slavery (Samford 2007:9). A lack of small pit cellars in areas of the Lowland South has been attributed to regional environment and slave demography including food preferences (Chambers 1996:366; Samford 2007:9). However, a few examples have been recovered in South Carolina and at Bulow Plantation in Florida (Ferguson 1992:67; Davidson 2021). For food to be preserved in pit cellars, optimal humidity and temperature conditions must be maintained. Meeting these conditions often involved placing pits near hearths (Samford 2007). Pits were used in the Upland South to preserve foods over the winter whereas the warmer

climate of the Lowland South would have made it difficult to preserve foods in pits for long periods of time (McKee 2000:197). Pit cellars are not found in areas which did not meet these requirements or lacked the proper clayey soils for unlined pit construction. However, they are found regularly in the Upper South and the Coastal Plain of Virginia. Chambers (1996) and Samford (2004) have also claimed that enslaved individuals from Igbo areas of West Africa with a preference for yams can be credited with pit construction. Unger (2009) and Davidson (2021) have questioned this association.

Based on the geographic distribution of pit cellars, research has been centered in Virginia due to the prolific number of these features at slave-quartermen sites. This focus has prioritized small African American pits in the Mid-Atlantic with less attention paid to larger pit cellars, non-African cultural groups, and other areas of the Southeast in comparative analysis. Their use past the 18th century has also been underrepresented (Heath and Breen 2009; Heath 2010). The exact spatial and temporal dispersion of these features between groups, therefore, remains unknown for the greater Southeast.

In Tennessee, pit cellars existed prior to European colonization (Polhemus 1987). Interior subterranean storage is found in one of the earliest examples of a structure in Tennessee during the Late Archaic (Bentz 1988). Historically, Native Americans continued to use them in the region into the 19th century (Schroedl 1986; Riggs 1987, 1999). The use of pit cellars in Tennessee by African Americans and Euro Americans began during the mid-18th century during European colonial expansion and settler emigrations that followed (Polhemus 1979; Kuttruff 2010). During the early settlement of Tennessee, these features were utilized by the inhabitants of fortified stations that sprang up as a response to life on the frontier (Kuttruff 1974:14; Faulkner and Andrews 1994:34-39; Smith 2000:179-180). They were also located at many

fortified military sites that included foundational and pit cellars (Polhemus 1979; Smith 1993; Smith and Nance 2000; Kuttruff 2010). Many of the people who came to Tennessee followed the Great East-West Road or Wilderness Road across the Appalachians from Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and primarily Virginia (Mitchell 1998). The tradition of using pit cellars by African Americans and Euro Americans in Tennessee was likely brought from Virginia (Young 1997:110; Samford 2000:24). During the 19th century, pit cellars continued to be used by African Americans and Euro Americans. Pit cellar use is also documented into the 20th century; however, exactly when and why they went out of use as a common storage feature remains uncertain (Faulkner 1986; McKee 1992).

Archaeologically pit cellars have been uncovered on numerous sites across the state in a variety of settings (Polhemus 1979; Baden 1983; Faulkner 1986; Schroedl 1986; Weaver et al. 1993; Garrow 1996; Ahlman et al. 1999; McKee 2000; McKelway 2000; Smith 2000; Bentz 2001; Meyers 2001; Groover 2003; Kuttruff 2010; Avery et al. 2015). Their investigation has led to a better understanding of domestic structures and their associated dates of occupation, functions, and inhabitants. Historical archaeologists working in Tennessee have primarily conducted site-level studies centered on African American subfloor pits in the context of slavery with the exception of Faulkner's (1986) discussion on East Tennessee pit cellars. Site-specific determinations and a lack of cross-cultural research within the state have led to an inadequate analysis of pit cellars.

Over the years, the interpretation of these pits has changed and been examined from a variety of theoretical perspectives including functional, historical, evolutionary, and contextual perspectives. Theoretical approaches examining subfloor pits have primarily focused on practices of daily life, understanding power relations, and identity (Kelso 1984; McKee 1992;

Singleton 1995, 1998; Franklin 1997; Samford 2007). Most of these studies have examined pits used by African Americans although pits as a form of resistance have also been explored in Indigenous contexts (DeBoer 1988; Wesson 1999). Evolutionary models have also been utilized as a framework of analysis (Neiman 2008). Other more recent studies examine subfloor pits through a contextualization model (Samford 2000, 2007; Heath and Breen 2009).

Taking an evolutionary standpoint, Neiman (1997, 2008) argues for their use as an adaptation to the conditions of slavery. In general, pits are believed to increase fitness allowing individuals or cooperative groups to consume more. The ability to store valuables and foodstuffs decreased risk and increased the chance of survival. In Virginia, pits were believed to increase during the 18th century then fall out of common use by the early 19th century due to the creation of stable families. Prior to family formation, the enslaved were housed in barracks. The intermixing of different African cultures and lack of solidarity created the need for multiple pits. Once families stabilized by the American Revolution, the need for multiple pits decreased as individuals worked cooperatively within a household. Fesler (2004, 2010) also found evidence in favor of this interpretation at the Utopia Quarter.

Other more recent investigations have centered on contextualizing subfloor pits in Virginia (Samford 2000, 2007; Heath and Breen 2009). Contextualization has centered on connecting the presence of individual pits with corresponding social and historical processes. The use of this method has allowed for alternative explanations for subfloor pits with unusual contents (Samford 2000, 2007; Lucas 2014; Reeves 2014). Primary contextual material has found that some subfloor pits are related to Igbo-like shrines found in West Africa and ritual concealments. Explorations like these help demonstrate how ethnic identity can be represented in pits through a careful analysis of context.

McKee (1995, 2000) and Young (1997) have also investigated pit cellars and their functions in the Upland South using power relations as a guiding framework. McKee's (1995, 2000) work at the Hermitage highlights the continued use of pit cellars in Tennessee by enslaved African Americans and their resistance to slavery including changes to housing imposed by slave owner's adherence to housing reform movements of the 19th century. Multiple years of archaeology at the site revealed pit cellars within several excavated slave quarters, some with multiple pits in each room. Young (1997, 2004) also looks at power relations and diet through the use of pit cellars, finding a community support network that allowed the enslaved to manage the risks of institutional slavery. Young additionally notes that the use of pit cellars may have been more common at rural slave quartering sites and may represent an Upland South adaptation associated with foodways and provisioning (Young 1995:214-215, 1997:110). Singleton (1995:124) has additionally situated their use within the greater Upper South as opposed to Lower South. This generalization includes areas of the Coastal Plain in which pit cellars are found as well.

Marcoux's (2008, 2012) examination of pit cellars in relation to his work on the contact-period Cherokee in Townsend also helps to situate the changing nature of relationships within Indigenous society in Tennessee. Marcoux examined several Cherokee sites and residents' cellars during and after contact. In his study, he relates the changing nature of pit cellar use by Cherokees to larger changes in society that include increased participation in the deerskin trade and changing foodways. Pits could have served the purpose of concealing goods from animals as well as covetous neighbors (Marcoux 2012:203). In this later sense, they were similar to hidey holes since they functioned to conceal items from others. However, rather than serving as

a form of resistance to elites, Marcoux argues that the Cherokee used pit cellars to negotiate the changing dynamics of colonial interaction and practical use.

Previous researchers have focused on answering questions centered on function and the temporal and spatial dimensions of pit cellars. What were they used for, and do they include spiritual uses? When do they appear, fluoresce, and wane in popularity? Where do they occur? Do they occur outside of Virginia slave quarters? Others have questioned if they are a product of resistance due to social, political, and economic changes (Singleton 1995; McKee 1992; Neiman 2008). Questions surrounding identity are also popular avenues of inquiry among archaeologists examining pit cellars (Franklin 1997; Samford 2000, 2007; Fesler 2004). I expand on these issues in Tennessee following research conducted by Faulkner (1986) and Samford (2007).

In the Middle or Upland South, Faulkner (1986) was the first to describe pit cellars which are analogous to subfloor pits. Faulkner focused on the functional aspects of pit cellars and tried to understand them through artifact patterning. While this was an early attempt to define these pits, it remains a seminal work in the Upland South related to these features as he was first to recognize their importance as a regional tradition. Other researchers in the Upland South have continued to use the term “pit cellar” when discussing any interior subterranean storage pit. Most notably, Young’s (1997) work at Locust Grove in Kentucky uses the term “pit cellar” to describe what is most commonly referred to as a “subfloor pit” in the Mid-Atlantic region.

Interpretations have varied over the years as to how pit cellars functioned and how to approach the subject theoretically. Dissimilarities in space, time, and theory have led to differences in the way we interpret these features and even today our interpretations are changing. The link with African Americans was made with the discovery of multiple pits in slave quarters (Kelso 1984). They have, therefore, sometimes been equated as markers of

African American ethnicity or Africanisms with direct links to Africa. That mindset has changed with the recognition that other groups were also using pit cellars (Mouer 1991, 1993; Kimmel 1993; Neiman 2008; Heath 2010). One-to-one comparisons of African traits to African Americans has also been found to be problematic (Singleton 1998; DeCorse 1999). The perception that small pit cellars disappear from the archaeological record by the early 19th century has also begun to change with the appearance of more contextualized studies (Heath and Breen 2009). Small pits are seen to diminish in number within households in the late 18th century, but larger pit cellars have been shown to persist well into the 20th century (Faulkner 1986; Mouer 1991, 1993). The variety of interpretations discussed here has led to a better understanding of pit use and the social and historical circumstances that led their creation in Virginia and the Upland South, but more research is needed to better define these features and clarify regional, temporal, and affiliation ambiguities.

Research Challenges

Challenges with pit cellar research include definition, multicultural analysis, and regional analysis. The ambiguity of the terms “pit cellar” and “subfloor pit” is problematic and hampers comparative research. My research hopes to clarify the vagueness between the use of subfloor pits and pit cellars by including larger pits within this study. A major focus has been on African American subfloor pits in the context of slavery in Virginia hindering cross-cultural and intra-regional analysis. Larger pit cellars have also been attributed to Euro Americans. To move away from assuming that smaller pits are associated with African Americans or that larger ones are Euro American, I conducted an examination of pit cellars used by people claiming various ethnic identities in Tennessee to understand how they functioned in different contexts in different

areas of the state. Prior to this study, pits post-dating the early 19th century have not been compared in-depth though they are evident archaeologically and in historical literature. I examined different regions and ethnic groups within Tennessee through the 20th century. In this dissertation, I compare the frequency and distribution of pit cellars across the state, the groups of people who used them, and their function and meaning through time in different situations. This enables me to conduct comparative regional research in the Upland and Lowland South as well as examine multiple ethnic identities diachronically.

The purpose of this dissertation is to contextualize the existence and use of pit cellars in Tennessee to address broader issues surrounding identity. A major contribution of my research is to understand the identities of pit users and document how pits functioned in different cultural contexts in different regions diachronically. This research contributes to future interpretation and analysis of pit cellars on a cross-cultural and regional scale. It follows other studies of pits and adds to a growing body of data centering on functional, spatial and temporal variation, resistance, and identity.

This dissertation goes beyond previous examinations of pit cellars to look at pits cross-culturally between different groups and regionally outside of Virginia. By examining a range of variables relating to pit cellars over time, this study aspires to understand culture change and expression within a multicultural landscape. Ultimately, my research will add to a broader understanding of pit cellars and the different people who used them.

Research Goals

My research contextualizes the historic use of pit cellars in Tennessee through an analysis of previously excavated pits (Figure 2). I consider these cellars to be a form of material culture



Figure 2. Map of the Southeastern United States and Tennessee.

associated with the built environment of households and examine how they were used and what they meant to the people using them in the past by placing them within their spatial, temporal, and sociocultural context. I examine the materiality of pit cellars associated with dwellings and how these spaces were negotiated by households within larger social systems related to ethnic identity. The goal is to compare these features between variable ethnic groups across three regions of Tennessee (East, Middle and West) to analyze the practice of pit construction and use as well as the influence of ethnic identity as a reflection and reinforcement of social distinctions (Figure 3). I investigate if people had differing notions about their function or if they had similar ideas behind their use and design throughout the state by looking closely at the construction methods, placement, and contents of pit cellars as well as their spatial locus and social context. While archaeological context is drawn from household and site information, the scale of analysis is broadened to include a regional perspective.

I evaluate pit cellars using a contextual framework applied to material culture studies. My research examines pit variability and compares their observed characteristics in order to allow for an interpretation of how they functioned for different people in different circumstances over time throughout the state. Pit cellars are explored as an expression of identity at multiple scales in Tennessee including households, sites, and regions. Households are my primary unit of analysis and situate my study of pit cellars within broader spatial, temporal, and social contexts. I comparatively analyze the distribution, construction, deposition, and use of these features between groups across Tennessee's regional landscapes to see if pit cellars are a materialization of group identity and boundary maintenance.

I wish to understand if pit cellars served as markers of ethnic boundaries or were associated with regional identity. Boundaries demarcate differences between groups and ethnic

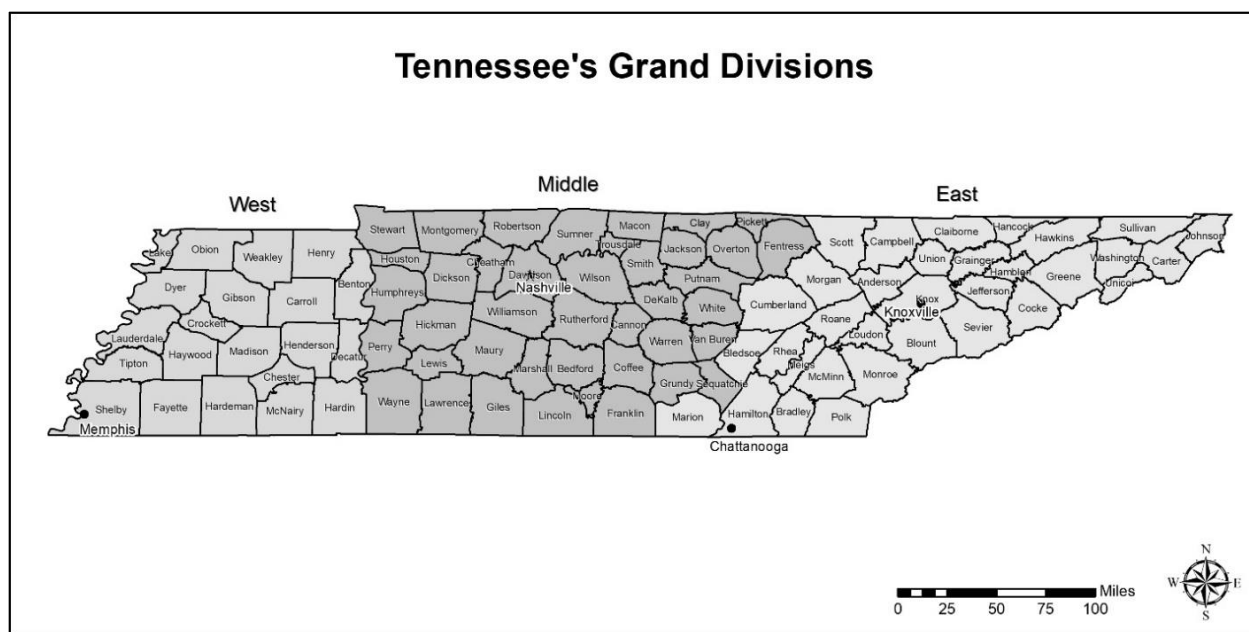


Figure 3. Tennessee's three grand divisions by county with major cities.

boundaries are formed and maintained in either competitive or complementary ethnic group relationships within different contexts of interaction (Barth 1969). Artifacts can serve as ethnic boundary markers through emblematic (public) or instrumental (private) symbolism and habitual practice. I want to discover if pit cellars had notable differences in form, function, composition, and contents spatially over time within or between different ethnic groups in Tennessee's three main geographic divisions.

Contextual archaeology is applied in this dissertation to situate pits within physical, temporal, and social space. A contextual approach is additionally used to piece together previous data from multiple sources and reinterpret them reflexively within their social and historical context. It also provides a framework to interpret the materiality of pit cellars and the communication and symbolism of pit cellars as markers of identity.

In order to understand the use of pit cellars as boundaries, I use creolization theory to see if groups created distinct ethnic subcultures or a regional culture based on different contributing groups. A creolization model allows me to examine the merging and reformation of ideas surrounding subfloor pits and identity from diverse groups of people coming together in various regions of the state. Creolization also helps conceptualize the shifting choices people made about pits over time.

The data collected for this project contribute to a regional understanding of when and why pit cellars existed, the purpose for which they were used, and who participated in their construction and use. The data also helps unravel the complexity of pit cellars and assists me in determining whether different ethnic groups used pits differently as a strategy of boundary creation and maintenance, or whether variation in pits is a function of other reasons, including

regional and/or temporal variation. My work seeks to discover if a change, or lack of change, in pit cellars could be due to one or more of these factors.

Research Questions

Research questions center on understanding when and where subfloor pits occur, their morphological characteristics, who was using them, and how they functioned in different contexts. I wish to understand the spatiality of pit cellars within differing interaction spheres as well as their contexts of use over time. In this dissertation, I examine spatiality (where?), chronology (when?), ethnic affiliation (who?), form (what?) and function (how?) including what was found within them to determine if pit cellars in Tennessee were used as ethnic boundary markers.

My proximal questions center on what variation in form, function, and deposition occurs in the distribution of pit cellars through time between different groups in Tennessee's three main regions. Small pit cellars have primarily been associated with African Americans, while larger, lined pits have been linked to Euro American construction preferences. Young (1995:215) also observes that pit cellars "may represent an important Upland South adaptation." In the Upland South, Groover (1998) notes that ethnicity or ethnic origin was less important and that common cultural practices were associated more readily with a regional identity comprised of elements of different groups. Greene (2011) also notes that ethnicity is difficult to distinguish in the uplands of North Carolina when examining mass-produced material culture, though foodways might provide clearer distinctions. I wish to know if the variation in the distribution and use of pit cellars over time is representative of regional or ethnic group affinity.

Research questions can be summarized as:

- Where do pits occur in Tennessee and what factors influence their construction?
- When were pit cellars used and how did they change over time?
- What form do they take and what deposits or artifacts are found within them?
- How did pit cellars function in different contexts or social situations?
- Who used pit cellars and were they expressions of ethnic or regional identity?
- Were pit cellars a materialization of ethnic group identity and boundary maintenance?

I want to understand the similarities and differences between how subfloor pits were used by African Americans, Euro Americans, and Native Americans over time and in different social situations. Social situations refer to larger processes of interaction such as contact, colonialism, slavery, conflict, or modernization and how people interacted at places like barracks, farmsteads, or plantations. Did people have similar ideas about the construction and use of these multipurpose pits or were there distinctions? Do differences between pit cellars symbolize a form of identity boundary maintenance and hence message membership in a group? Do the similarities or differences in subfloor pits point to the creation and maintenance of separate ethnic identities? This research should help understand how they functioned in different contexts and will answer whether these pits are a material expression of ethnic distinctions or regional cultural traditions.

Methods

I address my research goals and questions by producing a comparative archaeological database of pit cellars to evaluate variation between regions, sites, and households over time.

Data included a sample of previously excavated pit cellars in Tennessee drawn from reports, publications, and grey literature. These data were stored in previous publications, grey literature, presentations, electronic databases, online resources, and archives in various governmental and private archaeological repositories throughout the state. I included pit cellars in the survey if they were documented in controlled excavations, did not incorporate their walls into the room or building above it, and were less than 5 ft. deep. Three examples between 5 to 6 ft. were noted but the foundations of the associated structure supported the walls of the pits. Examples outside of these restrictions were considered too large for the survey and would more appropriately be described as foundational cellars or basements. Storage features or areas such as foundational cellars, storm shelters, or basements were not included in the sample. Phase I reports with insufficient information were excluded. Other generalized data, including environmental, demographic, and agricultural statistics that allowed me to observe change through time, were also collected to contextualize external factors that influenced the use of pits in Tennessee.

Resources for this project were collected from two repositories of archaeological data in the state including the University of Tennessee, Knoxville and the Tennessee Division of Archaeology from 2014 to 2018. The University of Tennessee, Knoxville included archaeological publications and reports available from the Department of Anthropology, the McClung Museum, and the University of Tennessee Libraries. The Tennessee Division of Archaeology provided site information from the state's site file as well as publications and reports from throughout the state resulting in the largest repository of data for this project. Specific data were acquired for the Hermitage from their archive as well as information made available from the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS). Climate

and soil data for sites was acquired from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and the Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS).

The sample includes pit cellars that typically occur beneath the floor of a structure. A few examples of exterior storage pits directly adjacent to a dwelling were also recorded. In a few cases, these were likely covered with sheds or coverings connected to a structure. In other cases, it was not determined if the pit was within or outside of the structure. Pits outside of traditional Native American structures were ubiquitous and not included in the survey due to the sheer number of examples which were typically unable to be associated with a definitive function.

Data included site, structure, pit, and user information recorded in a relational database to compare pit features and their associated physical and cultural attributes. Recorded attributes included types of sites with pit cellars, structures associated with pits, the size and shape of pits, pit lining, contents, spatial and temporal information, ethnic affiliation, and function. Dates for pit use were estimated to the nearest five-year time span from site and structure occupations as well as recovered artifacts. Dimensions and shape information were estimated from feature descriptions and excavation maps. Note that depths refer to the excavated pit which in some cases was truncated by a plow or backhoe. Area was calculated from length and width measurements as well as surface shape. Volume also used depth as a variable in calculation. The excavated area of a pit was estimated on the percentage of surface area excavated divided by the size of the pit. This was then used to calculate the excavated volume of the pit. Artifact density was calculated by dividing the number of artifacts by the volume excavated.

Ethnic affiliation was interpreted through site context information which included the associated structure's function. Ethnic groups analyzed in this dissertation were comprised of African Americans, Euro Americans, and Native Americans. It should be noted that when

discussing the affiliation of these pits, any Euro American slave owner likely had African Americans working and utilizing their cellars, whether in utilitarian outbuildings or in private dwellings. Enslaved individuals were typically recorded as living and working in close proximity to their owners in Tennessee (Strutt 2010). The Cherokee are also known to have had other ethnic members within their households including enslaved African Americans or Euro American captives of war (McLoughlin and Conser 1977; Perdue 1979; Wishart 1995).

Additional representative analytical groups discussed in this dissertation include non-traditional Cherokee, multiethnic households, and African American/Euro American households which were comprised of dwellings originally inhabited by Euro Americans and later used as African American slave quarters or households of indeterminate affiliation. These groups were included to understand any variation in pit use over time between different affiliations and the acceptance or rejection of potential ethnic boundaries which are fluid and situationally dependent. If pit cellars are boundaries, these additional groups should show a preference for pits used by African Americans, Euro Americans, or Native Americans.

Functional categories were interpreted from recorded descriptions, pit context, and pit contents. Function can be assessed through the type of structure they are associated with and where in the structure they are found (Mouer 1991; Samford 2007). Hearth-front pits are considered to have been used for root storage due to their dry conditions, while pits discovered away from the hearth within domestic structures are considered to be used as personal storage spaces and, if deep, possibly as cooling pits (Samford 2000, 2007; Fesler 2004). Some of these features were also used clandestinely as hidey holes and openly as safe deposit boxes. To discover spiritual or ritual activity in the past, pits must exhibit an alteration or a unique circumstance for it to be recognized (Samford 2000, 2007). These pits must also contain primary

deposits with de facto refuse to understand intentionality (Schiffer 1987). By compiling contextual data on subfloor pits that can be compared, we can better understand their alternative uses. Physical, social, and historical context help to make statements about their use. By understanding the multiple functions of subfloor pits, we can begin to recognize their correlates and record them archaeologically.

Analytical methods included spatial analysis, quantitative statistics, and qualitative comparisons between pit cellars in the state in order to contextualize their existence. Variation in the data was assessed using pattern recognition and statistical methods. The results of the survey were evaluated to answer questions about how subfloor pits functioned in different contexts and operated symbolically to create and maintain boundaries between groups.

Data collected for pit cellars were recorded in a relational database/geodatabase using Microsoft Access database software and ESRI's ArcGIS mapping software. A relational database consists of tables interconnected by related data points that I used with the intent of comparison, in this case, comparison of archaeological data associated with pit cellars in the state including their physical and cultural attributes. The use of a geodatabase implies a spatial component and includes site location information. The database is structured hierarchically, with a one-to-many relationship, broken down by site, structure, and pit cellar (Figure 4). Pits are further associated with content, stratigraphic, and bibliographic information. While structured from the top-down, the data relies on its base, or rather the pit data itself, and is analyzed using a bottom-up approach. Environmental attributes such as climate and soils were also collected and analyzed to determine any ecological constraints to pit construction or food storage. The results were compared to understand the variation between pit cellars used by different ethnic groups in different regions.

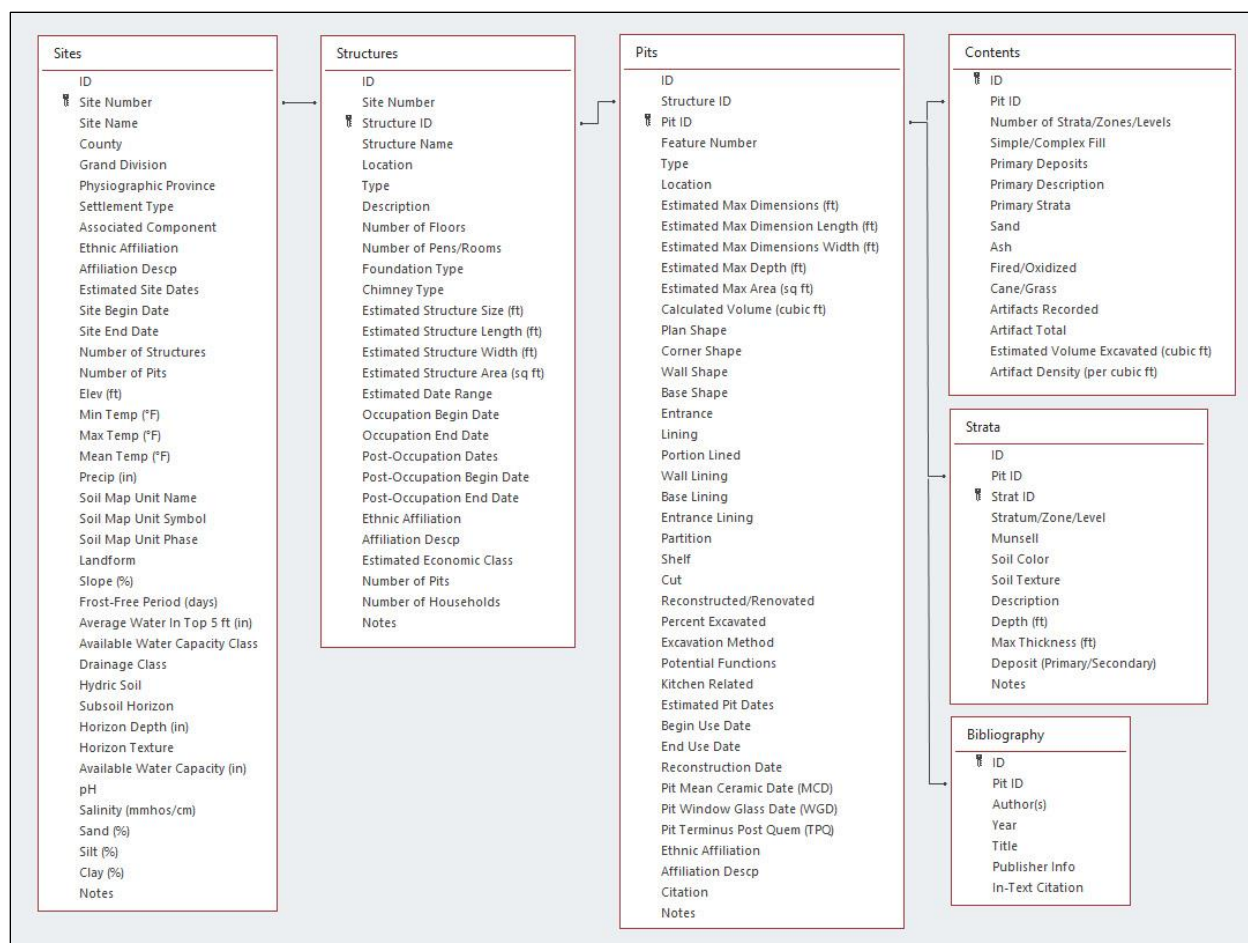


Figure 4. Database tables and attributes.

Specific analyses included an examination of the frequencies and distributions of pit cellars in Tennessee seriated through time. Morphological features and other attributes were also compared using descriptive statistics as well as simple frequency and percentage values. To evaluate differences in pit cellars, I examined space, chronology, form, function, and associated artifacts as well as the various identities of its users. Variation in the data was used to assess dependency to a region or ethnic affiliation to determine if differences in use were dependent on regionality or ethnic affiliation. Statistical analysis was also conducted on size and its change over time using SPSS to perform correlation and linear regression analysis. The results of the survey were then evaluated to answer questions about how subfloor pits were constructed and functioned in various contexts depending on group identity.

This dissertation examines pit cellars and whether they are associated with the formation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries or regional identity. Ethnic identity is evaluated through comparison of traits such as construction preferences as well as spatial, temporal, and functional attributes. The distribution, form, functions, and deposits of these pits in different situations is assessed to understand the degree to which people had differing ideas about pit cellars. To address how expressions of ethnic identity varied, I compared how pit cellars differed between household, sites, and regions. If pits vary by ethnic affiliation or region, then there should be differences in the morphology, placement, and function of the pits. I surmise that pit cellars should show variation in their distribution, form, and function over time between different regional or ethnic groups throughout Tennessee. If pits represent an ethnic boundary, then an ethnic group's expression will be standardized among all members of the group and pits will show similarities within comparable groups and differences between separate groups. If there are no similarities within groups and no differences between groups, then pits likely represent

shared regional ideas about their construction and use. If pits are related to a regional trend, then ethnic groups will not show distinctions between use but rather regions will have differences between them. If no patterned differences are seen between different groups or regions, then variation could be related to individualistic ideals behind their use or potentially intergroup competition (Jones 1997; Neiman 1999; Riggs 1999; Baumann 2001; Fennell 2003).

A wide range of pit cellar types and sizes were included within my survey to examine the extent of pit cellar use among different groups including a variety of sizes, from small holes in the ground to large, lined cellars with entries, as well as exterior pits and outbuildings in close association with dwellings. All pits in the survey served the essential purpose of storage regardless of their size or placement outside of dwellings. Including small and large pits will assist in establishing if size is a factor in determining preferences among groups and whether or not they serve as boundaries. Including interior and exterior pits provides an understanding of different type preferences. Discovering how pits are used in private or interior settings as well as in exterior or public settings helps to determine the choices made by different ethnic groups in various settings. Incorporating multiple types helps to understand if interior and/or exterior pits were preferred by different groups and if they were used to signify ethnic or regional identity.

This dissertation first explores my research by introducing my theoretical perspective for contextualizing pit cellars. A review of the study area is then discussed. An examination of the results for sites, structures, and pits is then reviewed. A sample of sites is subsequently examined in detail to provide context to the results followed by a discussion regarding answers to my research questions. Data for my dissertation is provided in the appendices.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Background

This study is based within contextual historical archaeology. I weave together information contained in archaeological publications and site reports, and in some instances reinterpret them, to create a new regional narrative for pit cellars using a comparative archaeological database. I contextualize pit cellars both in their material and sociocultural domains, as well as through the reflexive interpretation of the texts that document them, focusing on the material cultural of the recent past and how it came to be used and interpreted today. Within this framework, I use a creolization perspective focused on pits cellars as part of the built environment to explore the topic of ethnic and regional identity within households. In this chapter, I summarize the disciplinary and theoretical framework for my study.

Contextual Archaeology

Contextual archaeology is a theoretical paradigm grounded in the post-processual school (Hodder 1987, 1989, 1991; Beaudry et al. 1991; Shanks and Hodder 1995; Beaudry 1996; De Cunzo 1996; Herman 1996; Hodder and Hutson 2003). Contextual archaeology is based on an interpretive approach that aims to refocus archaeological theory by actively reconstructing the past through reflexive interpretation (Shanks and Tilley 1987). Ian Hodder (1987, 1989, 1991) is one major proponent of an interpretive approach stressing the importance of context, a guarded objectivity, hermeneutic interpretation, and reflexivity which was branded as contextual archaeology.

Hodder focused on the symbolic meaning of artifacts as structured texts borrowing from structuralism and literary theory. He used text as an analogy to discuss the context and meaning of objects. Meaning becomes clearer when words, which are not fully understood individually, are compiled in structured ways. Hodder and others emphasize methods of identifying and studying contexts put together in organized ways so that the overall meaning becomes clear. Material culture can be interpreted similarly to words within a text using grammatical or structural context to infer meaning. Influenced by the use of text as analogy and literary theory, the term narrative has also been introduced to include interpretation as the telling of stories (Hodder 1991; Pluciennik 1999). While the use of storytelling as an interpretive scheme is typically conceptualized as an analogy for archaeological reporting of information (non-fiction narratives), some have used poetic archaeology as a means for narration of the past (Shanks and Hodder 1995).

As opposed to processual archaeology, contextual archaeology emphasizes interpretation and meaning within its cultural and historical context, not general law-like statements or hypothesis-testing. It is a bottom-up approach that involves multiple scales of analysis that are weighted one against the other, from an individual's ability to have agency to the social and ideological structures that mold them. Contextual archaeology also intends to place the interpreter in the foreground, grounding them within the present with interests in interpreting meaning while recognizing the importance of multiple voices and plurality of interpretations as well as critical representation of groups in the present (Shanks and Hodder 1995). Contextual archaeology aims to include social science in an effort to understand how society may be conceived in the past by bringing together rigorous patterning and structure with individual action and agency as well as an understanding of its practice today.

Drawing from structuralism, poststructuralism, and incorporating practice and some aspects of critical theory, contextual archaeology produces knowledge from incorporating many theories and multiple ways of knowing. Contextual approaches are also influenced by practice theory and an interest in agency (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979, 1984; Hodder et al. 1995:256; Beaudry 1996:478). Agency refers to an individual's ability to do things, regardless of intent (Hegmon 2003:219). It is understood through structuration theory developed by Anthony Giddens (1984), in which individuals produce and reproduce social structures by their actions. "Social structure is the medium and outcome of social practice of knowledgeable social agents" (Hodder et al. 1995:269). Agency is, however, unavoidably situated within disparate social and cultural structures in the past and present. "The temporal and spatial settings of human practice are considered essential to its constitution, with place and temporality actively constructed through practice" (Hodder et al. 1995:256). These parameters are considered by including Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus. Habitus refers to socially acquired characteristics that are the products of social experience. Individuals do not possess complete free will but are bounded by limited choices created by learned social behaviors and ideas that reinforce and create social structures consciously or unconsciously through daily practice. Agency places the individual and personal choice, however limited, critically back into the discussion.

Contextual archaeology is focused on the context of the data and its interpretation. Context, material culture's physical and cultural provenience in time and space, can provide meaning to the archaeological record and is crucial for interpretation and explanation of the past (Beaudry et al. 1991:160; Fennell 2003:12). Context as a theory can be confusing since archaeologists use context to create, maintain, and interpret the archaeological record (McFadyen 2013:135). Context is essential to archaeology and fundamental to being able to make

associations between artifacts and features. In this sense, it is oriented to understanding material remains and their disposition in space and time including stratigraphy and site formation processes (Schiffer 1972). However, contextual archaeology includes a focus on the physical and social context of material culture as well as the context of knowledge production.

“Archaeologists use the term context in a variety of ways which have in common the connecting or interweaving of things in a particular situation or group of situations” (Hodder and Hutson 2003:171). Contextual archaeology looks at social historical contexts in the past and the historical context of interpretation (Wilkie 2009:335). The term contextual archaeology is additionally used to describe this theoretical framework because of its attention to material and ideological context in the past to achieve meaning from nuanced interpretation in the present.

Context is essential for interpreting meanings. “Meanings of things can only be approached if contexts of use are considered, if similarities and differences between things are taken into account” (Shanks and Hodder 1995:24). Hodder (1986) identified two types of contextual meanings. One is the structured functional relationships where we ascribe meaning to artifacts by examining how they function in relation to other factors and processes and in relation to social structures. The other type is the structured content of ideas and symbols.

“Archaeologists need to make abstractions from the symbolic functions of the objects they excavate in order to identify the meaning content behind them, and this involves examining how the ideas denoted by material symbols themselves play a part in structuring society” (Hodder and Hudson 2003:165).

Guarded objectivity refers to the dialectic relation of the data and its production (Hodder 1991:10). Facts (data) are objective but are formed in relation to our perceptions (perceived truth). Within archaeology, data are incomplete and fragmentary due to the nature of the

archaeological record. While an objective universe exists, it is translated by interpreters of the data. Objective data are fragmentary, interpreted subjectively, and force us to consider the quality of the archaeological data. This approach does not intend to be anti-scientific, but to use this dualistic production of knowledge as a way of understanding how we make interpretations.

Hermeneutics is a method and philosophy that archaeologists use to understand the past based on textual interpretation and interpretation of humanistic symbolic expression (Hodder 1991; Johnsen and Olsen 1992). It is a back-and-forth refinement process of understanding or interpretation that incorporates an analysis of possible meanings and social uses (Hodder et al. 1995:260). Based on the work of historians (Collingwood 1946) and German philosophers (Heidegger 1958; Gadamer 1975; Dilthey 1985), hermeneutics involves getting at social structures of meaning through which people make sense of the world (Hodder 1991).

Interpretive archaeologists express four level of hermeneutics which involves understanding relations between the past and present, different cultures, archaeologists, and relations in contemporary society (Shanks and Tilley 1987; Shanks and Hodder 1995). It includes the deconstruction of deterministic generalized patterning by focusing on the individual and meaning through how people experience the world. This type of effort places the subject back into the discussion.

Reflexivity refers to the production of archaeological knowledge and how it is produced. Archaeologists are to engage critically with their present undertakings situated in a dialogue between past and present, the present subject, and interested parties. This approach includes the notion of epistemic relativism, in which knowledge production is situated in a particular time and culture, as well as judgmental relativism which states that all forms of knowledge are equally valid (Shanks and Hodder 1995:30). Reflexive consideration of the production of knowledge is

critically engaged, allowing for multivocal dialogues to be incorporated (Wilkie 2009).

Understanding how knowledge is produced and acknowledging multiple ways of knowing allows for multiple subaltern groups to be involved in interpretation.

Historical Contextual Archaeology

The past is complex and fragmentary; thus, context is required to understand it. A contextual archaeology achieves understanding through a multidisciplinary approach. Contextual archaeology must be interdisciplinary, requiring a robust understanding of empirical data. It combines humanistic and scientific thought to bridge the gap between individuals and the larger culture to get at agency and complexity (De Cunzo 1996:8; Wilkie 2009). Pigeonholing archaeology into a history (materialist) versus anthropology (humanistic) debate is counterproductive (De Cunzo 1996:9). We can draw from all available sources of data. This approach also involves hearing from multiple sources and listening to many voices to understand past variability without privileging any single perspective (De Cunzo 1996:11).

While Hodder was not practicing historical archaeology, contextual theory has been profound for historical archaeologists since we were already incorporating texts into our interpretations. Historical archaeology is multidisciplinary by its very nature, combining past documentary evidence, oral histories, and material culture. Text in historical archaeology is implied. Historical archaeology in its name denotes the use of documents to understand the past. Texts are used in relation to cultural material to answer questions about the past. However, how texts have been incorporated into historical archaeology has changed over the years from giving text primacy to evaluating them equally.

Within contextual archaeology, text is used as a metaphor to discuss the context and meaning of objects. Based on interpretive historical archaeological approaches, texts are also a source of information that can be used equally with other forms of data such as ethnography, oral history, and material culture. The role of texts in historical archaeology should follow a contextual approach by not privileging one dataset above the other. All forms of information should be analyzed critically and equally.

Historical archaeologists should be concerned about the information that they use for interpretation. Archaeology can be biased if not placed within the right context. Documents and the material record can have bias inherent within them such as the lack of documented “others” in history or the survey methods and excavation techniques employed by archaeologists. To get past these biases, contextual archaeology can be used to equally evaluate documents and objects by examining the context and quality of the data. Historical archaeology uses multiple lines of evidence to interpret many different meanings. By understanding the social context in the past and reflexivity in the present, we can unravel a portion of the “truth” or at least a close approximation of it.

Contextual historical archaeology is about using a variety of evidence to create a new historical narrative that speaks to us today (Wilkie 2009:335). This process includes making the past accessible to the disenfranchised and the broader public. Within historical archaeology there was no movement to create an interpretive archaeology, rather there were researchers from different perspectives who wished to construct archaeological interpretations that are empirically rigorous, historically situated, and socially relevant (Wilkie 2009:335). Interpretive historical archaeology is not a subdiscipline, but the theoretical state of the discipline (Wilkie 2009:335).

Wilkie (2009) argues that an interpretive historical archaeology should contain four major aspects. Archaeologists must recognize that people in the past shaped, and were shaped by, the larger historical context they experienced. Research should be empirically rigorous and data driven while using multiple lines of evidence to create holistic interpretations. Archaeologists should also be reflexive and situate their work in the present in discourse with affected communities. Information should also be made accessible to the public in a variety of ways.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record and its variability, a contextual approach is necessary to unravel the complexities of the past. I use context in multiple ways to provide information about the physical and historical social situatedness of pit cellars. First and most importantly, I examine the material aspects of pits including their provenience in time and space. I also explore the social aspects of pits including the dimensions of use, the users, and their potential symbolic properties. The dataset, based on reported or published information, is from disparate sources which must be carefully pieced together in order to decipher them. In this case, I am utilizing hermeneutics when translating the data from previous documented interpretations to interpret, or in some instances reinterpret, a new narrative. Site reports and publications include interpreting the information critically through a careful analysis of the dataset and an understanding of the quality and objectivity of the data as well as when it was produced. Ideas about pit cellars have changed over the years and newer ideas allow me to reinterpret older literature. Hermeneutics is also used more broadly to understand the communication of ideas such as identity and symbolism imbued in pit cellars.

Materiality

A contextual historical archaeology also includes an incorporation of material culture and an interpretation of its physical and social dimensions. Material culture is a primary concern of archaeologists studying our past (Beaudry et al. 1991; De Cunzo 1996; Claney 2004; Beaudry 2006; Cochran and Beaudry 2006; Miller 2010; Hodder 2012). Material culture can provide an understanding of peoples' mindsets and worldview which is an integral component of recovering meaning as well as of explanation of the archaeological record (Beaudry et al. 1991:160). It includes everything from documents, to artifacts, to features, to the built environment and the landscapes that people inhabit, and it can be considered anything people have made or altered as well as the material consequences of those actions (De Cunzo 1996:13-14).

Contextual investigations of material culture have focused on the materiality of objects and how they shape people and in turn were shaped by them. Materiality is the relationship between people and things (Beaudry et al. 1991, De Cunzo 1996; Cochran and Beaudry 2006; Miller 2010; Hodder 2012). Human beings are intertwined with material objects (Cochran and Beaudry 2006; Hodder 2012). Materials surround and form our daily lives and we cannot be removed from our material existence (Hegel 1977; Miller 2010). Artifacts are not passive, disassociated objects, nor are they merely reflective of culture. They can also constitute culture itself. Material culture plays an active role in shaping our lives and we are agents in its creation and use (Beaudry et al. 1991). Materiality can be expressed in many ways and manifest in different social situations. It can consist of objects, buildings, and landscapes that are woven together by social interaction. Reading material culture within the society in which it functioned can give insight into peoples' views and attitudes towards the world (Hodder 1989, 2004; Beaudry et al. 1991:160; Samford 1996:101). Archaeologists must, therefore, "shift away from

the study of objects in and of themselves and toward the study of artifacts as defining and defined by the situations and settings in which they historically operated” (Herman 1996:30).

A fundamental assumption relating to material culture is that objects made or modified by people reflect the beliefs of the individuals who made or used them and hence the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged (Prown 1988: 19; Beaudry et al. 1991:150). “An interpretive approach acknowledges that material culture is not just something people create but an integral component of our personalities and our social lives, deeply implicated in how we construct social relationships” (Beaudry 2006:7). Objects also have multiple meanings that are influenced by these social relationships. Material culture is, therefore, a tangible incarnation of social relationships embodying the thoughts and behaviors of the past whereby objects are a medium of communication through symbolism (Beaudry et al. 1991:150; Herman 1996:29). Symbols are signs used in a communicative semiotic process (Beaudry et al. 1991:154). Artifact style can, therefore, communicate culture and is essential in group definition and boundary maintenance (Wobst 1977; Barth 1969; Beaudry et al. 1991:155). Style can reside in multiple aspects of artifact variability including simplistic non-utilitarian variation (decoration) or differences in utilitarian functions (Sackett 1986; Jones 1997). This type of communication is recoverable if encoded cultural values are historically and circumstantially contextualized (Herman 1996:29).

Material culture also has physical constraints that structure form as well as meaning within social groups (Hicks 2010; Schweickart 2019a). Objects function on a variety of expressive levels and their functions can only be understood in context (Herman 1996:29). “Contexts of use” as well as abstract symbolism can be used to understand the meaning of artifacts (Hodder 1989:260). Symbols can be overtly displayed or be more passively understood

through practical applications in more private settings (Wobst 1977; Wiessner 1983; Hodder 1989; Fennell 2003). Physical and social context is, therefore, of critical importance when making statements about the use, meaning, and the significance of artifacts (Beaudry 1996; Fennell 2003). Context also includes understanding material culture as an expression of sociocultural identity and social interaction that occurred in specific historical circumstances. Social relations are shaped by materials and in some cases, they show cohesion between groups, while in others they indicate and facilitate a distinct segregation. By examining the way in which materials were used, instilled with meaning, and influenced the daily lives of people in the past, we can come to a better understanding of the social influences and individual agency that governed them.

Due to contextual archaeology's ability to be interdisciplinary, it does not reject the positivist, cultural materialist approach in its entirety (Beaudry 1996:496). The physical and social relationships of things can be recovered by using different methods and incorporating theories that allow the past to be interpreted. Integrating a contextual approach allows for an examination beyond physical materialist perspectives and can potentially include an understanding of the cognitive state of actors and the experiential contexts of how objects functioned in social and symbolic settings.

Material culture can serve as an expression of identity and how a person or group defines the world in both public and private settings (Kellar 2004a:169). I intend to examine pit cellars as a form of material culture imbued with the same properties as other types of material culture, in this case, non-portable features associated with architecture and the built environment. I also consider the symbolic properties of pits as an expression of identity. The materialization of

identity can be understood “through the symbols and imagery a group’s members use to represent themselves and their shared ideology” (White and Beaudry 2009:219).

Core symbols of group identity serve “to express fundamental elements of a group’s cosmology and sense of identity” (Fennell 2007:7). Symbols of group identity can exist along a continuum of expressions of core symbols (Ortner 1973). These include emblematic and instrumental types of symbols (Fennell 2003, 2007). Emblematic symbols are more standardized and indicate clear and distinct messaging usually displayed in public settings (Wobst 1977:323). These are often used in intergroup competition or to achieve collective goals (Wiessner 1983; Fennell 2003). Derivatives of emblematic style include assertive or instrumental symbolic expression which can summarize emblems. Instrumental symbols are abbreviated, privatized, and individualistic symbols of group identity (Fennell 2007:8, 29). This assertive style communicates individual identity typically within intragroup settings (Wiessner 1983:257-258; Fennell 2003:9). This symbolic quality provides a means to interpret pit cellars and how they communicated identity within and outside of households similar to other types of furnishings. An examination of the communicative function of artifacts also allows for me to understand various possibilities of the potential ritual use of pit cellars as shrines or places of ritual concealment (Samford 2007; Lucas 2014; Manning 2014a; Reeves 2014).

Symbols can create and reinforce identity through routine practice. Everyday items can serve as “symbols that reinforced people's views of themselves as culturally distinct from others” (Ferguson 1992:xliv; Kellar 2004a:7). Groups define themselves by building fences or bridges of interaction that facilitate solidarity or restrict it (Douglas and Isherwood 1979). The cultural practices and representations that become objectified as symbols of ethnicity must resonate with people’s usual practices and experiences within a particular situation (Jones 1997:90; Lucy

2005:97). I understand pit cellars as symbols of group membership formed within a dialectical relationship of agency and structure.

Identity

Identity is in essence how we conceptualize ourselves and others in the world as well as how others perceive us. Identity is the “intersection of race, class, gender, and ethnicity and the ways in which the material world is deployed as a form of expression” (Hall and Silliman 2006:12). It is multifaceted, multiscalar, non-static, situational, vague, paradoxical, and dependent on context (De Vos 1995; Samford 1999; Deagan 2013). It is a complicated concept situated in time, place, and within the society in which it operated (White and Beaudry 2009:201). At its most basic, identity can be “understood as individual’s identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant” (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:1). The concept of identity, therefore, implies difference between groups or individuals as well as belonging. It is a “phenomenon that unites individuals and collectives” and can be described as a “medium that binds agency and structure” (Jenkins 2004:24; Gardner 2011:12).

Identity is created through interaction and practice which require an understanding of choice and agency (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:2). Identity is self-imposed and imposed by others, and agency is the background by which identity is defined. Even while bound by physical or cultural constraints such as colonialism or slavery, choice was nevertheless a significant factor when defining oneself. While it is important to recognize those constraints, physicality as well as power and domination do not fully define identity formation (Beaudry

1996, 2004; King 2006). Ultimately, individuals were active in constructing themselves in the past.

Individuals and groups hold multiple identities simultaneously. Identity involves a person's ethnicity, class, and age as well as nationality, gender, sexuality, religion, and many other types of being (White and Beaudry 2009). These are intertwined to form a person's self and contribute to the construction of individual identity in the past. The recovery of identity is essentially concerned with attempting to gain insight into the production of self at a variety of levels including the individual, within a household or community, and in public and private contexts (Insoll 2007:14). I examine multiple types and scales of identity including expressions of ethnicity within households and regional variation.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a major component of archaeological research surrounding identity and has been defined in a variety of ways. Ethnicity can be conceived of as a sense of "continuity with a real or imagined past ... that is maintained as an essential part of one's self-definition" (De Vos 1995:25; Samford 1999:71). Ethnicity is "all those social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed group identity" (Jones 1997:xiii; Baumann 2001:146). Ethnic groups are self-defined cultural groups which differentiate themselves based on expressions of real or assumed shared descent (Jones 1997:84; Kellar 2004a:10). Ethnic groups share basic cultural values that can be "realized in overt unity in cultural forms" (Barth 1969:10). Race differs from ethnicity in that it correlated with birth-ascribed status based on physical and cultural characteristics which are defined by others (Baumann 2004a:12). Ethnicity is a more accurate classification of a cultural group because it is characterized by the group (Baumann

2004a:12). An ethnic group is an ascriptive and exclusive group, determined by the origins or perceived origins of its members, and used to categorize themselves and others for engagement (Barth 1969:13; McGuire 1982:160). However, groups can be fluid and outsiders can define ethnic groups. Ethnicity is ascribed when related to biological kinship ties or classified by others and is self-ascribed since group definition is not static and people have choices about what defines an ethnic group and their inclusion within them. Classification of ethnic groups by others is typically simplistic and can be used to reinforce unequal power relations and negative stereotypes (Jones 1997; Baumann 2004a). Therefore, categorization of a group should not be reductionist in approach and be evaluated reflexively.

North America was a pluralistic society comprised of multiple ethnicities. In this dissertation, I prioritize ethnic distinctions of groups with recent ancestry from Europe, Africa, and North America. However, these dichotomies are not monolithic. Other ethnicities existed within these groups including traditional and non-traditional Cherokee, enslaved and free African Americans from different areas of Africa or North America, as well as local Euro American settlers from different parts of North America, plus Irish or Scots Irish, English, and German immigrants. Non-traditionalist Cherokees are those who selectively employed Euro American technology and economic strategies, including agrarianism and dispersed farmstead settlement, but identified as Cherokee (Riggs 1987:23). The fluidity of ethnic groups represented are also considered including a family of mixed ancestry who ascribed to a Euro American ethnic identity. If pit cellars were being used as boundaries for ethnic identity, then there should be a distinction between their use and design by different groups.

Ethnic identity is generally based on contrast between different groups. Differentiation between ethnic groups depends on the existence of ethnic boundaries that are maintained through

the manipulation and display of symbols (Barth 1969:144; Spicer 1971:796; McGuire 1982:160). Ethnic boundaries are “patterns of social interaction that give rise to, and subsequently reinforce, in-group members’ self-identification and outsiders’ confirmation of group distinctions” (Sanders 2002:327). Ethnic boundaries are a social medium, not physical borders. Borders are a type of boundary that marks political or administrative boundaries (Parker 2006:79). They are boundaries which consolidate power and create political, economic, and social barriers. Ethnic boundary maintenance is the process of producing and reproducing cultural, social, and physical barriers that delineate different ethnic groups. Boundaries demarcate difference and limit spheres of activity thereby inhibiting interaction. However, this does not always stop cultural contact and interaction. Similar to ethnicity itself, ethnic boundaries are fluid and situational. Boundaries are self-defined, defined by others, and defined differently in different circumstances within a specific time. Individuals also have agency and can move between boundaries. While dynamic and dependent on context, the existence of ethnic groups as bounded social groups is accepted by most scholars (Hodder 1982; Kimes et al. 1982; Jones 1997:110). Ethnic boundaries are fundamental to the realities of social organization and can affect available options (McGuire 1982:160). Ethnic groups are comprised of people who share “common beliefs, values, attitudes, standards of behavior, as well as symbols that represent that group” (Henry 1987:360; Staski 2009:349). Members identify with a particular group and typically relate to those members who share similar uses and meanings of material culture.

Two major paradigms of ethnicity include primordial and instrumental theories of ethnicity. Primordialists understand ethnicity as “a natural phenomenon with its foundations in family and kinship ties” (Baumann 2001:150). This idea reduces ethnicity to reproductive fitness and fixed biological relationships without examining the formation and maintenance of

ethnic groups over time. This paradigm can be regarded as a static view of ethnicity which removes social interaction and choice in the production of ethnic bonds. It also relies on an understanding that strong emotional ties create ethnic identity (including the symbols involved) and individuals have a predisposition towards ethnic groups due to their desire to be accepted by others or a sense of belonging (Isaacs 1974; Jones 1997). It is considered a basic primordial or fundamental human attachment given at birth and typically incorporates ideas drawn from nationalist ideologies (Jones 1997:66, 72). However, this approach can potentially recognize the persistence of some ethnic groups even when it is not to their advantage (Jones 1997:68).

Instrumentalists, on the other hand, view ethnicity as forming through social interaction and functions to promote personal gain in competition of resources (Jones 1997). Ethnicity constitutes shared norms, beliefs, and practices that provide a group with boundaries used to maintain and compete for resources (Jones 1997:74-75). Ethnic groups are fluid and situationally dependent similar to the boundaries that are maintained over time. Individuals can assume different ethnic identities to their advantage (Barth 1969). Ethnicity can also be expressed differently in various situations (Cohen 1978; Jones 1997:75). Instrumentalists look at ethnicity as dynamic and situationally embedded in the organization of social behavior and governing structures of society (Barth 1969; Cohen 1974; Jones 1997). This school of thought is composed of two positions which focus on either “the socio-structural and cultural dimensions of ethnicity and adopt a more objectivist approach” or “those who focus on the interpersonal and behavioral aspects of ethnicity and take a more subjectivist stance” (Jones 1997:75).

Instrumental approaches are good for understanding the fluid and situational disposition of ethnicity as well as boundary maintenance. However, this paradigm can be seen as a reductionist view of ethnicity as normative behavior, in which it only looks at the results of ethnic interaction

in which symbols are consciously manipulated to pursue personal interests (Jones 1997:90). It does not adequately explain the formation of ethnic groups, which are seen as arbitrary, to serve individual goals (Jones 1997:79). Ethnicity is not culture, but rather “is a product of the intersection of people’s habitual dispositions with the concrete social conditions characterizing any given historical situation” (Jones 1997:120). Ethnic identity, it is argued, involves the active maintenance of cultural boundaries in the process of social interaction, rather than a passive reflection of cultural norms (Jones 1997:28). People are situated within the cultural structure of accepted modes of behavior; however, it is up to the agents to accept or decline appropriate behavior.

Siân Jones (1997) argues for an integrated approach to ethnicity combining aspects of primordial and instrumental approaches within a theory of practice. In this view, ethnic identity is the “shared subliminal dispositions of the habitus which shape, and are shaped by, objective commonalities of practice.” Ethnic affinity is founded on similar experiences that create similar habitual dispositions consciously and unconsciously (Bentley 1987:32-33; Jones 1997:90). Habitus creates feelings of identification among similar individuals, and these are consciously appropriated and symbolically represented (Bentley 1987:173; Jones 1997:90). The practices and representations that are objectified as ethnic symbols are derived from the habitus and experiences of individuals within particular situations (Jones 1997:90). “Representations of ethnicity involve the dialectical opposition of situationally relevant cultural practices and historical experiences associated with different cultural traditions” (Jones 1997:100). Ultimately, it is the shared habitus that situates ethnicity. “Such subliminal dispositions provide the basis for the recognition of commonalities of sentiment and interest, and the perception and communication of cultural affinities and differences” (Jones 1997:128). In this sense, pit cellars

can convey unconscious signaling through practice and habitus or conscious signaling as objectified objects which are derived from a person's habitus.

Jones' (1997) approach to ethnicity is used here to understand how people used pit cellars to convey ethnic identity in a historically situated and diachronic perspective. Practice theory helps situate ethnicity as a non-static social relationship which is formed and maintained within specific historical circumstances over time. Conscious decisions to create and maintain symbolic expression as well as unconscious practice that structures decisions provide a framework for interpreting how pit cellars were intertwined with ethnicity. Artifacts can serve as ethnic boundary markers and can be expressed through overt emblematic symbols or abbreviated, private, assertive, instrumental symbols as well as through habitus (Barth 1969; Wobst 1977; Wiessner 1983; Hodder 1989; Fennell 2007). Ethnic identity can manifest itself in decorative items as well as mundane utilitarian items which are not necessarily highly visible (Hodder 1982:55). Hodder (1989:260) notes that material culture typically conveys information through daily "contexts of use, rather than abstract communication codes, which inform its meaning most immediately." Communication can be more "diffuse, unconscious, and passive" in these different contexts (Riggs 1999:30). Using a contextual method, I sort out these complexities to understand if pit cellars were used as markers of ethnicity through symbolic and practical everyday mundane use of pits.

Pit cellars must display distinctiveness between groups to communicate ethnic boundaries. If a belief system is shared by a bounded group, then it can be displayed through use and stylistic diversity of material culture. If pit cellars served to maintain ethnic boundaries, then pits should be functionally and stylistically distinct between different ethnic groups indicating intergroup cohesion within those groups. Pit cellars are found in indoor and outdoor contexts

such as outbuildings. Therefore, pit form and use can be displayed publicly and privately in more discrete settings. Specific patterns which are consistently associated with an ethnic group should indicate the degree of boundedness.

Ethnic identity can best be understood through an examination of boundaries and boundary maintenance as well as the contexts and practice of use (Barth 1969; Hodder 1989; Jones 1997). I intend to examine the form, composition, function, and symbolic uses of pit cellars as manifestations of ethnic identity. The objectification of pit cellars as symbols of ethnicity is based on differences that imply contact and communication situated in a process of cultural interaction (e.g., contact and colonialism) and multidimensional change (creolization) over time from contact to modern day. “The construction of ethnicity, and the objectification of cultural difference that this entails, is a product of the intersection of people’s habitual dispositions with the concrete social conditions characterizing any given historical situation” (Jones 1997:120). Ethnic boundaries change depending on their situation over time. When a society allows members of other ethnic groups it is in contact with into its institutions, it creates changes in social organization which result in changes in cultural identity (Staski 2009). The locations of these “interactions are usually better understood in terms of social space than as physical places” (Sanders 2002:328).

Creolization

The interaction of different cultures in contact results in culture change which has been explained in a variety of different terms and concepts that result in group definition. Within archaeology, there have been many ways to interpret and define how cultures in contact changed over time to form new social identities. There have been two primary anthropological models

used to understand culture change within various processes of interaction. These include acculturation and creolization (Ferguson 1992; Mintz and Price 1992; Singleton 1998; Baumann 2004b). Acculturation describes the process of culture change that occurs when cultures come in contact and exchange ideas resulting in an alteration of both groups through replacement. It is closely associated with assimilation which results in the complete loss of cultural identity. Creolization involves the combining of cultures and their ideas to create something new. It is the merging of multiple cultures in new and innovative ways that is different from its predecessors.

The use of subfloor pits and pit cellars can best be understood through a creolization model of culture change. Due to acculturation's lack of agency and Eurocentric ideology, other modes of culture change are more appropriate to research pit cellars. Creolization theory is one of the most common and accepted forms of understanding cultural change within archaeology (Ferguson 1992; Mintz and Price 1992; Singleton 1998; Baumann 2004b; Liebmann 2013). Creolization is the process of change associated with the interaction of different cultures. It involves two or more cultures coming into continuous contact to create something new from elements of each. Creolization denotes the ability of the actors in the past to form their own identities within the cultural milieu. It is multidirectional and stresses equality in the creation of new forms based on linguistic analogy (Ferguson 1992; Mintz and Price 1992). It implies the creation of new forms out of a common cultural vocabulary rather than stressing different contrasting characteristics (Ferguson 1980; Mintz and Price 1992; Baumann 2004b; Liebmann 2013). Creolization best describes the transformation and merging of cultural traditions. Cultural interaction is not considered one-way, exchanging culture from a dominant group downward. Transference of culture is not normally an equal exchange, but creolization "does recognize agency as well the transformation of cultural identity to include borrowed ideas and

objects” (Baumann 2001:166). Creolization is more than the assimilation of subordinate groups within a dominant culture. It is the complex mixing and reformulation of both or multiple cultures in diverse and innovative ways to create something new. It emphasizes creativity and expresses mutual exchange and contributions made by all cultures in contact. It is part of a multicultural interaction which creates new forms of culture through simplification, replacement, and recombination similar to language.

Two definitions have been used to describe creolization. Deetz (1977:213) defines it as “the interaction between two or more cultures to produce an integrated mix which is different from its antecedents.” Ferguson (1992:xli) describes creolization as a multicultural adjustment which entails interaction, exchange, and creativeness in the process. Ferguson (1992) further suggests interaction on plantations created two distinct African American and Euro American subcultures. Others, however, conceive of creolization as creating a single creole culture formed from the mixing of multiple ethnicities (Singleton 1998:177-178).

Creolization is a term borrowed from its use with cultural and racial admixture. Today, there are many variants of how to describe culture change and creolization making it difficult to discern an appropriate definition. However, there are three ways to interpret creolization including through linguistics, creole peoples, and racial terminology (Franklin 1997; Cusick 2000; Dawdy 2000; Baumann 2004b).

The popular cultural concept of creole refers to people who have an integrated mix of music, food, and language within their culture. However, in reference to studying creole peoples, it is the adaptation and development of a distinct colonial culture which is not necessarily the result of intermixing (Dawdy 2000; Baumann 2004b). Racial terminology refers to the socially constructed category of a creole person who is of non-native mixed ancestry. It

also involves the blending of genetic and cultural traits within a multicultural population (Dawdy 2000). These types of studies are typically examined in the context of Spanish interaction in the New World (Deagan 1983, 1996; Ewen 2000).

By far the most popular way to interpret creolization by scholars is through linguistic analogy, especially in African American studies. The use of linguistics to understand creolization was employed by looking at creole languages. In linguistics, creolization describes a new language created through the mixing of parent languages (Paterson 2011). It represents the recombination of shared lexical elements in a new conservative grammar and syntax (Liebmann 2013). Creole languages developed out of the need to interact in contact situations and were used as a comparison for other mixed traits. This sometimes created a new dialect used by both cultures which had reduced elements from its parent languages. In archaeology, it also describes how a new culture is created through fusion.

When using linguistic analogy, artifacts are interpreted as being lexicons while the cultural rules are similar to the grammar of a language. Material things are the glossary from which to pick and the ways they were made and used were part of a cultural grammar. Creolization, therefore, relates to a specific type of cultural emergence in which new forms were created out of a common cultural vocabulary (Ferguson 1980; Mintz and Price 1992; Liebmann 2013). It is a multicultural interaction which creates new forms of culture through simplification, replacement, and recombination similar to language.

The use of creolization was first applied to examine the development of creole society in Jamaica (Brathwaite 1971). Brathwaite (1971) followed a creole perspective focusing on how creole society was created due to conflict and helped introduced the concept into African American studies. He defines creolization as a process involving multicultural interaction and

exchanges that result in new cultural forms (Brathwaite 1971; Singleton 1998). Creolization was viewed as cultural action and social process allowing all participants an active role in the creation of a new culture.

Mintz and Price (1976, 1992) followed by incorporating linguistic analogy when looking at the development of creolized culture in the New World. They argued against previous acculturation models that focused on borrowing, continuity, and retention, rebuffing arguments made by Herskovits and the Africanism school. They went beyond acculturation by looking at creolization and focusing on the reconfiguration and creation of new cultural elements.

Deetz (1977) also used linguistic analogy when discussing creolization. He found parallels between language and mixed cultural patterns at Parting Ways. He helped to define creolization as “the interaction between two or more cultures to produce an integrated mix which is different from its previous antecedents” (Deetz 1977:213). Rather than acculturation, a mixing and reformulating of components from both cultures took place.

One of the best examples of creolization theory in historical archaeology comes from Ferguson’s (1992) work on colonoware and structural patterns. He examined colonoware to show how the interaction of different cultures in America led to new forms of material culture. Colonoware was a mix of Native American, Euro American, African American influences which were combined to form a new type of ceramic in America and included its use as a form of resistance in foodways and spiritual practices by African Americans. His work helped to define creolization theory in archaeology and followed a linguistic model which stressed the context of power and inequality involved with the process of creolization. He incorporated linguistic principles of lexicon and grammar to look at African American foodways and structures in the South Carolina Lowcountry. Rather than using an acculturation model to explain changes in

African American housing and ceramics, as had been done previously, he examined them as a newly formed means of resistance which combined elements of both African and European cultures. Colonoware and wattle-and-daub structures were seen to represent a blending of different cultural traditions which were reinterpreted and reformulated in the use of refined European earthenwares and European-style log structures. Cultural identity was not lost but was redeveloped with new meanings.

Baumann (2001) uses creolization to examine post-bellum African American ethnicity in Arrow Rock, Missouri. He explores the various ways that ethnic identity can be identified through a multi-hypothesis approach. Artifacts such as crystals, beads, buttons, and other objects with multiple meanings were shown to have been potentially used in African American ways. The use of these objects is seen as forming from the context of identity creation and maintenance at a time of cultural change associated with segregation. Persistence of African American objects that were used during slavery were found to be recontextualized in Missouri. Baumann's look at ethnic relationships through a creolization perspective of material culture helps us understand the multiple meanings that can be imbued in their messaging over time.

Pit cellars have also been examined through a creolization perspective including Samford's (2000, 2007) examination of identity formation evident in the use of pits in Virginia. Samford uses the frameworks of creolization, ethnicity, individual and group identity formation, race, and power to examine questions related to the function and symbolic qualities of pit cellars (Samford 2007:13). She addresses the Igbo influence on the formation of enslaved African American identity through use of pits. Igbo were the primary ethnic group from West Africa present in early Virginia slave quarters (Samford 2007:32). She posits that Africans who

identified as Igbo were involved in the creolization of pits as a form of religious expression through the use of shrines.

Following Samford's work, Unger (2009) has also explored the creolization of pit cellars in Virginia used as shrines. She, however, goes beyond the Igbo to examine of enslaved individuals from other areas of Africa. She argues that while a dominant cultural group, the Igbo were not the only Africans enslaved in America. The work of Samford (2000, 2007) and Chambers (1996) are considered Igbo-centric views of ethnic formation by Unger (2009), and she proposes that analysis should look at influences from other cultures transported from Africa.

Mouer (1993:147) has also viewed small interior pit cellars in African American contexts as evidence of the beginnings a creole culture in 17th-century Virginia. Many groups are known to have used cellars, but a different type of pit is viewed to have been used in slave housing (Mouer 1993:149). One such pit was found at Jordan's Journey that was interpreted as evidence of racialized slavery and African American creolization (Mouer 1993:150). He additionally discusses the interactions of European and Native Americans and the effect of creolization on colonial lifeways in which different groups mutually contributed to American culture. Foodways, ceramics, pipes, and pits are seen to exhibit the merging of cultural ideals put into practice.

A creolization model best describes culture change and the coming together of Native Americans, African Americans, and Euro Americans within Tennessee's pluralist society. It is a more egalitarian model that denotes agency for those creating a new culture. It involves the interweaving of ideas from different groups to produce something new and different from previous forms even in cases of unequal exchange. I use creolization as a means to examine the

manifestation of pit cellars regionally between different groups and the merging of ideas behind their use and design within changing circumstances of interaction.

Ethnic Markers

A primary goal of historical archaeologists, especially within African Diaspora archaeology, has been the search for ethnic markers. Ethnic markers are symbols and objects which distinguish individuals within a particular ethnic group. Ethnic markers of African American identity are found in three forms archaeologically. This includes “objects made in or indigenous to Africa, but found in the New World,” “objects made in New World, which exhibit African styles, forms, or influence,” and “non-African materials that were used in distinctively African ways” (Samford 1996:102; Baumann 2001:162). The examination of ethnic markers in African Diaspora research, was born out of the Frazier-Herskovits debate which centered on the continuity or extinguishing of African culture during the Middle Passage. Frazier (1939) surmised that African American culture began in America since the identities of enslaved people had been erased during the Middle Passage. Herskovits (1941) opposed this line of thinking by concluding that African culture had indeed survived the Middle Passage and was present today in African American culture. He began the search for so-called “Africanisms” or direct linkages to an African origin for African American culture. Both frameworks follow an acculturation model since they believed that African practices were either completely replaced or selectively replaced while other practices were kept. Many followed this search by trying to identify objects that could be linked to Africa and identify ethnicity in the archaeological record (Orser 1994; Singleton 1998; Baumann 2004b). This search was problematic and has not been proven an effective means of assessing ethnicity in the archaeological record (Samford 1996; Heath and

Breen 2009). Most today have abandoned the search for “Africanisms” due to its static view of material culture and its inability to explain how culture was changed and modified in the New World. Scholars suggest that rather than search for African origins, looking at how African Americans created and modified cultural traditions under the influence of the institution of slavery, or after Emancipation, is more productive (Singleton 1995; Samford 1996; Young 1997; Baumann 2001; Heath and Breen 2009). Instead of focusing on the origins of pits in the Old World, I intend to examine the reformulation of pit cellars constructed in the New World and how they changed in Tennessee.

The search for African origins of African American culture continues but considers the creation of a new culture altered from its previous form. More nuanced studies attempt to recognize that enslaved Africans did not relinquish their cultural identity and human agency, but instead applied new cultural meanings to non-African objects (Brown and Cooper 1990; Ferguson 1992; Leone and Fry 1999; Baumann 2001; Samford 2007; Leone et al. 2014). Specific artifacts such as beads, cowries, and pierced coins have been linked with spiritual practices and were used in ways consistent with African traditions (Singleton 1995; Samford 1996; Stine et al. 1996; Russell 1997; Ogundiron 2002; Fennell 2003; Heath and Breen 2009; Agbe-Davies 2016; Davidson 2020). Others have linked New World construction patterns and yards with African cultural practices (Ferguson 1992; Heath and Bennett 2000; Fesler 2010; Heath 2010). This is typically approached from a creolization perspective (Ferguson 1992; Mintz and Price 1992), which relates to the reformulation of African American culture in the New World and helps understand how African Americans adapted and changed over time. Other researchers have also included power relations and resistance as a means to understand how

enslaved individuals reacted to conditions in the New World (McKee 1992, 1995, 2000; Singleton 1995, 1998).

Markers of Indigenous ethnicity are usually correlated with projectile point and ceramic types, especially in pre-Columbian contexts. After contact, ethnic identity has been viewed through an acculturative model comparing the kinds of traditional material culture used in relation to European mass-produced objects. This is under the effects of contact and colonialism and is viewed as the acceptance or rejection of Euro American culture.

In Cherokee contexts, focus on ethnicity has centered on their origins and acculturation from contact to post-removal. Ceramics have been used to define regional differences as well as to trace the prehistoric antecedents of the Cherokee and the formation of ethnic identity (Schroedl 2001). Their origins are still debated, but they are assumed to have broadly coalesced from Mississippian peoples known as the Mouse Creek, Pisgah, Dallas, and Hiwassee Island cultures as well as Iroquois cultural traditions (Rodning 2019). The Overhill towns formed a unified Overhill Cherokee identity materialized through homogenization of ceramic traditions to a single overarching tradition dominated by plain shell-tempered ware (Marcoux 2008:259).

Most archaeological knowledge of the Overhill Cherokee comes from excavations conducted by the University of Tennessee in the Tellico Reservoir (Chapman 1979, 1980; Guthe and Bistline 1981; Baden 1983; Russ and Chapman 1983; Kimball 1985, Schroedl 1986, 2009a; Polhemus 1987). Research questions associated with these projects focused on culture change among the Overhill Cherokee and the effects of contact with Euro Americans. Notable research on acculturation was conducted by Ford (1982) and Russ (1984) who looked at artifact patterning between groups. Ford (1982) analyzed synchronic variability and resistance to assimilation during the Federal period focusing on patterned differences between Cherokee, Euro

American, and military sites. Cherokee and Euro American sites were found to be similar due to acculturation while they differed from military sites. Euro American and military sites were found to be more homogeneous due to ethnic ties. Russ (1984) examined diachronic acculturation using similar methods between Overhill Cherokee in the colonial and American Revolutionary War period.

Riggs' (1987) research also focuses on differential acculturation within and between groups in the Tellico Reservoir area during the Federal period. He showed that Cherokee households at that time differed from traditional colonial-era household assemblages. There was a combination of traditional and non-traditional households in the Federal period. Traditional and non-traditional Cherokee households also had differences in material culture, while more acculturated households were indistinguishable from Euro Americans. Riggs (1999) expanded on this research in western North Carolina examining acculturation between the Federal and removal period. His assessment shows the adoption of a large number of Euro American materials, while at the same time certain elements were retained such as ceramics.

Marcoux's (2008, 2012) work is an exception to a strict focus on acculturation. Marcoux uses practice theory to understand the impact of culture contact on Cherokee communities and their response to interaction. His investigation centers on work at Townsend, a Tuckaleechee Town in the Little River Valley. He notes that Cherokee households relied more on subterranean storage after contact. The number and variability of pits as well as their size increases after the contact period. This was related to a shift in food storage practices and household strategies surrounding private storage during seasonal abandonment related to deerskin trade during a turbulent time of change (Marcoux 2008:103). Marcoux (2008:187-188) additionally identifies a Tuckaleechee type of ceramic specific to the area which formed as part of a coalescent

community. This type of research is situated within broader critical Indigenous studies of contact and colonial situations, trade, ethnicity, and practice within long-term cultural change (Wesson and Rees 2002; Lapham 2004; Lightfoot 2004, 2006; Silliman 2005; Babin 2018; Schweickart 2019b; Shreve et al. 2020).

Research on Euro American ethnic identity is usually centered on immigrant communities from various parts of Europe. These normally include studies of English, Irish, Scots Irish, and German immigrants. Groover's (2003) research at the Gibbs Site in East Tennessee is also useful for understanding German ethnic formation and maintenance over time. Based within world systems theory, he examines the long-term occupation of the Gibbs' farmstead including first-generation immigrants and their descendants. The backcountry of Tennessee is considered to have had less access to goods and wealth. However, the use of expensive tablewares in the Gibbs household as well as the prolific use of redware shows the dynamic realities of rural Tennessee. The Gibbs were still holding on to traditional conservative values while at the same time embracing capitalistic consumer practices. The overall conclusion reached is that the Gibbs family was not trying to participate in consumer activities related to materialism but were rather investing in the household. This was evident in family cycling and inheritance related to a conservative German ideology.

Irish ethnicity in the United States has been typically researched within diaspora studies. Brighton's (2005) study of the Irish Diaspora in Five Points in New York City and Paterson, New Jersey examines patterns in the change associated with differences in access to markets and healthcare from Irish incorporation, rather than assimilation, within broader American society. The change in how Irish immigrants "outwardly communicated their transnational consciousness led to a gradual process of incorporation" (Brighton 2005:155). Orser (2007) also expands on

Irish immigrants within Five Points through the lens of race. His interpretation points to the changes of Irish American identity present within epochal structures of racialization.

Log cabin construction has also been attributed to Euro American ethnicity and diffusion (Morgan 1990; Rehder 2012). However, African Americans and Native Americans also used horizontal log construction (Wheaton and Garrow 1985; Schroedl 1986; Ferguson 1992; Waselkov 2019). Immigrants from Scandinavia and later Germany who settled in the Delaware Valley of Pennsylvania are generally attributed with the initial use of log cabins in North America (Morgan 1990; Rehder 2012). At that time, Southeastern Pennsylvania was comprised of Swedes, Finns, Germans, English, Scots Irish, as well as other European settlers (Morgan 1990). This tradition is believed to have been adopted by other groups in the area and then diffused to other parts of North America. The types of buildings, chimney placement, and notching types are also seen to vary depending on Scandinavian or German traditions (Kniffen and Glassie 1966; Morgan 1990). Morgan (1990) attributes log cabin construction in East Tennessee to the adoption of traits brought through migration down the East-West Road and through the Great Valley of Virginia into Northeastern Tennessee. Log cabins are a consistent feature on the landscape until they eventually decline in use by the 20th century due to changing dynamics including access to materials, changing agricultural economy, and advances in frame construction (Morgan 1990).

Rather than examine a simplistic one-to-one list of cultural traits, ethnicity should be viewed as a complex set of relationships within a historical setting that serves as an active agent of social negotiation (Fesler 1999:3). It is situational and involves agency (Singleton 1995; Jones 1997; Heath 1999). Artifacts can serve as “symbols of group identity that, rather than being static containers of group identity, are free to be manipulated by conscious human actors”

(Orser 1998:662). Archaeologists then should seek to understand ethnic boundary formation, maintenance, or dissolution, and how they changed over time (McGuire 1982; Singleton 1995:134; Fesler 1999:3). The search for ethnic markers is also problematic since individuals are comprised of multiple identities (Baumann 2004b). Ideas and practices associated with ethnic identity also change over time. Ethnic boundaries are also fluid and are only one component of identity. Other factors such as age, class, gender, religion, and regional location are also important in the construction of oneself. Evidence of cultural identities will also be variable due to the differences in identification over time and space (Singleton 1995:134). Ethnic markers are also problematic since they can reinforce the stereotyping of artifacts (Orser 1998:662). Deetz (1977:252) warned against relying on ethnic markers without additional evidence since “no quantity of such objects can provide absolute proof ... in the absence of independent verification.” This is less of an issue for this research since the compiled data has the advantage of relying on the documented ethnic identity provided in the literature in which the contexts of their use are most often known.

Subfloor Pits as Ethnic Markers

Some scholars have equated subfloor pits as specific markers of African American identity related to their origins (Kelso 1984; Yentsch 1991). Others have contended that they are not limited to African American use and that other groups additionally used them (Faulkner 1986; Klingelhofer 1987; Sanford 1991; Kimmel 1993; Mouer 1991, 1993; Riggs 1999; Heath and Breen 2009). Singleton (1995:124) also notes they may be used as a form of resistance and that, “pits in slave quarters may be related to the conditions of slavery rather than ethnicity.” Neiman (2008:176) also suggests that pits are “likely an adaptation to environmental or social

circumstances that were unique to the Chesapeake.” The construction of larger pit cellars has also been narrowly attributed to Euro Americans (Noël Hume 1968; Mouer 1991, 1993; Samford 2007). Native Americans use of interior subterranean storage is also seen to increase as well as the size and variability of their pit cellars due to contact and processes of colonialism (Marcoux 2012). Rather than looking for static markers of identity, I intend to examine the ways that pit cellars were produced, maintained, and reproduced in Tennessee’s variable landscape between different groups to see if they represent objects that symbolized a form of boundary maintenance using a contextual model. I also wish to explore how pit cellars provide information about the sites as well as the social and historical processes they were intertwined with including colonialism and slavery and an agent’s ability to navigate those structures.

In more recent studies, subfloor pits have been examined as symbols of ethnic identity through spiritual uses as West African based shrines or places of ritual concealment. Patricia Samford (2000, 2007) makes a compelling case for the spiritual functions of subfloor pits through shrine creation. Using a creolization framework to analyze ethnic identity, she uses ethnographic, historic, and contextual data to show that a few examples likely functioned as Igbo-like ancestral shrines. One such pit included a clay platform with cached materials associated with West African spiritual traditions. Pollen analysis also recovered grape pollen which was potentially related to the pouring of libations for ancestors.

Cached items such as those recovered in a pit at Montpelier indicate that some pits were used as places of ritual concealment (Lucas 2014; Manning 2014a; Reeves 2014). A medicine bottle filled with charcoal was interpreted as an “Obeah” bottle and was intentionally placed in a corner of the pit. Other nearby pits had evidence of bottles, but no indication of association with

any magico-religious beliefs. Only altered or unusual circumstances create situations where these beliefs can be teased from the archaeological record.

It can be difficult to understand religious behavior in the past from archaeological materials. Fennell (2000, 2007, 2014) argues that in situations of dominance, religious traditions would have been driven underground making them instrumental symbols. These privatized symbols would have been abbreviated and different from their original form, making them harder to identify. Mintz and Price (1992) also note that creolized cultures create situations where the original antecedents of culture can become masked or hidden from view. Even if difficult to define, spirituality was involved in the daily lives of individuals and should be present in the archaeological record.

In order to discover how a pit cellar functioned in the past, it must be placed into its proper context, including its physicality as well as its social and historic situatedness. To discover spirituality in the past, pits must exhibit an alteration or a unique circumstance (Samford 2000, 2007). These pits must also contain primary deposits with *de facto* refuse to understand intentionality (Schiffer 1987). Once their physical context is understood, they should be placed into their social and historic context by examining other religious or folk traditions and the context of use. Looking at ethnographies, documents, or oral histories can provide a path to understanding how religion, ritual, and magic was practiced in the past as well as its potential origin and transformation within the bounded contexts of ethnicity.

Built Environment

Pit cellars are the basic unit of analysis for this study and have been found in primary association with dwelling spaces. They are, therefore, considered a part of the non-portable built

environment and can express messages similar to other furnishings. A dwelling can be considered “the physical structure or area within which residential activities took place” (Ashmore and Wilk 1988:6; Fesler 2004:41). This includes living quarters and the yards or outbuildings associated with them (Upton 1985; Faulkner 1996; Heath and Bennett 2000; Battle-Baptiste 2007; Heath 2010). While usually associated with domestic houses or quarters, many types of households inhabited many different types of buildings including barracks at military or industrial sites, cabins at stations that served as private fortifications, or commercial spaces which also functioned as homes such as inns, stores, or shops in which the managers lived within their workplace. Kitchens, stables, and other habitable structures were also used for housing on plantations.

Changes in architecture, and hence identity, provide information about broader social changes that affected households (i.e., colonialism, slavery, and modernization). Glassie’s (1975) and Deetz’s (1977) structural analysis of house forms helps situate larger social changes and similarities in house design over time. Morgan’s (1990) study of East Tennessee log homes also helps to understand changing construction types related to modernity. Technological changes coincided with the availability of sawmills in the region which led to a rise in balloon-frame construction. After the Civil War, frame construction also increased since log cabins were stigmatized as backwoods. Strutt’s (2010, 2012) examination of slave housing situates the changing dynamics of slavery in Tennessee’s three regions. Changes in house size have also been noted in slave quarters over time. While 10 to 12 sq. ft. floor plans have been associated with early slave quarters in South Carolina (Ferguson 1992) and Virginia (Sobel 1987), later agriculture reforms influenced the decision-making of the owners who built larger quarters and made formal improvements such as raising structures on piers to create healthier living spaces

(McKee 1992; Strutt 2012). By the 1850s, slave quarters in Virginia had an average room size of 16 sq. ft. which served a single-family unit (Genovese 1976:524; McKee 1992:198).

However, quarters have also been frequently found to be larger than the generally proposed house size and broadly vary by size, construction materials, and quality depending on the context (Upton 1985; Heath and Breen 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2009). Upton's (1985) studies of the Virginia landscape of Euro American and African American dwellings helps compare how these groups experienced spaces differently. Schroedl's (1986) research highlights change in Cherokee culture as a response to colonialism which can be seen in a switch from separate winter and summer dwellings within nucleated villages to individual log cabins on dispersed farmsteads by the 19th century.

Households

While concerned with the material remains of pit cellars and their associated structures, I am also interested in understanding the individual agents within households that created and used those spaces to relate small-scale to larger-scale historical processes. Households are a “symbolically meaningful social group that form the next bigger thing on the social map after the individual” (Hendon 1996:47). The study of households comprises a substantial amount of research within historical archaeology whether recognized as such or not (King 2006; Pluckhahn 2010). Research focused on households had its formal beginnings with studies related to settlement patterning as well as architectural history and building conservation (Allison 1999; Hicks and Horning 2006; King 2006). More recent explorations on the topic have included more interpretive studies including those focused broadly on identity (Wilkie 2000; Hendon 2006; King 2006; Pluckhahn 2010:333; Stine 2014).

The household is a fundamental social division or group which has been difficult to define due to the variability in the way they manifest themselves. The term itself has been used in a variety of ways typically related to architecture, kinship, or ecological and economic relationships (Wilk and Rathje 1982; Allison 1999; Brandon and Barile 2004). Households have been viewed as a group of people who engage in activities such as production, consumption, distribution, reproduction, co-residence, and transmission (Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Pluckhahn 2010). They have also been defined as “a group of people living under a single roof and cooperating economically” (Wilk and Rathje 1982:619). More refined meanings include households as a “social group, often related, sharing physical space, social reproduction, and economic production” (Hendon 2006; King 2006; Stine 2014:16).

Households are a social unit spatially associated with individual or multiple dwelling spaces. In this sense, a household can be conceived of as “a coresidential group that used the occupation surface, features, and the artifact assemblage of a dwelling” (Nash 2009:24). A coresident is someone within a household that does or does not participate in production or reproductive activities. Households consists of a group of people spatially associated with one or more buildings and the exterior spaces in which they lived and possibly worked. This can include multiple dwellings as seen in paired seasonal Cherokee dwellings or within slave compounds as well as outbuildings and yards. More than one household can also occupy a single dwelling as is the case with multiple housing units such as duplexes. This spatial definition reduces kinship and economics ties as the basis for study since not all individuals within a dwelling space were related or cooperated in household production. However, it helps to incorporate multiple identities of people who lived and possibly worked together (King 2006). It includes the multiplicity of ethnic groups living together such as enslaved African Americans

housed collectively from different areas, those who lived with their owners, or Cherokee prisoners who were sometimes incorporated into households. Different gender and age groups also inhabited the same dwelling. A spatial definition is used here to recognize the multiple identities present within a group of coresidents who sometimes are related, cooperate in domestic functions, and share the same dwelling space. While this definition reduces the complexity of relationships, it promotes my comparative analysis.

Pit cellars have been examined through the lens of household archaeology. Research has found that small pit cellars are common in the 17th and 18th centuries in Virginia primarily in slave quarter contexts (Samford 2007). There is also a correlation between the numbers of residents, their relationships, and the number of pits within a cabin (Neiman 1997; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007). Unrelated people within a quarter created the need for more pits. At Utopia, for example, slave housing grew smaller, the number of subfloor pits decreased, and artifact assemblages changed with time in response to the growth of families (Fesler 2004). Fesler's (2004) understanding of households formed by the process of creolization in the Chesapeake is helpful for thinking about household formation in Tennessee and about the changing relationships of the enslaved within quarters.

Studies of Native American households can also provide information about how Indigenous peoples negotiated the use of pit cellars (DeBoer 1988; Wesson 1999; Marcoux 2008). Marcoux's (2008) study of Cherokee households found that storage pits moved from outside of households to the private interior of structures primarily after the English contact period. Subterranean pits are believed to have been used during seasonal abandonment of sites as storage features and similarly as places to conceal provisions from animals as well as neighbors analogous to a hidey hole (DeBoer 1988; Marcoux 2008). Changes in foodways,

particularly to foods more suited to preservation in pit cellars, are also seen to influence their construction (Marcoux 2008). Other Native American groups also used pits as a form of resistance to internal and external forces (Wesson 1999).

The household is also the nexus where social action occurs and intersects with larger social and cultural changes. Households are where social meaning and identity formation takes place. They are the social and spatial locations where identity is constructed, maintained, and negotiated. A study of the household allows for a merging of microhistory with larger social processes. I want to look at how the identities present within different households interface with larger social structures. To accomplish this, I attempt to use comparative analysis within and between households compared to associated (intra-site) and non-associated (extra-site) households.

Chapter 3

The Setting

Data for this project were collected specifically from archaeologically excavated pit cellars in Tennessee. On account of its diverse population and its historical time depth, primarily dating between the 18th and 20th centuries, Tennessee was deemed an appropriate study area to examine change over time at a variety of sites between different ethnic groups within its three main geographic divisions (East, Middle, and West) which extend between the Upland and Lowland South. The state's clayey soils, suitable for unlined pit construction, its climate, which is well-suited for this form of storage, and the wealth of archaeological data that have been collected make a study of this type possible. While a political boundary, the chosen study area centralizes data acquisition to a few repositories and provides differing regions to analyze that were historically recognized early during Tennessee's settlement.

Physiography

Tennessee is located in the Southeastern United States bounded by the Blue Ridge Mountains in the east, the Mississippi River in the west, and politically bounded by Kentucky to the north and Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi to the south. The state has a variable topography and consequently climate, with elevations in the eastern most portion of the state reaching from 4,000 to 6,000 ft. above mean sea level (AMSL) and the western portion ranging from 200 to 250 ft. (NOAA 2019a). The state is characterized as having warm, humid summers and mild winters with an average annual temperature of 62 degrees Fahrenheit in the western lowlands and 45 degrees average in the far eastern highlands. Rainfall averages from 46 to 54

inches with 4 to 6 inches of snow in the lower elevations and more than 10 inches in higher sections. Soils within the state are generally characterized as loam or clay loam with siltier soils in the west. These are generally underlain by clay subsoils suitable for pit construction in most areas of the state. Major rivers include the Mississippi on the western end of the state, the Cumberland traversing the north central portion of the state, and the Tennessee River which flows from East Tennessee through Alabama, the northeastern edge of Mississippi, and north through the western portion of Tennessee.

Tennessee has several physiographic provinces traversing the state (Figure 5). Provinces include the Blue Ridge/Unaka Mountains, the Valley and Ridge or Great Valley of Tennessee, the Cumberland/Appalachian Plateau which includes the Sequatchie Valley, the Interior Low Plateau comprised of the Highland Rim and Central Basin, Coastal Plain, and the Mississippi River Valley (Miller 1974). The Blue Ridge Mountains are characterized by rugged terrain, heavily forested slopes, and rushing streams with waterfalls. The Valley and Ridge is comprised of numerous elongated ridges and intervening valleys trending in a northeast to southwest direction. The Cumberland Plateau has escarpments along its eastern and western edges averaging about 900 ft. AMSL with a generally flat topography with some rolling terrain and mountains. Deep gorges and valleys intersect the plateau including the Sequatchie Valley. The Highland Rim is subdivided by eastern and western sections. The eastern side is narrower with nearly level terrain, while the western portion has a more rolling topography. Both are characterized as karst terrain. The Central Basin, an eroded section of the Nashville Dome, is enclosed by the Highland Rim with gently rolling, hilly terrain with some nearly level areas especially within the inner basin. The Highland Rim and the Coastal Plain are divided by the Tennessee River Valley which is dissected by numerous small tributaries. The Coastal Plain of

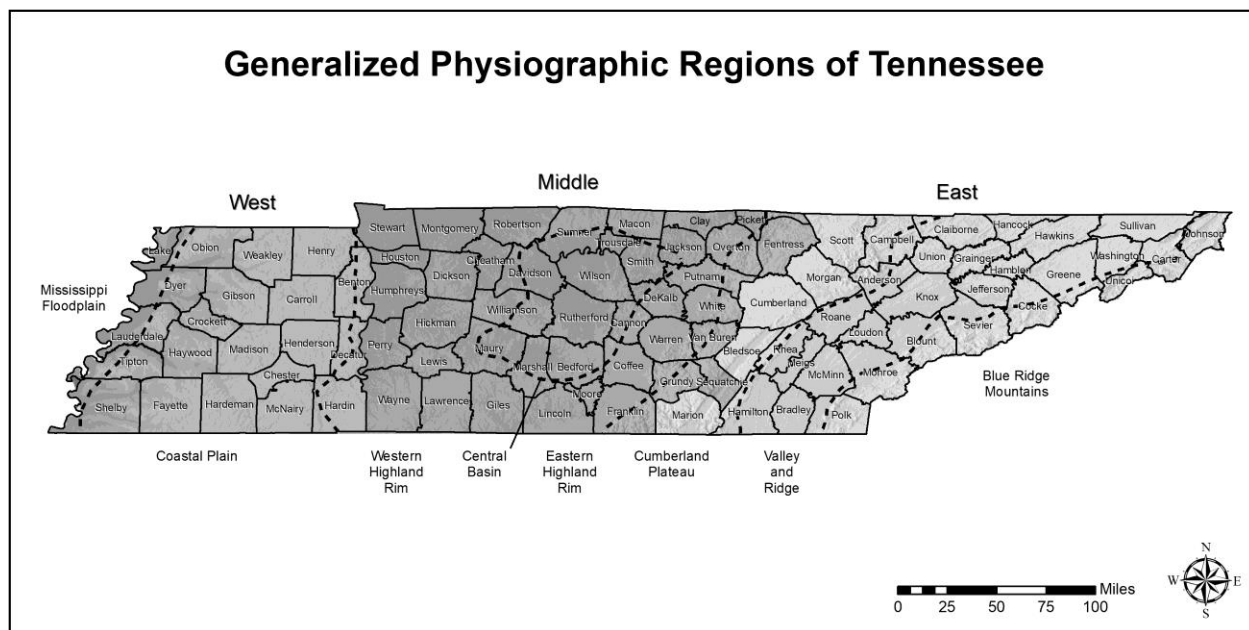


Figure 5. Physiographic regions of Tennessee.

West Tennessee is divided into Upland and Plain sections based upon the drainage divide between the Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers. It is defined by relatively low elevation and relief with sediments having the same characteristics as the coastal regions of other Southeastern states which were covered by a Late Cretaceous sea. Finally, the Mississippi River Valley is characterized by the floodplain of the Mississippi. Thick loess deposits are also common in region and extend as far east as the Highland Rim (Miller 1974).

The Upland and Lowland South

Tennessee primarily lies with the Upland South sub-region of the greater Southern United States. The Upland South is geographically made up of the Southern Appalachians, the interior low plateaus, and the Ozarks and the Ouachitas. This contrasts with the Lowland or Deep South. The Upland South is of generally higher elevation, where agriculture is relatively less productive as compared to the Deep South, a flatter lowland, which is identified with slavery and large-scale monocrop agriculture (Hudson 2002:101). The division of the South into upland and lowland also parallels to some extent cultural differences within the American population, which has played a role in regional political economy, between the up-country yeomanry and the lowland planter class (Hudson 2002:101). Of the three divisions of the Upland South, the Southern Appalachians best typify the region (Hudson 2002:101).

The Upland South was first defined by geographer Fredrick Jackson Turner (Turner 1920:164; Faulkner 1998:138). In his frontier thesis, he defined the Upland South as an area that was “an extension from the middle region chiefly from Pennsylvania, with a mixture of nationalities and religions” (Turner 1920:164). It was moreover a rural section characterized by the small farmer, living in a log cabin, raising a small crop and a few animals for family use

(Turner 1920:165). Turner proposed that the adaptive experience of the early Upland South farmer gave rise to the ideals of an individualistic democratic American society (Turner 1920:165, 302).

The region was further refined by Henry Glassie who characterized what he called the Southern Appalachian culture which was a mixture of Pennsylvanian German and Scots Irish cultures (Glassie 1968:78-79; Faulkner 1998:138). This was especially evident in the construction of houses and outbuildings, usually made of log construction (Glassie 1968:78-79; Faulkner 1998:138). The Southern Appalachian region is distinctive culturally because of migration flows in the late 18th and early 19th centuries that followed the mountains south from Pennsylvania (Hudson 2002:101). Scots Irish, English, and German settlers who moved south from Pennsylvania evolved a folk-cultural system that came to represent the Upland South as a unique region (Hudson 2002:103). While most descriptions rely on Euro American influence, it should be noted African Americans and Native Americans also contributed to the formation of Upland South culture.

The Upland South is defined as a distinct region based on its geography and cultural characteristics, including its economy and politics, which differ from the traditional American South (Jordon-Bychkov 2003). The area is politically conservative with a market economy primarily based on household level agricultural production and family farms (Groover 2003:75). In the past, Upland South culture also included “a reliance on diversified farming, the importance of the cooperative family unit, an oligarchic political system centered on the county court, and a stratified social system with slaves as the lowest class” (Faulkner 1998:138). People in the area were primarily small- to medium-scale farmers who kept few enslaved African Americans and practiced a diversified agriculture based on livestock and small grains (Hudson 2002:103).

A portion of western Tennessee falls within the Cotton Belt and could also be considered to be within the Lowland or Deep South. The Lowland South is primarily within of the Coastal Plain and portions of the Piedmont physiographic regions which are characterized as having generally flat topography to low, rolling hills. Historically, it was dependent on plantation monocrop agriculture focused on cotton, tobacco, rice, or sugar with large, enslaved populations typically working in a gang-based labor system.

Historically, Tennessee's regions experienced different agricultural economies (Strutt 2012). In East Tennessee, agriculture was focused on tobacco and corn production comprised of small farms with few African American bondsmen. Middle Tennessee was more diversified with cotton, corn, livestock, wheat, and tobacco agriculture as well as a bustling iron industry. Large plantations existed alongside middling to small farms with smaller enslaved populations. West Tennessee was primarily invested in cotton and located within the Cotton Belt with the northern section outside of that region focused on tobacco, grain, and livestock. Large plantations with many enslaved African Americans were common in this region with smaller farms with fewer enslaved individuals more frequent in the northwest section of the state.

A number of different groups have resided in Tennessee including Native Americans, Euro Americans, and African Americans. Within the state, several historic Native tribes were known to have existed including the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Shawnee, and Yuchi. The most well documented and archaeologically researched are the Cherokee of East Tennessee since they are the only group known to have permanent settlements in the state. Euro Americans immigrated to Tennessee primarily through overland routes traversing the Blue Ridge Mountains mainly from Virginia, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania bringing enslaved African Americans with them. Within the Upland South, ethnicity or the ethnic origin of cultural

practices has been considered to be less important over time than regional ideals helping reaffirm a culturally pluralistic society (Groover 1998:762). The use of pit cellars has also been considered an Upland South tradition and different ethnic groups are known to have used them in the area (Faulkner 1986; Young 1995).

Tennessee's Settlement History

The documentary record in Tennessee begins with European exploration during the 16th century. Between 1540 and 1672, Spanish entradas, first led by Hernando De Soto and later by Tristán de Luna and Juan Pardo, traveled through Tennessee. Here they encountered Indigenous peoples who had lived in the area since the end of the last Ice Age over 12,000 years ago and who would eventually coalesce into the modern tribes we recognize today including the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw. However, only the Cherokee in East Tennessee had any substantial settlements in the state (Bergeron et al. 1999:9).

After Spanish contact, long hunters and traders frequented the area though sustained interaction with Native Americans did not begin until a trading expedition led by James Needam and Gabriel Arthur visited East Tennessee. Needam and Arthur set out from Fort Henry in Virginia on a business venture sponsored by Abraham Wood, crossed the Allegheny Mountains, and arrived at a Cherokee town in 1673 to begin trade relations (Bergeron et al. 1999:8).

Colonial powers also began to take interest in the Tennessee frontier as a staging ground for attaining control of North America. Short-lived military forts were constructed along the Mississippi River by the French during the late 17th and early 18th centuries while the English focused their pursuits in Cherokee territory along the Little Tennessee River with whom they allied during the mid-18th century. Forts were constructed in East Tennessee at the request of

the Cherokee for support from attacks by the French and their allies during the French and Indian War (1754-1763). While an early attempt at Virginia Fort failed to sustain a garrison, Fort Loudoun was built in 1757 and remained as a military and trading post until 1760 (Kuttruff 2010). At this time, growing colonial hostilities led to armed conflict between the English and Cherokee who besieged the fort leading to its surrender.

Conflict between the Cherokee and the English led to the Virginian militia to construct Fort Robinson on the Holston River who garrisoned there until hostilities had subsided (Randolph 1973:142). The English then sent Henry Timberlake to explore the Overhill towns of the Cherokee in order to affirm a treaty (Chapman 2001:106). Between 1761 and 1762, Timberlake traveled the Overhill territory recording and publishing his journey (King 2007). His publication represents one of the best descriptive accounts of the Cherokee at this time. He recorded types of housing, clothing, and rituals as well as drafting a detailed map of the Cherokee territory which still aids researchers today.

Most of what we know archaeologically about the Cherokee in Tennessee comes from the Tellico Project which concentrated on the Overhill Towns along the Lower Little Tennessee and Hiwassee River Valleys. Excavation of several town sites, including Chota, Citico, Mialoquo, Tomotley, and Toqua, shown in Timberlake's map, as well as other associated sites, produced a significant amount of information about Cherokee culture in the 18th century (Chapman 1979, 1980; Guthe and Bistline 1981; Baden 1983; Russ and Chapman 1983; Kimball 1985; Schroedl 1986, 2009a; Polhemus 1987). A primary objective of the Tellico Project was to understand Cherokee culture during the 18th century and change associated with the influence of Euro Americans.

Change in Cherokee culture documented during this time includes the increased use of European mass-produced trade items, adoption of European domesticates, and a shift in housing types. Metal tools and weapons as well as adornment items like buttons and glass beads were embraced by the Cherokee (Babin 2018; Schweickart 2019b). The use of lithic tools was reduced; however, traditional ceramics such as Overhill and Qualla wares were still commonly relied upon until refined European ceramics became more popular after the Revolutionary War (Schroedl 2000:224). Socioeconomic divergence from a strictly traditional egalitarian society to a more stratified society which incorporated Euro American ideals also began to take shape (Riggs 1987).

Diet also changed during the 18th century. A traditional Cherokee diet was primarily comprised of hunting deer, turkey, bear, and other small animals as well as growing corn, beans, and squash (Goodwin 1977:49-82; Schroedl 2000:207). Later, domesticated animals were introduced including cows, chickens, and pigs as well as agricultural items like wheat and potatoes which were increasingly relied upon (Chapman 2001:119).

Architectural and settlement patterns transformed during the late 18th century as well. With an increase in European expansion and land cessions, the Cherokee shifted from tight-knit village communities to more dispersed settlements which eventually resembled Euro American farmsteads. Towns primarily consisted of a townhouse, summer pavilion, plaza, and surrounding domestic structures (Schroedl 1986, 2009b). The townhouse and summer pavilion served as the social, political, and ceremonial center. Additionally, domestic structures were typically comprised of paired winter and summer dwellings. Winter dwellings were circular post-in-ground constructions with four central posts and a wattle-and-daub wall that included a conical roof as well as a central hearth (Schroedl 1986:267; Chapman 2001:110-111). Summer

dwelling were rectangular post-in-ground buildings constructed in close proximity to winter dwellings (Schroedl 1986:111; Chapman 2001:110). Later building types were found at sites like Mialoquo and Tomotley which had single rectangular domestic dwellings that were segmented and placed in angular groupings (Baden 1983; Russ and Chapman 1983). During the Revolutionary War, the Cherokee again allied with the British which led to settlements being abandoned or severely reduced due to conflict (Schroedl 2001:278). Cherokee communities became more dispersed and began constructing log and rail houses and adopting horizontal log construction similar to that used by Euro Americans and African Americans at the time (Schroedl 1986; Chapman 2001; Waselkov 2019).

The Cherokee historic period spans from Spanish exploration in 1540 until post-removal after 1838 (Table 2). While most work has focused on colonial- through Federal-period Overhill sites, additional work has also been done on contact-period Cherokee at Townsend, a Tuckaleechee Town along the Little River Valley (Marcoux 2012). Marcoux (2012) also compared contact-period households with later periods and found that subterranean storage associated with structures increased during the 18th century. Subterranean storage also increased in size and variability and included the development of outbuilding storage facilities described as pits with posts (Marcoux 2012:202-203). These changes were related to shifts in diet and increasing participation in the deerskin trade.

At the end of the French and Indian War, settlement west of the Alleghany Mountains was prohibited by the English Proclamation Line of 1763. The proclamation, however, did little to stop individuals from moving into the region. The first known permanent domestic settlement was built by William Bean, his family, and other companions from Pittsylvania County in Virginia who settled along the Watauga River in 1768 (Corlew 1981:43). Settlement continued

Table 2. Cherokee historical periods (Schroedl 2001:281, Table 18.4).

1838+	Cherokee Post-Removal
1819-1837	Cherokee Removal
1795-1818	American Federal
1776-1794	American Revolutionary War
1745-1775	English Colonial
1670-1744	English Contact
1540-1669	Spanish Exploration

due to a disregard or misinterpretation of British and Cherokee territorial borders which were again redefined by the Treaty of Lochaber in 1770.

Other early settlements were founded in the far northeastern portion of Tennessee including Watauga, Carter's Valley, the Nolichucky or Brown's Purchase, and the North Holston Settlements. A survey in 1771 found that most of the settlements were in violation of the treaty (Bergeron et al. 1999:23). These communities were then forced to band together and subsequently formed a governing body known as the Watauga Association in 1772. A vernacular government based on the laws of Virginia was formed and represents the first attempt at separate government by Europeans in North America independent of a state or colony (Alderman 1986:22).

Another attempt at early government was also undertaken by the Cumberland settlement in Middle Tennessee. Sustained settlement by Euro Americans in the region began with the arrival of immigrants from East Tennessee. In 1779, James Robertson and John Donelson led expeditions from the Watauga settlement into Middle Tennessee. Robertson traveled overland while Donelson followed the Tennessee River to the Ohio and Cumberland Rivers towards present-day Nashville. Here they signed the Cumberland Compact in 1780 which served as a guide for land transactions and created a rudimentary constitutional government that included judges assigned to private fortifications or stations constructed as central loci for settlement that also provided protection against attacks by Native Americans (Fieth 1998; Smith 2000:176). Resistance by a separatist faction of the Cherokee known as the Chickamaugas led to violence with settlers which ended when John Sevier and his militia attacked and destroyed the Chickamauga towns in 1782.

After the Revolutionary War, the area that was formerly a part of Virginia and later North Carolina between the Alleghany Mountains and Mississippi River became recognized as the Territory South of the Ohio, or Southwest Territory, by the United States in 1790 with Knoxville serving as the territorial capital. The 1785 Treaty of Hopewell and the 1791 Treaty of Holston officially ended Revolutionary War conflict between the United States and the Cherokee although hostilities continued. Conflict again erupted to the point that federal troops were dispatched to the region to build defenses and garrison them.

Military forts were also constructed to reduce hostilities and increase trade. In 1794, Tellico Blockhouse was established along the Little Tennessee River to preserve peace between the United States and the Cherokee (Chapman 2001:107). It served as a place to treat and trade with the Cherokee, as a factory for fur processing, and as a public store for the region (Polhemus 1979). Soldiers, Indian agents, their families as well as enslaved African Americans and the Cherokee intermingled at the fort and created a focal point of interaction between different ethnic groups. In 1807, the fort was abandoned, and its soldiers moved to Hiwassee Garrison near the center of the Cherokee nation (Chapman 2001:107).

Over the years, encroachment into Native American territory pushed the Cherokee farther and farther towards the southeastern corner of the state and eventually into Northern Georgia. Settlement continued throughout the late 18th and early 19th centuries primarily in East and Middle Tennessee. Squatters did, however, encroach into native lands held by treaty with 3,600 listed in the Southwest Territory's 1791 census (Bergeron et al. 1999:59-60). Eventually, the population was large enough to become the sixteenth state in the Union in 1796. After the Chickasaw Purchase in 1818, Western Tennessee was opened to settlement. The Removal Act of 1830 ended primary occupation of Native Americans in Tennessee. However, some Cherokee

remained in the state and either intermarried or were living similarly to their Euro American neighbors essentially obscuring them from the record. Settlement of the area then mainly consisted of Euro Americans and enslaved African Americans into the antebellum period. Population statistics indicate the variability of Tennessee's residents over time (Tables 3-4). After statehood, Tennessee's population increased substantially within a matter of years tripling between 1791 and 1796. Middle Tennessee was settled in the 1780s and reached the largest population of the state in 1810, containing 60% of the state's inhabitants (Bergeron et al. 1999:70). It also had about 80% of the enslaved individuals at that time compared to East Tennessee. Middle Tennessee slaveholders owned about 10 enslaved African Americans on average while in East Tennessee most owned fewer than five (Strutt 2012:47). Shortly after West Tennessee was opened to settlement, it had 2,000 residents (Bergeron et al. 1999:73). By 1860, it had a population slightly higher than East Tennessee with Middle Tennessee comprising 45% of the state's residents.

During the antebellum period, population greatly increased to over one million. A high birth rate and large-scale immigration from the eastern states kept the population growing, however, outmigration to the west offset this increase (Bergeron et al. 1999: 110). African Americans comprised about 25% of the population by the middle of the 19th century with about 9% of the state's enslaved population living in East Tennessee, 29% in Middle Tennessee, and 34% in West Tennessee (Bergeron et al. 1999:122). West Tennessee had a larger number of bondsmen with a few counties having majority African American populations (Strutt 2012:363). Free African Americans comprised a small portion of the African American population prior to Emancipation, averaging around 2% from 1800 to 1850. In 1900, African Americans remained nearly one quarter of the population. Native Americans decreased in number throughout the

Table 3. Population in Tennessee (Bergeron et al. 1999; Gibson and Jung 2002).

	1791	1800	1850	1900
Euro American	32,274	91,709	756,836	1,540,186
Free African American	N/A	309	6,442	480,243
Enslaved African American	3,417	13,584	239,439	N/A
Total Population	35,691	105,602	1,002,717	2,020,616*

*Includes 108 Native Americans and 79 Asian/Pacific Islanders.

Table 4. Native American population in Tennessee.

	1809 Meigs Census of Overhill Towns	1835 Henderson Roll	1851 Chapman Roll	1860 Federal Census	1900 Federal Census
Native American (Cherokee)	3,648	1,364 (424 fullblood)	179	60	108
Enslaved African American	5	57	N/A	N/A	N/A
Intermarried	72	77			

*Taken from 1809 Meigs Census of Overhill Towns (McLoughlin and Conser 1977), 1835 Census of Cherokees Living East of the Mississippi River/Henderson Roll (Wishart 1995), 1851 Chapman Roll (Jordan 1996), 1860 and 1900 U.S. Census (Gibson and Jung 2002).

antebellum period with a slight increase by the end of the century (McLoughlin and Conser 1977; Wishart 1995; Jordan 1996; Gibson and Jung 2002). While the Indigenous population decreased in the antebellum period, intermarriage and the number of bondsmen owned by Cherokee increased.

Tennessee's Antebellum Period

During the antebellum period, most of Tennessee was focused on agriculture based on rural household-level production. Large-scale agricultural enterprise in the form of plantations and industry were also present in the state but to a lesser extent. Large-scale industrial production for outside markets consisted of “tobacco processing, coal and copper mining, machinery and rail car manufacturing, cotton textile manufacturing, and iron manufacturing” (Bergeron et al. 1999:117). Important agricultural products included corn, wheat, cotton, and tobacco (Bergeron et al. 1999:111). The rearing of livestock was also important to the state's agricultural economy. The economy during the antebellum period relied on slave labor which varied by region throughout the state as did its production and means of exportation to markets.

In 1860, the state had 3,000 plantations primarily located in West Tennessee (Bergeron et al. 1999:111). Middle Tennessee also had a number of large plantations but to a lesser extent than West Tennessee. East Tennessee additionally had the lowest number of plantations when compared to other regions. In East Tennessee, small farms produced corn, wheat, cattle, and hogs for local markets, plantations and enslaved laborers were few, and there was limited commercial agriculture (Bergeron et al. 1998:112). Middle Tennessee focused more on tobacco, cotton, livestock, and corn with a larger enslaved population than East Tennessee. West

Tennessee had the highest number of bondsmen and plantations focused on monocrop cotton agriculture.

With the growth in agriculture during this period, Tennessean's priorities focused on marketing agricultural surplus to areas beyond the state's borders (Groover 1998:279). The main mode of transportation was along unimproved trails or wagon roads overland though travel along Tennessee's river systems offered a better means of transportation. Road improvements occurred with the construction of several turnpikes connecting major cities including a number leading to Nashville during the 1830s (Bergeron et al. 1998:114). Major rivers used to transport goods included the Tennessee, Cumberland, and Mississippi Rivers. West and Middle Tennessee had easy access to river transport on the Mississippi or Cumberland Rivers while navigation below Chattanooga was difficult on the Tennessee River hampering frequent travel to East Tennessee. Flatboats were the main means of moving goods on the water, but eventually steamboat travel became commonplace by the 1840s (Groover 1998:281; Bergeron et al. 1999:114).

Railroads were also another popular means of transportation in Tennessee by the end of the antebellum period. Though early investments in the 1830s didn't succeed, railroads boomed from the 1850s to early 1860s with over 1,200 miles of track laid (Bergeron et al. 1999:116). East Tennessee got access to rail lines by 1855 when the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad was completed (Groover 1998:282). However, most railroads didn't connect Tennessee's different regions. Railroads in the state typically ran to northern or southern cities.

The population increase seen during the antebellum period also led to the creation of five towns (Chattanooga, Knoxville, Columbia, Murfreesboro, and Clarksville) and two major cities (Memphis and Nashville) in the state (Bergeron et al. 1999:110). While Knoxville and Nashville

had been settled in the late 18th century, their populations were relatively small until the early 19th century. Nashville had the largest population until it was surpassed by Memphis in 1860 (Bergeron et al. 1999:110). A majority of residents, however, still remained in rural areas.

A shift in population and the centralization of power in Middle Tennessee during the antebellum period is evident in the construction of transportation routes, population statistics, and change in location of the state capital from Knoxville to Nashville. When statehood was achieved in 1796, Knoxville was assigned as the state capital. In 1812, the capital was moved to Nashville, then back to Knoxville in 1817, to Murfreesboro in Middle Tennessee in 1819, and returned permanently to Nashville in 1826 (Bergeron et al. 1999:73). The shifting power dynamics of the state also reveal its changing social dynamics which were more aligned with an agrarian plantation Deep South dependent on the institution of slavery.

Tennessee During the Civil War

In the summer of 1861, Tennessee voted to seceded from the United States and join the Confederacy. Differences between the state's regions were also notable in the vote. The state, including the plantation and urban elite, voted overwhelmingly in support of succession; however, 30% of East Tennesseans, consisting mainly of small-scale rural farmers, were against it (Bergeron et al. 1999:136). For example, citizens voted 10 to one against secession in Knox County (Groover 1998:282).

During the Civil War, Tennessee was a strategic border state between the Deep South and the northern states and saw the second most battles of any state in the war after Virginia. Nearly 100,000 Tennesseans served in the Confederate Army, while 42,000 troops, mainly from East

Tennessee, served in the Union Army (Bergeron et al. 1999:138, 141). East Tennessee consistently posed a threat to Confederate authorities throughout the war.

Federal troops first invaded Tennessee early in 1862 capturing Fort Henry along the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. Nashville was occupied soon after and Middle Tennessee was primarily in Union control. By summer, West Tennessee was lost by the Confederacy after the Battle of Shiloh and capture of Memphis.

In 1863, Confederate troops tried to recapture Middle Tennessee leading to the Battle of Stone's River in Murfreesboro. The Confederates were routed from the state allowing the Union Army to occupy Chattanooga. The Confederates then invaded Tennessee and surrounded Chattanooga laying siege to the town. After losses at the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, the Confederate siege ended, and they were again thwarted out of the state.

Around the same time, Knoxville was also occupied by Union troops and was laid siege by Confederate forces. The Confederates attempted to take Fort Sanders, on the outskirts of Knoxville, and failed leading to a break in the siege. Another incursion into Middle Tennessee late in 1864 was attempted by the Confederate Army leading to battles at Franklin and Nashville, but they ultimately failed. After these defeats, Tennessee was entirely under the control of the Union Army.

All of Tennessee's major population centers were eventually held under federal occupation. Citizens were at first treated with leniency but were later subjected to stricter policies after they resisted occupation. Confederate sympathizers were likely to be jailed or have their property seized or raided (Bergeron et al. 1999:152). Living conditions also deteriorated in cities due to war and overcrowding. People living in rural areas migrated into the cities to avoid

starvation from raiding of their food or provisions and lawlessness since there was no army presence (Bergeron 1999:156).

Tennessee in the Late 19th Century

After the Civil War, an urban boom continued due to rising industrial production and the immigration of emancipated African Americans. African Americans moved into cities to explore various industries and trades while some stayed in rural areas to work as sharecroppers on tenant farms. However, many people faced economic hardship during Reconstruction.

Small-scale industries thrived during Reconstruction while large-scale industries like tobacco, cotton, and iron saw a decrease in production (Bergeron et al. 160). Agricultural production also dropped due to the changing rural landscape from a reliance on slavery to a hired-hand or sharecropping labor system. Crop prices dropped as well creating economic difficulties for Tennessee's farmers. Rural areas also saw labor shortages as urban areas drew more residents.

Population and industrial production increased in cities since they were the centers of manufacture. Cities became overcrowded, contained slums, and had outbreaks of disease like the yellow fever epidemic in Memphis and cholera outbreaks in Nashville in 1870s (Bergeron et al. 1999:191). Improvements to cities, including the introduction of water and sewer lines, were undertaken to increase sanitation and reduce disease (Groover 1998:289; Bergeron et al. 1999:191). Other improvements included gas lighting, telephone service, public transit, and eventually electricity by the end of the century.

After Reconstruction, Tennessee saw more economic growth in industry like manufacturing, mining, and logging (Bergeron et al. 1999:183). By the 20th century, flouring

and grist mills, lumber, iron and steel, machine shops, rail car construction, and textiles were the most productive industries with most being employed in milling (Bergeron et al. 1999:186).

While industrial production increased, most Tennessean's still were still impoverished, working on small farms, or earning low wages and working in bad conditions in factories, mines, and mills (Bergeron et al. 1999:183).

Transportation improvements in the late 19th century helped to spur economic development in the state. Turnpikes or toll roads helped to improve road systems (Groover 1998:285). Rail travel also increased and expanded to rural areas that were previously inaccessible except by road, especially after invention of the geared locomotive. By the turn of the 20th century, over 3,000 miles of railroad had been constructed in the state (Bergeron et al. 1999:186). The construction of rail lines in rural areas also increased their access to regional, national, and international markets.

Agriculture was still Tennessee's main means of economic production consisting primarily of small-scale farmers producing products for subsistence or local markets. Agricultural output declined during the late 19th century but eventually began to recover by the 1890s (Groover 1998:332). The number of farms increased during this time; however, average farm acreage decreased (Goover 1998:303, 2008:3). Over 35% of Tennessean's also worked as tenant farmers, most of whom were African American (Bergeron et al. 1999:204). With a growth in industry, some famers also took part-time work in railroads, mills, or factories to provide for their families (Bergeron et al. 1999:202). By the 20th century, farmers had more spending money, were more dependent on external markets, and took part-time jobs for economic support (Bergeron et al. 1999:202).

Tennessee in the Early 20th Century

Farms became commercial industries and shifted from subsistence farming to cash crop agriculture in the 20th century resulting in a decrease in the number of farms and a transformation of most households from producers to consumers (Cabak et al. 1999:24, 39). In Tennessee, farms were undertaking modernization improvements and becoming more mechanized including the cultivation of large plots of land (Ahlman 1996, 2000). Mechanization of Tennessee farms can be seen in the number of tractors purchased from 1940 to 1960 which increased from 12,000 to 100,000 (Bergeron et al. 1999:290). While the number of farms decrease throughout the 20th century, productivity improved (Bergeron et al. 1999:290). Agricultural production also switched from mixed agriculture focused on grain and livestock to tobacco, soybeans, corn, and dairy products (Groover 1998:326; Bergeron et al. 1999:290).

One major improvement to the lives of Tennesseans in the 20th century was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) Act of 1933. The TVA helped to construct a number of dams to control flooding that frequently occurred in the area and provided cheap electricity to the local residents. It provided economic development for the state and made the Tennessee River the most controlled in the nation (Bergeron et al. 1998:273). Electricity had been introduced in urban areas but was not available to most of Tennessee's families. The TVA expanded electrical services to rural areas allowing for the use of modern amenities such as electric irons, radios, sewing machines, heaters, stoves, water pumps, and refrigerators that dramatically changed the way people lived (Bergeron et al. 1998:272-273). Cities also saw a decrease in pollution from the reduced need for coal-burning stoves (Bergeron et al. 1998:272).

Throughout the 20th century, Tennessee's population continued to increase, especially in urban centers. African American population in urban centers, however, decreased after World

War I since some decided to move to the West Coast or northern industrial cities to escape racism and Jim Crow laws previously enacted throughout the South. The Great Depression also reduced industrial production in the cities, and many returned to rural areas to continue subsistence farming (Bergeron et al. 1999:260). Tenant farming was also impacted by the economic depression of the 1930s leading to the eventual abandonment of the system and the migration of former tenants to cities to find work. After World War II, urbanization continued to increase due to a rise in manufacturing, higher workers' wages in cities, and an increase in mechanized farming in rural areas. In 1920, the urban population accounted for about 26% of Tennesseans, in 1950 it rose to 44%, and by 1960 it surpassed rural areas comprising 52% of the total (Bergeron et al. 1999:263, 290). The change in population reflects Tennessee's shift from a rural agrarian economy to a more urban industrial economy during the 20th century.

Chapter 4

Sites

A total of 69 sites contained pits sampled for this study (Figure 6; Tables 5-6). Forty-six were located in East Tennessee (67%), 20 in Middle Tennessee (29%), and only 3 in West Tennessee (4%). One hundred and seventy-four structures with associated pits were recorded. One hundred and twenty-six structures (70%) were located in East Tennessee. Middle Tennessee had a total of 44 structures (25%) while West Tennessee resulted in only 4 examples (2%). In Tennessee, 214 pit cellars were recorded during the survey. East Tennessee had the largest number with 145 examples (68%), Middle Tennessee had 65 pits (30%), and West Tennessee had 4 pits comprising about 2% of the sample. Note that a large sample of structures (n=13) and pits (n=27) came from a single site, the Hermitage, in Middle Tennessee heavily weighing the sample. This is in part due to the prominence and wealth of the landowner, the fact that the enslaved chose to use these pits, and the long-term archaeological program at the site from 1988 to 2009. Additionally, East Tennessee was the only division to contain historic Native American pits totaling 13 sites, 72 structures, and 87 pits.

Sites with pit cellars averaged 2.7 structures and 3.1 pits per site. Thirty-nine of the sites contained single structures with a single pit. Sixteen sites had multiple structures with single pits. Three sites had a single structure with multiple pits and 11 sites had multiple structures with multiple pits. East Tennessee had the highest number of structures per site while West Tennessee ranks the lowest. While Middle Tennessee had a lower number of average structures than East Tennessee, it has a slightly higher average number of pits per site. The data shows that East Tennessee had more structures per site and fewer pits within them. However, this is due to

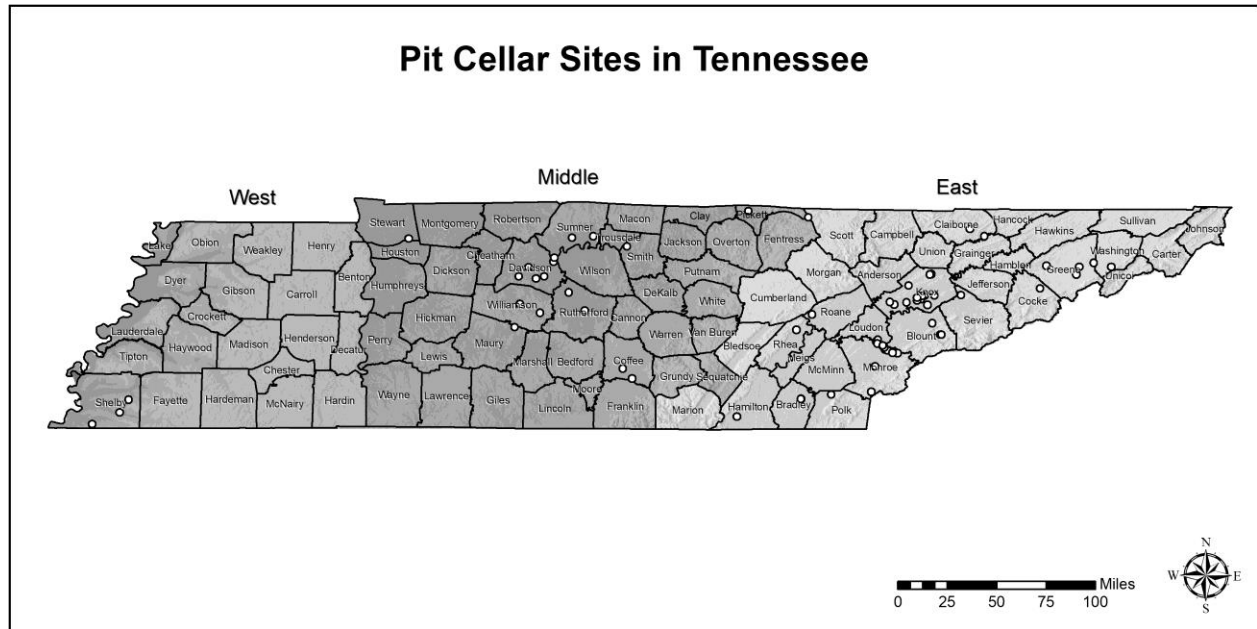


Figure 6. Distribution of sites with pit cellars in Tennessee.

Table 5. Archaeological sites with pit cellars in Tennessee.

Site Number	Site Name	County	Region
40BT090	Townsend/Apple Barn Site	Blount	East
40BT091	Townsend/Pony Ride Site	Blount	East
40BT166	Davis Farm	Blount	East
40BY185	Beeler/Ledford Site	Bradley	East
40BY192	McMillin House	Bradley	East
40CE061		Claiborne	East
40CF296	Ross Farm	Coffee	Middle
40CF338		Coffee	Middle
40CK184		Cocke	East
40DV120	The Hermitage	Davidson	Middle
40DV171	Belle Meade Plantation	Davidson	Middle
40DV247	Shute-Turner Farm	Davidson	Middle
40DV255	Grassmere	Davidson	Middle
40DV401	Gowan Farmstead	Davidson	Middle
40DV714	15th Ave Baptist Village Manor	Davidson	Middle
40GN063	Myers Site	Greene	East
40GN205	Davy Crockett Birthplace	Greene	East
40GN257	Samuel Doak Plantation/Tusculum Academy	Greene	East
40GN321		Greene	East
40GR022	Evans Ferry	Grainger	East
40HA198	Amnicola Farm	Hamilton	East
40KN068	James White Second Home	Knox	East
40KN085	Roddy House	Knox	East
40KN086	Mabry House	Knox	East
40KN113	Cherokee Farm	Knox	East
40KN120	Ramsey House	Knox	East
40KN124	Gibbs Farmstead	Knox	East
40KN125	Marble Springs	Knox	East
40KN145	Knoxville Courthouse Block	Knox	East
40KN150	Collier Site	Knox	East
40KN202	Bell Cabin Site	Knox	East
40KN269	Wenger House	Knox	East
40KN275	Perry House	Knox	East
40KN319	Fort Higley Cabins	Knox	East
40KN368	Riverview Tower	Knox	East
40LD107	Wear Bend	Loudon	East
40LD179	Tipton-Dixon House	Loudon	East
40MR001	Fort Loudoun	Monroe	East

Table 5 continued.

Site Number	Site Name	County	Region
40MR002	Chota	Monroe	East
40MR003	Mialoquo	Monroe	East
40MR004	Tuskegee	Monroe	East
40MR005	Tomotley	Monroe	East
40MR006	Toqua	Monroe	East
40MR007	Citico	Monroe	East
40MR021	Harrison Branch Site	Monroe	East
40MR050	Tellico Blockhouse	Monroe	East
40MR062	Tanasee	Monroe	East
40MR211	Bell Rattle Cabin Site	Monroe	East
40MR708	Fort Armistead	Monroe	East
40MU493	Aenon	Maury	Middle
40PK003	Hiwassee Old Town	Polk	East
40PT006	Jake's Place	Pickett	Middle
40PT062	Cordell Hull Birthplace	Pickett	Middle
40RD023	Sam Davis Home	Rutherford	Middle
40RD225	Oaklands Mansion	Rutherford	Middle
40RE192		Roane	East
40RH156		Rhea	East
40SM069	Denney Site	Smith	Middle
40SU032	Bledsoe Station	Sumner	Middle
40SU085	Barry Site	Sumner	Middle
40SV161	Henry's Station	Sevier	East
40SW723	Hollister House	Stewart	Middle
40SY508	Morning Sun Farmstead	Shelby	West
40SY615	Hilderbrand/McTighe House	Shelby	West
40SY644		Shelby	West
40WG082	Sevier/Jackson Farm	Washington	East
40WM092	Carnton Plantation	Williamson	Middle
40WM153	Berry-Patton Farmstead	Williamson	Middle
40WM444	Eastern Flank Battlefield Park	Williamson	Middle

Table 6. Data collected on pit cellars in Tennessee by region.

Region	Sites	%	Structures	%	Average	Pit Cellars	%	Average
East	46	66.7	126	72.4	2.7 (1.6*)	145	67.8	3.15 (1.7*)
Middle	20	29	44	25.3	2.2	65	30.4	3.25
West	3	4.3	4	2.3	1.33	4	1.9	1.33
Total	69		174		2.5 (1.8*)	214		3.1 (2.2*)

*Non-Indigenous.

the large number of Native American structures present at most town sites. Native American sites averaged 5.5 structures and 6.7 pits per site. If Native American structures are removed, the average falls well below Middle Tennessee. This would indicate that Middle Tennessee sites had the highest average number of structures and pits when comparing Euro American and African American sites. There were only three sites in West Tennessee conforming to patterns seen in other regions of the Lowland South.

Counties

Of the 95 counties in Tennessee, 25 had excavated examples of pit cellars (Figure 7). Most of these were restricted to counties with large populations and hence a large number of recorded historic sites conforming to historic and recent population trends. East Tennessee had 15 counties, Middle Tennessee had 9, and only a single county was recorded in West Tennessee. The largest number occurred in Knox County (n=14), followed by Monroe (n=12), which is distantly followed by Davidson County (n=6). All other counties had fewer than 5 sites per county and averaged 1.6 sites per county. The high counts are due to the higher populations of Nashville and Knoxville which includes the University of Tennessee and an active local historical archaeological program. Memphis and Chattanooga also have large populations but were settled later than other areas of Tennessee. The large number of pits recorded in Monroe County are associated with the Tellico Project conducted by the University of Tennessee and the Tennessee Division of Archaeology in which a number of historic Native American sites were excavated prior to flooding of the Tellico Reservoir.

Distribution of sites with pit cellars aligns nicely with the number of historic sites recorded in each county. The number of recorded historic sites also correlates well with

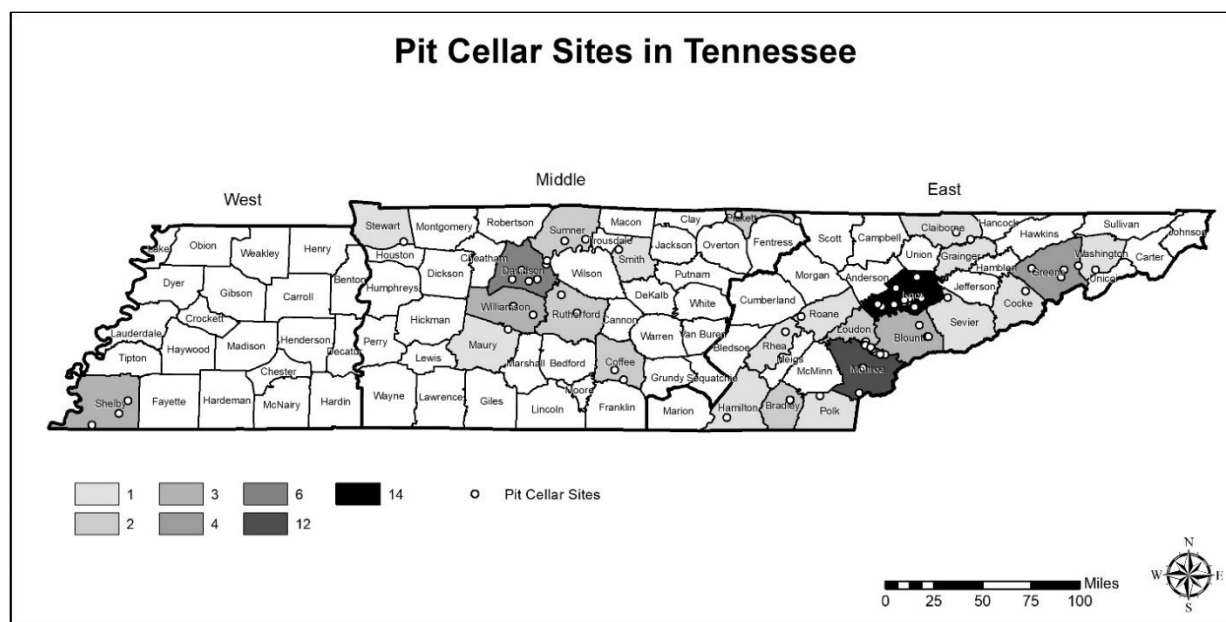


Figure 7. Frequency of sites with pit cellars by county.

historic and present-day population statistics and hence its growth over time (Figure 8). West Tennessee had a smaller population compared to other regions of the state for most of its history and today is the least populated region in the state contributing to a lack of pit cellar sites documented in the area.

Physiographic Provinces

When examining spatial location by physiographic province, most sites were restricted to the Valley and Ridge province in East Tennessee followed by the Central Basin in Middle Tennessee (Figure 9; Table 7). Fewer sites were located on the Cumberland Plateau and the Western Highland Rim. None were found along the Mississippi Floodplain. Environmental differences can be distinguished between provinces when examining topography and climate (Table 8). Most variability is noticed in the Valley and Ridge in East Tennessee due to topography. The highest temperatures averages occurred in West Tennessee with the lowest recorded in the Blue Ridge Mountains correlating with elevation extremes. Precipitation regimes were relatively similar with more rainfall occurring in higher elevations and the least amount in the Valley and Ridge.

Soils

Soil descriptions for sites generally consist of silt loams and silty clay loams with lesser amounts of loam and silty clay in the Valley and Ridge and Central Basin (Table 9). A single site on the plateau consisted of sandy loam. Urban land was present in Knoxville and Nashville.

Soils in the Blue Ridge consisted of silt loams in river valleys and ridges on mountains. In the Valley and Ridge, soils were made up of silt loams, loams, silty clays, and silty clay loams

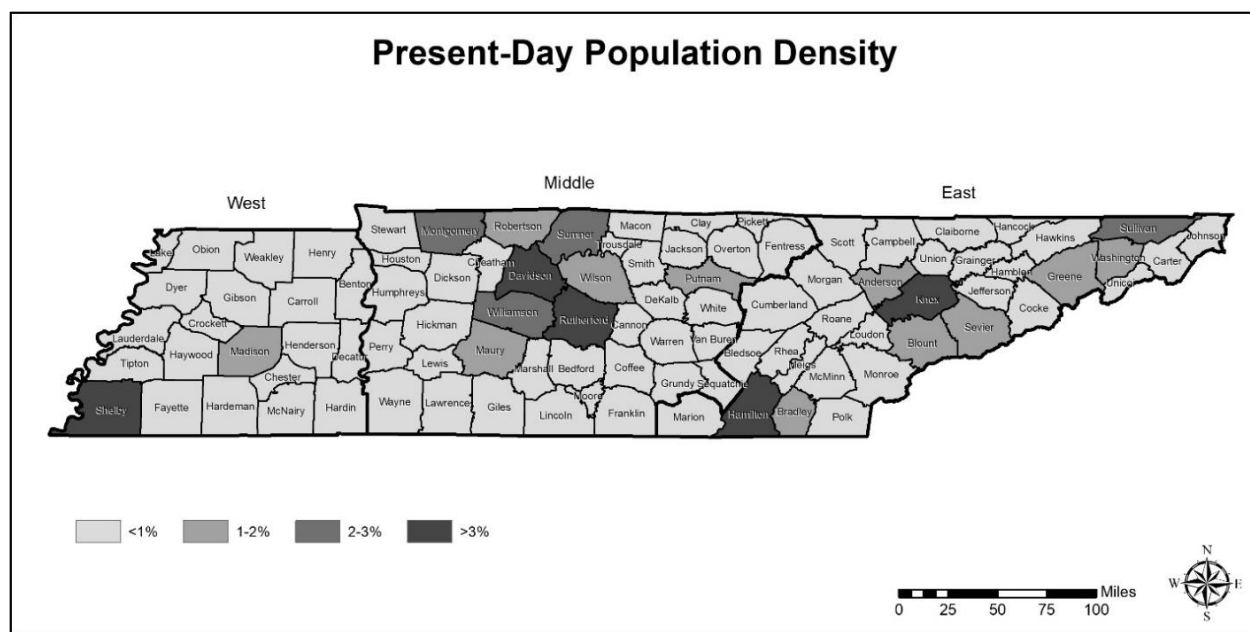


Figure 8. Population percentages by county.

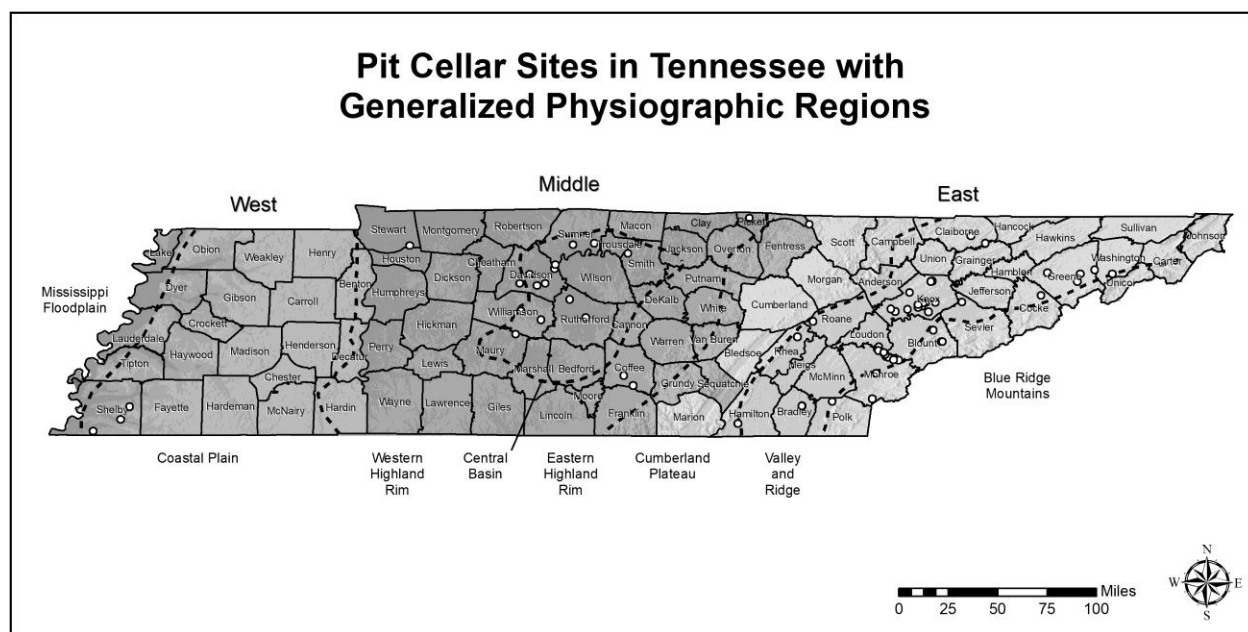


Figure 9. Distribution of sites with pit cellars by physiographic province.

Table 7. Data collected on pit cellars in Tennessee by physiographic province.

Region	Physiographic Province	Sites	%	Structures	%	Pit Cellars	%
East	Blue Ridge	3	4.4	8	4.6	9	4.2
East	Valley and Ridge	43	62.3	118	67.8	136	63.5
Middle	Cumberland Plateau	1	1.5	1	0.6	1	0.5
Middle	Eastern Highland Rim	3	4.4	3	1.7	3	1.4
Middle	Central Basin	14	20.3	37	21.3	58	27.1
Middle	Western Highland Rim	2	2.9	3	1.7	3	1.4
West	Coastal Plain	3	4.4	4	2.3	4	1.9
West	Mississippi Floodplain	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		69		174		214	

Table 8. Site data for elevation and climate (NOAA 2019a, 2019b).

Region	Physiographic Province	Elevation Range (ft.)	Elevation Average (ft.)	Temperature Range (°F)	Temperature Average (°F)	Precipitation Range (in.)	Precipitation Average (in.)
East	Blue Ridge	1017-1665	1238	44-70	56	55	56
East	Valley and Ridge	466-1495	934	43-71	58	42-58	51
Middle	Cumberland Plateau	1054	1054	44-66	55	53	53
Middle	Eastern Highland Rim	1015-1060	1040	45-69	57	53-56	56
Middle	Central Basin	477-699	569	44-71	58	47-54	52
Middle	Western Highland Rim	403-511	458	46-69	58	53	53
West	Coastal Plain	272-348	312	50-72	62	53-54	54

Table 9. Generalized site soil descriptions by physiographic province (NRCS 2019).

Region	Physiographic Province	Map Unit Name	Landform	Slope (%)	Frost-Free Period (days)	Average Water In Top 5 ft (in.)	Available Water Capacity Class	Drainage Class	Hydric Soil	Horizon Texture	Available Water Capacity (in.)	pH	Salinity (mmhos/cm)	Clay (%)
East	Blue Ridge	Silt Loam	River Valleys and Ridges on Mountains	0-12	150-240	8.8	Moderate to High	Well Drained	No	Silt Loam, Clay Loam, Silty Clay Loam	2.3-5.9	4.5-7.3	0	18-35
East	Valley and Ridge	Silt Loam, Loam, Urban Land, Silty Clay, Silty Clay Loam	Flood Plains, Hillslopes, Stream Terraces, and Ridges on River Valleys	0-65 (0-25)	130-247	9.82	Very Low to Moderate to High (High)	Excessively Drained to Well Drained to Moderately Well Drained	No	Silt Loam, Silty Clay Loam, Sandy Clay Loam, Loam, Clay	0.2-12.3	4.5-8.4	0	2-70 (20-60)
Middle	Cumberland Plateau	Sandy Loam	Flood Plains	0-4	139-187	5.7	Low	Well Drained	No	Fine Sandy Loam				
Middle	Eastern Highland Rim	Silt Loam, Silty Clay Loam	Ridges and Flats on Plateaus	2-6	154-230	12.4	High	Well Drained to Moderately Well Drained	No	Silty Clay Loam, Mixed Silt Loam	3.7-4.4	4.5-6.0	0-2	18-35
Middle	Central Basin	Loam, Silt Loam, Urban Land	Hillslopes, Stream Terraces, Flats, and Escarpments on Basins, Stream Terraces on Plateaus	0-20 (0-12)	154-233	10.48	Moderate to High	Well Drained	No	Silt Loam, Silty Clay Loam, Clay, Clay Loam	1.7-9.5 (1.7-7.8)	5.1-6.5	0-2	18-60
Middle	Western Highland Rim	Silty Clay Loam	Hillslopes on Basins and Hills	2-12	185-205	12.9	High	Well Drained	No	Silty Clay Loam	2.3-3.7	5.1-6.5	0	35-40
West	Coastal Plain	Silt Loam	Loess Hills on Plains and Uplands, Flood Plains	0-12	189-240	12.5	High	Moderately Well Drained to Somewhat Poorly Drained	No	Silt Loam	3.2-13.2	4.5-6.0	0-2	6-32 (64-82% Silt)

located in floodplains, hillslopes, stream terraces, and ridges on river valleys. The Cumberland Plateau had a single site with a sandy loam located on a flood plain. The Eastern Highland Rim had silt loams and silty clay loams on ridges and flats on plateaus. The Central Basin consisted of loam, silt loam, and urban land on hillslopes, stream terraces, flats, and escarpments on basins and stream terraces on plateaus. The Western Highland Rim had silty clay loams on hillslopes situated on basins and hills. The Coastal Plain had silt loam on loess hills on plains, uplands, and flood plains.

Soils in general occurred on slopes ranging from 0%-12%. Greater slopes were present in the Valley and Ridge. The Valley and Ridge also has the greatest range for frost-free periods. The Western Highland Rim has the lowest range of frost-free days.

Generally, sites contained non-hydric, well-drained soils with moderate to high water capacities. The Valley and Ridge shows more variability including a very low to high capacity and moderately to excessively drained soils. The Coastal Plain had a high water capacity with moderately well drained to somewhat poorly drained soils. The Cumberland Plateau had a low average of water in the top 5 ft. while the Highland Rim and the Coastal Plain had the highest averages.

Subsoil horizons at sites were extrapolated from horizon depths which ranged up to 5 ft. below ground surface. These horizons consisted of loam, silt loam, clay loam, silty clay loam, sandy clay loam, clay, and sandy loam. The pH values for these soils range from 4.5 to 6.5 with higher values in the highlands of East Tennessee. Soils were generally non-saline with the Eastern Highland Rim, Central Basin, and Coastal Plain having minor amounts.

Soils on average contained roughly 20% to 60% clay. The largest percentages of clay occur in the Valley and Ridge and Middle Tennessee. The lowest percent occurs in West

Tennessee with sites averaging 65% to 80% silt as well. The Valley and Ridge and Central Basin appear to be the most preferred areas for pit cellar construction. These are the most dynamic provinces and include the largest percentages of clay relative to other areas of the state.

Site Affiliation

Eleven of the sites in East Tennessee were associated with the Overhill Cherokee, most of which were excavated during the Tellico Project (Figure 10; Table 10). Two were occupied by non-traditional Cherokee during the early 19th century. One site, Townsend, contained two discontinuous components with Cherokee and later Euro American occupations. Another site, Fort Loudoun, was interpreted as having been re-occupied by the Cherokee shortly after the fort was abandoned.

All recorded Native American sites were affiliated with the Cherokee in East Tennessee. Tennessee had no other permanent Native American inhabitants and no other representative sites were observed. Instances of other historic tribes constructing and using pit cellars can be found with the Creek in Alabama and the Catawba in South Carolina (Wesson 1999; Crawford et al. 2019). Other examples of historic Cherokee sites with pits can also be found in Georgia and North Carolina (Riggs 1999; Greene 2019; Riggs and Belt 2019; Webb 2019). It should be noted that Euro Americans were sometimes taken as prisoners or African Americans were enslaved by Native Americans and they are also minimally represented at these sites (Perdue 1979; Riggs et al. 1988). Only 5 enslaved people were listed in the 1809 Cherokee census, with 57 listed by 1835 (McLoughlin and Conser 1977; Wishart 1995).

A majority of the sites were associated with both African Americans and Euro Americans. Most of the African American sites were associated with slavery with only two sites

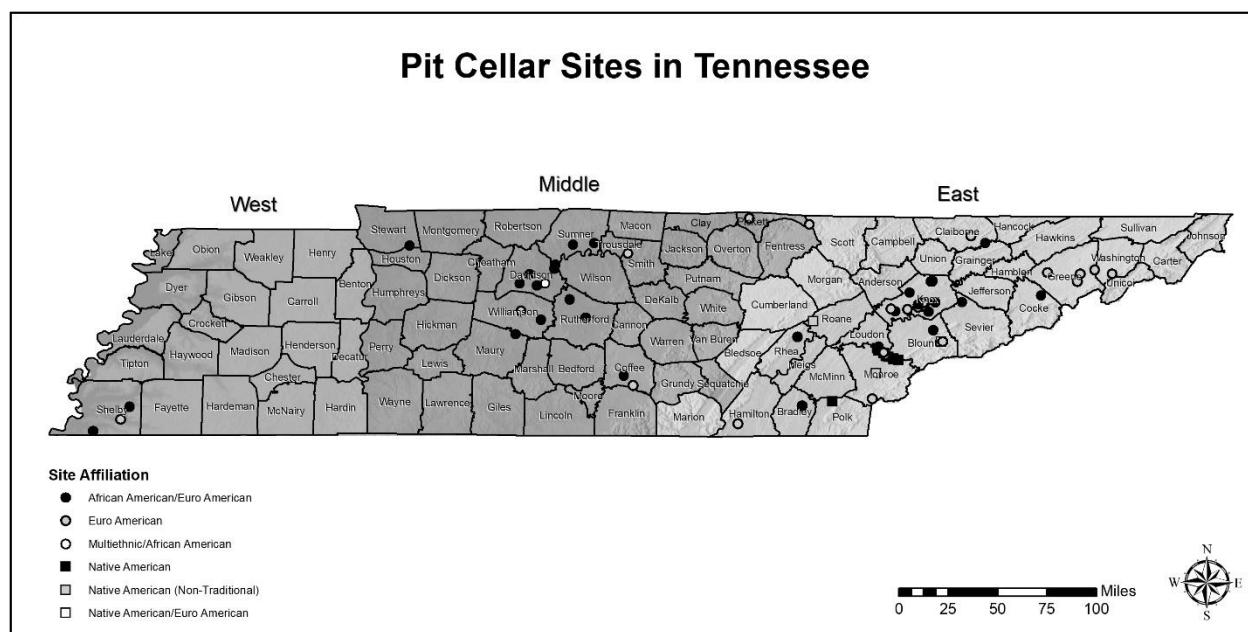


Figure 10. Pit cellar sites by cultural affiliation.

Table 10. Cultural affiliation of sites with pit cellars.

Cultural Affiliation of Sites	East	%	Middle	%	West	%	Total	%
African American/Euro American	14	30.4	14	70	2	67.7	30	43.5
Euro American	19	41.3	5	25	1	33.3	25	36.2
Euro American/Native American (Cherokee)	2	4.4					2	2.9
Multiethnic/African American			1	5			1	1.5
Native American (Cherokee)	9	19.6					9	13
Native American (Cherokee, Non-traditional)	2	4.4					2	2.9
Total	46		20		3		69	

strictly associated with free African American tenants. A large percentage of sites were affiliated with Euro Americans, primarily in East Tennessee or in upland areas. It should be noted that some of these sites potentially were associated with African Americans, but they were not identified in the record. In Knox County in East Tennessee, Euro American groups also included a German immigrant family, a Mennonite family likely of German ancestry, and an Irish immigrant family. In Middle Tennessee, pit cellars were primarily restricted to African American and Euro American sites related to slavery. Additionally, the Gowan Farmstead was associated with an affluent multiethnic slave owner of African and European descent.

Chronology

Sites inhabited by Native Americans date from 1650 to 1845 during the contact, colonial, Federal, removal, and post-removal periods. Fort Loudoun was the earliest non-Indigenous site and was occupied in 1756. Later domestic sites included Euro American and African American sites which occurred as early as 1780 in East Tennessee, 1785 in Middle Tennessee, and around 1800 in West Tennessee. West Tennessee was not legally opened to settlement until 1819 and the site represents an early squatter's residence. Sites associated with these groups were inhabited through the 20th century and some until present day though the occupation of structures with pits or pit use was restricted to the mid-20th century.

Settlement Types

Settlement types included Native American sites consisting of hamlets, villages, and towns. Thirteen Native American components were documented in the survey. Two of these were non-traditional Cherokee essentially living in Euro American-style rural farmsteads.

Settlement types also included Euro American and African American rural, suburban, urban, and fortification components. By far, rural sites dominated the sample (n=51) and consisted primarily of farmsteads. Fortified sites included Fort Loudoun and Tellico Blockhouse in East Tennessee and Bledsoe Station in Middle Tennessee. Suburban sites were associated with late-19th-century components of sites which were originally occupied in less developed rural areas. Urban sites were located in Knoxville and Nashville. Knoxville was an early planned city founded in 1791 with urban site components dating from the late 18th through late 19th centuries. Nashville had one site associated with a late-19th- to mid-20th-century commercial dwelling. Urban pit cellars not recorded in the survey due to insufficient information were also noted at the 19th-century town of Morganton (Polhemus 1980).

Site Components

Site components with associated pits were extrapolated from recorded site types (Table 11). Five sites had two components associated with pit cellars. These were associated with Native American and Euro American occupied sites as well as multi-component Euro American sites. Native American types included hamlets, villages, towns, and two non-traditional farmsteads. Data from the Cherokee were primarily recovered from the Overhill Towns which had populations ranging from 100 to 400 people (Schroedl 2001:278). One Tuckaleechee hamlet consisting of several households was also recorded (Marcoux 2012). Other non-Indigenous types included farmsteads, plantations, domestic dwellings, military forts, and private fortifications.

Rural areas were principally associated with farming. Farmstead components were by far the most associated with pit cellar use consisting of 50% of the sample. When comparing non-

Table 11. Settlement types and associated site components with pit cellars.

Settlement Type	Associated Component	East	Middle	West	Total
Native American	Hamlet, Village, Town	11			11
Native American/Rural	Farmstead	1			1
Native American/Rural	Farmstead/Commercial	1			1
Rural	Farmstead	24	8	2	34
Rural	Farmstead/Commercial		1		1
Rural	Plantation		5	1	6
Rural	Small Plantation	2	1		3
Rural	Small Plantation/Commercial	1			1
Rural	Small Plantation/Educational Institution	1			1
Rural	Domestic Dwelling	3	1		4
Rural	Domestic Dwelling/Commercial	1			1
Rural/Fortification	Military Fort/Trading Post	1			1
Rural/Fortification	Military Fort	1			1
Rural/Fortification	Private Fortification/Station		1		1
Rural/Suburban	Domestic Dwelling		2		2
Urban	Domestic Dwelling	2			2
Urban	Domestic Dwelling/Commercial	2	1		3
Total		51	20	3	74

*Five sites have two components.

Indigenous groups, it increases to 57%. This is not surprising as farmsteads are one of the most prevalent site types found in North America (Groover 2008). East Tennessee had the most farmsteads, totaling 24 components or about 40% of the non-Indigenous sample.

Plantations were large acreage farms on the order of hundreds of acres with a large number of enslaved laborers consisting of 50 or more individuals (Groover 2008:8). At their most basic, plantations were economic entities focused on surplus monocrop production using enslaved workers. Plantations occurred primarily in Middle Tennessee. One additional plantation was also recorded in West Tennessee. No large-scale plantations were recorded in East Tennessee, but small plantations were more common. Small plantations are considered large farms with relatively large, enslaved populations when compared to the average number of bondsmen on farmsteads. Small plantations were largely recorded in East Tennessee. One site includes an inn and ferry while another also functioned as an educational institution.

Domestic dwellings were prevalent near urban areas though a few dwellings with no known associated farm were found in rural areas. Commercial sites were associated with domestic dwellings or farms that had additional commercial or domestic industrial aspects including stores, inns, ferries, blacksmith shops, and a gunsmith/locksmith shop. Most domestic dwellings occurred in East Tennessee with a smaller number in Middle Tennessee.

Military fort components were federal military fortifications with barracks that housed soldiers. Pit cellars within forts were documented in East Tennessee at Fort Loudoun and Tellico Blockhouse which also served as a trading post. Private fortifications or stations differ from military forts in that they were not associated with enlisted soldiers but were instead temporary fortifications constructed by private individuals or groups of individuals for defense usually in frontier situations (Hodges 1993; Smith 2000; Faulkner 2013). Only one example was recorded

during the survey in Middle Tennessee at Bledsoe Station. Two other station sites also had examples of pit cellars, Fort Watauga at Sycamore Shoals and Sharp's Fort in Union County, but they were not sufficiently recorded to include in the survey (Kuttruff 1974:14; Faulkner and Andrews 1994:34-39).

Chapter 5

Structures

One hundred and seventy-four structures were associated with pit cellars (Table 12). A large majority of structures were in East Tennessee (72%). This was the only region that had Native American structures, thereby skewing the sample. However, East Tennessee still contains the largest number of non-Indigenous structures. Middle Tennessee had 44 structures while West Tennessee had only 4 examples. Pits within structures averaged around one per structure (Table 13). Middle Tennessee averaged slightly higher pits per structure due to multiple pits within slave quarters.

Pit cellars were found in domestic dwellings, slave quarters, military barracks, and outbuildings associated with domestic contexts. There were 72 domestic dwellings including 46 non-Indigenous dwellings and 26 Native American dwellings. Most of these occurred in East Tennessee. Thirty-seven slave quarters had pits within them. Slave quarters were most prevalent in Middle Tennessee. Outbuildings were present in East and Middle Tennessee. Military barracks and Native American structures only occurred in East Tennessee. Sixteen non-Indigenous structures were associated with kitchens, most of these in Middle Tennessee. Three structures were torn down and rebuilt, including a field quarter at the Hermitage, a log cabin transformed into an ell addition at the Collier Site in Knox County, and a military barracks at Fort Loudoun which was later converted into a Cherokee outbuilding. Descriptions are provided in the following sections to discuss the variety of structures associated with pits in different contexts which influenced their construction and use.

Table 12. Structure types associated with pit cellars.

Structure Type	East	Middle	West	Total
Domestic Dwelling	28	16	2	46
Domestic Dwelling/Slave Quarter	14	21	2	37
Military Barracks	3			3
Outbuilding	9	7		16
Total Non-Indigenous	54	44	4	102
<i>Domestic Kitchen Components</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>16</i>
Domestic Dwelling/Native American	26			26
Outbuilding/Native American	46			46
Total Native American	72			72
Total	126	44	4	174

Table 13. Average pits per structure by region.

Region	Structures	%	Subfloor Pits	%	Average
East	126 (54*)	72.4	145 (59*)	67.8	1.15 (1.09*)
Middle	44	25.3	65	30.4	1.47
West	4	2.3	4	1.9	1
Total	174 (102*)		214 (128*)		1.22 (1.25*)

*Non-Indigenous

Domestic Dwellings

I recorded 46 domestic dwellings inhabited by free, non-Indigenous families. A majority of these were in East Tennessee. Slave quarters and Native American domestic dwellings are discussed as separate analytical units in the following sections. Domestic dwellings consisted of homes, a dwelling/school, a dwelling/office, as well as station, commercial, and tenant dwellings. Twenty-four domestic dwellings without commercial aspects were recorded and included 10 log cabins at Bledsoe Station, a structure with a pit cellar at Doak Plantation which later served as a schoolhouse, and a domestic dwelling which also served as an office in Knoxville. Four domestic dwellings were recorded with commercial aspects including a blacksmith/gunsmith shop, gunsmith/locksmith shop, an inn/stockyard, and a storehouse/hardware store. A single outbuilding cellar was also potentially associated with a grocery in Middle Tennessee. There were six tenant dwellings with pits including three associated with Euro Americans, two with African Americans, and one of unknown affiliation. Aside from two tenant dwellings, all other domestic structures were associated with Euro Americans as well as a multiethnic family.

Domestic dwellings were primarily constructed of log (Table 14). Twenty-six log cabins were recorded comprising 56.5% of the sample. These included single-pen (n=9) and double-pen (n=7) cabins. One example had clapboard siding, and another was torn down and rebuilt as an ell addition. Double-pen cabins included saddlebag, dogtrot, and I-house types. Eight timber frame dwellings were documented, one constructed as a kitchen/dining addition to a brick structure. One additional brick dwelling was also recorded in West Tennessee. Eleven structures had no descriptive information. Domestic dwellings on average were 512.5 sq. ft. in

Table 14. Domestic dwellings.

Type	Description	East	Middle	West	Total
Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin	6	1		7
Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin w/ Clapboard Siding	1			1
Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Outbuilding, Ell Addition	1			1
Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Saddlebag	2			2
Domestic Dwelling	Timber Frame	2	1		3
Domestic Dwelling	Timber Frame/Brick	1			1
Domestic Dwelling	Brick			1	1
Domestic Dwelling		6	1	1	8
Domestic Dwelling/Station	Log Cabin, Double Pen?		2		2
Domestic Dwelling/Station	Log Cabin, Single Pen		8		8
Domestic Dwelling/School	Timber Frame	1			1
Domestic Dwelling/Office		1			1
Domestic Dwelling/Commercial	Log Cabin, Double Pen, I-House		1		1
Domestic Dwelling/Commercial	Log Cabin?	1			1
Domestic Dwelling/Commercial		2			2
Domestic Dwelling/Tenant	Log Cabin, Single Pen	1			1
Domestic Dwelling/Tenant	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Dogtrot	1			1
Domestic Dwelling/Tenant	Timber Frame	1	2		3
Domestic Dwelling/Tenant	Timber Frame, Kitchen/Dining Addition	1			1
Total		28	16	2	46

area with log cabins averaging 392 sq. ft., frame dwellings around 800 sq. ft., and a brick dwelling measuring 578 sq. ft. Four structures were also recorded as having two stories.

Foundation types for domestic dwellings include brick, limestone, ground sill, and piers. Pier supports were the most numerous with 13 examples. Foundations for log cabins included ground sill, limestone, and pier supports. Timber-frame structures included a single brick foundation and five with pier stones. The brick structure was supported with a brick foundation. Structures with unknown construction types included four limestone foundations and one with pier stones. Domestic dwellings constructed of brick and timber had brick chimneys. Log dwellings primarily had limestone chimneys, though a brick and a sandstone chimney were also recorded. Chimneys at Bledsoe Station were constructed of mud and log.

Slave Quarters

Another type of domestic dwelling with pit cellars recorded during the survey includes African American slave quarters (Table 15). A total of 37 slave quarters were recorded. Middle Tennessee has the highest proportion of slave quarters with 56.8% of the sample. Of that, 57%, or about 32% of the total, was from the Hermitage, adding weight to the sample. If the Hermitage samples are removed, East Tennessee would have the highest number of slave quarters. East Tennessee had 14 examples while West Tennessee had 2 quarters.

Slave quarters were additionally used as temporary housing for Euro Americans before construction of the main residence in some cases. After Emancipation, some quarters were used to house freed African American workers who served as tenants or servants. One ell which served as a slave quartering area and service wing at Carton Plantation in Williamson County

Table 15. Slave quarters.

Type	Description	East	Middle	West	Total
Slave Quarter	Log Cabin	2	1		3
Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen	5	3		8
Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Double Pen		2		2
Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Saddlebag	1			1
Slave Quarter	Timber Frame	1		1	2
Slave Quarter	Brick, Duplex		2		2
Slave Quarter	Brick, Triplex		1		1
Slave Quarter		3	3		6
Temporary Housing/Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen	2	1	1	4
Temporary Housing/Slave Quarter/ Tenant or Servants Quarter	Log Cabin		1		1
Slave Quarter/ Tenant or Servants Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen		1		1
Slave Quarter/ Tenant or Servants Quarter	Log Cabin, Double Pen		1		1
Slave Quarter/ Tenant or Servants Quarter	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Saddlebag		1		1
Slave Quarter/ Tenant or Servants Quarter	Brick, Duplex		1		1
Slave Quarter/ Tenant or Servants Quarter			2		2
Service Wing Slave Quarter/ Tenant or Servants Quarter	Brick, Three-Bay Ell		1		1
Total		14	21	2	37

was also documented. Eight quarters also served as the main residence's kitchen in Middle and West Tennessee.

Slave quarters were constructed of log, timber frame, and brick. Twenty-two (60%) of the structures were log cabins, five were brick buildings, and two timber frame dwellings. Log cabins were mostly single pen dwellings (n=13) with five double-pen examples. At the Mabry site in East Tennessee, one double-pen, saddlebag cabin was also connected by dogtrot to a single-pen, timber frame dwelling. Brick structures only occurred in Middle Tennessee consisting of duplex or triplex floor plans and one brick ell. Eight quarters had no description.

Log cabins had supports constructed of limestone foundations or pier supports as well as post-in-ground or ground sill types. Brick structures had limestone foundations while timber frame dwellings were built with piers. Piers were by far the most prevalent foundation type with 15 examples. Seven buildings with continuous limestone foundations were recovered as well as three structures built with either post-in-ground or ground-sill construction. Log structures contained chimneys constructed of brick, limestone, or mud and log. Brick structures were built with brick or limestone chimneys while timber frame dwellings had strictly brick chimneys. Brick, limestone, and mud and log chimneys were used almost equally in slave housing. All slave quarters were one story except for the First Hermitage which was initially two stories and later was converted to one story when transformed into a slave quarter.

Slave quarters averaged 604 sq. ft. in area with log cabins averaging 533 sq. ft., frame dwellings 450 sq. ft., and brick dwellings measuring 867 sq. ft. At first it appears that slave quarters have more space than domestic dwellings occupied by free people. In reality, this points to larger than average dwellings for enslaved African Americans at the Hermitage (McKee 2000:196). On average, Hermitage slave quarters were 713.5 sq. ft. Other types average only

524.5 sq. ft. when combined. However, this is still slightly larger than the average dwelling for free people, likely due to slave quarters typically housing larger numbers of individuals.

Additionally, any large Euro American dwelling such as an I-house would have had outbuildings or ell additions which would have been used to house cellars, thereby reducing their calculated average square footage.

Outbuildings

Sixteen pit cellars were located underneath outbuildings (Table 16). Outbuildings with pit cellars occurred in near equal numbers in East and Middle Tennessee with no examples in West Tennessee. These structures functioned as kitchens, smokehouses, a sorghum furnace, and as outbuilding cellars. Outbuilding cellars served as exterior storage cellars with small structures erected above them. External cellars underneath outbuildings are sometimes referred to as dairies; however, only one instance of a dairy was found. Other outbuilding cellars could have also served this purpose, but there is no evidence to suggest the specific storage of dairy items. Outbuildings with cellars were, in general, related to the storage of foodstuffs.

Outbuildings were constructed of log, timber frame, and brick. These were typically set on piers with single examples of limestone and brick foundations as well as a post-in-ground timber frame structure. Chimneys were associated with kitchens and a sorghum furnace. Available information for kitchens and the sorghum furnace provided a 346 sq. ft. average area.

Two outbuilding cellars were associated with tenants. One of these was African American and the other of unknown cultural affiliation. All others were associated with Euro Americans, several of them slaveholders. Outbuildings and slave quarters were located to the

Table 16. Outbuildings.

Type	Description	East	Middle	West	Total
Outbuilding Cellar	Timber Frame		1		1
Outbuilding Cellar		5	1		6
Outbuilding Cellar, Dairy	Timber Frame?		1		1
Outbuilding Cellar, Kitchen Attachment	Brick or Timber Frame?		1		1
Outbuilding, Kitchen	Log Cabin	2			2
Outbuilding, Kitchen	Brick		1		1
Outbuilding, Kitchen	Timber Frame		1		1
Outbuilding, Smokehouse	Log	1			1
Outbuilding, Smokehouse			1		1
Outbuilding, Sorghum Furnace	Timber Frame	1			1
Total		9	7	0	16

rear or side yards of domestic dwellings. Most were in close proximity of the main house excluding the field quarters at the Hermitage.

Only one outbuilding was used at the same time as an interior pit by an African American tenant during the late 19th century. This potentially points to the continued use of multiple pits by African Americans after Emancipation. Multiple pits were associated with barracks and quarters in non-Indigenous contexts indicating the pits were associated with large households. One other outbuilding kitchen cellar may potentially have been used at the same time as a pit within temporary housing that later served as slave quarters. However, the pit cellar could have been constructed by the African American inhabitants or by Euro Americans during their early occupation of the cabin. The outbuilding kitchen could have also housed enslaved laborers.

At the Tipton-Dixson house, an outbuilding cellar replaced the use of an interior pit cellar during the turn of the 20th century. At the Myers Site, an interior cellar was constructed underneath a frame addition by later residents replacing an earlier outbuilding cellar. Though there was a lag in occupation, and it was likely filled prior to later residents inhabiting the site, it points to the need for these storage spaces at homes over time. Wealthier individuals would be able to have multiple types of storage facilities. The outbuilding kitchen pit cellar at the Hermitage was also used in conjunction with several other amenities such as the pantry, basement, and icehouse.

Military Barracks

Three military barracks at early fortifications were included in the survey. These were not domestic sites but were analogous to domestic spaces in that they represent the living quarters of enlisted men. At some forts, like Fort Loudoun, enlisted men even had their families

with them (Kuttruff 2010). Other more substantially constructed cellars occurred at these sites and at other military sites in East Tennessee but were not recorded since they more precisely are defined as foundational cellars.

Barracks with pit cellars occurred at Fort Loudoun and Tellico Blockhouse in East Tennessee. Fort Loudoun contained a log barracks which served as a temporary quarter. The structure was likely a single-story building constructed of log with post-in-ground supports demolished during occupation of the fort. At a later point, probably after abandonment of the fort, a Cherokee outbuilding was constructed over the remaining cellar. Tellico Blockhouse had two barracks with pit cellars underneath their floors. These were large two-story log buildings with either limestone piers or a foundation for structural support. Barracks were larger than domestic dwellings averaging 1,048.5 sq. ft. in area due to the number of men housed within them.

Native American Structures

Native American structures were found strictly in East Tennessee and totaled 26 domestic dwellings and 46 outbuildings with pit cellars (Table 17). Several types of dwellings were recorded which included circular to octagonal winter dwellings paired with rectangular summer dwellings (Figure 11). These were a common type found at 18th-century Overhill Cherokee sites and were similar to Types 7 and 8a described at Toqua and Chota (Schroedl 1986; Polhemus 1987:231). Six structures were paired together in the sample. Rectangular structures were also found without paired summer dwellings. A single square dwelling was also recorded. Another rectangular type (8b) was the segmented three-bay dwelling like those excavated at

Table 17. Native American structures.

Type	Description	Average Area (sq. ft.)	East
Domestic Dwelling	Circular Winter Dwelling	422.7	6
Domestic Dwelling	Circular/Octagonal Winter Dwelling	478.2	2
Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin	364	1
Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin, Cribbed	-	1
Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin, Horizontal-Pole Cabin	262.6	1
Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Segmented 3-Bay Dwelling	509.5	5
Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular (Single) Dwelling	403.8	4
Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Summer Dwelling	556	5
Domestic Dwelling	Square (Single) Dwelling	938	1
Outbuilding	Pits with Posts	-	46
Total		480	72



Figure 11. Cherokee paired winter and summer dwellings (Schroedl 1986:268, Figure 4.45).

Tomotley and Toqua (Figure 12) (Baden 1983; Polhemus 1987:231). Structures were post-in-ground buildings with central or off-center hearths found in circular winter structures.

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Cherokee and other Indigenous groups began using horizontal log construction for dwellings (Waselkov 2019). Three log cabins with pits were recorded including a cabin built with cribbed construction and a horizontal-pole cabin with post-in-ground supports. A potential horizontal-pole cabin was constructed by a Cherokee household during the mid to late 18th century at Chota (Figure 13). Artifacts date the structure to the colonial period; however, structures like these were typically built after this time (Schroedl 1986:237, 269). Post and rail structures of this type are an intermediate type of Cherokee construction used prior to the adoption of notched log construction (Waselkov 2019). Non-traditionalist households in the Federal period constructed a log cabin with a mud-and-log chimney and a cribbed-log cabin.

Cherokee outbuildings were comprised of a specific type of pit cellar known as pits with posts (Schroedl 1986). These pits typically contain two or more posts at their base to support a superstructure and have often been referred to as two-post pits. Pits with posts occurred underneath domestic dwellings and small auxiliary structures. Structures covering the pit were simple freestanding buildings with A-frame roofs supported by the posts placed within the floor of the pit (Webb 2019:98). These were essentially outbuildings constructed to cover the pit and are similar to outbuilding cellars described earlier. Pits with posts were often found within short distances of structures suggesting they were related to household activities including food storage and preparation (Schroedl 1986:68-69). Evidence of central fired areas indicate they also could have been used for smoking or drying meats, hides, and vegetables (Schroedl 1986:69). Twenty outbuilding pit with posts recorded during the survey were in direct association with an

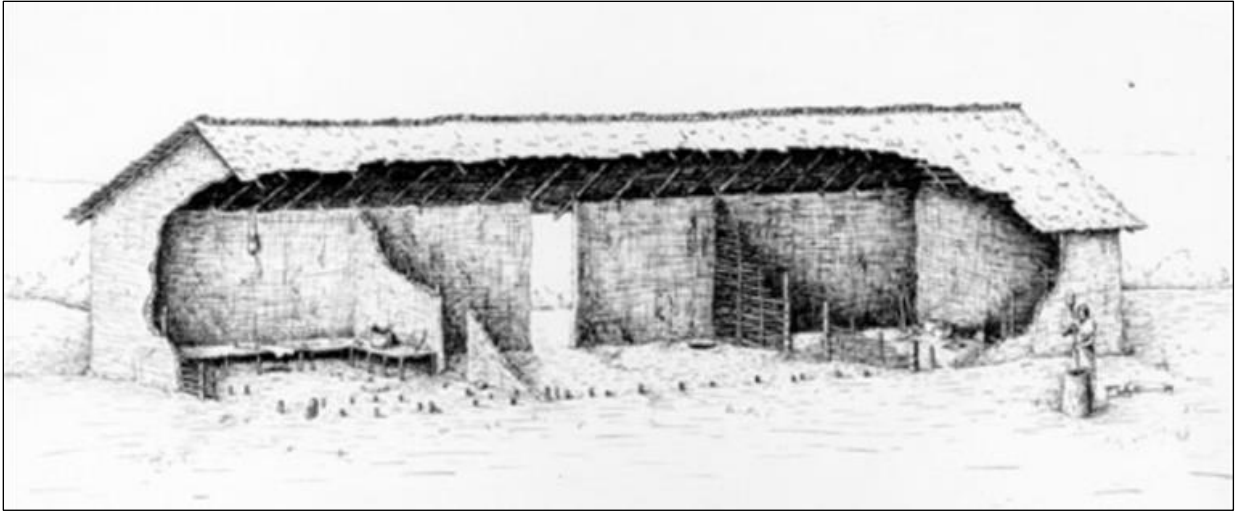


Figure 12. Cherokee rectangular segmented dwelling with three bays (Schroedl 1986:270, Figure 4.47).

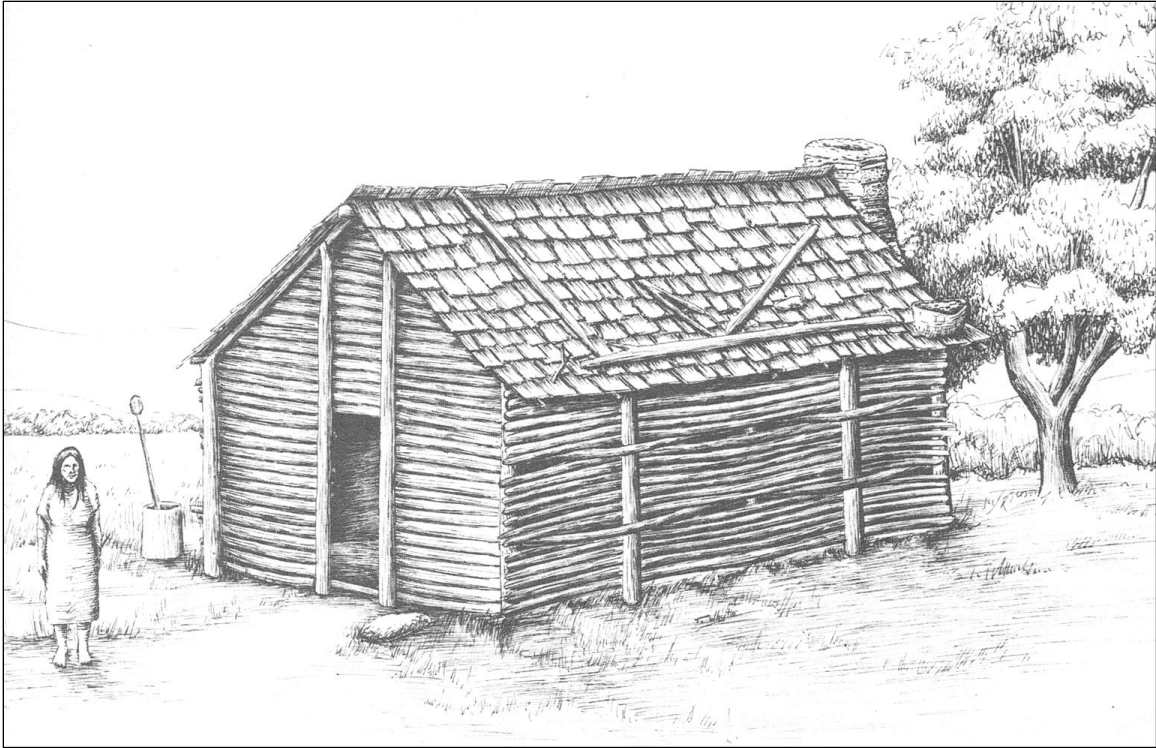


Figure 13. Cherokee horizontal-pole cabin (Schroedl 1986:269, Figure 4.46).

identified structure and 16 contained fired areas at their base. There is no evidence of the structures that covered them, but they likely rested on the ground, had braced or lean-to walls, and a roof covering the pit (Schroedl 1986:68). These pits have sometimes been referred to as winter or hothouses (Polhemus 1975), but they also occur within domestic dwellings which suggests that they function as a type of storage facility (Schroedl 1986:68). Outbuilding pits with posts were the most numerous type of Native American structure recorded during the survey.

Structure Affiliation

Structures were associated with African Americans, Euro Americans, and Native Americans (Table 18; Figure 14). A multiethnic slaveholder was also associated with two structures including a temporary residence which later housed enslaved workers built prior to the main house. African American/Euro American structures describe cases when a slave owner's temporary housing was converted to slave quarters or a few instances where the occupant was not discernible.

Native Americans had the most structures present at 12 sites that comprised 44% of pits of known or distinct ethnic affiliation (Figure 15). These were mostly outbuilding pit with posts and consisted of traditional and two non-traditional structures. Euro Americans were the second highest percentage at 37% followed by African Americans at 19%. If Indigenous pits were removed from the survey, Euro Americans would be associated with 60% of the structures with pits (Table 19). Euro American structures occurred mostly in East Tennessee while African American structures were equally distributed in East and Middle Tennessee. This number was slightly larger in Middle Tennessee if including temporary structures (n=19).

Table 18. Ethnic affiliation of structure occupants.

Ethnic Affiliation	East	%	Middle	%	West	%	Total	%
African American	15	11.9	15	34.1	1	25	31	17.8
African American/Euro American	2	1.6	6	13.6	1	25	9	5.2
Euro American	37	29.4	21	47.7	2	50	60	34.5
Multiethnic			1	2.3			1	0.6
Multiethnic/African American			1	2.3			1	0.6
Native American (Cherokee)	72	57.1					72	41.4
(Traditional)	70	55.6					70	40.2
(Non-traditional)	2	1.6					2	1.1
Total	126		44		4		174	

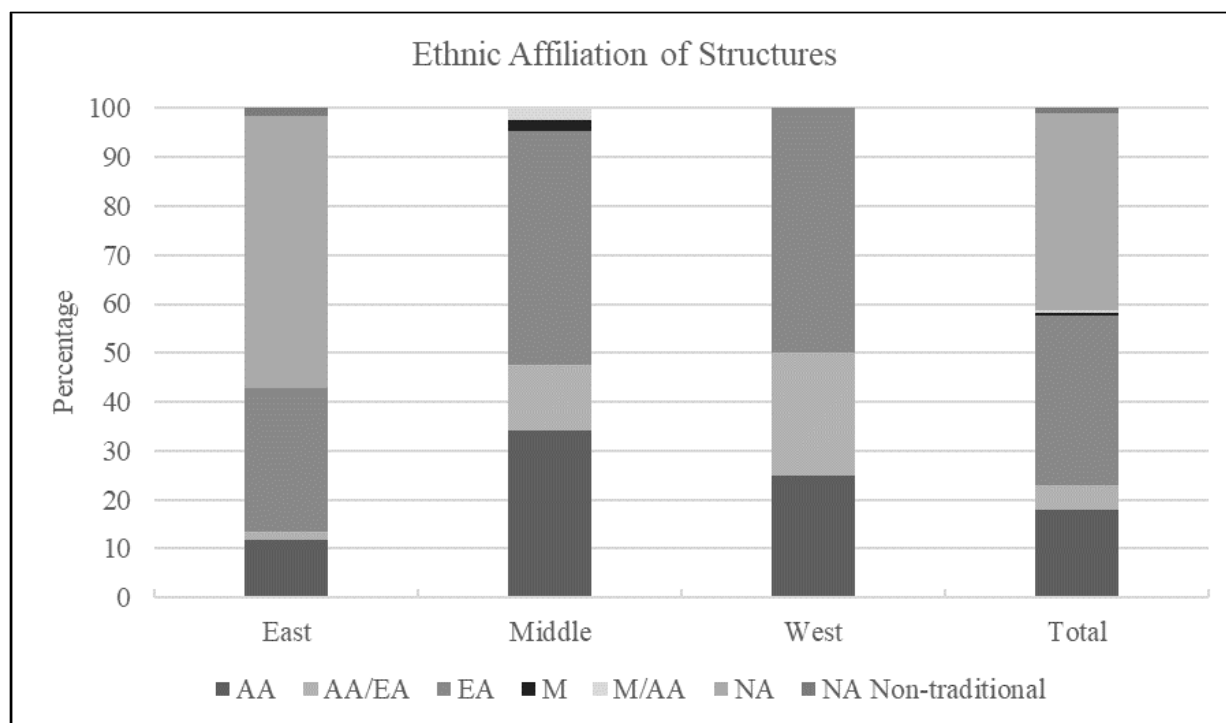


Figure 14. Percentage of structures by ethnic affiliation.

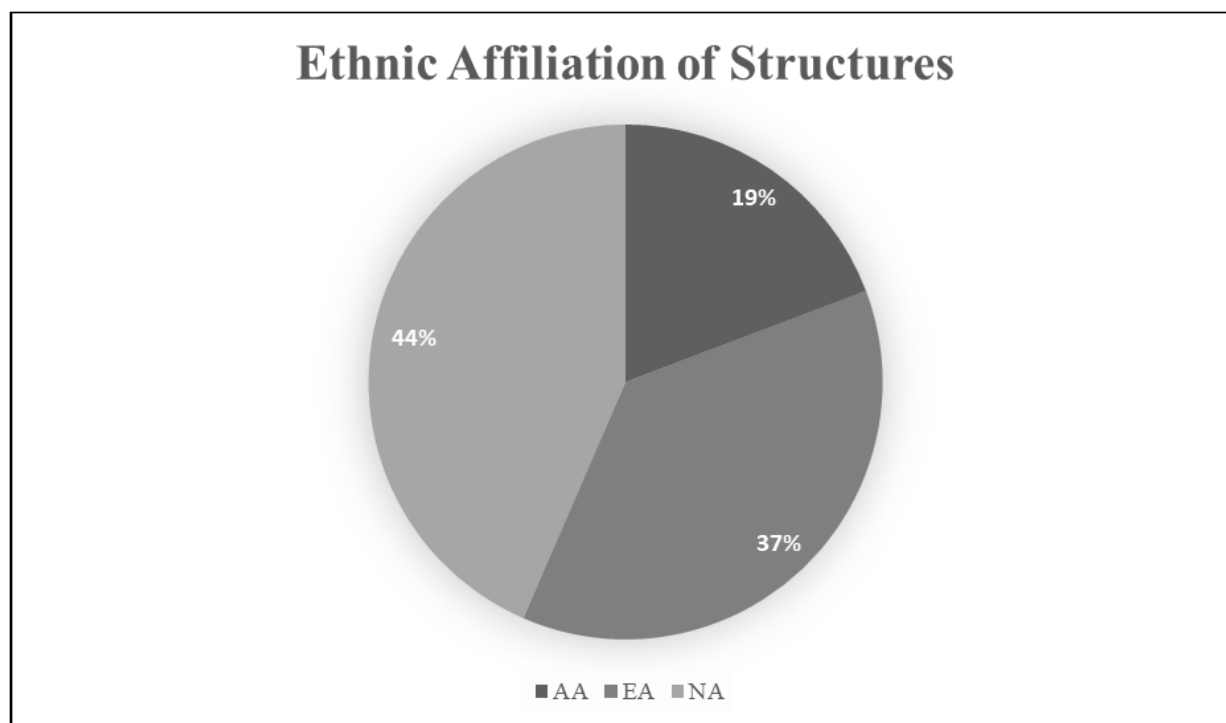


Figure 15. Percentage of structures with pit cellars in distinct ethnic contexts.

Table 19. Ethnic affiliation of non-Indigenous structures.

Ethnic Affiliation of Non-Indigenous Structures	East	%	Total	%
African American	15	27.8	31	30.4
African American/Euro American	2	3.7	9	8.8
Euro American	37	68.5	60	58.8
Multiethnic			1	1
Multiethnic/African American			1	1
Total	54		102	

African American structures primarily served as slave quarters. Some slave quarters later served as servant or tenant dwellings in Middle Tennessee. There was also an outbuilding and tenant dwelling present in the sample associated with a free African American. Other slave quarters were converted to house enslaved African Americans after the owner had constructed a more substantial structure. Euro American structures served as domestic dwellings, military barracks, and outbuildings. Euro American structures after the middle of the 19th century totaled seven examples. Prior to that, slaveholding and non-slaveholding Euro American structures were nearly equal. Military barracks were associated with soldiers while other structures were inhabited by tenants or potential squatters. Immigrants from Germany and Ireland used outbuildings to house cellars in a kitchen and a smokehouse. A Mennonite family likely of German ancestry also had a pit cellar within their timber frame house.

African Americans structures had an average of 1.48 pits per structure (Table 20). African American structures with multiple pits were associated with slave quarters. The highest number of interior pits came from the slave quarters at the Hermitage. African American/Euro Americans averaged 1.66 pits indicating they could be associated with African American use after the conversion of Euro American dwellings into slave quarters, and the likelihood that pits with unknown affiliation were associated with African Americans since they date to after the frontier era. Euro American structures averaged 1.06 pits within structures. Euro American structures with multiple pits were only found at early fortified sites including Bledsoe Station and Tellico Blockhouse. Native American pits within structures averaged 1.2 indicating a slightly higher average than Euro Americans. The Multiethnic/African American pits were associated with a converted dwelling used to house enslaved workers.

Table 20. Average number of pit cellars in structures by ethnic affiliation.

Ethnic Affiliation	Structures	%	Pit Cellars	%	Average
African American	31	17.8	46	21.5	1.48
African American/Euro American	9	5.2	15	7	1.66
Euro American	60	34.5	64*	29.9	1.06
Multiethnic	1	0.6	1	0.5	1
Multiethnic/African American	1	0.6	2	0.9	2
Native American (Cherokee)	72	41.4	87*	40.7	1.2
Total	174		215		1.22

*Includes pit cellar converted into pit with posts at Fort Loudoun.

When arranged by household, a clearer picture of pit cellar use by different groups can be observed (Table 21). These numbers included any interior or exterior pits, paired structures, as well as outbuildings associated with a single household or dwelling space. The highest number of pits per household came from a single slave cabin which possibly served as a temporary structure for the Gowan family, who were of mixed ancestry. Cherokee households also had a relatively large number of pits per household. This may indicate the incorporation of multiple households into these dwelling spaces or the continued use of multiple pits. However, most storage pits were typically located outside of a structure. If all examples of exterior pits were included in the Native American sample, the average would be exponentially higher. In the early 19th century, non-traditional Cherokee log cabins only contained a single interior cellar although exterior storage pits were still used. The next highest number of average pits per household is related to structures that were associated with both Euro American and African American occupants or instances where affiliation was undetermined. These usually occurred in structures that were originally constructed to house the property owners and later converted to slave quarters. The higher number of pits associated with these households could be from use of these pits by both groups or it could be that multiple pits were constructed within the structures after conversion to slave housing. These numbers might also point to the potential for unknown structure affiliation to in fact be related to African American occupation. Regardless, it is on average with the total average of pit cellars per household in the state. Euro Americans pits nearly averaged a single pit per structure. Only one pit at Tellico Blockhouse was associated with another pit within a single dwelling space.

Table 21. Average number of pit cellars per household by ethnic affiliation.

Ethnic Affiliation	Households	%	Pit Cellars	%	Average
African American	36	20.6	48	22.3	1.33
African American/Euro American	9	5.1	11	5.1	1.22
Euro American	65	37.1	66*	30.7	1.01
Multiethnic	1	0.6	1	0.5	1
Multiethnic/African American	1	0.6	2	0.9	2
Native American (Cherokee)	63	36	87*	40.5	1.38
Total	175		215		1.22

*Includes pit cellar converted into pit with posts at Fort Loudoun.

Chronology

Structures with pit cellars changed over time in relationship to structure type, ethnic affiliation, and construction types (Tables 22-23). Early examples were mainly located within Euro American households when comparing non-Indigenous groups. Later, structures with pits were evenly divided between African American slave quarters and Euro American dwellings during the first half of the 19th century. African American tenants additionally used pit cellars after Emancipation though the number of Euro American structures with pits constructed in the late 19th century substantially surpasses it. Outbuildings also increased in use during the 19th century. A single example from the 20th century was also recorded. The only other structure constructed during the 20th century with a pit cellar was recovered from a tenant dwelling of unknown affiliation.

Changes over time similar to that noted by Morgan (1990) were observed in the data. During the 18th century, construction of pit cellars was strictly associated with log buildings. In the early 19th century, log still remained the preferred construction method for buildings correlated with pit cellar construction. Barracks were also constructed of log and include one post-in-ground structure likely constructed of log rather than a frame building. Frame and brick structures also began to be constructed with pit cellars during the early 19th century. Over time, frame structures replaced log during the late 19th century. Brick buildings only represent a small proportion of structures with pits. Most of these were found at the Hermitage in which several brick buildings were used as slave quarters. Overall, pit cellars were primarily associated with log construction. Frame buildings with pit cellars were also principally constructed in the late 19th century but to a lesser extent than log was used previously.

Table 22. Frequency of non-Indigenous structures associated with pit cellars arranged by construction date.

Ethnic Affiliation	1750-1774	1775-1799	1800-1849	1850-1899	1900+
African American					
Dwelling, Slave Quarter		3	25		
Dwelling, Tenant				2	
Outbuilding				1	
African American/ Euro American					
Dwelling, Slave Quarter			4		
Dwelling, Temporary Housing/ Slave Quarter			3		
Dwelling, Tenant					1
Outbuilding, Unknown				1	
Euro American					
Dwelling		3	17	13	
Dwelling, Station		10			
Military Barracks	1	1	1		
Outbuilding		1	7	5	1
Multiethnic					
Dwelling		1			
Multiethnic/African American					
Dwelling, Temporary Housing/ Slave Quarter		1			
Total	1	20	57	22	2

Table 23. Frequency of non-Indigenous construction types associated with pit cellars by construction date.

Construction Type	1750-1774	1775-1799	1800-1849	1850-1899	1900+
Dwelling					
Log		12	10	3	
Frame			1	7	1
Brick			1		
Dwelling, Slave Quarter*					
Log		4	18		
Frame			2		
Brick			5		
Outbuildings					
Log		1	2		
Frame			1	3	
Brick			1		
Military Barracks					
Log	1	1	1		
Total	1	18	42	13	1

*Includes temporary structures later used as slave quarters.

Over time, Cherokee structures change from paired winter and summer dwellings to include rectangular and square dwellings as well as log cabins and outbuilding pits with posts (Table 24). Pit cellars were primarily used in structures during the English colonial period. The incorporation of pits with posts also exploded during this period and they continued to be constructed through the end of the 18th century. At this time, rectangular 3-bay dwellings and log cabins were the preferred types of structures constructed with interior pit cellars. In at least five instances, pits with posts were found in association with structures that contained interior pit cellars as well. Three other instances showed evidence of multiple pits with posts potentially associated with a single structure. However, it is more likely that the structures associated with them were not recovered. These observations correlate with previous assessments of structural change associated with the Cherokee (Schroedl 1986; Marcoux 2012).

Table 24. Cherokee structures associated with pit cellars arranged by construction dates.

Structure Description	Early English Contact 1650-1669	English Contact 1670-1744	English Colonial 1745-1775	American Revolution 1776-1794	American Federal 1795-1818
Paired Winter/ Summer Dwellings	3	4	6		
Rectangular Segmented 3-Bay Dwelling			3	1	1
Rectangular (Single) Dwelling			3	1	
Square (Single) Dwelling			1		
Outbuilding Pits with Posts		3	37	1	5
Log Cabins			1		2
Total	3	7	51	3	8

Chapter 6

Pit Cellars

My research documented a total of 214 pit cellars in Tennessee (Table 6, p. 103). Examples by division produced 145 pits in East Tennessee, 65 pits in Middle Tennessee, and 4 pits in West Tennessee. East Tennessee had the largest number of pit cellars due to the inclusion of Native American pits. Cherokee pit cellars only occurred in East Tennessee and were the only Native American pits represented in the sample. West Tennessee had the lowest number of pit cellars found during the survey comprising only about 2% of the sample and potentially points to regional differences between the Lowland and Upland South as described previously in Chapter 3.

Pit Affiliation

The ethnic affiliation of those who utilized subfloor pits was divided among several groups that primarily included African Americans, Euro Americans, and Native Americans (Table 25; Figure 16). Additionally, pit users included a multiethnic family who traced their ancestry to Europe and Africa, and a pit that was used by Euro Americans at Fort Loudoun and later converted into a Cherokee pit with posts. If the affiliation was unknown or ambiguous, it was categorized by potential representative ethnic groups. This categorization included cases of temporary structures later used as slave quarters.

The largest number of pits were recovered in Native American contexts in East Tennessee (n=86). Forty-three percent of pits recorded in distinct ethnic contexts were Cherokee (Figure 17). Twenty-four were documented at Chota in Monroe County. An additional

Table 25. Pit affiliation by region.

Ethnic Affiliation	East	%	Middle	%	West	%	Total	%
African American	18	12.4	29	44.6	1	25	48	22.4
African American/Euro American	2	1.4	8	12.3	1	25	11	5.1
Euro American	38	26.2	25	38.5	2	50	65	30.4
Euro American/Native American	1	0.7					1	0.5
Multiethnic			1	1.5			1	0.5
Multiethnic/African American			2	3.1			2	0.9
Native American (Cherokee)	86	59.3					86	40.2
(Traditional)	80	55.2					80	37.4
(Non-traditional)	6	4.1					6	2.8
Total	145		65		4		214	

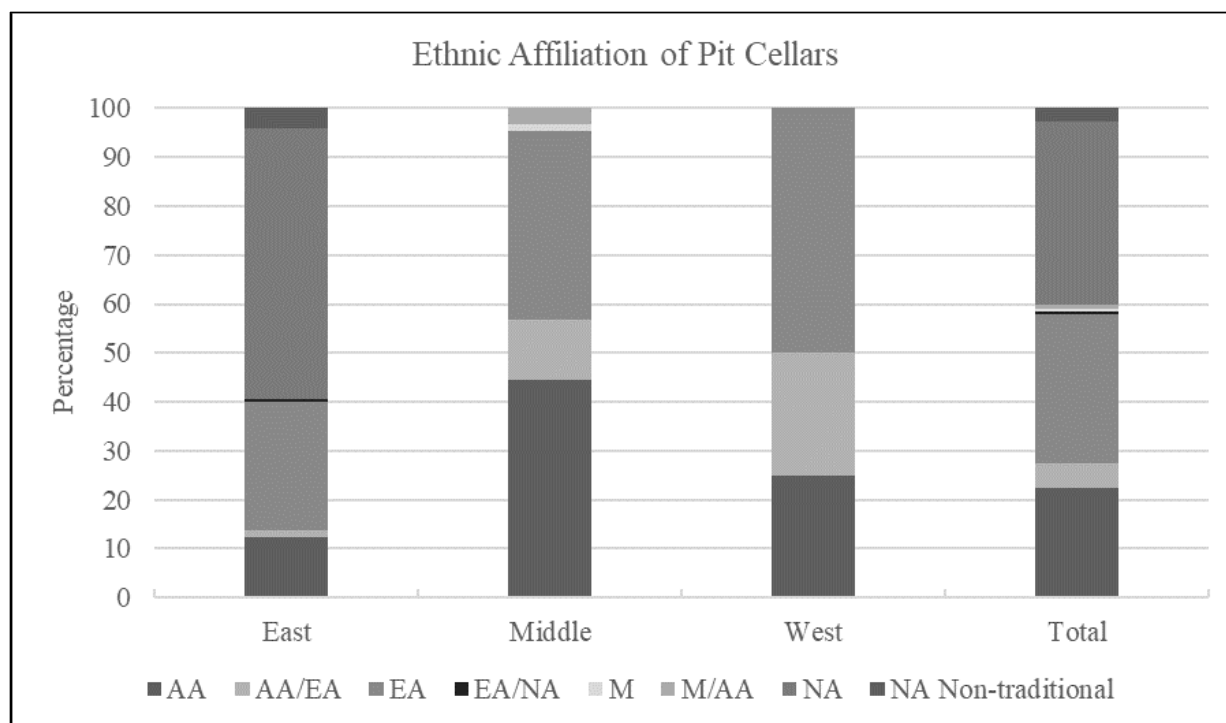


Figure 16. Ethnic affiliation of pit cellars by region.

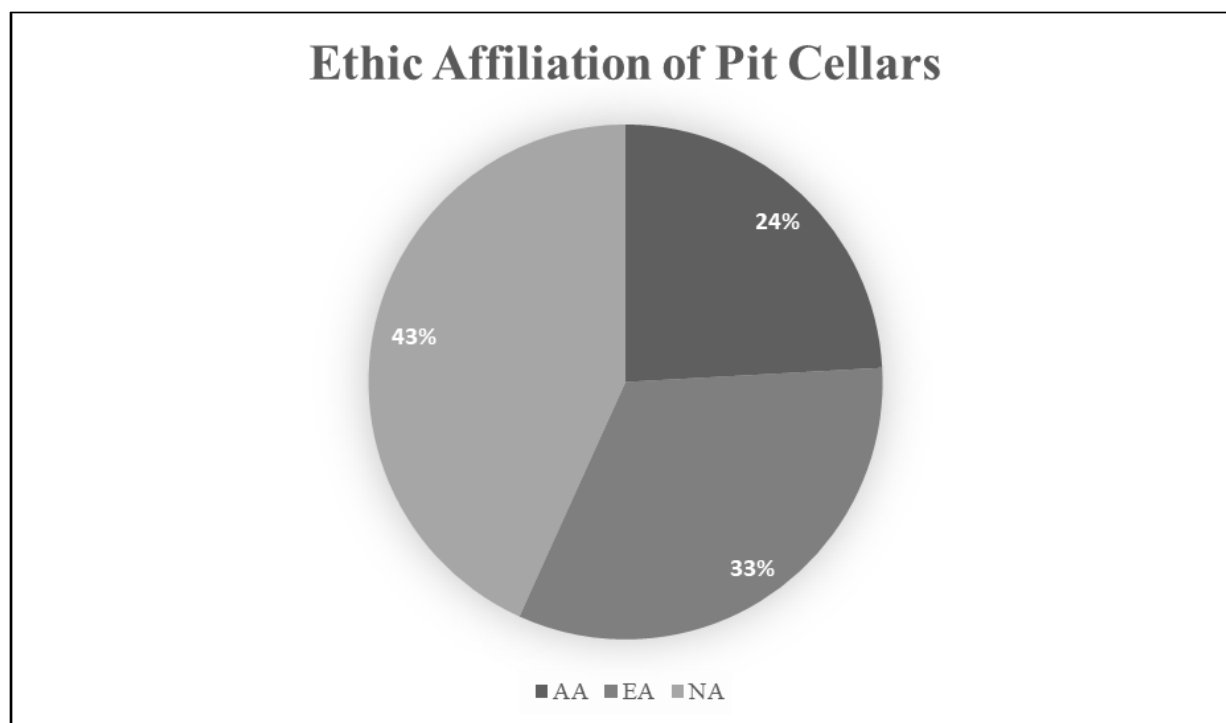


Figure 17. Percentage of pit cellars in distinct ethnic contexts.

converted pit cellar was also associated with the Cherokee. The number of pit cellars in Middle Tennessee exceeds that of East Tennessee if Cherokee examples are removed (Table 26). The Middle Tennessee examples also included 27 pit cellars from the Hermitage adding weight to the sample. If this single site were removed, East Tennessee would have the highest frequency of pit cellars by region with 59 non-Indigenous pits. It additionally shows that half of the incidence of pit cellar use is among Euro Americans.

African American pit cellars totaled 48 with a majority recovered in slave quarters. Eleven examples in Middle Tennessee continued to be used after Emancipation when African Americans later worked as tenant farmers or servants. An additional three examples were associated with African American tenants. The highest proportion of African American examples comes from Middle Tennessee due to excavations at the Hermitage in which 24 pits associated with enslaved African Americans and later tenants were documented. Three others were associated with the Jackson family. East Tennessee had 18 pit cellars typically found within single households. Half of these were found within slave quarters at the Perry (n=6) and Mabry sites (n=3) in Knox County.

African American/Euro American pit cellars were generally of indeterminate affiliation. Most of these pits were found in Middle Tennessee. Three structures served as temporary dwellings for Euro Americans and their slaves later to be converted strictly into slave quarters. In these cases, pits could have been employed by Euro Americans and later used by African Americans or the pits were constructed after conversion to slave quarters. Dating the pit's construction was difficult because of the short occupation of the temporary residents. Two residences were also found with pit cellars that could have belonged to squatters or their enslaved workers.

Table 26. Ethnic affiliation of non-Indigenous pit cellars.

Ethnic Affiliation	East	%	Total	%
African American	18	30.5	48	37.5
African American/Euro American	2	3.4	11	8.6
Euro American	39*	66.1	66	51.6
Multiethnic			1	0.8
Multiethnic/African American			2	1.6
Total	59		128	

*Includes pit cellar later converted into pit with posts at Fort Loudoun.

Sixty-five pits were found in Euro American contexts and were largely recovered from East Tennessee. Pit cellars were largely associated with slaveholding Euro Americans. It should be noted that in these contexts, it is probable that enslaved African Americans were also using these pits especially in cases where they were placed in outbuilding cellars or kitchens. Pit cellars in non-slaveholding context during the antebellum period were also popular. Three of these were in contexts associated with potential squatters. Most slaveholding Euro Americans who had pits lived in Middle Tennessee while most were non-slave owning in East Tennessee. Seven Euro American pits were constructed after Emancipation and tabulated separately. Two pits found in Knox County were associated with non-slaveholding immigrants from Germany and Ireland. A Mennonite family likely of German ancestry also constructed a pit cellar within their home in Knox County. Three pits were also linked with late-19th-century tenants. Four other pits were related to soldiers at fortified military sites in East Tennessee. One additional pit cellar was found in a Euro American military context and was also later transformed into a Cherokee pit with posts.

Pits labeled as associated with multiethnic households were associated with the Gowan family from Davidson County who were wealthy planters that owned slaves and ascribed to a Euro American lifestyle. One pit was found within their hall and parlor home as well as another two pits associated with a structure that served as a slave quarter and possibly as a temporary dwelling for the family prior to completion of their larger home. Another two pits were associated with a kitchen/slave quarter on the property occupied by African Americans.

Native Americans utilized pit cellars more often than any other ethnic group. These were primarily associated with traditional Cherokee households in the Overhill towns. Another six non-traditional Cherokee pits were recovered from two additional contexts.

Form

Types

The form or composition of pit cellars was analyzed by examining type, size, shape, and alterations such as lining, entries, shelving, or partitions. Types of pit cellars recorded during the survey were organized by location within or outside of dwelling spaces and by size. Types of pits associated with dwelling spaces included interior and exterior pit cellars. Pits can also be subdivided by surface area to include small and large pits based on previous definitions. Small pits were considered to have an estimated surface area less than 28 sq. ft. while large pit cellars were classified as having an estimated area of 28 sq. ft. or greater based on DAACS (2014) classification of subfloor pits. Interior pits were located directly beneath a dwelling space. Exterior pits were located outside of the extent of the dwelling and included exterior pit cellars, outbuildings, and pit with posts. A couple of pits could possibly represent an icehouse or privy but were recorded as potential pit cellars in the original documentation. There were also a few instances that were difficult to distinguish if the pit was within a dwelling or represented an exterior storage pit or a pit with posts. Some interior pits in Cherokee buildings also had posts likely used to support the structure above and were classified as interior pits with posts.

When plotted by region and ethnic affiliation, a few trends are evident (Table 27). In Middle and East Tennessee, the occurrence of pit types was relatively similar in African American and Euro American contexts. Interior small pits were preferred overall, but about 40% of those were Native American. Large pit cellars were the dominant type, especially in East Tennessee, if excluding Native American pits. In West Tennessee, three out of four pit cellars were large. In Middle Tennessee, there was a preference for smaller pit cellars.

Table 27. Pit cellar types arranged by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/ Ethnic Affiliation	Interior	Small	Large	Exterior, Small	Outbuildings	Small	Large	Pits with Posts	Small	Large
Region										
East	86	37	43	5	9	1	8	46	13	33
Middle	56	33	23	2	7		7			
West	4	1	3							
Ethnic Affiliation										
African American	44	20	24	3	1		1			
African American/ Euro American	10	5	5		1		1			
Euro American	51	21	30		14	1	13			
Euro American/ Native American	1		1					1		1
Multiethnic	1		1							
Multiethnic/ African American	2	1	1							
Native American (Cherokee)	37	30	7	4				45	13	32
(Traditional)	35	28	7					45	13	32
(Non-traditional)	2	2		4						
Total	146	77	69	7	16	1	15	46	13	33

Within dwelling spaces, Euro Americans had a slight affinity for larger pit cellars. In East Tennessee, 23 large pit cellars and seven small pit cellars were found. The frequency was the reverse in Middle Tennessee with a total of 13 small pit cellars and six small pit cellars recorded. Smaller pits were preferred in Euro American contexts in the central region of the state and this size difference could be due to variations in class among small farmsteads and large-scale planters between East and Middle Tennessee. East Tennessee was comprised of more small farmsteads than plantations, while Middle Tennessee consisted of more large farms and plantations. Wealthier families likely would not have utilized pits as frequently since they would have had other means of storage, including outbuildings, and larger dwellings with basements. African Americans also preferred larger cellars in East Tennessee though storage in multiple pits within the same dwelling space was more common in Middle Tennessee. In Middle Tennessee, small and large pits within African American dwellings were both used in similar amounts. African American/Euro American pits of unknown affinity also used both sizes equally in the state. Several large interior pit cellars were found within Native American contexts, most of which had posts within their bases. All other Native American pits were less than 28 sq. ft.

Small exterior pit cellars were found in East and Middle Tennessee used by African Americans and Native Americans. Euro American use of these pits has been described in contemporary farm journals up through the 20th century (USDA 1966; Gage 2012:46), but none were associated with sites included in this study. While not common, similar pits have been described at other African American sites dating to the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Kimmel 1993:104; Samford 2007:9). Exterior pits, sometimes referred to as root pits, were found within a few feet of a structure and could have been potentially covered with sheds, wood

planks, hides, mats, or soil and hay. Three African American pits were found in relation to slave quarters. Traditional Native American exterior pits were not included in the survey since they were ubiquitous at Cherokee house sites. Several, however, were found in relation to a single non-traditional Cherokee household indicating their continued use in the 19th century.

Outbuildings included outbuilding cellars, kitchens, smokehouses, and a sorghum furnace. These were primarily utilized by Euro Americans including slave and non-slave holding households. Two tenants, one of indeterminate ethnicity and an African American, also had outbuilding cellars. All outbuildings had large pit cellars except a small box located in a pit beneath a sorghum furnace in Knox County.

Cherokee outbuildings were comprised of pits with posts. While smaller pits were preferred within dwellings, pits with posts were over twice as likely to be large. This size difference could be related to household size, the amount of dwelling space, or their use for food storage.

Size

Recorded dimensions of pit cellars included descriptions of length, width, and depth. These values were then extrapolated to calculate surface area and volume estimates based on plan shape (Table 28). Lengths for pits cellars ranged from 0.5 ft. to 20 ft. and averaged 6.7 ft. Widths of pit cellars ranged from 0.3 ft. to 15 ft. and averaged about 5 ft. Small pits about a foot or less on a side were included in the survey since they functioned as storage pits and can provide information about storage preferences among different groups. These were represented by a small rectangular pit used by a Euro American tenant to store an alcohol bottle underneath a building and a few traditional Cherokee storage pits. Depths measured 0.2-5 ft. based on my

Table 28. Dimensions of pit cellars in Tennessee.

Dimension	Range	Mean	Median	SD	Variance
Length (ft.)	0.5-20	6.771	6.45	3.17	10.027
Width (ft.)	0.3-15	5.133	4.8	2.63	6.925
Depth (ft.)	0.2-4.9	1.608	1.4	1.0446	1.091
Area (sq. ft.)	2-250.6	39.729	29.05	42.6705	1820.775
Volume (cu. ft.)	2-900	85.474	39.9	130.7638	17099.18

classification of pit cellars and averaged around 1.6 ft. Shallow pits only a few inches deep likely represent issues with preservation mostly related to Native American pits recorded during the Tellico Project which were either plowed or possibly truncated during stripping. Most pits less than 0.5 ft. deep were used by Native Americans.

Regionally, pit cellars were deeper in Middle Tennessee contexts averaging almost 2 ft. (Table 29). Only indeterminate affiliations were less than 2 ft. in these cases. West Tennessee had the smallest average with four pits measuring a foot or less. In East Tennessee, depths averaged 1.5 ft. with Euro Americans in this division regularly using pits over 2 ft. Here African Americans and Native Americans used shallower pits just over 1 ft. in depth. If Native American cellars are removed, Euro American and African Americans in East Tennessee averaged pits about 2 ft. deep similar to Middle Tennessee. Overall, Euro Americans were associated with deeper pits in the state followed by African Americans. Native Americans consistently used shallower pits than either group.

Surface area for pit cellars averaged almost 40 sq. ft. in Tennessee with a highly variable range from 2-250 sq. ft. (Table 30). West Tennessee indicates that they used above average cellars sizes though this is based upon a small sample. Euro Americans in this region, however, used smaller pits more than other represented examples on par with other regional averages. Pits with larger surface areas were preferred by Euro Americans, especially in East Tennessee. Euro American pits in this region averaged nearly 75 sq. ft. in surface area with a median of 42 sq. ft. Native Americans on average had the smallest surface area than any group with an average of 26 sq. ft. Non-traditional Cherokee used the smallest pits, averaging 15 sq. ft. In Middle Tennessee, averages were fairly equal among groups ranging from 29 to 33 sq. ft. A single large

Table 29. Depth by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/Ethnic Affiliation	Range	Mean	Median	SD	Variance
Region					
East	0.2-4.9	1.503	1.25	1.0358	1.073
Middle	0.4-4.6	1.983	1.8	1.0128	1.026
West	0.5-1	0.8	0.85	0.2449	0.06
Ethnic Affiliation					
African American	0.6-4.4	1.843	1.65	0.8831	0.78
African American/Euro American	0.4-2.6	1.22	0.95	0.7345	0.54
Euro American	0.2-4.9	2.145	2	1.2966	1.681
Euro American/Native American	2.5	2.5	2.5		
Multiethnic	2	2	2		
Multiethnic/African American	0.7-0.8	1.15	1.15	0.495	0.245
Native American (Cherokee)	0.2-4.1	1.204	0.9	0.8146	0.664
(Traditional)	0.2-4.1	1.242	1	0.8218	0.675
(Non-traditional)	0.3-1.8	0.717	0.5	0.5565	0.31
Total	0.2-4.9	1.608	1.4	1.0446	1.091

*Depth measured in ft.

Table 30. Surface area by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/Ethnic Affiliation	Range	Mean	Median	SD	Variance
Region					
East	0.2-250.6	40.142	31.1	143.7352	1912.77
Middle	5.9-171.6	34.808	25.5	34.2301	1171.701
West	24.5-174.1	98.65	98	79.33	6293.257
Ethnic Affiliation					
African American	3.8-174.1	36.873	30.1	33.9277	1151.092
African American/Euro American	7.8-160	46.78	32.35	45.0099	2025.891
Euro American	0.2-250.6	57.016	38.65	60.1217	3614.618
Euro American/Native American	31	31	31		
Multiethnic	171.6	171.6	171.6		
Multiethnic/African American	26.9-32.5	29.7	29.7	3.9598	15.68
Native American (Cherokee)	1.3-74.5	26.307	24	18.2442	332.852
(Traditional)	1.3-74.5	27.104	26.5	18.6483	347.761
(Non-traditional)	10.1-20	15.683	16.85	4.2743	18.27
Total	2-250.6	39.729	29.05	42.6705	1820.775

*Surface area measured in sq. ft.

pit cellar constructed by the Gowan family, however, varied from the norm due to personal choice and possibly the wealth of its owner.

Surface area has also been used to define small pit cellars or subfloor pits. Two sizes of pit cellars, small and large, have been described previously (Faulkner 1986). Small pit cellars are considered to be less than 28 sq. ft. (DAACS 2014). Pits of this size have gained the most attention in previous research on the topic. For this survey, large and small pit cellars were included in the sample to examine differences in use among groups (Table 31). If large cellars 28 sq. ft. or greater had been excluded, then over half of the sample would have been omitted from the survey. Small pit cellar use has primarily been associated with enslaved African Americans. However, African Americans were also using large pits just as frequently in Tennessee. When examining pit cellar affiliation by surface area, it is evident that there is a relatively equal distribution of pit cellar use between large and small pits by representative ethnic groups except Euro Americans and non-traditional Cherokee (Figure 18). This difference in preference is notable in East Tennessee with Euro Americans using larger sized pits and non-traditional Cherokee using smaller pits. No pit larger than 28 sq. ft. was found in non-traditional Cherokee contexts; however, four were exterior pit cellars which were smaller in size than other types. Larger pits were also used into the 20th century more often than smaller pits.

While surface area provides an approximation of size, volume is a more appropriate measurement to compare dimensionality. When surface area is plotted against volume, a better picture of the variability of pit cellar size can be attained (Figure 19). When clustered together, three size gradients are apparent (Figure 20). Pits were generally below 100 sq. ft. in area and 200 cu. ft. in volume. Others were larger than 100 sq. ft. or 200 cu. ft. Outliers larger than this were comprised of Euro American pits cellars found in East Tennessee.

Table 31. Pit affiliation by surface area.

Pit Affiliation	Less than 28 sq. ft.		28 sq. ft. or Greater	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
African American	21	47.7	23	52.3
African American/Euro American	5	50	5	50
Euro American	22	34.4	42	65.6
Euro American/Native American			1	100
Multiethnic			1	100
Multiethnic/African American	1	50	1	50
Native American (Traditional)	41	51.25	39	48.75
Native American (Non-traditional)	6	100		
Total	96	46.2	112	53.8

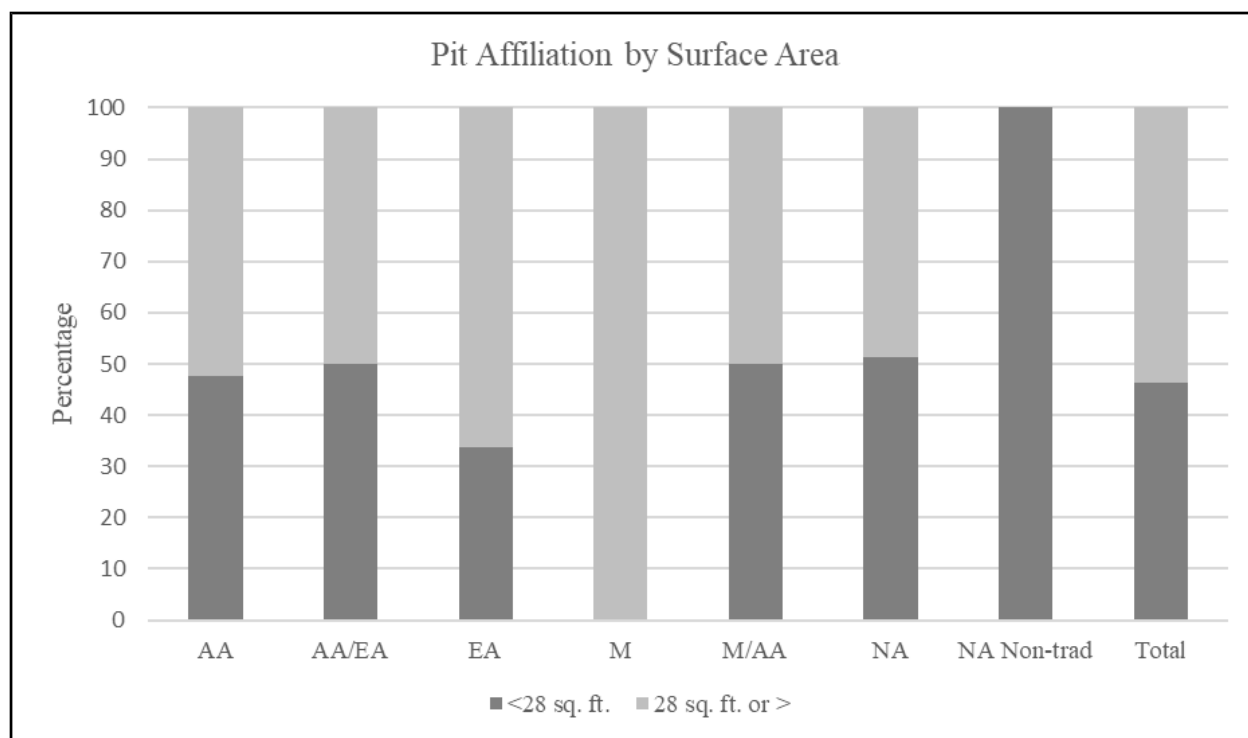


Figure 18. Percentages of pit affiliation by surface area.

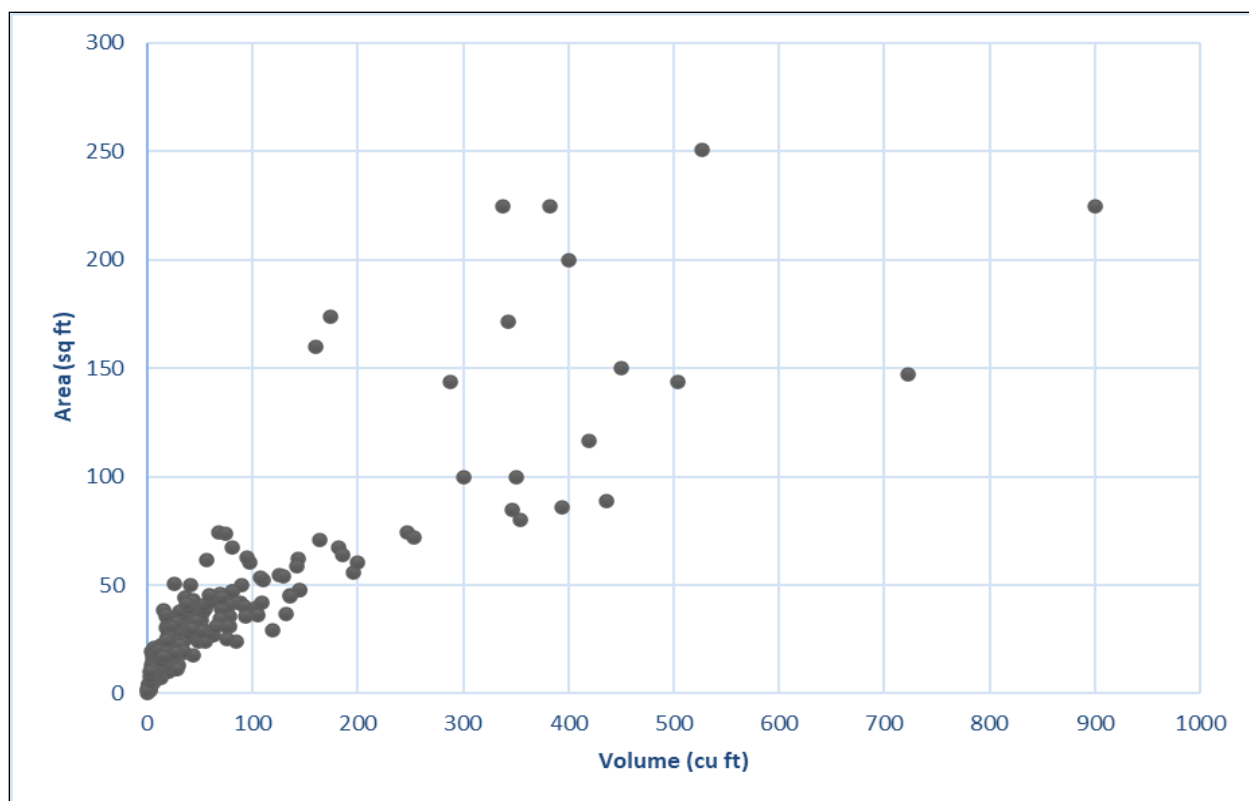


Figure 19. Distribution of pit cellar volume by surface area.

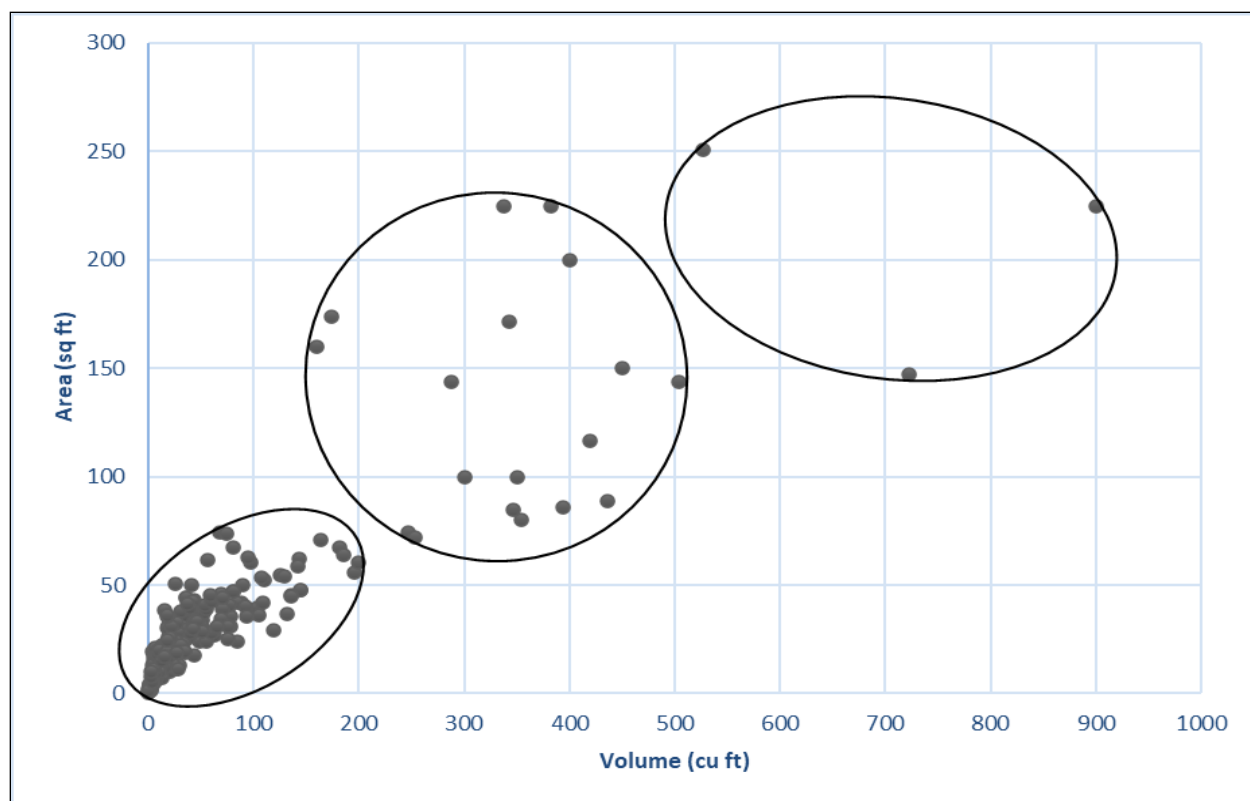


Figure 20. Distribution of pit cellar volume by surface area with clusters.

Volume estimates for pit cellars were highly variable ranging from 2 to 900 cu. ft. with an average of 85 cu. ft. (Table 32). Middle and West Tennessee had comparable averages for volume while East Tennessee measured slightly lower (Figure 21). However, a number of outliers in the data are apparent in East Tennessee since only small Native American pits were found in this division. If just comparing Euro Americans and African Americans, East Tennessee has the largest pits (Figure 22). Additionally, Euro American pits in this region were the largest. The biggest outlier in the data is represented by a conjectured 15 x 15 x 4 ft. unlined pit cellar found at the Bell Site in Knoxville (Faulkner 1997). Only a portion of it was salvaged for excavation, but it was estimated to potentially be a large square pit cellar constructed beneath the pen of a 36 x 18 ft. saddlebag log cabin built in the 1790s (Charles Faulkner 2015, personal communication). Another was recorded at the Tipton-Dixon House in Loudon County, a 45 x 20 ft. two-story frame and brick dwelling built in the early 19th century (Ahlman et al. 1999). It measured 12.5 x 11.8 x 4.9 ft. with brick walls and an exterior entrance that had wooden steps. In Middle Tennessee, Euro Americans also used large cellars relative to other groups. A large pit cellar built by the Gowan family is also represented. In West Tennessee, Euro Americans used smaller cellars than their counterparts. Though the sample size was small, pits associated with African Americans were larger than those strictly identified as Euro American in this region. On average, Native Americans used smaller cellars than African Americans and Euro Americans. Overall, Euro Americans were by far using the largest pit cellars in the state with an average of 182 cu. ft. (Figures 23-24). African American pits follow far behind with 70 cu. ft. and Native Americans at about 40 cu. ft.

Table 32. Volume by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/Ethnic Affiliation	Range	Mean	Median	SD	Variance
Region					
East	0.2-900	83.45	39.3	136.6593	18675.76
Middle	3.1-504	91.377	42	115.6146	13366.74
West	17.2-174.1	92.325	89	86.4774	7478.343
Ethnic Affiliation					
African American	3.8-346.9	70.205	45	79.146	6264.088
African American/Euro American	3.1-160	54.167	32.5	54.2122	2938.965
Euro American	0.2-900	182.38	87	205.7935	42350.95
Euro American/Native American	77.5	77.5	77.5		
Multiethnic	343.2	343.2	343.2		
Multiethnic/African American	26-40.4	33.2	33.2	10.1823	103.68
Native American	0.4-253.1	38.804	23.3	45.5738	2076.974
(Traditional)	0.4-253.1	40.873	26.3	46.6074	2172.253
(Non-traditional)	3-34.6	12.25	9.65	11.4933	132.095
Total	2-900	85.474	39.9	130.7638	17099.18

*Volume measured in cu. ft.

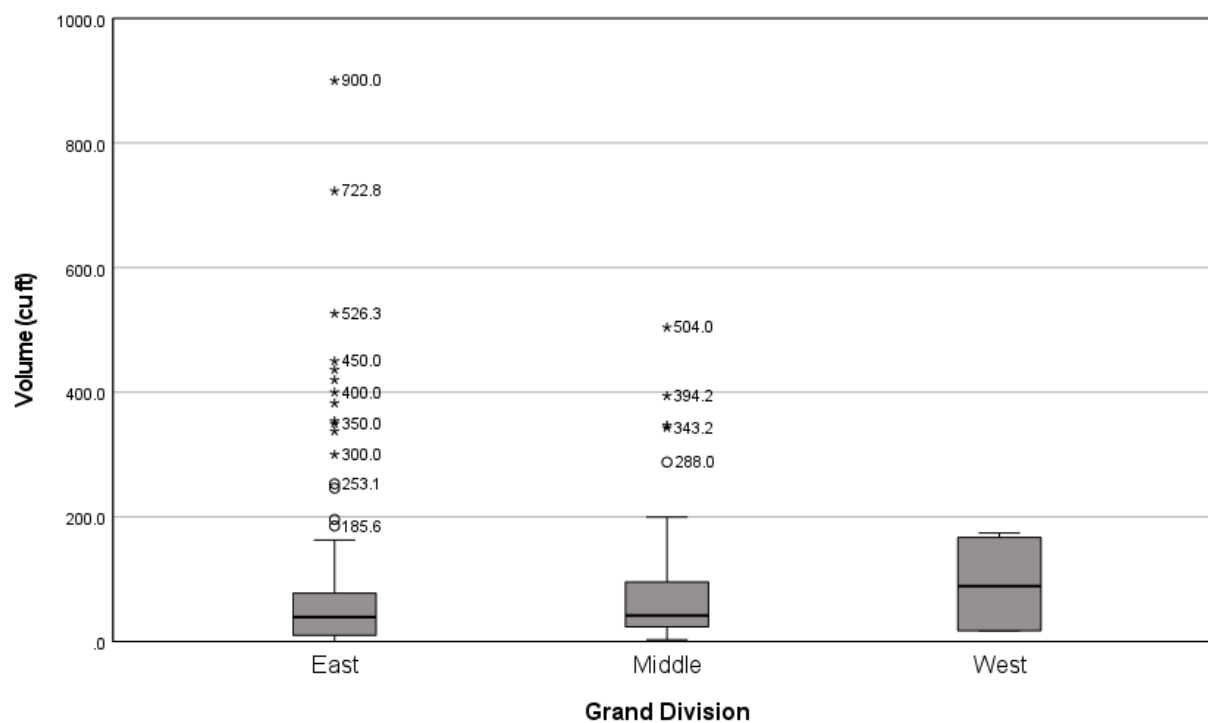


Figure 21. Boxplot of pit cellar volume by region.

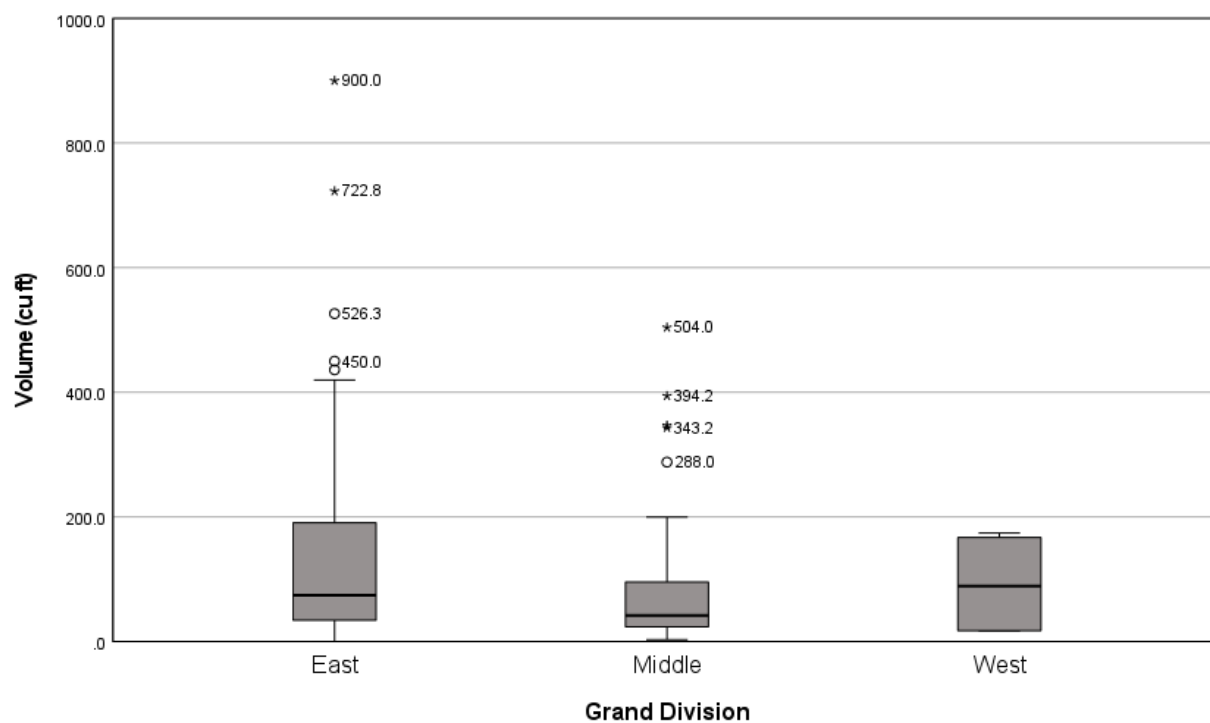


Figure 22. Boxplot of African American and Euro American pit cellar volumes by region.

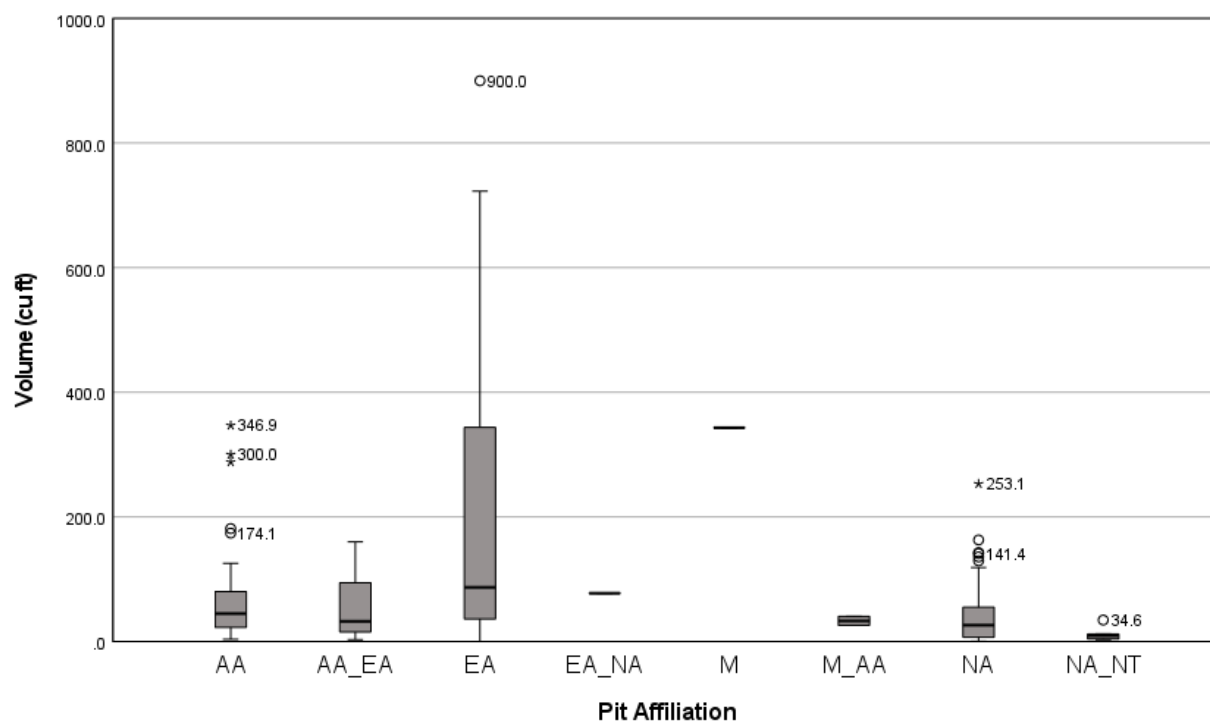
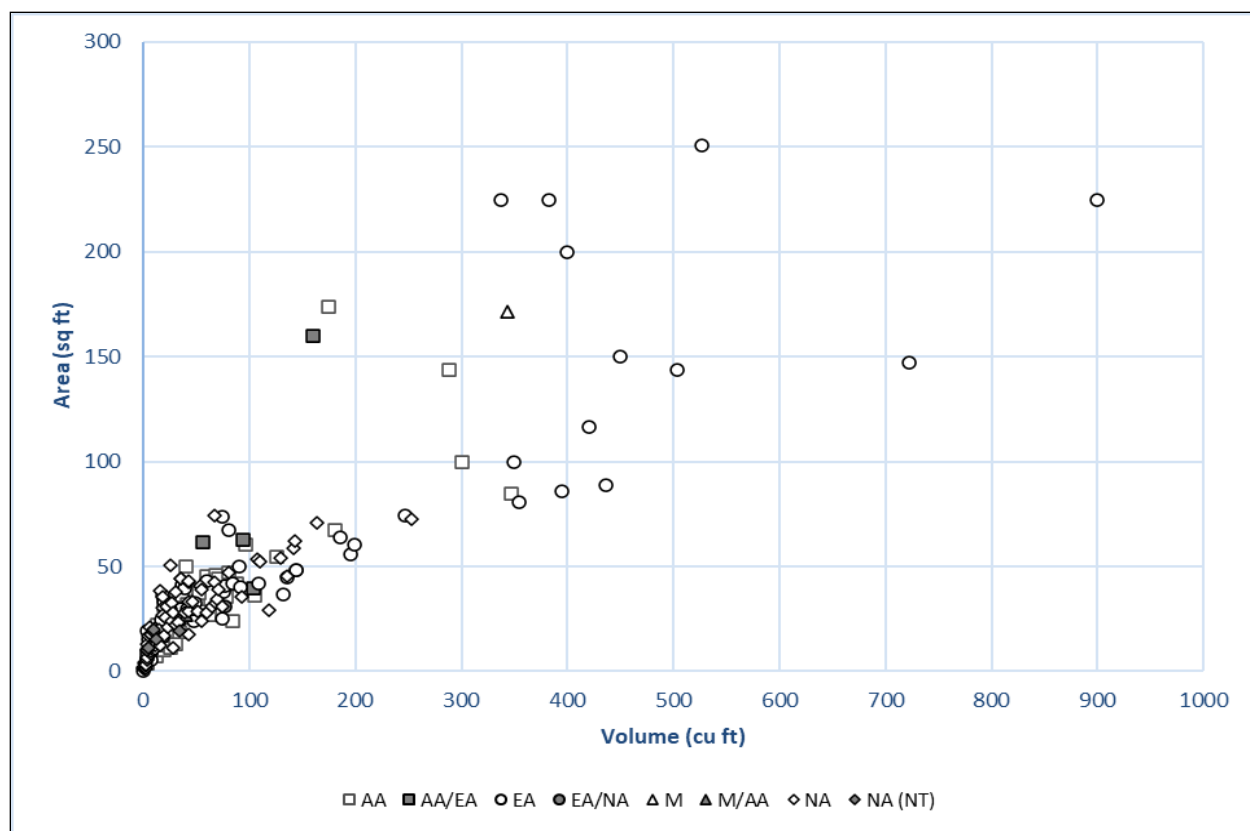


Figure 23. Boxplot of pit cellar volume by ethnic affiliation.



Shape

Shape was analyzed by plan and profile form including corner, wall, and base shape (Table 33). Plan shape included circular, circular/oval, oval, rectangular, and square types. Circular/oval pits were generally circular in shape, but their lengths and widths varied by a few inches. In some cases, pits were also irregular or elongated in shape. Corner shapes include rounded or straight as well as some with irregular edges.

Rectangular pits were the most preferred plan shape comprising nearly 60% of the sample (Figure 25). These often had rounded corners and were typically associated with Euro Americans. All groups used rectangular pits more frequently in all regions except at the Gowan Farmstead in Middle Tennessee (Figure 26). Aside from pits associated with Native Americans, the corners were also angular rather than smooth. Circular and nearly circular pits made up about 10% of the sample and square pits were used just as regularly. Oval pits encompassed about 22% of the recorded pits. Circular to oval shaped pits were used most often in East Tennessee and were preferred by Native Americans. Pits with posts were usually circular to oval or rectangular in shape with two or more posts set within their bases. Non-traditional Cherokee interior pits were square or rectangular while exterior pit cellars were oval or circular. Square pits with straight and rounded corners were used regularly in East and Middle Tennessee by Euro Americans and African Americans.

Profile shape included base and wall shape (Table 34). Base shape included basins, flat bases, and sloped bases. Side shape of the walls were either sloped or straight. Basins were U-shaped, concave pits with sloped walls that occurred more often in Euro American and Native American contexts, especially within East Tennessee. Non-traditional Cherokee used this shape in exterior pits while interior pits were flat and rectilinear. In Middle Tennessee, African

Table 33. Plan shape by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/ Ethnic Affiliation	Circle	Circle/ Oval	Oval	Rectangle	<i>Rounded Corners</i>	<i>Straight Corners</i>	Square	<i>Rounded Corners</i>	<i>Straight Corners</i>
Region									
East	4	17	39	72	44	21	12	5	6
Middle	1		7	48	12	31	8	2	4
West				4	3	1			
Ethnic Affiliation									
African American	1		9	31	12	17	6	2	2
African American/ Euro American				8	4	3	3	1	2
Euro American	1	1	6	47	16	26	9	3	5
Euro American/ Native American				1	1				
Multiethnic							1	1	
Multiethnic/ African American			2						
Native American (Cherokee)	3	16	29	37	26	7	1		1
(Traditional)	3	13	28	36	25	7			
(Non-traditional)		3	1	1	1		1		1
Total	5	17	46	124	59	53	20	7	10

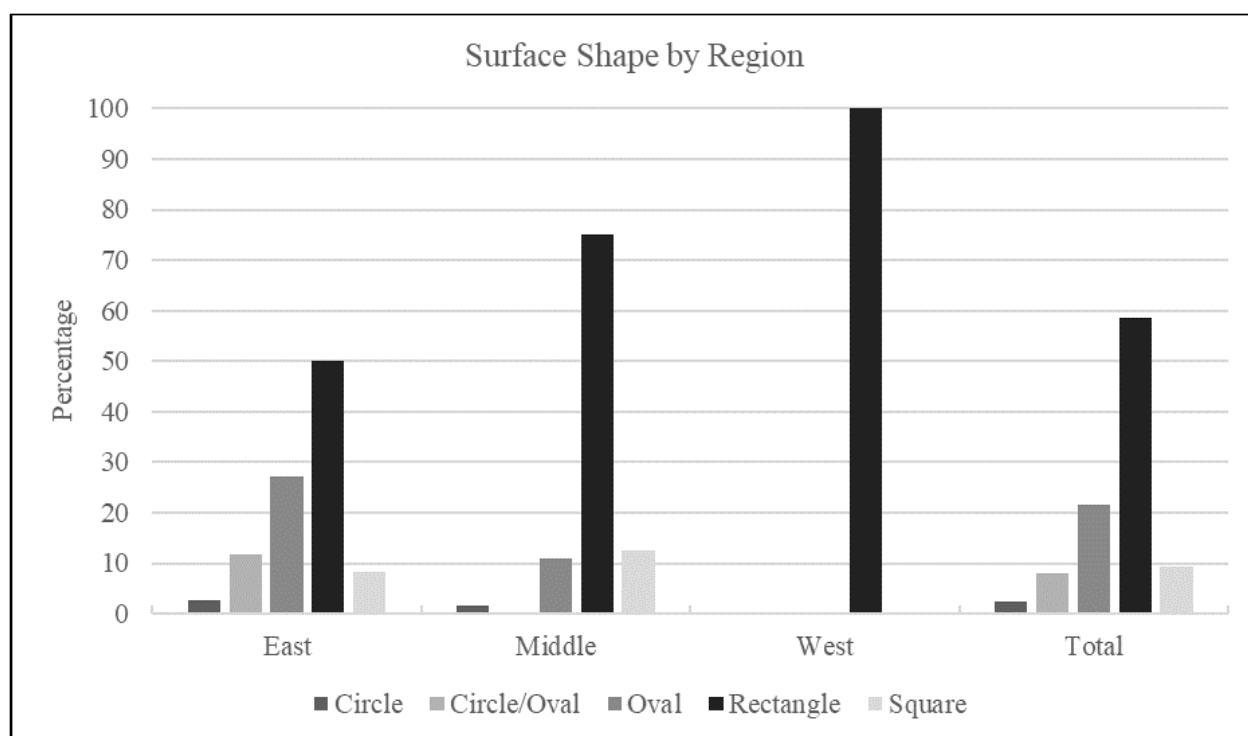


Figure 25. Surface shape by region.

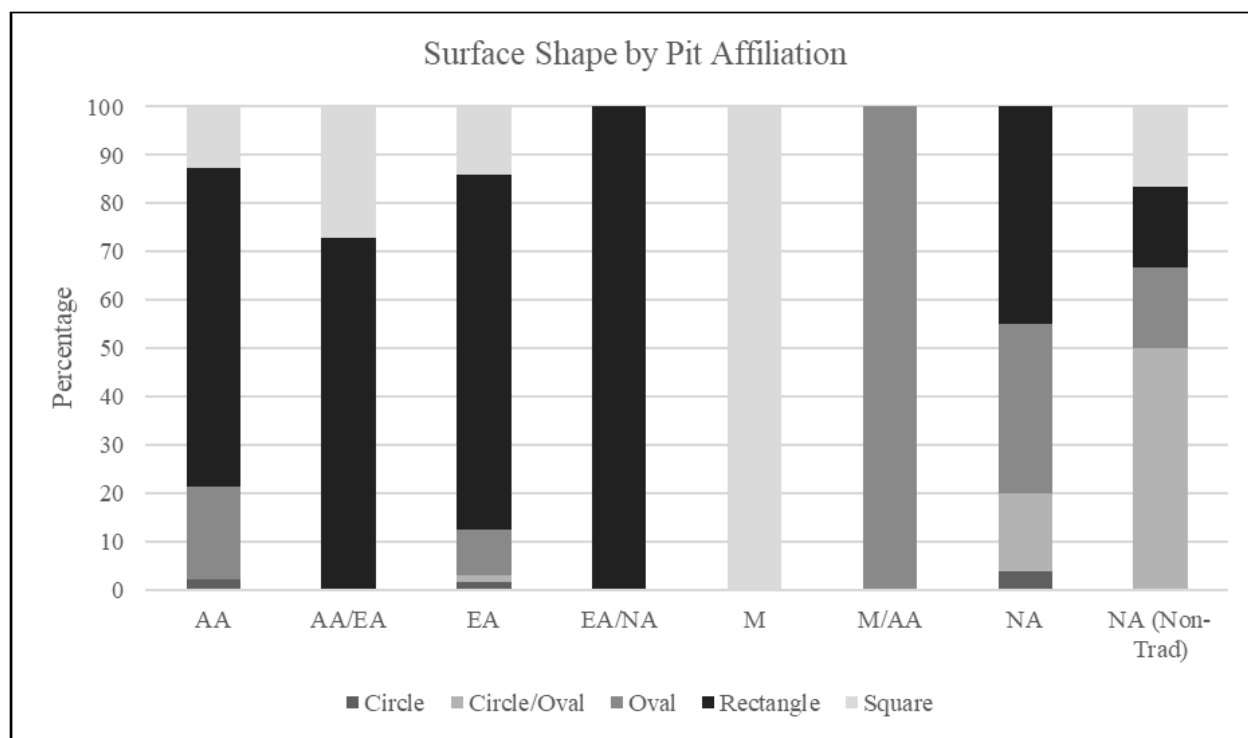


Figure 26. Surface shape by pit affiliation.

Table 34. Profile shape by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/Ethnic Affiliation	Basin	Flat Base	<i>Sloped Walls</i>	<i>Straight Walls</i>	Sloped Base	<i>Sloped Walls</i>	<i>Straight Walls</i>
Region							
East	27	99	25	74			
Middle	11	45	3	42	3	2	1
West		4		4			
Ethnic Affiliation							
African American	8	38	11	27			
African American/Euro American	2	7	1	6			
Euro American	12	39	6	33	2	1	1
Euro American/Native American		1		1			
Multiethnic					1	1	
Multiethnic/African American	2						
Native American (Cherokee)	14	63	10	53			
(Traditional)	10	61	9	52			
(Non-traditional)	4	2	1	1			
Total	38	148	28	120	3	2	1

Americans used basins and pits with level bases more often. Bases were generally flat with straight walls in all contexts. Sloped walls in pits with flat bases only occur more regularly in East Tennessean African American pits. Sloped bases were flat but at an angle to create a deeper section at the base of the pit. These were possibly used to create a cool space, a sump to collect moisture, or in one case the floor could have sloped towards a potential entry. These were only found in a few cases in Middle Tennessee. One pit in downtown Knoxville had a flat base and contained a circular hole in its floor that extended down to bedrock (Carnes 1983). The secondary pit was beneath a floor lined with horizontal wooden boards and it is possible that it served as a sump to collect excess moisture. It is also possible this pit was part of an icehouse; however, no additional evidence to support this conclusion was found aside from the pit recovered at its base.

Overall, the survey shows there was an inclination for rectangular pits with flat bases and angular walls or corners in Tennessee. To simplify a discussion of pit shape, pits with rectangular and square plan shapes are referred to as rectilinear pits, while circular and oval pits are referred to as curvilinear. When combining surface and plan shape, it is evident that rectilinear pits with flat bases predominated (Table 35). Flat bases were also preferred for curvilinear pits especially at Native American sites.

When examining size, square and rectangular pits were larger than other forms (Figure 27). Square pits, in particular, were greater in size than any other type and were preferred for large pit construction. Rectangular pits also fall within this range but on average were smaller than square pits. Oval to circular pits were smaller than these types and were used commonly at Cherokee sites. Depths were also generally shallower for curvilinear pits than rectilinear pits (Table 36). The three pits with sloped bases were the deepest pits on average since they extend

Table 35. Pit cellar shape by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/Ethnic Affiliation	Curvilinear Basins	Curvilinear with Flat Bases	Rectilinear with Flat Bases	Rectilinear with Sloped Bases	Rectilinear Basins
Region					
East	20	32	67		7
Middle	6		44	3	5
West			4		
Ethnic Affiliation					
African American	5	5	32		3
African American/Euro American			7		2
Euro American	5		39	2	7
Euro American/Native American			1		
Multiethnic				1	
Multiethnic/African American	2				
Native American (Cherokee)	14	27	36		
(Traditional)	10	27	34		
(Non-traditional)	4		2		
Total	26	32	115	3	12

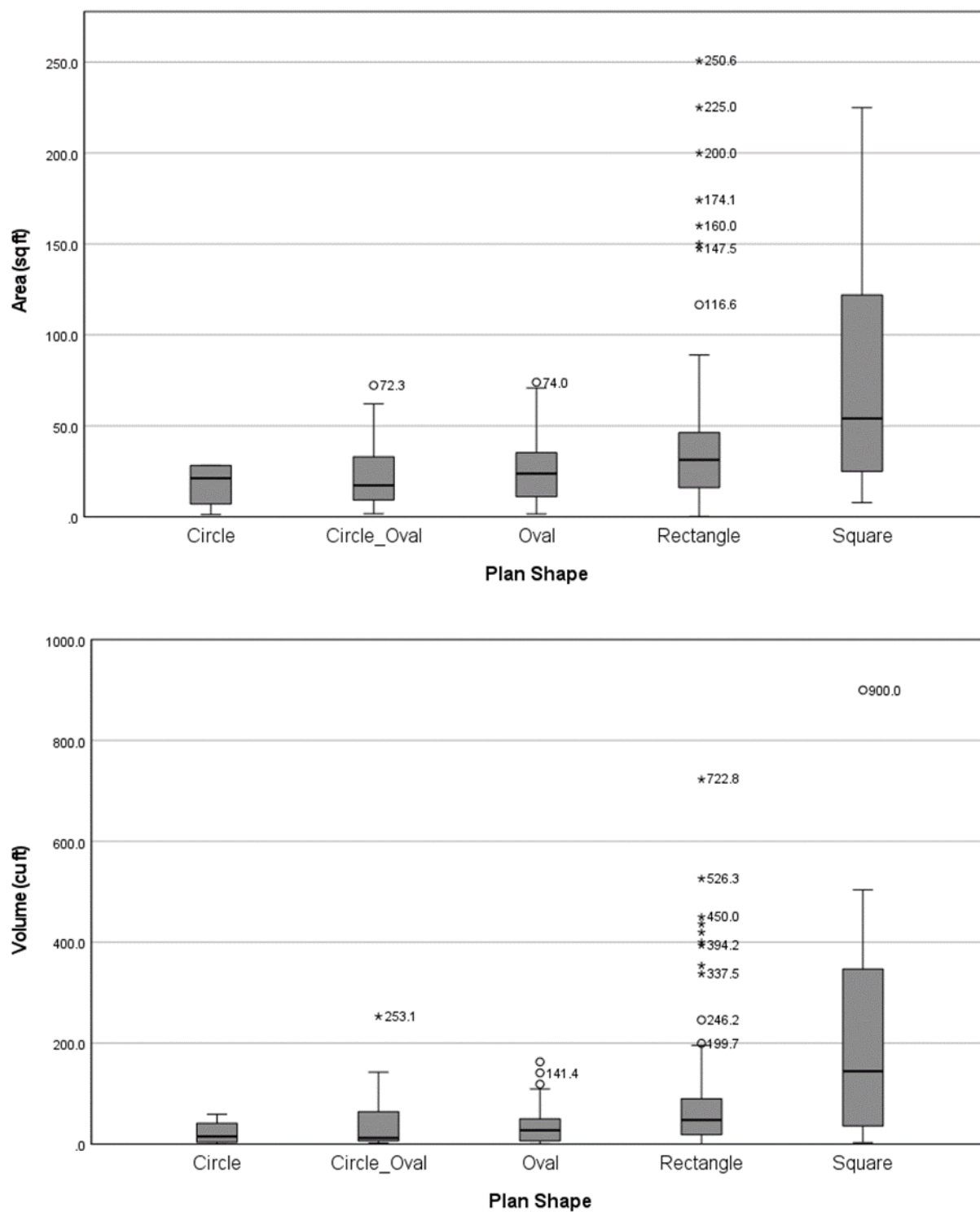


Figure 27. Plan shape by area and volume.

Table 36. Pit shape frequency and size estimations.

Shape	Count	Average Depth (ft.)	Average Area (ft.)	Average Volume (ft.)
Curvilinear Basins	25	0.95	18.41	22.67
Curvilinear with Flat Bases	32	1.56	28.87	52.81
Rectilinear with Flat Bases	115	1.8	41.86	101.51
Rectilinear with Sloped Bases	3	2.06	91.1	193.33
Rectilinear Basins	12	1.39	76.03	130

to a greater depth on one side (Figure 28). Pits with flat bases were excavated deeper than basins. Rectilinear pits were also larger and deeper than curvilinear pits on average.

In most cases, if multiple pits occurred within a structure, they were of similar size (small or large) and shape. In several cases, pits of different sizes occur within the same structure. These occurred at slave quarters including some which served as temporary dwellings for Euro Americans.

Alterations

Linings

Sixty-five pit cellars exhibited alterations or enhancements including lining, partitions, entries, shelves, and renovations. A majority of pits were unlined (84.1%). However, 34 pits (15.9%) were recorded with lining (Table 37). Linings were found within small and large rectilinear pits in dwellings, several outbuildings, and in a few pits with posts. Lining was used to support the walls of the pit, reduce moisture, and protect from insects or rodents. These included fully lined or partially lined pits that had lining on either the wall or the floor. Lining for pits was comprised of brick, brick and stone, stone, and wood. One pit was lined with metal.

Fully-lined pits were lined with brick, metal, or wood. In a few cases, they had wooden floors with brick or metal walls. One outbuilding cellar had a brick wall lining coated with concrete and a concrete-lined floor constructed during the early 20th century. Partially-lined pits were lined with brick, stone, and more often wood. One had a combination of brick and stone wall with a clay floor. Partial linings were usually along the wall, but a few had examples with strictly wood floors with single examples of stone or brick floors. Wall lining was comprised of

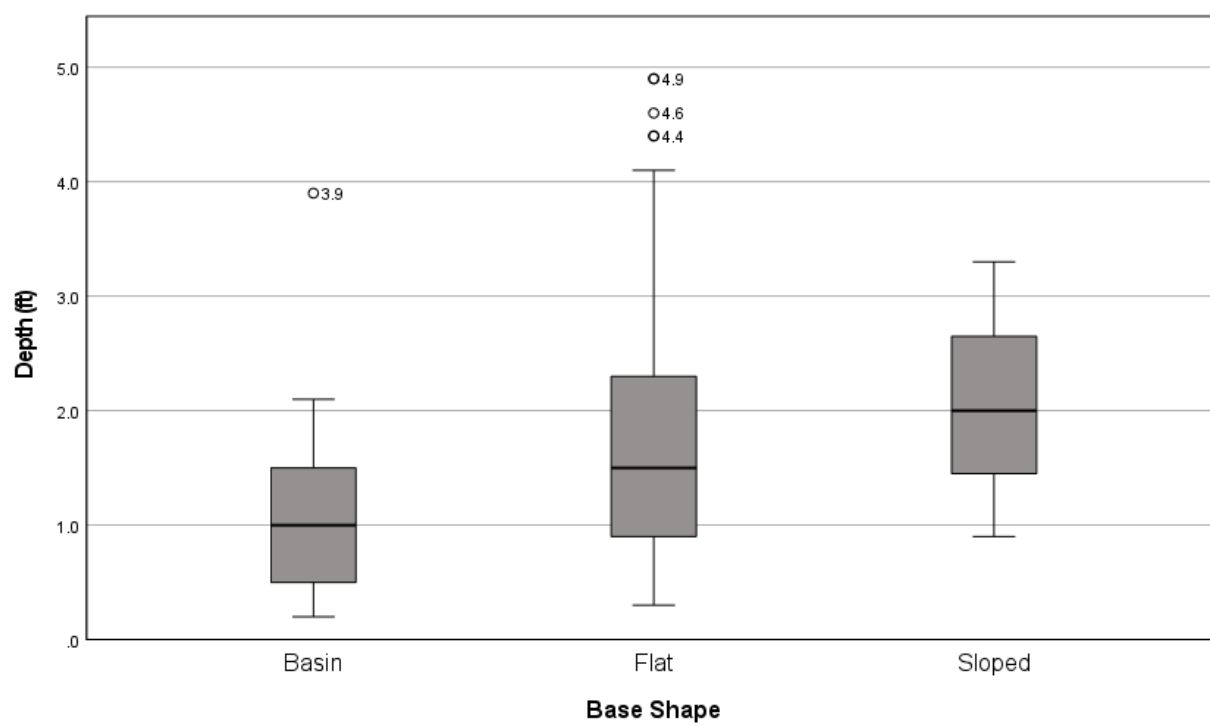


Figure 28. Base shape by depth.

Table 37. Pit cellar linings by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/ Ethnic Affiliation	Unlined	Lined	Fully Lined	Partial Lining	Wall Lining	Floor Lining	Brick	Brick/Stone	Stone	Metal	Wood
Region											
East	133	12	4	8	4	4	4	1	2		5
Middle	43	22	9	13	12	1	12		3	1	6
West	4										
Ethnic Affiliation											
African American	32	16	7	9	8	1	10		1	1	4
African American/ Euro American	8	3		3	3		1				2
Euro American	52	13	6	7	5	2	5	1	4		3
Euro American/ Native American	1										
Multiethnic	1										
Multiethnic/ African American	2										
Native American (Cherokee)	84	2		2		2					2
(Traditional)	78	2		2		2					2
(Non-traditional)	6										
Total	180	34	13	21	16	5	16	1	5	1	11

brick, stone and brick, and wood. Floors were lined with wood, stone, and one with a partial brick floor in one side of a partitioned pit cellar.

Brick was the principal lining type preferred followed by wood and stone. Brick-lined pits were sometimes mortared and comprised of one to three courses of brick. Other times, bricks were dry laid and stacked along the walls or floors. Two examples had mortar lining the brick walls. Mortar also lined a limestone and brick cellar found at the Collier Site.

At the Oaklands Mansion, an exceptionally large brick-lined outbuilding pit cellar contained three courses of brick and a whitewashed interior (Hinshaw 1976) (Figure 29). The pit cellar was constructed at the rear of the mansion during the early 19th century near an outbuilding kitchen. It likely had a building of frame or brick above it used as a storage room and the pit's walls could have potentially served as its foundations. Due to the inconclusiveness of the building which stood above the pit and its classification as an outbuilding, the pit cellar was considered an outbuilding cellar in the survey rather than a foundational cellar. The pit also contained possible shelving, a potential sump, and had wooden steps for an exterior brick-lined entrance.

A majority of brick-lined pits were excavated at the Hermitage slave quarters (n=10 of 16) (Figure 30). The large number of brick-lined pits at the site is tied to the fact that bricks were likely readily available to the enslaved residents. The construction of the mansion and a number of multi-plex brick quarters, as well as an on-site brick kiln, likely provided the excess bricks utilized by the enslaved residents to line their pits. In general, nearly half of the lined pits were found at the site. Other linings consist of wood, stone, and metal. An outbuilding kitchen semi-attached to the mansion contained a stone-lined pit cellar while other types were found in slave quarters.



Figure 29. Partially re-excavated portion of a brick-lined outbuilding cellar at the Oaklands Mansion (Image courtesy of the author).



Figure 30. Brick-lined pit cellar at the Hermitage Triplex slave quarter (Image courtesy of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, Nashville, TN).

A single metal-lined cellar was also found at the Hermitage (Figure 31). The pit was located underneath the South Cabin, an early to mid-19th-century brick duplex quarter. It was initially hypothesized that the pit represented a buried chest or trunk; however, the depth and form of the pit indicated it was simply lined. After the pit was excavated, a thin white metal-lining was added, and soil was filled in between the remaining gap. It is possible the pit was used prior to the addition of lining as well. Cedar sticks were also found at its base which likely supported a wood plank floor. While unusual, metal would have served the same purpose as other types of lining. The metal for this cellar potentially came from excess roofing material from the mansion. Zinc shingles were purchased in 1835 after a fire damaged the roof (Everett 2019). It is also possible that the pit was associated with the plantation's blacksmith who would have had access to metal and been able to transform it into an efficient lining.

Wood-lined pits were the second most preferred type of lining and usually only partially lined a pit. Evidence of the wooden lining was typically fragmented or only indicated by the presence of impression marks or nails. Wood lining was normally in the form of boards/planks or sticks. One pit with posts possibly had a floor covered with bark or sticks while another had wood planks at its base. Charred grass or cane and their impressions were also found at the base of a few pits with posts which could represent lining material or covers for the pit. Another pit at the James White Second Home Site contained evidence of a wooden box that was buried in a pit within a canning or storage room at a sorghum furnace (Faulkner 1984). Two wood-lined pits at the Barry Site in Sumner County had wood board walls that potentially extended to the building's floor above (Pace 2004). Wood was used by all ethnic groups, but Native Americans only used wood as their lining material, specifically on floors.



Figure 31. Metal-lined pit cellar excavated at the Hermitage South Cabin slave quarter (Image courtesy of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, Nashville, TN).

Five examples of pit cellars with stone lining were recorded during the survey usually lining the walls. One wall was also lined with brick and stone with a plaster/mortared coating. Lining was usually comprised of dry laid, cut, limestone blocks. Bedrock also served as the portion of a stone-lined wall in one example. In a few cases, pits in slave quarters were set within limestone foundations that bordered a portion of the top of the pit (Figure 1, p. 4 and Figure 32). The stone extended from the hearth and was used to support the floor surrounding the pit or a trap door, indicating the pit cellars were probably included in the planning of the structures or constructed later to specifically support a trap door.

In East Tennessee, lined pits were only recovered from Euro American sites and two Native American sites. In Middle Tennessee, there were more lined pits due to the Hermitage examples. However, East Tennessee had 12 examples exceeding non-Hermitage pits in Middle Tennessee. Generally, lined pits were used most often by African Americans at the Hermitage. Aside from the Hermitage pits, a majority of lined pits were used by Euro Americans who utilized brick, stone, or wood as construction materials for their pits. No lined pits were found in West Tennessee. It is unusual that more pits in the region with lining were not recovered since it was assumed that the siltier soils would have made it more difficult to construct and maintain pit cellars from collapse.

Partitions

Several lined pits at the Hermitage also had partitions within them dividing the interior to create two- to three-chambers. Three pits in Cabin 3 at the field quarters were likely part of one pit that was divided into separate pits by partitions (Figure 1, p. 4). Partitions could have been used to support a pit's walls or to separate foodstuffs. These pits were usually renovated by

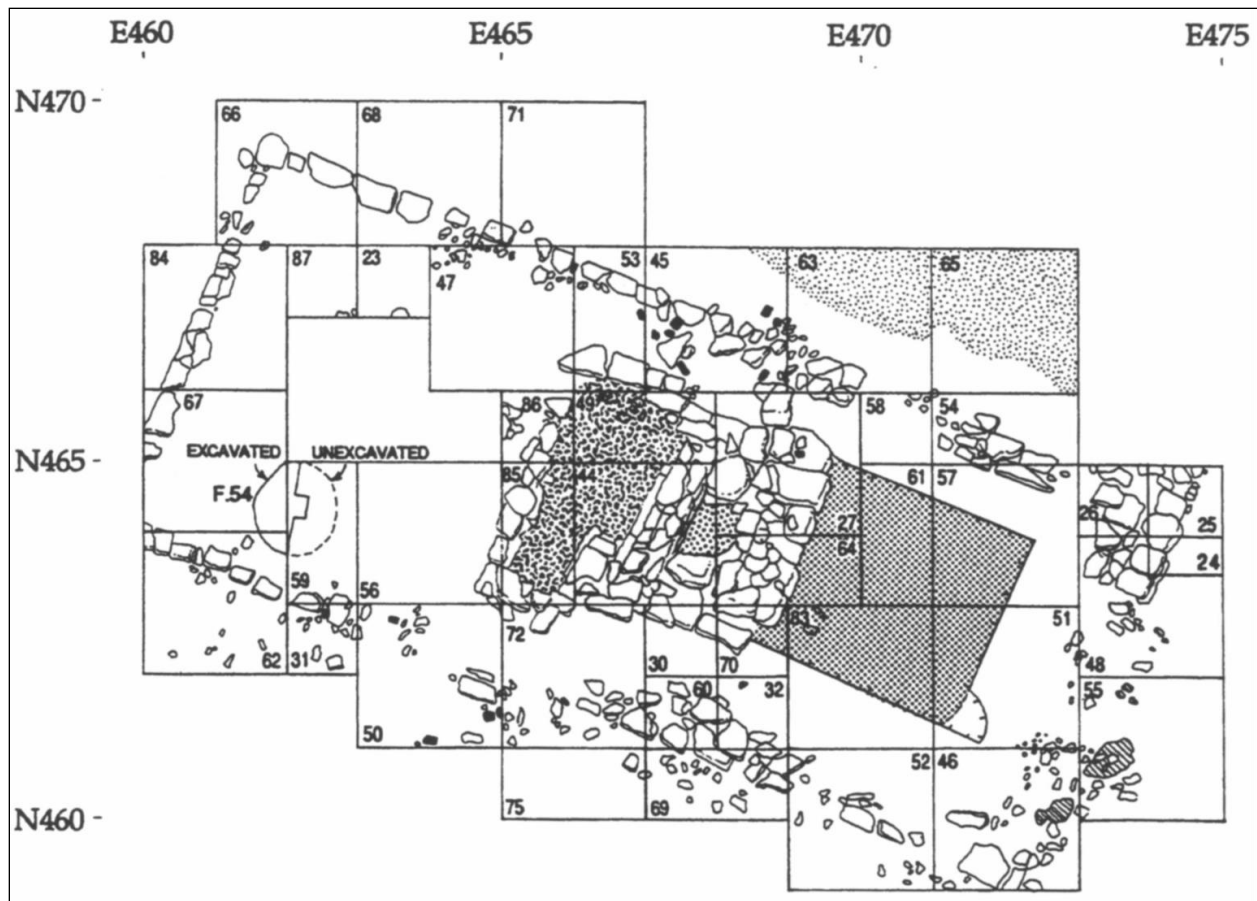


Figure 32. Plan view of pit cellars excavated at one of the Gowan Farmstead slave quarters (Weaver et al. 1993:58, Figure 13). This building also possibly served as a kitchen for the Gowan's.

adding brick or wood lining after initial use of the pit. The addition of cross-walls could provide extra structural support to reinforce the walls. All partitioned pits were also hearth adjacent and were likely used to store food. Partitions could have served as a means to separate different types of foods. Certain fruits and/or vegetables cannot be stored together, or degassing could affect flavor or accelerate spoilage (USDA 1966). One side of a partitioned pit was about a foot deeper than the other, suggesting it could have also been used as a cooling pit. However, due to the circumstances in which they were used, partitions more likely functioned to divide storage spaces among different members within enslaved households. While not found at other sites in Tennessee, other examples of partitions have been found at enslaved contexts in Virginia (Samford 2000:26).

Entries

Rectilinear pits with flat bases, which sometimes contained linings and steps, also on occasion had entries cut into the soil to access the pit from within or outside the building (n=16) (Table 38). Entries averaged about 5 ft. in length and 3 ft. in width and were on average about 3 ft. deep with about a 100 sq. ft. area. Entrances only occurred in large pits cellars which were usually entered from outside of the building. It is also possible that most pits with external entries also had access to the pit through the floor as well. Pits with internal entries were found in a few instances in East Tennessee. Most entries in general were located in East Tennessee and more frequently occurred in Euro American contexts throughout the state. However, a single slave quarter also had a large cellar with an exterior entry (McKelway 1994). The Cherokee, however, did not utilize this type of access. None were found in West Tennessee.

Table 38. Pit cellar alterations by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/ Ethnic Affiliation	Entries	Interior	Exterior	Unlined	Lined	Brick	Stone	Steps	Brick	Wood	Clay	Shelves
Region												
East	13	3	4	9	4	3	1	7	3	1	3	5
Middle	3		1	1	2	1	1	2		2		6
West												1
Ethnic Affiliation												
African American	3	1	1	2	1		1	1			1	3
African American/ Euro American												2
Euro American	13	2	4	8	5	4	1	8	3	3	2	5
Euro American/ Native American												
Multiethnic												1
Multiethnic/ African American												
Native American (Cherokee)												1
(Traditional)												1
(Non-traditional)												
Total	16	3	5	10	6	4	2	9	3	3	3	12

Pits with linings regularly had lined entries. Entry linings were comprised of brick and stone. One brick entry was lined with concrete similar to the pit lining. Steps were constructed of brick, wood, or clay. Clay steps and other unidentified steps likely were made of wood which did not preserve. Clay steps only occurred in unlined pits. One example had a sloped brick floor in the entry where wooden steps were likely positioned.

One unlined pit at Tellico Blockhouse had two stone-lined entries with clay steps (Polhemus 1979). This pit also was unusual in that it had two exterior entries, one that exited towards the interior of the fort and one that led to the exterior (Figure 33). Another foundational cellar not included in the survey at Fort Southwest Point, a late-18th- to early-19th-century federal military fort, also had this same configuration (Smith 1993). The entries were likely used to access materials for trade to Native Americans outside of the fort. It is also possible one was added later as a renovation.

Shelves

Evidence of shelving was also found in a dozen rectilinear pits. These usually had flat bases and typically occurred in large pit cellars. Clay benches or ledges were found in 10 pits which could have been used as shelving to store goods off of the floor (Figure 34). Benches or shelves could have also been used to support boards that covered the pit (Samford 2000:26-27; Fesler 2004:291). In a couple of instances, these could have also served as steps to enter the pit. A few examples were shallow pits or cuts directly adjacent to the pit cellar that were likely used as storage shelves or steps. Evidence of wood shelving was also found inside two large pits lined with brick or stone. These were possibly used to store canned goods. One had a few bricks extending out from its wall possibly used to support shelving and another had stone at its base



Figure 33. Square pit cellar at Tellico Blockhouse with two stone-lined entries (Polhemus 1979:42, Plate VII).

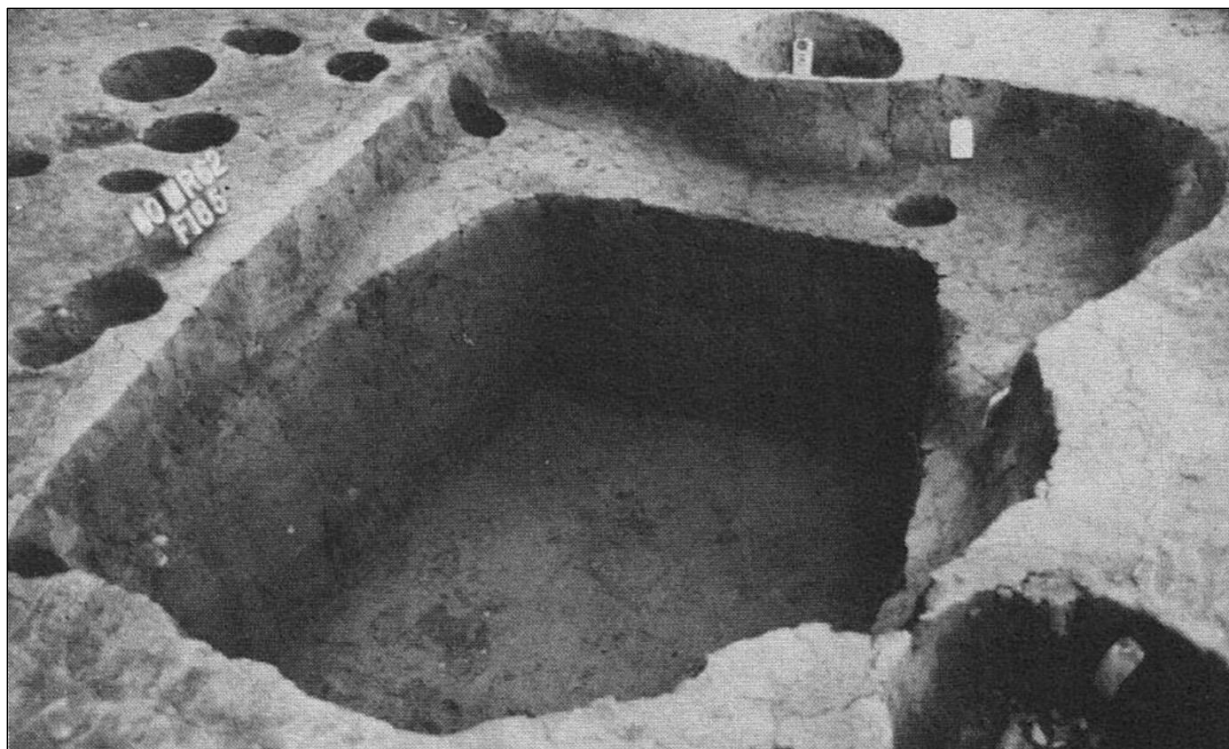


Figure 34. Cherokee pit with posts with annular bench at Tanasee (Schroedl 1986:76, Figure 2.42). The bench was either added or possibly utilized an intruded pit's edge as a shelf.

possibly used to support a wooden shelf. Another small wood-lined pit excavated into a borrow pit had a clay bench. Pits also likely had goods stored along their top edge as described by Eldon Ellenburg, a 20th-century resident of Knox County (Faulkner 1986). Shelving was found in pits used by all groups throughout the state but was most prevalent in Euro American pit cellars in East Tennessee.

Renovations

Pit cellars in East and Middle Tennessee were sometimes renovated or reconstructed to improve or refurbish the cellar. Renovations were often tied to other changes on the site including expansion of a building or construction of a new dwelling. Changes in household and family size also influenced these transformations. Pits were also renovated if their walls were unstable.

A total of 29 pit cellars had evidence or potential evidence of renovations. Renovations included expanding the pit, adding lining, and/or cleaning of the cellar. Thirteen had lining added or refurbished. Additional posts were also sometimes added to the base of pits with posts indicating the superstructure was rebuilt or repaired.

In three instances, pit cellars were reconstructed over previous pits cutting into their fill. These intrusive pit cellars were found at slave quartering sites and one possible squatter's residence of uncertain affiliation. One of these pits was excavated at the Hermitage and another at the Perry Site, an early 19th-century small plantation, in Knox County. Comparable to the Hermitage in Middle Tennessee, the Perry Site had eight pit cellars documented during excavations (Avery et al. 2015). One was associated with a temporary dwelling for the Perry family who also later erected a kitchen outbuilding that contained another pit cellar. Six pits

were also found in association with potentially four different slave quarters. While similar in scale, the Perry site differs from the Hermitage in that all of the pits were unlined and African American pits were mostly oval pits with flat bases.

Renovated pits occur more often in African American slave quarters and point to their importance and continued use over time in these contexts. Overall, pits were used over longer periods of time if renovated. Average use dates were calculated based on estimated date ranges and equaled 42.6 years for renovated pits while non-renovated pits averaged 37.3 years of use. However, sometimes pit cellars were used for multiple generations.

One pit cellar at the Collier Site in Knox County was used for about 150 years by three different families and renovated multiple times. During the early 19th century, a stone-lined pit cellar was constructed underneath a double-pen log cabin which served as the primary residence (Meyers 2001). During the middle of the 19th century, a large frame I-House was erected on the property and the cabin was converted to an outbuilding kitchen which potentially served as a slave quarter. During the late 19th century, a rear ell addition was constructed over the cellar. A portion of the stone-lined cellar was unstable, potentially because of water seepage, and a new chimney was constructed in a section of the cellar. A brick dividing wall was erected and part of the cellar was abandoned and filled. The remaining cellar was then extended with a brick lining and an exterior bulkhead entrance was installed to create a smaller space. The cellar was thought to originally incorporate the foundation into its walls. However, renovations to this cellar ultimately created a brick- and stone-lined pit cellar with an entry. A slave quarter on the property also had a pit cellar. This pit was, however, unlined and smaller than the contemporaneous pit cellar in the dwelling and later detached kitchen.

An Irish immigrant family at the Roddy House site in Knoxville cleaned and refurbished their pit cellar during its use (Faulkner 1986). The site contained an 8 x 8 ft. pit cellar located in an outbuilding believed to be a kitchen. Within the pit cellar, which was originally unlined, a layer of sand and small pine logs were found lining its base (Figure 35). The pit was believed to have been constructed in the early 1820s and renovated or “sweetened” in the 1850s to help better preserve food (Faulkner 1986:58-59). The use of sand in a pit cellar would reduce moisture, protect items, and preserve foodstuffs (Gage 2012). Another stone-lined pit at the Hermitage kitchen outbuilding also had sand below its stone-lined floor which could have possibly been used to level its base and/or help with drainage (Brown 1972).

At Fort Loudoun, an unlined, rectangular-shaped pit was reconstructed into a pit with posts. The pit was originally constructed underneath a barracks which is believed to have temporarily housed soldiers during the early occupation of the fort. After the structure had been dismantled, the pit was left exposed, and a series of thin strata were deposited at its base. At a later point, it was then converted to an outbuilding pit with posts. Kuttruff (2010) attributed this later construction to the occupants of the fort; however, the strata, artifacts, and context of pit with posts point to this being a Cherokee creation that had been constructed within the open pit. A fired area was also found at the base of the pit with posts at Fort Loudoun. Fired areas were also found within 16 other exterior pits with posts. A possible fired area was also found within the base of an interior pit with posts. These usually consisted of ash, charcoal, and/or oxidized clay found in the center of the pits. It is possible the fires were used for processing foods or used to dry or harden the pit’s floor and walls. Five pits with posts were also refurbished and had multiple posts at their bases from renovations.

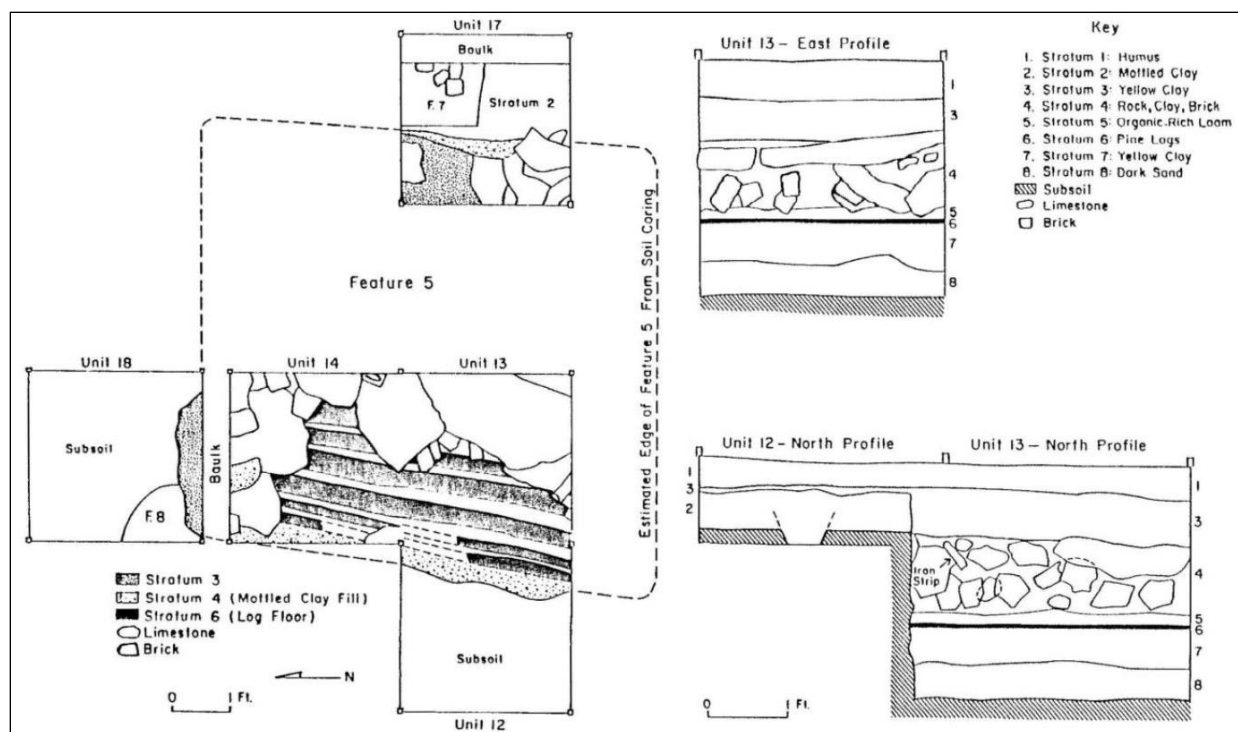


Figure 35. The Roddy House outbuilding pit cellar excavation plan and profile (Faulkner 1986:58-59, Figures 2 and 3).

Location

The location of pit cellars within or around dwelling spaces was recorded and compared between groups in different regions. Exterior pits were placed in direct association with a structure a few feet outside of the building's extent. Pit cellars in outbuildings, including outbuilding cellars and pits with posts, were all centrally located underneath the superstructure. Within interior dwelling spaces, pits were placed in several locations including near the hearth, in the center of the building, off-center, near the wall, and in the corner of a room. Hearth adjacent pits were situated either in the front or to the side of a hearth. Some centrally located pits also were located near the hearth. Off-center pits were generally in Native American dwellings near the center of the building, though they were not centrally located.

The placement of pit cellars within dwellings has also been associated with function. Samford (2007) believes that hearth-front pits were used primarily for food storage due to their warm, dry conditions. Shallow pits away from the hearth, along the walls, in corners, or centrally located, were more likely to have been used for personal storage space or shrines (Samford 2007). Centrally located pits could have served as food or personal storage spaces as described by a Mennonite farmer in Knox County (Faulkner 1986). Deep pits away from the hearth could also have been used as cool cellars to preserve food (Fesler 2004:299).

Overall, African American and Euro American pits were primarily found adjacent to hearths (Table 39), while Native American pits were usually found near a wall or were off-center and not in direct association with a hearth. In East Tennessee, pits located near walls were preferred, especially by African Americans and Native Americans. In Middle Tennessee, there was a distinct preference for hearth adjacent pits. Pits associated with the Gowan's in Middle Tennessee were, however, located near the wall. Others on-site were hearth-front in a slave

Table 39. Pit location within dwelling spaces.

Region/Ethnic Affiliation	Hearth Adjacent	Central, Hearth Adjacent	Central	Off-Center	Wall	Corner
Region						
East	8	5	5	10	25	4
Middle	23	2	8	1	7	3
West	1		2			
Ethnic Affiliation						
African American	12	2	7		6	
African American/Euro American	1		1		1	2
Euro American	17	4	3	1	4	4
Multiethnic					1	
Multiethnic/African American					2	
Native American (Cherokee)	2	1	4	10	18	1
(Traditional)	2	1	4	10	17	1
(Non-traditional)					1	
Total	32	7	15	11	32	7

quarter which also served as a potential kitchen for the Gowan's (Figure 32, p. 196) (Weaver et al. 1993). Pits in the center of dwelling spaces and by walls were also used regularly. They were sometime large and covered a sizeable portion of the interior floorplan and in a few instances cellars near a wall stretched the entire length of its extent. West Tennessee had pits located near the hearth at a Euro American site while an African American and unaffiliated pit were both situated in the center of the building.

The Cherokee used circular and rectilinear structures and placed them in different places than other groups. In circular structures, pits were frequently found near the wall or off-center. In rectangular or square buildings, pits were found primarily along the wall. The location of these pits was less likely related to its function, but rather due to the fact that floors were likely dirt or potentially covered with hides or matting. Pits along the wall would allow for more functional interior room space. A non-traditional pit cellar was also found near the wall similar to traditional Cherokee placement preferences.

Pit cellars near hearths were generally smaller and shallower than non-hearth adjacent cellars (Table 40). This result is likely due to their use for food preservation and the creation of dry, warm conditions preferred for certain types of foods. A small, shallow space in front of the firebox would have utilized the maximum amount of heat available. However, consistent temperature and humidity conditions might have been harder to maintain. Deeper pits maintain more uniform temperatures (Samford 2000:159; Fesler 2004:298). Deeper non-hearth adjacent pits were likely used for more stable conditions. Hearth adjacent pits also showed more evidence of renovations or repair than pits located in other areas hinting at their frequent use while preparing food. More repairs were also seen in hearth-front pits at slave quarters in Virginia by Patricia Samford (2007:111).

Table 40. Pit size averages by location.

Location	Average Depth (ft.)	Average Area (sq. ft.)	Average Volume (cu. ft.)
Hearth Adjacent	1.35	34.56	60.95
Non-Hearth Adjacent	2.12	52.39	190.7

Twenty-two pits were also found in direct association with a kitchen or dining component in Euro American contexts or in kitchens that served as slave quarters. These included kitchens or dining rooms in dwellings as well as ells, kitchen/slave quarters, and kitchen outbuildings. Hearths within dwellings were also regularly used for food preparation in the past. Pits in kitchens were situated in multiple locations within dwellings except none were off-center. These averaged about 2 ft. deep with 20% of the total exceeding 3 ft. in depth. Surface area calculations for kitchen-related pits averaged 66 sq. ft. and equaled 153 cu. ft. in volume well surpassing average estimates for the state (Figure 27, p. 185).

Contents

Pit cellars represent a type of sealed deposit similar to other features like privies or wells (Ball 1984). Sealed deposits differ from accumulated deposits found in occupation surfaces or yard areas and may be linked to specific datable depositional events (LeeDecker 1994:345). The contents of pits cellars were filled with primary and/or secondary deposits typically from the surrounding structure or yard. Primary deposits are found in their location of use while secondary deposits are brought from other areas not spatially associated with the original location of use (Schiffer 1987). Primary deposits may also contain de facto refuse. De facto refuse may also be found in pit cellars and can indicate the primary function of the pit (Samford 2007:119). De facto refuse consists of functional artifacts that are left behind when an activity area is abandoned and can consist of artifact caches as well (Schiffer 1987). An examination of the contents of pit cellars includes an analysis of artifact totals and density, the complexity and number of strata, as well as the type of deposit and the presence of sand, ash, grass/cane, and firing (Table 41).

Table 41. Pit contents by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/ Ethnic Affiliation	Average Artifact Totals	Average Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)	Average Number of Strata/Levels/Zones	Simple Strata	Complex Strata	Primary Deposits	Secondary Deposits	Sand	Ash
Region									
East	1611.8	31	2	94	51	18	127	10	17
Middle	1322.5	36.2	1.59	40	25	9	56	2	20
West	8992.8	82.2	2		4		4		1
Ethnic Affiliation									
African American	2227.8	38.9	2.1	24	24	10	38	2	19
African American/ Euro American	1265.1	29.2	1.6	7	4		11		1
Euro American	1852.6	27.6	2.7	34	31	6	59	8	13
Euro American/ Native American	3642	47	2.1		1	1			1
Multiethnic	289	4.2	5		1	1			
Multiethnic/ African American	987.5	29.9	1.5	1	1		2		
Native American (Cherokee)	980	41.8	1.6	68	18	9	77	2	4
(Traditional)	310	11.3	1.7	63	17	7	72	2	3
(Non-traditional)	3328	148.4	1.2	5	1	1	5		1
Total	8992.8	82.2	1.9	134	80	27	187	12	38

Artifacts

Artifacts reported for pits were counted and averaged by ethnicity and regional location. Totals for West Tennessee were overshadowed from a single pit with a high count of over 32,000 artifacts recovered from detailed excavation methods and analysis. East and Middle Tennessee had more comparable numbers. Densities for artifacts were also calculated from estimates of excavated volume and total available artifact counts. Average artifact density for pits totaled about 82 artifacts per cu. ft. and was equal to totals in West Tennessee. However, when excluding West Tennessee, artifacts averaged about 33 per cu. ft. Pits with artifact densities over 100 indicate that fewer pits with a large number of artifacts were recovered in those contexts. In East Tennessee, six non-traditional Cherokee pit cellars had the highest artifact densities. Conversely, the lowest come from traditional Cherokee contexts. Two African American/Euro American pits in East Tennessee also had a high average of 42 artifacts per sq. ft. Euro Americans on average had more artifacts than African Americans in this region as well. In Middle Tennessee, African Americans had a higher average artifact density than Euro American pits. African American associated pits of uncertain affiliation also had high averages of almost 30 artifacts per sq. ft. West Tennessee had higher averages than normal due to a low sample size, with a single African American pit exceeding the artifact density of two Euro American pits.

Strata

The average number of strata, levels, or zones excavated within pit cellars was compared to understand depositional complexity. A number of pits did not contain any stratigraphic information and were considered to be a single deposit if unreported. A single filling episode

was usually due to quick infilling after demolition or abandonment of an associated structure. Multiple strata indicate a more complex series of filling events which can include accumulation of deposits at a pit's base during use or multiple filling episodes after disuse of the pit. Complex pits also had a higher average density of artifacts than simple pits.

Pits averaged about two strata per pit cellar with different ethnic and regional averages ranging from one to three strata. Euro Americans had the highest average number of strata and hence were more complex. In East and Middle Tennessee, the number of Euro American and African American pits were nearly equal. However, pits in East and West Tennessee were on average more complex. Pits with simple strata outnumbered complex pits (those with more than one stratum) on the whole. Native Americans in East Tennessee and Euro Americans in Middle Tennessee had the most distinctive differences between the number of simple versus complex pit cellars with most containing simple fill deposits.

Deposits

Pit cellars were predominantly filled with secondary deposits from the surrounding building, yard, or other areas in the vicinity. About 87% of pit cellars were strictly comprised of this type of fill, which was usually associated with domestic refuse or architectural debris from dismantling of the superstructure. Twelve percent of pit cellars (n=27) had primary deposits associated with the use of the pit. Most of these were located in East Tennessee with several found in Middle Tennessee, mainly at the Hermitage. Primary deposits mainly consisted of fill that accumulated at the base of the pit during use or sealed deposits created from construction or renovations. Primary deposits can also contain artifact caches or de facto refuse.

Nineteen pits had primary fill deposited at their base. These included ash, sand, cane or grass, as well as fill, which was deposited or accumulated on the floor of the pit. Several pits had renovations that helped to preserve the deposits at their base. The Hermitage had two pits with brick floors added, or re-added, which covered fill in the original unlined pit. The Roddy House additionally had renovations which included adding sand and pine logs near its base to help with food preservation.

Ten pits also had de facto artifacts or potential caches at or near their base. Most generally deposited artifacts were in Native American pits and included pine posts, charred botanicals such as sweet potato and sunflower seed, and a catlinite pipe fragment found within primary deposits. A concentration of animal bone was found along the floor of the Oaklands pit cellar and charred botanicals were also found in a pit at Tellico Blockhouse. Cached artifacts included a whiskey flask found within a small pit in Hamilton County, a borrow pit that was filled with artifacts and a portion of the base capped prior to use as a cellar, a possible cache found in a supposed conjurer's pit cellar, and artifacts found at the base of the Roddy House outbuilding kitchen cellar during renovations. Artifacts found in these contexts are discussed in more detail in the following section on pit cellar function.

Two pits with posts also contained burials. Human remains in the form of femur and tibia fragments were found in one instance at Hiwassee Old Town and in another a dog burial was found at Chota. These likely served as expedient graves. Chota experienced attack, from Euro American militia and military troops, and epidemic disease during the late 18th century (Schroedl 1986). It is possible these types of stresses could influence the use of pits as expedient graves at other sites.

Sand and ash were found within the fill of some pits. A dozen pits with sand were found in primary association with Euro Americans in East Tennessee. African Americans and Native Americans also had a few instances of sand found within their pits. Four pits had sand at or below their bases which could have been used to allow for water flow and/or food preservation.

Ash was also found within pit cellar fill in a number of instances, mostly in pits that were hearth adjacent. Two smokehouse outbuildings and two outbuilding cellars had ash within them. Exterior pit cellars at the Hermitage also had ash present. Three pits with posts also had evidence of ash including the renovated pit at Fort Loudoun. Euro American pits in East Tennessee and African American pits in Middle Tennessee had the highest incidence of ash within their fill. Ash also was found near the floor in six pits.

Cane or grass as well as fired areas were also found within several pits with posts and one Euro American pit cellar at Tellico Blockhouse. The pit at Tellico Blockhouse contained a large number of charred food remains covered by cane and grass. The mass of charred floral materials included shelled corn, peaches, and at least a dozen apples that were covered with fragments of charred cane and wood as well as grass that was utilized as packing material (Polhemus 1979). Sand, ash, or grass could have been used as material to cover foodstuffs to protect and preserve them.

Pits with posts also sometimes contained fired or oxidized areas at their base. Eighteen pits with posts had fired areas that could have been used to dry or smoke food, or to heat the interior to dry and harden it. One fired area was found within a pit with posts inside of a circular winter dwelling.

Functions

Pit cellars had a variety of functions that have been described by previous researchers. These functions were primarily related to the general storage of food and personal items. Pits have been described as being used in some cases at African American slave quarters as hidey holes, safe deposit boxes, or possibly shrines (McKee 1992, 1995; Franklin 1997; Neiman 1997; Samford 2007). Other times borrow pits were used or modified to become a pit cellar (Schroedl 1986; Kimmel 1993). Typically, pits cellars could have been used for multiple purposes. Eldon Ellenburg and his wife Zelda, Mennonites from East Tennessee, and their neighbor Katherine Foust, recalled their use in Greene County for multiple purposes including food storage and as a theft protection device used as a safe deposit box from robbing, or a hidey hole from soldiers during the Civil War (Faulkner 1986). Potential functions for pit cellars in this survey includes general storage, food storage (root/cool cellars), storage of personal items (equipment, arms, medicine), commercial storage, hidey holes, safe deposit boxes, borrow pits, and as potential shrines or places of ritual concealment (Table 42). Functions were related to the context of use (building function, position within a structure), contents, and provided descriptions.

General Storage

Pits without a definable function were categorized as general storage cellars. However, these pits were likely used for food and/or personal storage. Nine examples in East Tennessee had no particularly recognizable function and little evidence of the superstructure which stood above it. Five of these were related to pit cellars in African American contexts, four of which were discovered at the Perry slave quarters. Another three were at Euro American sites and one was associated with an unaffiliated tenant.

Table 42. Pit cellar functions by region and ethnic affiliation.

Region/Ethnic Affiliation	General Storage	Food Storage	Root Cellar	Cool Cellar	Commercial Storage	Personal Storage	Equipment Storage	Arms Storage	Medicine Storage	Hidey Hole	Safe Deposit Box	Borrow Pit	Shrine/Ritual Concealment	Total # of Pits
Region														
East	9	124	20	19	3	59	6	8	5	10	1	2	4	145
Middle		57	28	12	2	25	2	2	2			4		65
West		3	1			2								4
Ethnic Affiliation														
African American	5	37	17	13		18	2		2	2	1	2	2	48
African American/Euro American	1	9	1	1	1	8		1	2			3		11
Euro American	3	55	21	14	4	20	4	8	2	4		1	2	65
Euro American/Native American		1		1		1		1						1
Multiethnic		1				1								1
Multiethnic/African American		1	1			2								2
Native American (Cherokee)		80	9	2		36	2		1	4				86
(Traditional)		74	5	2		35	2			4				80
(Non-traditional)		6	4			1			1					6
Total	9	184	49	31	5	86	8	10	7	10	1	6	4	214

Food Storage

Pit cellars were primarily used for food storage (Figure 36). This is consistent with expectations in Tennessee with 86 % of pit cellars being related to food storage. Sixty-five of these were also potentially used as personal storage spaces. Pits used for strictly personal storage purposes comprised about 10% of the sample while general storage equaled only 4%. Pits also had multiple potential functions aside from these primary roles.

Regionally, all groups likewise used pit cellars largely for food storage. Native Americans had the highest incidence of pits related to food storage while African American totals for food storage were slightly smaller due to some pits being classified as general storage pits in East Tennessee. Different types of foods could be successfully stored in pits including an array of fruits and vegetables.

Several varieties of vegetables and fruits are well suited for below ground storage. Vegetables include potatoes, dry beans and peas, late cabbage, cauliflower, late celery, endive, peppers, pumpkins, squashes, tomatoes, and green tomatoes (USDA 1966). These also include root crops such as sweet potatoes, onions, parsnips, beets, carrots, celery root, rutabagas, turnips, and winter radishes (USDA 1966; Samford 2007). Pit cellars have primarily been associated with root crop storage and hence have been consistently described as root cellars in previous literature. Fruits that can be stored in pit cellars include apples, grapefruit, grapes, oranges, pears, and watermelons (USDA 1966; Faulkner 2008). Some outbuilding cellars in Tennessee have even been described as apple houses (Rehder 2012:103). In later contexts, the Cherokee also used potato houses which could have contained a cellar (Riggs 1987:41, 1999:108).

Fruits and vegetables have different humidity and temperature requirements that must be met to preserve well (Table 1, p. 9). Sweet potatoes, onions, dried beans or peas, squashes, and

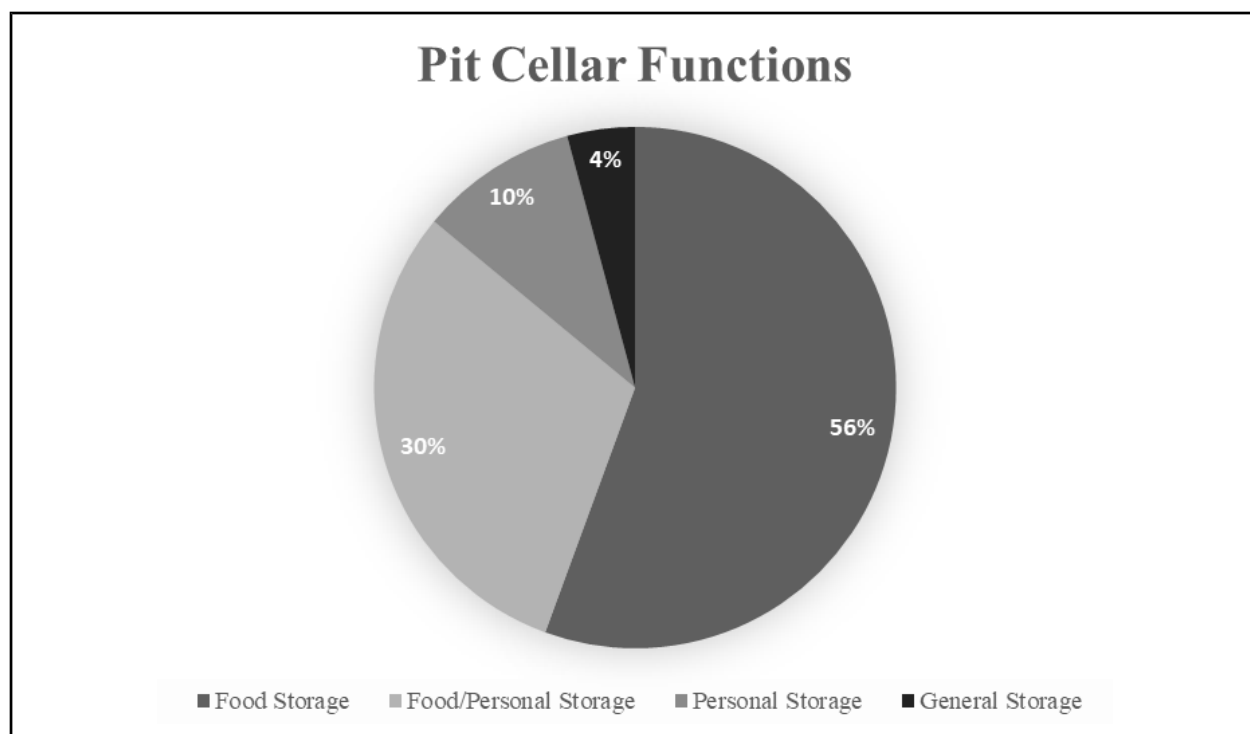


Figure 36. Pit cellar functions related to food or personal storage.

tomatoes all require moderately dry to dry conditions for preservation. Fruits and vegetables like cabbage, cauliflower, parsnips, or other root crops require more humid conditions. Additionally, fruits, beans, peas, cabbages, cauliflower, onions, parsnips, and some other root crops require temperatures just above freezing to preserve well. Sweet potatoes, pumpkins, squashes, peppers, and tomatoes need higher temperatures for storage.

Temperature and humidity levels in pit cellars can be controlled by ventilation, depth, and placement in proximity to a heat source such as a fireplace (USDA 1966; Samford 2007). Humidity could also be regulated by sprinkling the base with water, adding a pan of water, or the use of wet straw (USDA 1966:6). Covering the pit or adding material like sand also helped to manage these variables. Linings could also provide this benefit.

Food stored in pits was sometimes covered with straw, soil, or sand to prevent bruising, frost damage, and spoilage (Franklin 1997:89-91; Samford 2007:124; Gage 2012:21-22). Sand, grass, and ash could in some instances have also been used to cover and insulate foodstuffs. Covering different fruits and vegetables would increase a pit cellars ability to maintain consistent temperatures, prevent air and microbes from accessing them, and block sunlight.

Pits were used seasonally for different storage needs. To prevent frost damage in the winter, covering the pit and/or its contents, or placing it near a fireplace, would help keep goods fresh. The low humidity of hearth front pits would also help with preservation of root crops like sweet potatoes. Deep pits could also help to keep consistent temperatures over the year but would have higher moisture levels if removed from the hearth. In the summer months, deeper pits served as cool cellars to reduce exposure to hotter temperatures and higher humidity.

The use of pits for food storage was identified by the structure's function, their placement within a dwelling space in proximity to the hearth, their depth, and their contents. Pits outside of

dwelling spaces were considered to be related to food storage. Outbuildings, including outbuilding cellars and pits with posts, were all associated with food production or storage. Outbuildings included kitchens, smokehouses, a dairy, and a sorghum furnace. Outbuilding cellars are generally described as dairies and were constructed for multiple food storage purposes. Pits with posts have also been described as being used for household activities including food storage and preparation (Schroedl 1986:68-69). Within dwelling spaces, placement near the hearth indicates a pit cellars potential use for root crop storage (Samford 2007:133-134). Deep pits, however, are believed to have been used as cool cellars (Fesler 2004). The use of pits within kitchen or dining areas was also considered to be connected with food storage as were pits with primary food remains or the presence of potential packing material like sand in its deposits.

Root Cellars

Hearth front pit cellars were good for storing sweet potatoes or other root crops. Exterior pits were also sometimes referred to as root pits and were excavated into the ground to store root vegetables that were covered with soil and/or hay as a preservative (USDA 1966; Gage 2012). They also could have also been covered with mats, hides, or wooden planks (Agbe-Davies 1999; Gage 2012). Exterior pits, covered pits, or partitioned pits could also be used to store root crops, especially ones that produce odors such as turnips (USDA 1966). The remains of sweet potatoes were also found in two Cherokee pits. In one rectangular pit, which could have been exterior to the dwelling, the remains of 50 whole charred sweet potatoes burned in situ were recovered in addition to other botanical remains (Riggs et al. 1988:69, 99). The increased use of pit cellars by

the Cherokee during the 18th century is additionally tied to the increased use of Euro American influenced domesticates including sweet potatoes (Marcoux 2012:203).

Over a quarter of pit cellars used for food storage were classified as root cellars. African Americans and Euro Americans used root cellars about 30% of the time. Most root cellaring occurred in Middle Tennessee due to a preference for hearth front pits. Traditional and non-traditional Cherokee also used pits as root cellars in comparable numbers to Euro Americans in the region.

Cool Cellars

Cool cellars are deeper to maintain more consistent temperatures. Cool cellars were considered to be deeper than 2 ft., 0.5 ft. over the 1.6 ft. average for those identified in the survey. These are sometimes referred to as dairies or butteries due to their cool temperatures that are suitable for storing milk products (Mouer 1993:149). One outbuilding was also described as a dairy and could have been used for this purpose.

Nearly 17% of pit cellars used to store food were classified as cool cellars. African Americans had a slightly higher preference for pits that could have served as cool cellars based on the total number of African American pits. In Middle Tennessee, African Americans had a higher number of possible cool cellars than other groups. However, Euro Americans in East Tennessee used cool cellars more regularly. Native Americans also used cool cellars in East Tennessee but to a much lesser extent.

Pit cellars were also used for storing canned goods or meat. Eldon Ellenburg also recalls their use for this purpose (Faulkner 1986:55-56). Smokehouses also were likely used to store dried meats. Pits with posts associated with Cherokee households also could have been used to

dry and store meat (Schroedl 1986:69). Outbuildings also could have served as canning houses (Rehder 2012:103). Six Euro American pit cellars and one unaffiliated pit were also potentially used for canning including outbuilding cellars, those with potential interior shelving or canning jar fragments, and pits associated with kitchens or dining. Shelled corn was also found in a pit at Tellico Blockhouse (Polhemus 1979). Peaches and nearly a dozen apples as well as the grass or straw packing material were also recovered. Corn and a sunflower seed were found in Cherokee cellars. Walnuts and peppercorns were also recovered in a Euro American outbuilding cellar.

Personal Storage

Personal storage involves the storing of a multitude of personal items such as ceramics, bottles, utensils, clothing or sewing items, toys, pipes, hardware, tools, arms equipment, alcohol, and even potentially medicines. Personal storage spaces can also include foodstuffs, but for this study, personal storage refers to the storage of any non-food remains. Pit cellars were commonly used for personal storage with 40% of pits in the study related to this purpose (Table 42). Seventy-five percent of personal storage pits also stored food. The other 25% were strictly used for the storage of non-food items. Pits found in areas away from the hearth or in commercial spaces were considered to have been potentially used as personal storage spaces as were pits that had personal artifacts at or near their base within primary deposits or those with no food-related function.

A higher number of pit cellars used for personal storage were found in East Tennessee due to the storage preferences of Native Americans. Euro Americans in East Tennessee also had a higher number of pits recovered as did African Americans in the middle of the state. However, storage pits were used for personal items in comparable amounts between different regional

divisions when examining percentages based on the total number of pits. Native Americans consistently had a higher number of cases; however, all distinct ethnic groups stored personal possessions within them between 30-40% of the time. Non-Indigenous pits in East and Middle Tennessee also had near equal number of pits used to store personal items. Pits which had an ambiguous affiliation between African Americans and Euro Americans also had a higher rate of personal storage pits with over 70% associated with personal items.

Equipment Storage

Personal storage includes the storage of equipment or hardware such as tools. Several pits were used for equipment storage. These include two large African American pits in East and Middle Tennessee used to store tools and potentially other large pieces of equipment. A small box used as a pit cellar within a storage and processing room in an outbuilding sorghum furnace also potentially stored equipment. Another Euro American pit cellar at the Tellico Blockhouse contained an axe within it and two commercial sites also likely had equipment stored within them. Two Native American pit cellars had tools at the base including an axe and a hoe blade.

Arms Storage

Personal items include arms equipment such as guns or munitions. Pit cellars at military sites and gunsmith shops could have been used to store firearms. Related artifacts found within pits also indicate this possible function. Five pits were found at military fortifications at Fort Loudoun and Tellico Blockhouse. Two Euro American gunsmiths, one in East Tennessee and one in Middle Tennessee, were also associated with arms storage. Another storehouse or hardware store in downtown Knoxville had Civil War military artifacts within its contents

including “five minie balls, a brass Burnside cartridge, two artillery friction primers, and an Enfield bayonet” recovered within secondary deposits, but it could have also stored firearms during its use possibly even during the siege of Knoxville (Garrow 1996:19). An unaffiliated pit in Middle Tennessee also had buckshot at its base. This could have easily fallen through the floorboards into the pit, but it does show the potential for this pit to have been used for this purpose. The small wooden box situated under the sorghum furnace at the James White Second Home site was also speculated to be an ammunition box (Charles Faulkner 2015, personal communication). It could have been associated with Union soldiers who were in the area during the Civil War. They potentially camped at the site and possibly utilized the outbuilding (Faulkner 1984). While the original contents did not remain in the box, it is possible that it was originally used to store munitions.

Medicine Storage

Pit cellars could also have been used to store medicines similar to a medicine cabinet. Medicines require temperature stability and moderate to low humidity to preserve well and can spoil or become inactive over time if not kept properly. Medications today still have these requirements. Herbal medicines, roots for “doctoring,” and patent medicines could have been stored in pits and been provided the same protection and preservation of its contents as food. Folk medicines used in the past can be found through the recovery of “sacred objects, colonoware, teaware, whiskey bottles, botanical remains, and patent medicine bottles” (Hamby 2004:96). Potential sacred objects are discussed further in the ritual concealments section. Several pits had items that could be associated with the storage of medicines. These included medicine bottles, an intact copper syringe, a whiskey bottle, colonoware, and unusual items like

galena (lead), a lead bar used to mark lumber, and sulfur which could have also been used to concoct medicines or for magico-medical reasons. Pits possibly used to store medicines were found mainly in East Tennessee with two examples in Middle Tennessee. Generally, pits with medicines were found in near equal distributions between primary ethnic groups. No indications of medicines were found in traditional Native American contexts nor in West Tennessee.

Commercial Storage

Pit cellars could have also been used for the storage of commercial goods including foods or personal items. Four pits were also associated with dwellings that had a commercial aspect. These include a blacksmith/gunsmith shop, gunsmith/locksmith shop, an inn/stockyard, and a storehouse/hardware store. All commercial dwellings were owned by non-slave owning Euro Americans. However, the pit associated with a blacksmith/gunsmith shop was in use during the late 19th through mid-20th centuries and was the only pit in the survey found on the Cumberland Plateau. One other unaffiliated site in Middle Tennessee could have also been associated with a late-19th- to early-20th-century grocery.

Hidey Holes

Pit cellars in certain situations could have also served as hidey holes (Kelso 1984; McKee 1992, 1995; Franklin 1997; Samford 2007). Hidey holes were places used to conceal objects from theft or in some instances to stow stolen or secreted objects. Hidey holes have been discussed primarily in association with African American slavery. Enslaved laborers sometimes pilfered additional goods from stores or provisions as a means of resistance to owners' control and were known to have hidden them in their cellars (Samford 2007:139-140). Descriptions by

slave owners like Thomas Jefferson also indicates they knew that quarters had pit cellars and they could be used to hide stolen goods (Heath 1994:40). Improvements to slave housing in the 19th century was also thought to have been a means to enhance quarters and to dissuade the construction of pit cellars by raising the dwellings on piers rather than resting on the ground (McKee 1992). However, these pits continually appear in Tennessee slave quarters even if elevated (McKee 1992, 2000). Slave owners were likely aware of African American use of these pits as they themselves were using them. At least eight sites had pit cellars used by a slave owner discovered in association with slave quarter pits. Three other sites also potentially were using multiple pits including two unaffiliated sites and a temporary dwelling later converted to a slave quarter. In this instance, Euro Americans could have also constructed pits which were later used by the enslaved household. It is also possible that the enslaved later constructed the pit after conversion to quarter.

Fraser Neiman (1997) has asserted that pit cellars were often used to protect personal possessions from theft by other enslaved residents within a quarter. In the early days of slavery in Virginia, newly imported individuals on plantations, mainly consisting of men, were not related and hence had a need for multiple personal storage spaces in quarters to protect from theft by uncooperative residents (Neiman 1997; Fesler 2004). By the late 18th century, as family units became more common and housed in separate dwelling spaces, individual storage space subsided for communal storage space. An increase in the number of enslaved families also lessened the need for the protection of personal items and multiple pits in dwelling spaces decreases.

In Tennessee, and elsewhere in the South by 1850, most enslaved dwelling spaces were occupied by single families similar to those found at the Hermitage (Genovese 1976:524; McKee

1992:198, 2000:193). Six dwelling spaces or pens at the Hermitage also had multiple pits within them. The appearance of multiple pits within a dwelling could be due to the need for more storage space in cramped areas by large families, some with as many as 10 children, occupying a 400 sq. ft. area (McKee 1995:39). However, other smaller quarters in Tennessee did not contain multiple pits. It may be possible that the Hermitage slave community had more available access to trade goods or hand-me-downs due to the wealth and prestige of the Jackson family (McKee 1995:40). Multiple pits were also located in structures at the Perry Site in Knox County, but they were not in use at the same time. Other sites with multiple pits were ambiguous as to their affiliation or exact spatial location within the dwelling.

Ten pit cellars which could have potentially been used as hidey holes were documented during the survey. These occur in African American, Native American, and Euro American sites strictly in East Tennessee. Pits were defined as hidey holes if they had de facto objects that were potentially concealed, small pits used to cache materials, or places that could have been used to stash arms or personal possessions by civilians during the Civil War.

Four Euro American hidey holes were found in Knox and Hamilton Counties. A late-19th-century tenant farmhouse at Amnicola farm near downtown Chattanooga had a small pit excavated beneath its floors that was used to store and conceal a whiskey bottle. The pit was a few inches long on either side and was excavated, possibly by a pocketknife, to fit an intact whiskey bottle dating between 1887-1890 which had been left in the pit along with a few other fragments of ironstone and glass (Dorwin 1984). The small pit was including in the survey since it was essentially used as a storage pit based on its contents. Without the primary deposition of an intact bottle, the pit would likely not have been identified as a storage pit. The small size of the pit and discovery of a whiskey bottle suggests that it could have functioned as a special

purpose hidey hole. The hiding of an alcohol bottle in a small pit under the floorboards could be an indication of the consumption of illicit substance during temperance movements of the late 19th century or the use of witch bottles during that time. The pit was either used as a place to store and conceal the bottle or as a small pit related to folk practices.

Hidey holes were discovered in three Euro American contexts in Knoxville dating to the Civil War possibly arising out of the oppressive conditions imposed by the armies that occupied the area. One possible example consisted of a buried box at the Mabry site. The box, buried around the middle of the 19th century, was speculated to be an ammunition box which was used as a storage cellar under the floor of a sorghum shed (Faulkner 1984; Charles Faulkner 2015, personal communication). The original reason the box was buried might have been to conceal ammunition. It is also possible it was used to hide the personal possessions of the McCammon family who occupied the site during the mid-19th century. At the time of the Civil War, the McCammon family were known Confederate sympathizers. After the War, the family tried to get restitution for several destroyed outbuildings which was denied due to their previous political affiliation (Faulkner 1984:204). The sorghum shed was possibly one of the buildings destroyed during this time (Faulkner 1984:206). It was also speculated to have provided temporary shelter for Union troops stationed in the area and, conversely, could have been used for food, personal, or arms storage during their short-term occupation (Faulkner 1984:206).

At the River View Towers site in downtown Knoxville, another instance was found consisting of a large pit cellar lined with boards (Figure 37). Under these boards was a smaller, sub-cellar pit extending down roughly 3 ft. to bedrock thought to have been constructed for cooling purposes (Carnes 1983). It is also possible it served as a sump to collect water or an icehouse. However, the excavation of an additional space beneath the cellar's floorboards could

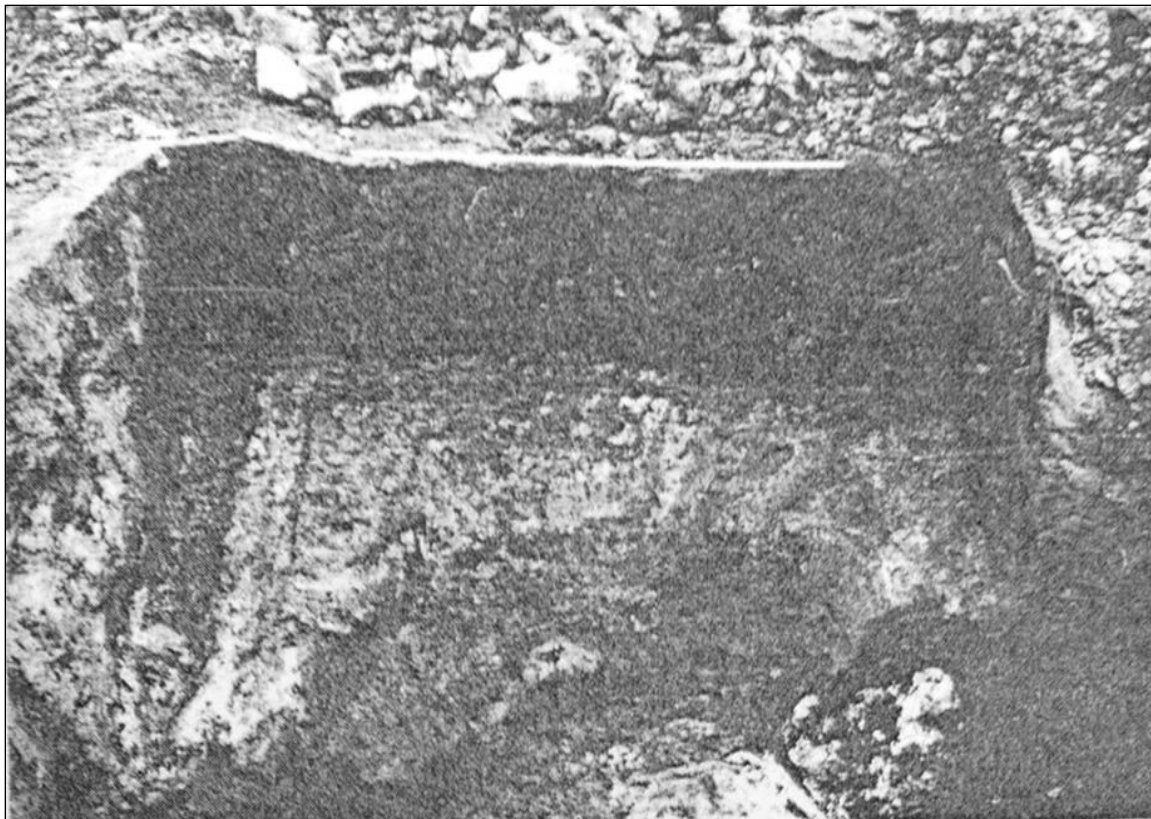


Figure 37. Feature 13 at the River View Towers site (Carnes 1983:74, Figure 31).

imply a more surreptitious function. The pit potentially served as a hidey hole to conceal food stores, personal possessions, or contraband. The recovery of military-related items also points to its use for arms storage probably during the Civil War. An additional example was recovered in downtown Knoxville which was possibly used for arms storage and included the recovery multiple military items as well as a preserved bayonet (Garrow 1996). These pit cellars are believed to have functioned as hidey holes presumably during the siege of Knoxville. Historical evidence indicates that local residences, Euro American and African American alike, were often pilfered by occupying troops and residents hid their goods in pit cellars to prevent looting (Rawick 1977:212-219; Faulkner 1986:56; Young 1997:100). During periods of stress, such as contact, colonialism, frontier situations, slavery, and war, pit cellars could have been used to hide materials by any ethnic group.

Four small Cherokee storage pits at Townsend were also considered hidey holes. Pits in this setting, or in similar settings, could have been used to hide personal possessions. Pits could have served the purpose of concealing goods from pilfering animals as well as neighbors during the seasonal abandonment of households related to the deerskin trade (Marcoux 2012:203). Pit cellars in other Native American contexts could have also served this purpose or been used to resist a growing elite hegemony by coveting their goods rather than relying on communal storage (DeBoer 1988; Marcoux 2012).

Two African American hidey holes were recorded during the survey. While only two were documented, any African American pit within a slave quarter has the potential to serve as a hidey hole. One example was found in Blount County at the University of Tennessee's Davis Farm located on part of the Institute of Agriculture campus. A pit cellar within a slave quarter at the site had potential cached items that could have been stowed away before filling (Creswell

2005). The pit contained items thought to be related to an enslaved female conjurer including a number of unusual objects (Creswell:2005). Based on the contents of the pit, it could have served as a place to conceal personal items or possibly ritual objects.

At the Mabry Site in Knox County, a single small subfloor pit was found located alongside the hearth within a double-pen cabin attached to another single pen frame dwelling (McKelway 1994, 2000). Aside from a possible root storage function, this pit also likely functioned as a hidey hole due to its location, size, and the availability of storage space in the adjoining pen (Figure 38). The adjacent pen contained one of the largest pit cellars cataloged at an African American quarter site and could have also been used for cool storage, equipment storage, or as a safe deposit box.

Safe Deposit Boxes

While some pit cellars could have been used clandestinely as hidey holes, others functioned to protect materials from theft by having them serve openly as safe deposit boxes. Neiman (1997) has argued that pit cellars could have served as safe deposit boxes, providing occupants of a structure security against theft. Safe deposit boxes were pits that were known to have existed within a household and were used publicly to store personal belongings with the understanding that any unauthorized use by others would be visible and reported to the owner.

The large pit cellar at the Mabry site in Knox County was the only occurrence of a potential safe deposit box. The pit was unlined and due to its large size contained an exterior entrance that exited towards a breezeway. It was postulated that the inhabitants of that quarter were of a higher status within the enslaved community which potentially allowed them to have such a large cellar (McKelway 1994:173, 2000:113). The carriage driver is thought to have lived

there and could have also been storing materials for the Mabry's creating the additional need for secure storage space. In this case, it is possible that the pit cellar was used as a safe deposit box for the inhabitants of that pen. The pit could have also been used to store supplies or food for the entire quarter. However, other adjacent pens also had pit cellars accessible in each room indicating that each household had its own storage space. Access could have also been restricted by the pen's inhabitants if charged with distributing food or supplies to the quarter.

All members of the quarter could have used the exterior entry since it was on the outside. However, the use of an exterior entrance would have allowed for surveillance of the cellar, thus providing security for their possessions through a highly visible entrance in the breezeway of the dwelling. While not a typical safe deposit box, anyone getting in the cellar would have been able to be spotted by residents or non-residents alike thereby restricting access. A padlock was also found in the attached structure indicating that enslaved residents at the site could have used them to secure their possessions (McKelway 1994:206). Doors on the exterior entrance to the pit cellar could have also been locked to prevent entry.

Zelda Ellenburg from East Tennessee describes centrally located pits as good places to store goods and prevent theft since everyone could view people entering them (Faulkner 1986). She states that, "Nobody could steal nothing out of there...That's why they do it" in reference to placing it in the center of a room (Faulkner 1986:59). Any pit has a potential to serve this purpose within a dwelling although it can be difficult to prove archaeologically. Additionally, exterior pits, outbuilding cellars, or pits with posts could have also functioned as safe storage spaces since they were exterior to a dwelling and visible to others. If outbuilding cellars contained doors, they could have potentially been locked as well.

Borrow Pits

Pits could have also been used as borrow pits prior to use as a storage cellar (Kimmel 1993). Borrow pits could have been used to collect clay for chinking in housing, pottery production, or to collect sand from making mortar or plaster in places with sandy soils. The Cherokee potentially used pits for clay procurement in ceramic production as well building material (Schroedl 1986). Borrow pits could have also been used to produce colonoware. Colonoware was found within two pits at the Perry site possibly used for medicinal purposes (Hamby 2004; Avery et al. 2015). While unlikely due to pit cellars long-term use, it is possible the clay for the ceramics could have been taken during construction of the pits they were recovered in. Fragments of colonoware were found at Tellico Blockhouse as well indicating a potential for home-made ceramic production at sites with pits (Polhemus 1979).

Six pit cellars were found that were placed within borrow pits. Two of these were found in East Tennessee, one at Tellico Blockhouse and another at Marble Springs (Polhemus 1979; Faberson and Faulkner 2003, 2005). In Middle Tennessee, four cellars created from borrow pits were found at an early field quarter at the Hermitage and two other sites with unidentified ethnic affiliation. At the Aenon site, two pits were possibly placed within one borrow pit (Faulkner 1995:126-138). One unusual borrow pit at Marble Springs had items cached at its base that were covered with clay and the pit was then used as a cellar (Faberson and Faulkner 2003, 2005). These artifacts could have been left unintentionally or perhaps placed there for more extraordinary reasons and then sealed with clay.

Shrines or Ritual Concealments

Pit cellars could also have extraordinary functions including as shrines or places of ritual concealment (Samford 2000, 2007; Lucas 2014; Reeves 2014; Riggs and Belt 2019). Merriam-Webster's Dictionary (2019) defines a shrine as a "receptacle, especially one that stores sacred relics, a place in which devotion is paid to a saint or deity, or a niche containing religious imagery." Shrines are "places where people can commemorate or commune with ancestral spirits and deities" and can "include a vast repertoire of living and non-living articles, such as sacred medicine packets" (Samford 2007:152). Samford (2000, 2007) has asserted that some subfloor pits found in Virginia and North Carolina slave quarters functioned as West African-based personal and ancestor shrines associated with Igbo women. "Men and women constructed ancestor shrines and consistently consulted ancestors for guidance and support" (Samford 2000:60). Cherokee pit cellars could also have had connections to spirituality and ritual practices in the past (Riggs and Belt 2019). Over time pit cellars potentially were viewed similarly to *osi*, or hothouses, which were built upon shallow excavated basins. These spaces were associated with spiritual knowledge, healing, and connection with the earth including access to the Lower World (Riggs and Belt 2019:138). The deposition of Indigenous ritual objects also points to their ritual use (Riggs and Belt 2019:139).

A ritual concealment is a "deposit of one or more artifacts deliberately hidden within the structure of a building as part of a magico-religious or secular folk ritual" (Manning 2014a:52). Ritual concealments are associated with the protection and well-being of the house against malevolent forces including its occupants as well as outbuildings, farm goods, or livestock (Manning 2014a:52). Ritual concealments were often placed within voids of a structure or buried near entrances, windows, hearths, and walls (Manning 2014a:54). Ritually concealed

objects included a variety of items like shoes, bottles, iron implements textiles, coins, and many other mundane household items (Costello 2014; Lucas 2014; Manning 2014a; Reeves 2014). Ritual concealments have been found archaeologically in Maryland within a subfloor pit and a borrow pit dating between the late 17th to early 18th centuries (Lucas 2014).

To discover spiritual or ritual activity in the past, pits must exhibit an alteration or a unique circumstance for it to be recognized archaeologically (Samford 2000, 2007). Pits that contain primary deposits with de facto refuse can provide insights into the potential functions of pit cellars including magico-religious uses. Only four pit cellars in African American and Euro American contexts in East Tennessee contained evidence of potential alternative functions in unusual settings with primary de facto deposits within them. These can more appropriately be described as ritual concealments while one pit could have also potentially served as a shrine. Only one pit was described as having a possible spiritual or religious function. Other pits contained mundane materials that were discarded or cached but their use as a ritual concealment was possibly overlooked when recovered.

One pit cellar at the Marble Springs farmstead in Knox County is believed to have been used for multiple purposes and could have served as a ritual concealment or an African American shrine. A pit was exposed which contained a cache of digging implements at its base (Faberson and Faulkner 2003, 2005) (Figure 39). This cache was covered by clay colluvium and then subsequently used as a subfloor storage pit (Faberson and Faulkner 2005). The initial proposed function of this pit was as a borrow pit due to the discovery of digging tools at its base. It is also feasible that the pit had an alternative function. Materials within the base of the pit included a large stone digging tool, a hatchet, a knife, and nails. Based on the association of these materials with African American spiritual beliefs, it is possible that this subfloor pit also

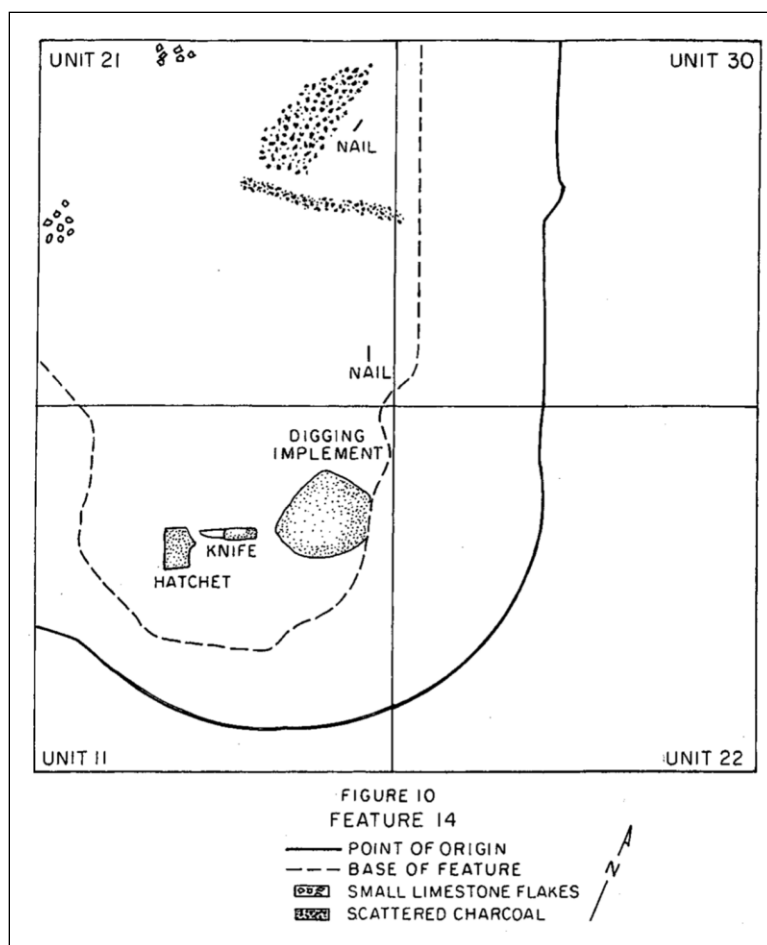


Figure 39. Pit cellar excavated at Marble Springs with a potential ritual cache at its base (Faberson and Faulkner 2005:30, Figure 10).

functioned as a shrine or a place of ritual concealment. The use of pit shrines in West African tradition for ancestor veneration has been previously documented (Norman 2009, 2014). Clay is known to be involved with West African spiritual beliefs, some associated with the Igbo Alusi deity Ala, or Mother Earth, and is known to have been used in the construction of shrines (Samford 2007, 2009; Norman 2009, 2014). Metallic objects found within the pit could also be associated with other West African traditions in the form of offerings to Ogun, the god of war and iron, suggesting a spiritual use (Fennell 2003; Goucher 2014; Lucas 2014). Ogun is associated with iron, blacksmithing, and the recognition of new communities (Goucher 2014). Stone axes have also been found in African American spirit bundles associated with clay (Leone et al. 2014). Based on these correlations, I conjecture that the pit originally was excavated as a borrow pit for construction of the cabin, then used as a shrine or ritual concealment for protection and/or veneration, and finally as a subfloor storage pit.

This pit dates to the early John Sevier period of occupation from the 1790s to the 1820s. During the early period of the site, enslaved men are believed to have been there sporadically on weekends while Sevier was away on various business trips or living in Knoxville (Barber 2002; Faberson and Faulkner 2005). African American shrine construction has been previously attributed to women in Virginia (Samford 2007). While iron, and its manipulation, were generally male domains, it also had feminine connotations associated with food preparation and kitchens (Goucher 2014:113-114). It is possible that there was an unidentified female presence at the site, or the all-male cohort was responsible for caching the items which were likely used as a shrine or ritual concealment to protect and commemorate construction of the cabin. It is possible that the relaxed surveillance spurred the creation and use of this type of feature on the frontier of Tennessee. It is also possible that the person responsible for the creation of this

feature was a recent arrival to North America since the importation of slaves was legal in the United States until 1808.

At the Davis Farm, a slave quarter dating to the early to mid-19th century potentially contained cached materials associated with ritualized activities (Creswell 2005). Numerous unusual objects associated with African American folk practices were recovered including straight pins, a copper-alloy ring with an engraved “X”, cut copper-alloy strips, cut silver thimble fragments, a silver-plated bird effigy brooch, a blue glass bead, a quartz crystal, porcelain doll fragments, a porcelain marble, smoothed stones, carved stone, several knife and blade parts, medicine, wine, and/or liquor bottles, pressed glass fragments, and buttons (Creswell 2005). These objects have been found in similar enslaved contexts and were interpreted as belonging to a conjurer who was perhaps female. The pit was used as a place to store these items, potentially during the Civil War, and the artifacts were left there when the structure was abandoned around the time of Emancipation (Creswell 2005:123). The pit was identified as a potential ritual concealment in my survey based on this interpretation.

Most examinations of ritual in historical archaeology have focused on the African Diaspora and Native American religious behavior (Manning 2014b:3). Ritual and magical practices are generally conceived of as intertwined with religion and connection with supernatural deities (Manning 2014b; Ogundiran and Sanders 2014). Ritual, while typically used in religious contexts, can also be practiced in more mundane settings for transformative results such as rites of passage (Ogundiran and Sanders 2014:7). Euro Americans were just as involved with magico-religious beliefs and folk ritual practices as other groups and there is a potential for artifacts associated with these traditions to be recovered archaeologically in these contexts as

well. Two Euro American pit cellars were identified in the survey as potentially containing ritual concealments within their contents.

A small hidey hole at the Amnicola Farm, with a whiskey bottle cached in it, could have served different purposes. Aside from hiding illicit substances, the pit could have served to store what was considered medicine or perhaps a ritual concealment. Nothing was mentioned of the bottle's contents, but it could have served as a potential conjure or witching bottle. Witching bottles are typically discussed in European or Euro American contexts and were used to counter and protect against witchcraft (Manning 2014a:53). Bottles can contain urine, pins, needles, or nails, wire, fabric, fingernails, hair, balls of clay, bones, knotted string, or even written spells (Manning 2014a:53-54). Bottles in the United States sometimes have no evidence of urine, pins, or nails, but may contain water or alcohol (Manning 2014a:54). While the whiskey bottle was found in a likely Euro American tenant context, it could have possibly served a magico-religious function similar to conjure or Obeah bottles found at other African American sites (Reeves 2014). In this case, the pit would have functioned not as a pit cellar but rather as a place to bury ritual items.

The Roddy House near downtown Knoxville contained a kitchen outbuilding with a cellar constructed by an Irish immigrant family (Faulkner 1986, 1988). The cellar had been renovated and cleaned in the 1850s with a new sand and pine log lining placed along the floor (Figure 34). During excavation, an iron horseshoe and railroad spike were recovered at the pit cellar's base. These objects represent sealed de facto refuse and could potentially be related to protective ritual associated with Irish folklore.

“When found in concealed contexts, iron artifacts almost certainly served a ritual function” (Manning 2014a:73). Iron was used to prevent or protect against witchcraft or the ill

will of fairies in Irish contexts (Linn 2014). The horseshoe is a well-known form of apotropaic folk magic when placed within structural openings, hung or imbedded within a threshold, or mounted over a hearth (Manning 2014a:72). They could serve to prevent witches, evil spirits, or fairies from entering the home. Nails and spikes could additionally have been used for ritual protection (Manning 2014a:72). The Irish believed that nails were good luck items associated with Christ's crucifixion which could be used to ward off fairies or witchcraft (Linn 2014).

Graves

While no ritual concealments or shrines were found in Native American contexts, two graves, including a dog burial and a human interment, were found within pits with posts at traditional Cherokee sites. While likely expedient burials, the discovery of pits with in situ human or dog remains points to their possible spiritual use as graves. They might not have initially been intended to be used as graves, but the context of their use for this purpose points to their potential to be used for the ritual disposal of remains.

Ritual Objects

No ritual objects were found in primary deposits in Middle and West Tennessee; however, a hand charm was found in a pit cellar's fill at the Hilderbrand House in Shelby County (Weaver et al. 2011). Small copper-alloy objects in the form of a fist have been found at other sites in Middle Tennessee at the Hermitage and a potential hearth-front pit at Wynnewood in Sumner County (Smith 1976a; McKee 2000; Smith and Strutt 2001). These have been interpreted as possible charms for good luck or to ward off witchcraft (Smith 1976a; McKee 1995, 2000; Russell 1997). However, Davidson (2014) has refuted that argument asserting they

were utilitarian fasteners. A turtle carapace rattle and an unidentified articulated bird wing were also found in a pit's fill at Chota and indicates the potential for the storage of or decommissioning of ritual items in Cherokee pit cellars as well (Schroedl 1986:56-57; Riggs and Belt 2019:139). The discovery of these types of artifacts in certain contexts could indicate that magico-religious objects may possibly be stored or ritually discarded in pit cellars.

Chronology

Chronologies of use were estimated, and rounded to five-year increments, from feature date ranges, structural dates, or in some cases site occupation dates if no other information was available. Pit cellars were recorded as being generally built during, or shortly after, construction of a structure. They were also generally filled with secondary refuse after the structure was demolished or abandoned. However, several pits had dates which did not correspond with the final occupation date of the dwelling in which they were placed. These included pits that were filled during conversion to slave quarters, renovations, or a few instances where pits showed evidence of intrusion.

Dates of Use

Pit cellars documented during the survey were in use between the mid-17th through the mid-20th centuries (Table 43; Figures 40-41). Dates of use per site were averaged and a total of 1810.5 was calculated for the sample. Pits were used for a span of a few years to, in one case, 145 years at the Collier site in East Tennessee in which a pit cellar was renovated multiple times and used by successive generations (Meyers 2001). The average use of a pit cellar was 38 years indicating long-term use in most instances.

Table 43. Chronological data for pit cellars.

Region/ Ethnic Affiliation	Date Range	Date Range Average	Site Date Average	Years of Use	Years of Use Range Average	Average Years of Use	Construction Date Range	Construction Date Range Average	Average Construction Date	Median Construction Date	Mode of Construction Date
Region											
East	1650-1965	1807.5	1798.4	~5-145	75	37	1650-1910	1780	1779.9	1800	1745
Middle	1785-1965	1875	1835.3	~5-85	45	40.8	1785-1890	1837.5	1814.9	1810	1820
West	1810-1890	1850	1845.6	~10-55	32.5	28.8	1810-1845	1827.5	1831.5	1835	1835
Ethnic Affiliation											
African American	1790-1955	1872.5	1839.8	~15-80	47.5	42.6	1790-1875	1832.5	1818.5	1820	1820
African American/ Euro American	1800-1965	1882.5	1845	~10-75	42.5	32.7	1800-1910	1855	1828.6	1820	1800
Euro American	1785-1965	1875	1843.4	~5-145	75	37.5	1785-1900	1842.5	1824.7	1820	1785
Euro American/ Native American	1755-1775	1765	1765	~20	20	20	1755	1755	1755		
Multiethnic	1790-1820	1805	1805	~30	30	30	1790	1790	1790		
Multiethnic/ African American	1790-1825	1807.5	1807.5	~35	35	35	1790	1790	1790	1790	
Native American (Cherokee)	1650-1845	1747.5	1765.4	~5-75	40	36.9	1650-1815	1732.5	1747	1745	1745
(Traditional)	1650-1820	1735	1761	~5-75	40	37.9	1650-1795	1722.5	1742.1	1745	1745
(Non-traditional)	1800-1845	1822.5	1824.6	~15-30	22.5	24.2	1800-1815	1807.5	1812.5	1815	1815
Total	1650-1965	1807.5	1810.5	~5-145	75	38	1650-1910	1780	1791.5	1800	1745

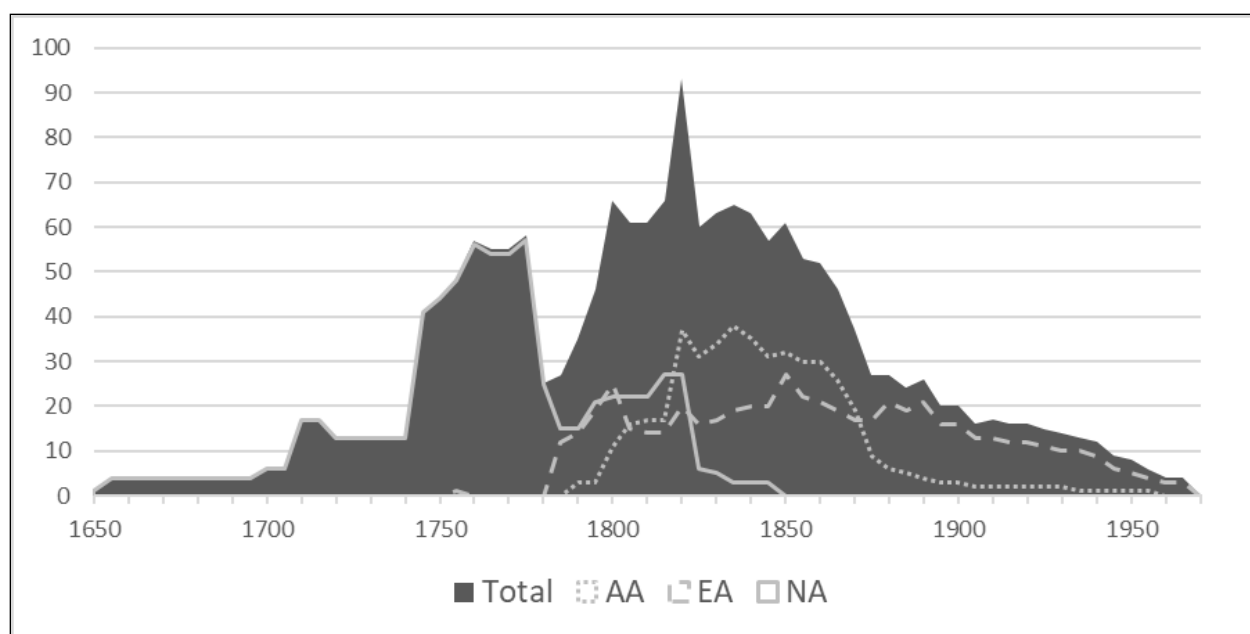


Figure 40. Pit cellar frequency of use by ethnicity over time.

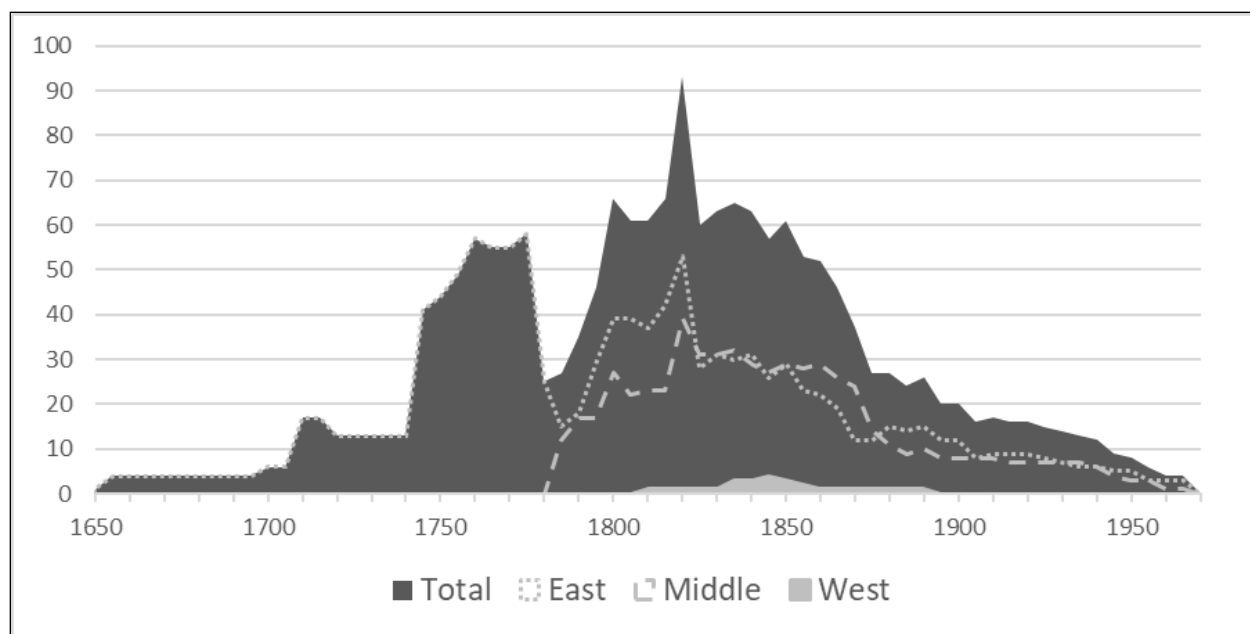


Figure 41. Pit cellar frequency of use by region over time.

The earliest dates of use come from the Cherokee site of Townsend occupied from the mid-17th to early-18th centuries. Cherokee who began living a non-traditional lifestyle began to construct pits during the early 19th century. Native Americans used pits through the Federal period with non-traditional use through the mid-19th century. The average date of use for Native American pits was 1765.4 with traditional Cherokee averaging at 1735 and non-traditional Cherokee using pits from 1800 to 1845 with an average date of 1822.5. Traditional Cherokee used pits on average longer likely because of the reported dates of use derived from site occupations or general periods of use. Early Cherokee pits were more challenging to specifically date than later pit cellars due to the nature of the deposits and available documentation. Regardless of these issues, a definitive spike in use was observed from 1740 to 1775 during the English colonial period (Figure 42). The number of pits used during the colonial period well outnumber African American and Euro American pits used over time and is more comparable to the combined use of these groups during the 19th century. Traditional pit cellars decline in number by the 1820s just prior to the Cherokee removal period.

Pit cellars in strictly Euro American contexts date from 1785 to 1965 (Figure 43). However, the earliest Euro American associated pit was discovered at Fort Loudoun occupied from 1756 to 1760. This pit was also later used by Native Americans during the English colonial period. Euro American pits were again constructed in the 1780s in Middle Tennessee at Bledsoe Station, a private fortification constructed as a sanctuary from attacks by Native Americans in Sumner County and a station of settlement included in the Cumberland Compact (Smith 2000). Several small pit cellars were recovered underneath structures dating to the fort's occupation (1784-1795) including Isaac Bledsoe's pit cellar and a few that represent later occupation, likely early-19th-century slave quarters. While initial results have been preliminarily discussed and

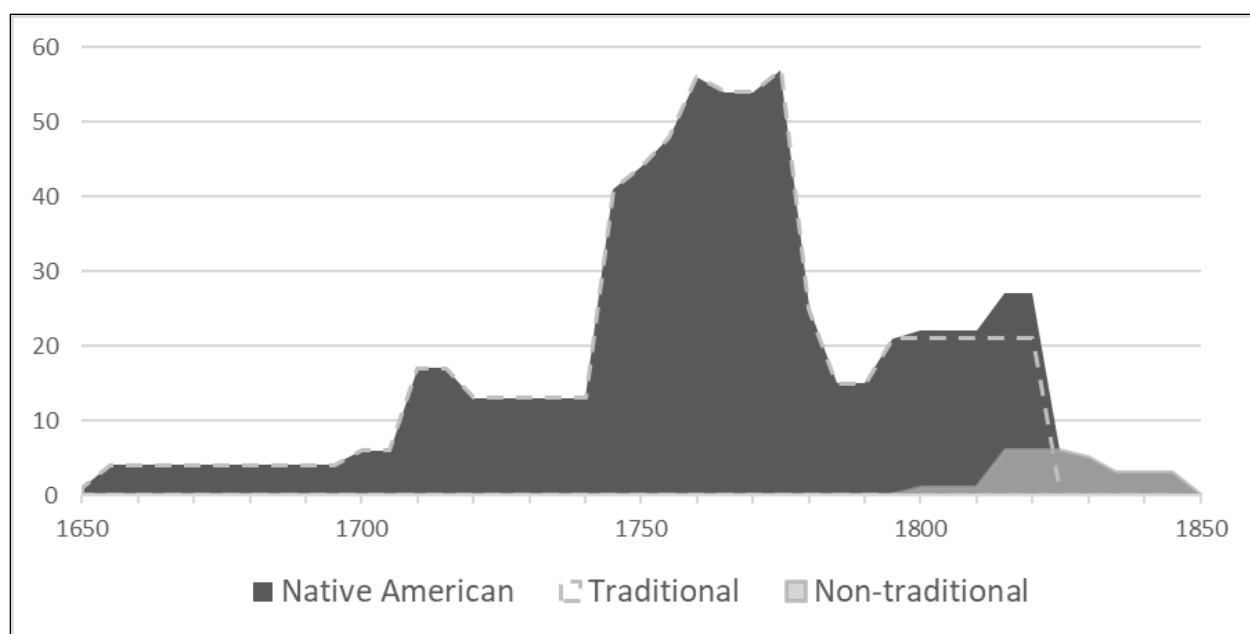


Figure 42. Native American pit cellar frequency of use over time.

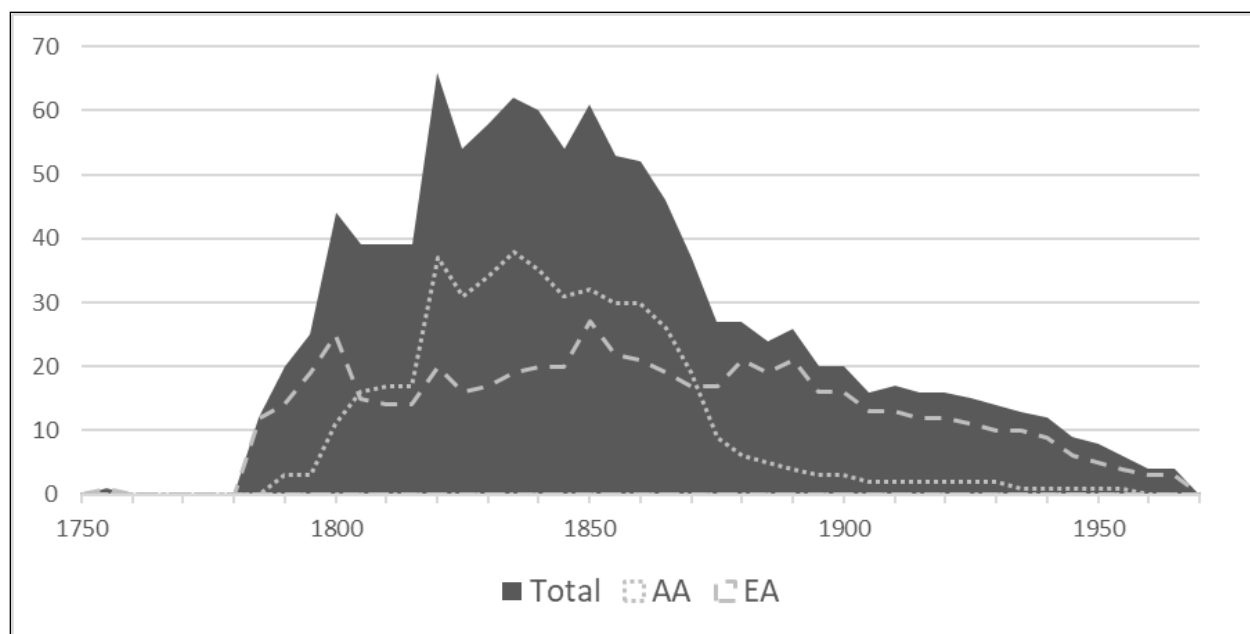


Figure 43. Non-Indigenous pit cellar frequency of use by ethnicity over time.

included in this survey, additional pit cellars were later recovered at the site and more detailed results are forthcoming. The recovery of pit cellars in nearly every structure conjectured at the site indicates a potential reliance on these pits for the storage of food and personal goods during stressful situations on the frontier.

Euro American pit cellars become more common by the end of the 18th century with consistent use throughout the 19th century slightly peaking in 1850. Use begins to decline by the early 20th century and ends during the middle of the century. Pits that extended to this era were primarily constructed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Euro American pits had an average date of 1843.4 and were used between a few years to nearly 145 years at the Collier site though they averaged only 37.5 years of use. Euro American pit cellars in East Tennessee also had a later average date when compared to other regions.

African American pit cellars were in use from the late 18th century until the middle of the 20th century. Averaged dates of use equaled 1839.8 with most pits dating to the antebellum period. African American pit cellars in Middle Tennessee also had a later averaged date than those in East Tennessee. African American pits were primarily associated with slave quarters and their use increased during the early 19th century spiking in 1820. The spike in the data can partially be attributed to a number of Hermitage slave quarters constructed around that time in which pits were found. The number of African American pits used by year during the antebellum period also outnumbered Euro Americans in some years by nearly two times. Pits sharply declined in use after Emancipation with a few tenants who used them in the late 19th and 20th centuries. Pits were used by African Americans for 15 to 80 years, averaging 42.6 years of use which is longer than other groups. Pits used for long periods of time were found at sites, like

the Hermitage, in which enslaved residents became tenants or servants after Emancipation and continued to inhabit former slave quarters with pit cellars.

East Tennessee date ranges corresponded to early Native American pit use and later Euro American pits like that at the Collier Site. Date averages were slightly earlier due to their earlier time depth in the region while the average years a pit cellar was used was similar to the state total. However, non-Indigenous pits in the region had a later average date than Middle or West Tennessee (Figure 44).

Middle Tennessee pits cellar date ranges corresponded with Euro American use of pits in the region with the early pits at the Bledsoe Station extending to use by Euro American farmers and an unaffiliated tenant during the 20th century. The average date of use was 1835.3, dating later than East Tennessee on average. Pits in the region also had higher average years of use when compared to other regions.

In West Tennessee, dates range between the early to late 19th century. The earliest date in the region comes from a Euro American squatter's residence. West Tennessee was not legally opened to settlement until after the Chickasaw Purchase of 1818. Other pits were constructed during the 1830s and used until the 1850s, one of these potentially through the late 19th century. The later calculated date average is, however, consistent with its later settlement. Pits in West Tennessee were also only used for about 28.8 years on average, about 10 years shorter than other regions.

Construction Dates

Construction dates for pit cellars were also examined to compare temporal differences in construction frequencies, size, shape, and function. When frequencies were arranged by

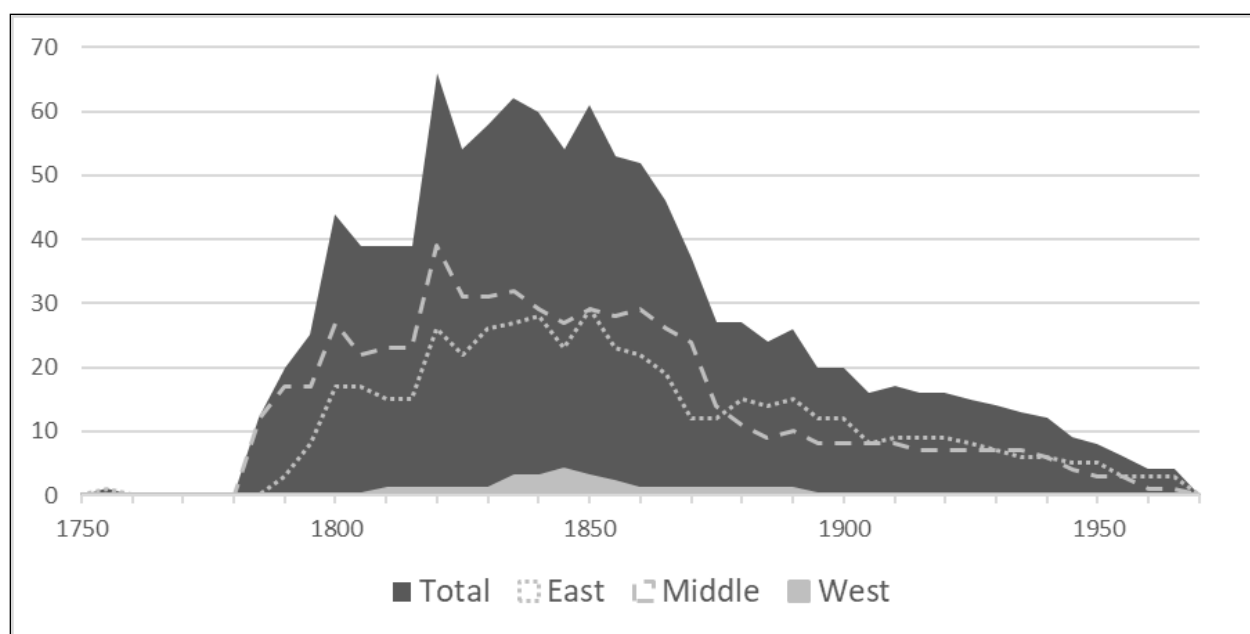


Figure 44. Non-Indigenous pit cellar frequency of use by region over time.

construction date, most pits were built during the first quarter of the 19th century (Table 44). This time period corresponds to a peak in use as well. Earlier pits constructed by Native Americans date primarily from 1725 to 1775. These dates correspond to the English colonial period while pit construction sharply declined during the tumultuous American Revolutionary War period (Table 45). Traditional Cherokee construction dates extend until the end of the 18th century while non-traditional pits were built in the early 19th century. Euro Americans have a peak in construction upon initial arrival of early immigrants in the late 18th century. The number of pits constructed then slowly subsides over the course of the 19th century. Only two pits were constructed in the early 20th century including a Euro American outbuilding cellar and a pit constructed by an unidentified tenant within their dwelling. While most Euro American pits were constructed during the late 18th century, their use in East Tennessee is consistent throughout the 19th century. Fewer were also found in Middle Tennessee over time. African Americans pit cellars were primarily constructed during the first quarter of the 19th century. Over time, fewer African American pits were constructed with only one small pit cellar constructed by a late-19th-century tenant in Middle Tennessee.

Minimal numbers of pits were found after 1825 within different regions as well. In West Tennessee, most pits were constructed in the 1830s to 1840s. The lack of later construction dates indicates a general decline in use over time and could be related to the long-term use of pits. If pit cellars were usable the entire lifetime of a structure, then there would be no need to construct any additional cellars by later residents. Renovating the pit cellar would solve most issues with long-term use such as wall collapse or the adjusted needs of the household.

Table 44. Pit cellar construction date frequencies over time.

Region/ Ethnic Affiliation	1650- 1699	1700- 1724	1725- 1749	1750- 1774	1775- 1799	1800- 1824	1825- 1849	1850- 1874	1875- 1899	1900- 1925
Region										
East	4	13	28	27	17	28	12	8	6	2
Middle					17	32	7	5	4	
West						1	3			
Ethnic Affiliation										
African American					3	34	7	3	1	
African American/ Euro American						6	3		1	1
Euro American					19	15	12	10	8	1
Euro American/ Native American				1						
Multiethnic					1					
Multiethnic/ African American					2					
Native American (Cherokee)	4	13	28	26	9	6				
(Traditional)	4	13	28	26	9					
(Non-traditional)						6				
Total	4	13	28	27	34	61	22	13	10	2

Table 45. Cherokee pit cellar construction date frequencies over time.

Ethnic Affiliation	Early English Contact 1650-1669	English Contact 1670-1744	English Colonial 1745-1775	American Revolution 1776-1794	American Federal 1795-1818
Euro American/Native American			1		
Native American (Traditional)	4	13	54	3*	6
Native American (Non-traditional)					6
Total	4	13	55	3	12

*Construction dates estimated at 1775.

Pit Type and Size

The construction of interior pit cellars mirrors the overall chronological results with peak construction dating to the first quarter of the 19th century (Tables 46-47). After the middle of the 19th century, the construction of interior pit cellars declined until only a single example was found constructed in 1900. Exterior pits were found at African American slave quarters and at non-traditional Cherokee sites during the early 19th century. Traditional Cherokee exterior pits were used in abundance and were not included in the survey, but their presence on non-traditional sites indicates their continued use in the 19th century. Outbuildings began to be used by Euro Americans during the late-18th century with sustained use throughout the 19th century. A single African American tenant also constructed an outbuilding cellar in the late 19th century after Emancipation.

In Native American contexts, the use of interior pits declined slightly for a preference for pits with posts from 1725 to 1749. Both types were preferred between the 1750s until prior to the Revolutionary War. Large pits began to be constructed by Native Americans in the 18th century and were constructed throughout the remainder of the century. While small interior pits were generally favored over time by Native Americans, large pits with posts were the most preferred until the last quarter of the 18th century.

Aside from large pits with posts, small interior pit cellars generally dominate the type constructed until the 19th century. After that point, large cellars were preferred over time. Large pit cellars found in outbuildings were also preferred with only one small Euro American outbuilding in East Tennessee constructed during the late 19th century. Larger pits were also used into the 20th century more often than smaller pits.

Table 46. Pit types by construction date.

Pit Type	1650-1699	1700-1724	1725-1749	1750-1774	1775-1799	1800-1824	1825-1849	1850-1874	1875-1899	1900-1925
East										
Interior Pits	4	10	6	13	10	21	10	6	5	1
Exterior Pits						5				
Outbuildings					1	2	2	2	1	1
Pits with Posts		3	22	15	6					
Middle										
Interior Pits					17	28	6	2	3	
Exterior Pits						2				
Outbuildings						2	1	3	1	
West										
Interior Pits						1	3			
African American										
Interior Pits					3	31	7	2	1	
Exterior Pits						3				
Outbuildings								1		
Euro American										
Interior Pits				1	18	11	9	6	7	
Outbuildings					1	4	3	4	1	1
Native American										
Interior Pits	4	10	6	12	3	2				
Exterior Pits						4				
Pits with Posts		3	22	15	6					
Total										
Interior Pits	4	10	6	13	27	50	19	8	8	1
Exterior Pits						7				
Outbuildings					1	4	3	5	2	1
Pits with Posts		3	22	15	6					

Table 47. Pit sizes by construction date.

Pit Size	1650-1699	1700-1724	1725-1749	1750-1774	1775-1799	1800-1824	1825-1849	1850-1874	1875-1899	1900-1925
East										
Small	4	10	9	11	9	13	2	2	2	
Large		3	19	17	8	15	10	6	4	2
Middle										
Small					13	16	3	2	1	
Large					4	16	4	3	3	
West										
Small							1			
Large						1	2			
African American										
Small						18	3	1	1	
Large					3	16	4	2		
Euro American										
Small					14	2	1	3	2	
Large				1	5	13	11	7	6	1
Native American										
Small	4	10	9	11	7	6				
Large		3	19	16	2					
Total										
Small	4	10	9	11	22	29	6	4	3	
Large		3	19	17	12	32	16	9	7	2

When examining regional types, there was a slightly earlier preference for large pits in East Tennessee. In Middle Tennessee, small and large pits were constructed in relatively similar numbers after the 19th century. Small pits were the dominant type prior to that. In West Tennessee, there was a consistent preference for larger pits during the first half of the 19th century.

When examining ethnicity, African Americans consistently constructed small and large pits during the antebellum period. Euro Americans constructed small pits in the late 18th century during Tennessee's formation. At the beginning of the 19th century, large pits were constructed more often than small pits indicating a potential preference for large pit cellars over time.

In order to further assess changes in size over time, correlation and regression analysis were used to see if there was a significant relationship between variables. Correlation analysis showed that there is a significant positive relationship between size and time in Tennessee and East Tennessee (Table 48). However, no specific ethnic group or region aside from the eastern part of the state showed evidence of a change in pit cellar size over time.

To examine if size increases over time, linear regression was used to confirm these results and see if there was causal relationship (Table 49). The outcome confirms the correlation results and indicates that there is an overall change in size over time in the state. East Tennessee also shows this trend. This is due to the inclusion of Native American pits and their time depth. When Native Americans were removed from the analysis, it showed a less significant result in all cases. Native Americans do show a preference for larger pits during the 18th century; however, this trend begins to decline by the 19th century indicating a non-linear relationship. Other groups were constructing small and large pits regularly over time contributing to these inconclusive results.

Table 48. Correlation analysis results of size over time.

Region/Affiliation	Area R-value	Area P-value	Area Count	Volume R-value	Volume P-value	Volume Count
African American	0.10	0.949	44	-0.16	0.918	42
Euro American	0.247**	0.042	68	0.163	0.250	52
Native American	0.181	0.096	86	0.42	0.708	83
East	0.366	0.000	144	0.368	0.000	139
East Non-Indigenous	0.121	0.366	58	0.183	0.177	56
Middle	0.159	0.225	60	0.121	0.441	43
West	0.232	0.768	4	0.286	0.714	4
Total	0.304	0.000	208	0.321	0.000	186
Non-Indigenous	0.185**	0.041	122	0.178	0.073	103

*Correlations are significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 49. Linear regression analysis results of size over time.

Region/Affiliation	Area F-value	Area P-value	Area Count	Volume F-value	Volume P-value	Volume Count
African American	0.004	0.949	44	0.011	0.918	42
Euro American	3.764	0.057	68	0.893	0.350	52
Native American	2.839	0.096	86	0.141	0.708	83
East	22.005	0.000	144	21.500	0.000	139
East Non-Indigenous	0.830	0.366	58	1.868	0.177	56
Middle	1.502	0.225	60	0.604	0.441	43
West	0.114	0.768	4	0.178	0.714	4
Total	20.920	0.000	208	21.090	0.000	186
Non-Indigenous	4.275	0.041	122	3.292	0.073	103

*Correlations are significant at the 0.01 level.

Pit Shape

When examining surface shape, curvilinear pits were initially constructed more often than rectilinear pits until the mid-18th century (Table 50). Curvilinear pits were more regularly constructed by Native Americans from 1650 to 1749 and by all groups in the early 19th century with only a few built after that time. In East Tennessee, curvilinear pits were used more regularly than in other regions during the 19th century in part to the high number of African American and non-traditional Cherokee curvilinear pits. Curvilinear pits were constructed more often by African Americans during the first half of the 19th century. This also influenced the number of Middle Tennessee curvilinear pits which were only constructed from 1800 to 1824. However, rectilinear pits were still used more often in these circumstances. In West Tennessee, large rectilinear pits were also preferred during the early 19th century. Euro Americans minimally constructed curvilinear pits from the late 18th to the late 19th centuries. Rectilinear pits were preferred during early settlement of the state by Euro Americans and were continually built through the beginning of the 20th century.

At Native American sites, circular to oval pits were initially constructed with a diversification of surface shapes during the 18th century that included the use of rectangular pits. Euro Americans and African Americans begin building pit cellars with a variety of surface shapes upon arrival in the middle to late 18th century. By the late 19th century, rectangular and square pits were the most common types constructed aside from a single potential circular pit excavated in Middle Tennessee at a Euro American tenant farm.

Linings were used from the early to late 18th century by Native Americans and from the late 18th century until the middle of the 20th century by other groups. Wood linings were constructed by Native Americans and by other groups until the middle of the 19th century. A

Table 50. General surface shape by construction date.

Surface Shape	1650-1699	1700-1724	1725-1749	1750-1774	1775-1799	1800-1824	1825-1849	1850-1874	1875-1899	1900-1925
East										
Curvilinear	4	10	17	10	5	12	1	1		
Rectilinear		3	11	17	12	16	10	7	6	2
Middle										
Curvilinear					3	3		1	1	
Rectilinear					14	28	7	4	3	
West										
Rectilinear						1	3			
African American										
Curvilinear						9		1		
Rectilinear					3	24	7	2	1	
Euro American										
Curvilinear					3	2	1	1	1	
Rectilinear				1	16	13	10	9	7	1
Native American										
Curvilinear	4	10	17	10	3	4				
Rectilinear		3	11	17	6	2				
Total										
Curvilinear	4	10	17	10	8	15	1	2	1	
Rectilinear		3	11	17	26	45	20	11	9	2

metal-lined pit cellar was also used at a slave quarter constructed around 1820 at the Hermitage. Pits lined with stone were constructed from the late 18th until the late 19th centuries. Unlined pits were constructed from the mid-17th century until the 20th century and used until the 1960s.

Pit Function

When examining the different functions of pit cellars over time, they were constructed primarily for food storage (Tables 51-52). Personal storage increases during the English colonial period for Native Americans and pits constructed for this use by African Americans and Euro Americans were built throughout the 19th century. However, African Americans were digging pit cellars for personal storage primarily during the antebellum period, especially in Middle Tennessee, while Euro Americans constructed them at a higher frequency during the late 18th century. From 1825 to 1849, African Americans constructed pit cellars for food and personal storage equally.

In relation to specific food storage practices, Native Americans predominately built pit cellars to store root crops. Deep cool cellars were rarely constructed by Native Americans, but a few were built during the mid-18th century. These were additionally constructed by African Americans largely during the antebellum period. Euro Americans constructed cool cellars regularly from their initial encroachment into the area until the end of the 19th century. In East Tennessee, cool cellars were used constantly from the early 18th through the late 19th centuries while in Middle Tennessee they were mainly built during the early 19th century. Root cellars were mostly constructed by African Americans during the early 19th century. Euro Americans mostly created them during the late 18th century. In Middle Tennessee, root cellars were mainly built during the late 18th to early 19th centuries. In West Tennessee, one pit was found that was

Table 51. Pit cellar regional functions by construction date.

Pit Function	1650-1699	1700-1724	1725-1749	1750-1774	1775-1799	1800-1824	1825-1849	1850-1874	1875-1899	1900-1925
East										
General Storage						5	1	1	1	1
Food Storage	4	13	28	21	15	21	10	7	4	1
Root Cellar	2	1	1		3	8	3		2	
Cool Cellar			1	2	2	5	3	3	3	
Commercial Storage							1	2		
Personal Storage	2	9	9	13	8	7	6	4	1	
Equipment Storage			2		1		1	2		
Arms Storage				1	3	1		3		
Medicine Storage						4			1	
Hidey Hole	4					1	1	3	1	
Safe Deposit Box							1			
Borrow Pit					2					
Shrine/Ritual Concealment					1	1	1		1	
Middle										
Food Storage					14	28	7	5	3	
Root Cellar					13	14	1			
Cool Cellar					1	7	3		1	
Commercial Storage									2	
Personal Storage					6	13	5		1	
Equipment Storage							1		1	
Arms Storage							1		1	
Medicine Storage							2			
Borrow Pit						2	2			
West										
Food Storage						1	2			
Root Cellar							1			
Personal Storage							2			
Total										
General Storage						5	1	1	1	1
Food Storage	4	13	28	21	29	50	19	12	7	1
Root Cellar	2	1	1		16	22	5		2	
Cool Cellar			1	2	3	12	6	3	4	
Commercial Storage							1	2	2	
Personal Storage	2	9	9	13	14	20	13	4	2	
Equipment Storage			2		1		2	2	1	
Arms Storage				1	3	1	1	3	1	
Medicine Storage						4	2		1	
Hidey Hole	4					1	1	3	1	
Safe Deposit Box							1			
Borrow Pit					2	2	2			
Shrine/Ritual Concealment					1	1	1		1	

used to store root crops and people in this region used pit cellars equally for food and personal storage.

Specific types of personal storage, aside from small personal items, includes the stowage of equipment, arms, and medicine. Equipment storage was mainly utilized in East Tennessee between the 18th and 19th centuries. Equipment was stored in pits constructed by Native Americans during the colonial period. African Americans constructed pits for this purpose during the early 19th century. Euro Americans used pits for equipment storage during the late 18th century and again in the late 19th century.

Pits constructed to store arms were built from the mid-18th through the late 19th centuries. Peaks in use of arms storage coincides with the construction of Fort Loudoun and Tellico Blockhouse as well as during the Revolutionary and Civil Wars primarily in East Tennessee. In only a few instances were pits constructed and used for arms storage during periods of no major conflict. These occurred mainly in Middle Tennessee.

Pits built and used for medicine storage were constructed principally in the early 19th century in East Tennessee by all ethnic groups. In Middle Tennessee, these pits were only built from 1825 to 1849. African Americans constructed pits used for medicinal storage purposes during the first half of the 19th century. Euro Americans cellars functioned as possible medicine storage pits in the early 19th century and again in the late 19th century with the discovery of a buried whiskey bottle beneath the floorboards of a farmhouse. An example of a non-traditional Cherokee pit potentially used to store medicine was also constructed during the early 19th century.

Hidey holes were constructed in East Tennessee by Native Americans in the 17th century with Euro Americans and African Americans using them by the late 18th to late 19th centuries.

Native American pits were potentially used to hide goods during deer hunting season when the Cherokee became more involved in the deerskin trade. African Americans also used a few pits as hidey holes during the antebellum period. Euro Americans also had more instances of the construction and use of hidey holes during the Civil War era. A Euro American hidey hole was also used to conceal a whiskey bottle during the late 19th century coinciding with temperance movements common during that time (Reckner and Brighton 1999). However, pit cellars were potentially used as hidey holes by African Americans and Native Americans during periods of colonialization and enslavement.

Pit cellars that had originally been used for borrowing clay were constructed from 1775 to 1849 and coincide with a peak in log cabin construction. These mostly occurred in Middle Tennessee with a few early examples constructed in the eastern part of the state by African Americans and Euro Americans. Commercial storage was also rarely discovered during the survey but was used by Euro Americans during the 19th century in the Upland South and an unaffiliated pit cellar in Middle Tennessee. A single pit cellar potentially used as a safe deposit box was built by enslaved African Americans in East Tennessee during the 1830s.

Pit cellars used as potential shrines or ritual concealments were constructed between the late 18th century until the late 19th century in East Tennessee. African Americans built pits between the late 18th and early 19th centuries used for a possible ritual purpose. Euro Americans constructed one pit cellar in the early 19th century which was reconstructed in the 1850s with possible ritual items left within it. A whiskey bottle was also concealed during the late 1880s which could have been used as a conjure or witching bottle.

Chapter 7

Pit Context

A primary focus of this dissertation was to determine if pit cellars manifest themselves as expressions of identity in the form of ethnic boundary markers. To further contextualize the ethnic identity of residents who created and used pit cellars in Tennessee, a sample of sites, structures, and pits are examined in detail from various ethnic identities present in the state. If pit cellars were distinctive to particular ethnicities, then they should show a consistent pattern of construction and use between similar users in different contexts without overlap between ethnicities. The following chapter discusses the variability of pit cellars and types employed by various groups over time in different situations including personal choices about construction and use. To understand how pit cellars were built and utilized by different ethnic groups, three sites are reviewed including Chota, Fort Loudoun, and the Hermitage.

Chota (40MR02)/Tanasee (40MR62)

Chota was an Overhill Cherokee village situated on the Little Tennessee River at the periphery of the Ridge and Valley physiographic province in present-day Monroe County. Chota was closely associated with the adjacent village of Tanasee, and they could more accurately be described as two districts within a single community. A small stream forms the archaeological boundaries between these sites and was based on previous land ownership rather than any distinction in the archaeological materials (Schroedl 1986:5). Historically, the two villages were referenced separately indicating a distinction between the two though archaeologically they are similar.

Chota was occupied extensively from the early 18th century to the early 19th century with one inhabitant, Old Bark, residing there until the 1820s (Schroedl 1986:14). Chota is believed to have originated as part of Tanasee and later grew to become its own polity (Schroedl 1986:10). During the early 18th century, Tanasee was more politically powerful and early historical sources largely refer to Tanasee, including descriptions of English traders and diplomatic military envoys to the town primarily from South Carolina (Schroedl 1986:9). Tanasee was referenced until the 1760s. However, Chota gained political dominance during the 1740s and 1750s (Schroedl 1986:10). Chota's townhouse was constructed during this time and growing political power set in motion the succession of several Cherokee leaders from the town (Schroedl 1986:10). At its height, Chota consisted of a pavilion, townhouse, and central plaza surrounded by about 60 domestic households, comprised of winter and summer dwellings, probably housing from 300 to 600 individuals (Schroedl 1986). Chota was considered a locus of political power for the Overhill Cherokee until the 1780s when the capital was moved to North Georgia. The main reason for its decline was associated with Cherokee involvement in the Revolutionary War and their alliance with the British. Other factors included multiple treaties with Americans, like the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals, which severely decreased Cherokee territory over time and prompted a reduction in Chota's influence, as well as epidemic disease. Raids by American militia, led by John Sevier, destroyed several Cherokee villages including Chota in 1780 (Schroedl 1986:13). Though rebuilt by 1784, the village contained fewer residents through the early part of the 19th century.

Chota was primarily excavated by the University of Tennessee as part of the Tellico Dam Project which flooded portions of the Little Tennessee and Tellico Rivers (Schroedl 2009a). The site was excavated over a period of six field seasons from 1969 to 1974, though Cyrus Thomas

and the WPA also conducted earlier excavations (Schroedl 1986:16). Focus of research questions and excavations centered on the Overhill Cherokee component of the site just below the plow zone. Features were excavated by hand after the plow zone was removed by mechanical striping. A total of 783 features, 91 burials, 5,577 post molds, and 31 structures were documented during excavations primarily located on the second terrace above the floodplain (Schroedl 1986). Chota was inhabited primarily during the 18th century but reached its height during the colonial period (1746-1774). Most features excavated at Chota date to this period (Schroedl 1986:532).

For the purposes of this survey, Chota and Tanasee were kept separate based on their site numbers. At Chota, 24 pits associated with 22 structures, with potentially 18 different households, were recorded during the survey. This represents the most pits recorded at a site and can be accounted for by the size of the town and extensive excavations undertaken at the site. Tanasee is smaller in size and had 7 structures with 13 associated pit cellars.

Six domestic dwellings contained pit cellars at Chota. Dwellings consisted of two circular winter and two unassociated rectangular summer buildings, a segmented rectangular three-bay building, and a horizontal-pole cabin inhabited between the colonial and Federal periods. Most structures, however, date to the colonial period. Pits were constructed within winter and summer dwellings indicating their use year-round for food preservation and personal storage.

Multiple types of pits were recovered including small to large rectangular interior pit cellars, some with posts, a large oval interior pit with posts, and small to large rectangular and oval outbuilding pits with posts. Twice as many outbuilding pits with posts were found at the

site in comparison to interior pits. The data indicates that the Cherokee preferred exterior modes of storage including pits with posts and exterior storage pits.

Winter and summer domestic dwellings contained interior storage pits, some of which had posts for supporting the superstructure of the building. While no paired summer and winter structures both contained pit cellars at Chota, at nearby Tanasee, two sets of paired dwellings contained interior pits. A single exterior pit with posts was found in direct association with paired dwellings (Structures 27 and 28) at Chota. This type of dwelling generally dates prior to the American Revolution and at Chota they were primarily representative of the colonial period.

Winter Domestic Dwellings

Twelve interior pit cellars were within eight circular winter structures at four Cherokee sites recorded in the database. Overall, pits in winter domestic dwellings averaged about 4 ft. in length, 3 ft. in width, and depth averaged 0.9 ft. Area was estimated at 15.2 sq. ft. and volume at 19.9 cu. ft. Plan shapes were generally oval or circular pits with basin-shaped to flat-shaped bases as well as two large rectangular pits with flat bases.

Structure 12

At Chota, a large interior pit with posts was recorded in Structure 12, a winter domestic dwelling (Figure 45). Structure 12 was paired with a rectangular summer dwelling (Structure 13), and both dated to the English colonial period. Structure 13 consisted of post molds within a 32 x 17 ft. area and contained several burials and a small fire pit (Feature 622) (Schroedl 1986:246). Structure 12 measured 23 ft. in diameter and consisted of nearly 50 post molds defining a circular area. While most structures of this type contain a hearth and support posts, no

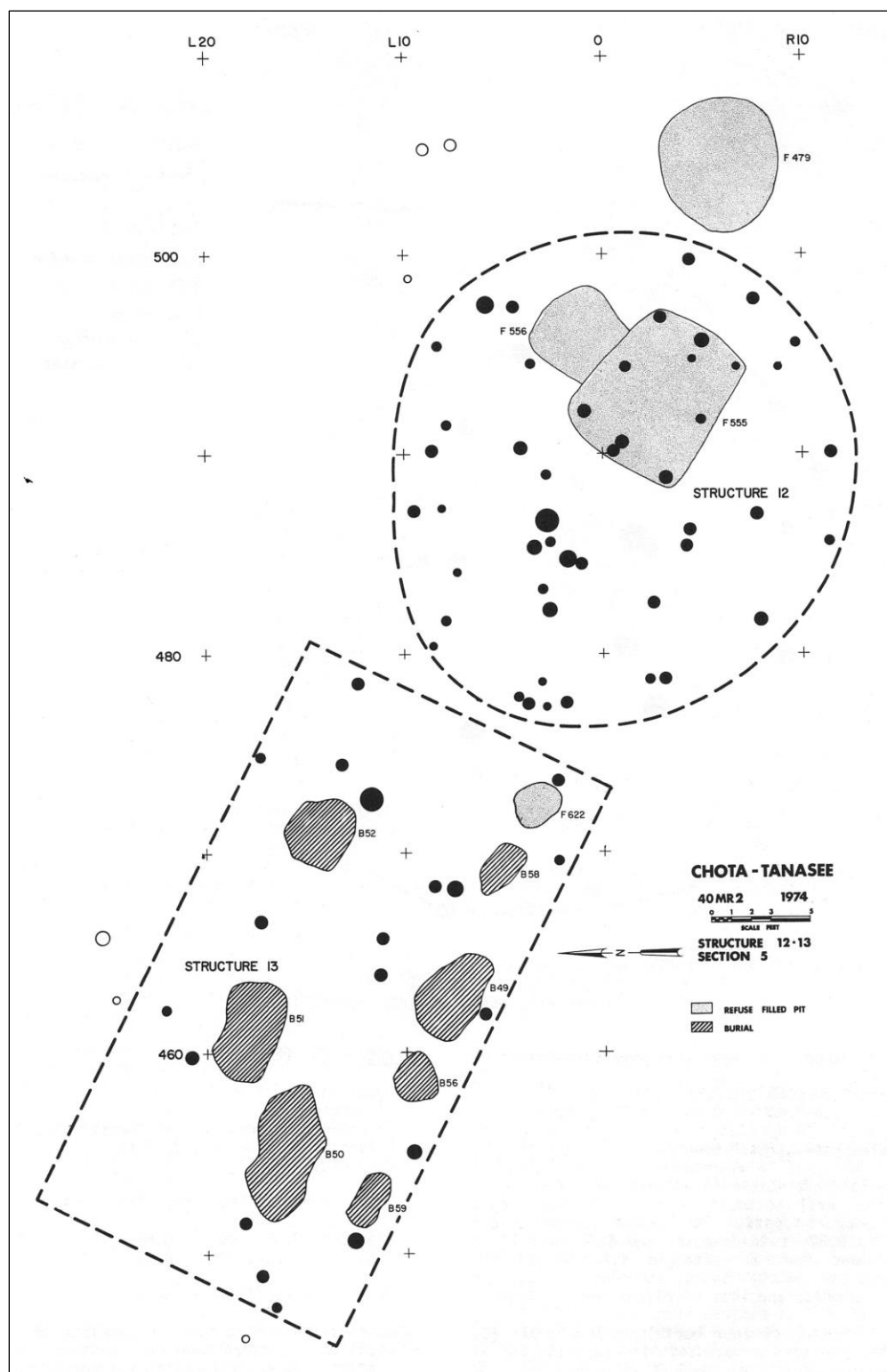


Figure 45. Excavation plan of Structures 12 and 13 (Schroedl 1986:247, Figure 4.23).

definitive features of this type were found, likely due to being truncated by plowing. The structure contained a large rectangular pit with posts located just off-center of the building (Feature 555) which intruded an earlier oval basin (Feature 556). The structure also had an exterior oval pit located near the east wall (Feature 479).

Feature 555 was an unlined, rectangular pit with posts with straight walls and a flat base found within Structure 12 (Figure 46). It measured 7.6 x 6.2 x 1.7 ft. in dimension with complex stratigraphy. The pit had 10 post molds at its base which likely supported a cover and could have also been used for roof support posts (Schroedl 1986:246). Five strata were identified within the pit which consisted of layers of dark brown clay or silt loam (Schroedl 1986:75). Near the base were layers of yellow clay silt loam and fired earth and daub covering the floor. Charred grass or cane and fragments of posts or planks were also found in the pit indicating primary deposits associated with the pit covering or potentially the superstructure.

Potential uses of the pit included food and/or personal storage. Reported artifacts for the feature included diagnostic lithics and European trade goods (Table 53). Indigenous ceramics and non-diagnostic lithics were not described for individual features at Chota. Diagnostic lithics included a Woodland gorget, a Cherokee square stem pipe, and miscellaneous Cherokee stone pipe fragments. Historic artifacts were identified to functional category based on South's (1977) artifact groups though slightly modified for use on an Indigenous site. Eighty European manufactured artifacts were recovered including an arms-based artifact, a personal item, 77 glass beads, and an activity item. The arms category included gun parts, gunflints, musket balls, and lead sprue. Personal items found at the site included things like combs, coins, keys, mirror fragments, and jewelry. The activity group included farm-related objects, hardware, tools, knives, wire, as well as toys, fishing gear, ceramic pipes, and military objects. A large number

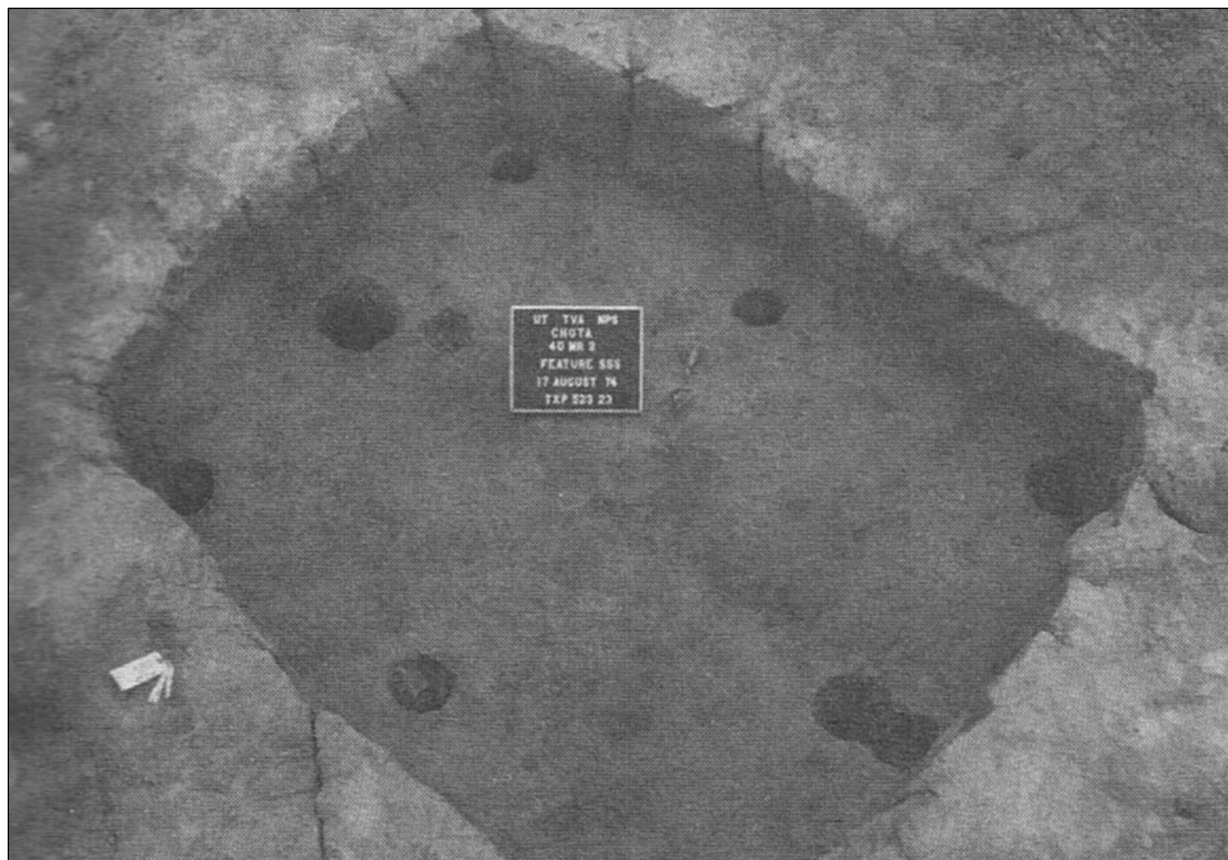


Figure 46. Rectangular pit with posts (Feature 555) in Structure 12 (Schroedl 1986:75, Figure 2.39).

Table 53. Artifacts recovered from a sample of pit cellars at Chota.

Artifact Group	F. 555	%	F. 510	%	F. 516	%	F. 531	%	F. 271	%	F. 255	%	F. 256	%	F. 281	%
Kitchen							1	0.85			1	1.6			2	6.7
Architecture							1	0.85			4	6.5			1	3.3
Furniture																
Arms	1	1.2	2	20							2	3.2				
Clothing					1	1.2	1	0.85								
Personal	1	1.2			1	1.2	1	0.85								
Beads	77	92.8	8	80	82	97.6	103	88	23	71.9	42	67.7			26	86.7
Tobacco							2	1.7			1	1.6				
Activities	1	1.2					8	6.83	8	25	12	19.4				
Modified									1	3.1						
Diagnostic Lithics	3	3.6											1	100	1	3.3
Total	83		10		84		117		32		62		1		30	

of beads (n=77) were recovered and likely represent small finds dropped within the dwelling or they are potentially associated with materials stored in the pit.

Summer Domestic Dwellings

Five rectangular summer domestic dwellings were associated with 10 pits that occurred at three sites. Pits in summer dwellings averaged 4.4 ft. in length, 3.5 ft. in width, 1 ft. in depth, 18 sq. ft. in area, and 31.7 cu. ft. in volume. Plan shapes included circular to oval pits with basin-shaped and flat bases as well as three rectangular pits with flat bases. Pits in summer dwellings were on average larger than winter dwellings and could be indicative of the amount of space available, the type of materials or foods being stored, or the size and material abundance of a household.

Structure 11

Structure 11 was a rectangular summer dwelling paired with a circular winter dwelling (Structure 10) dating to the colonial period (Figure 47). The structure was identified by over a hundred posts forming a generally rectangular pattern which measured 35 x 19 ft. The associated winter dwelling was 24 ft. in diameter with three major roof support posts at its center and two interments near its walls. Structure 11 contained two burials and multiple cob-filled pits (Features 515, 517, 530, and 560) which were used for burning corn cobs for various purposes. Three small, rectangular refuse-filled pits used for storage were also found within its boundaries (Features 510, 516, and 531). It appears that multiple small pits were preferred in this household as opposed to single large pits which were found within other dwellings. Multiple oval-to-circular refuse-filled basins and pits were found towards the east of Structure 11 (Features 519,

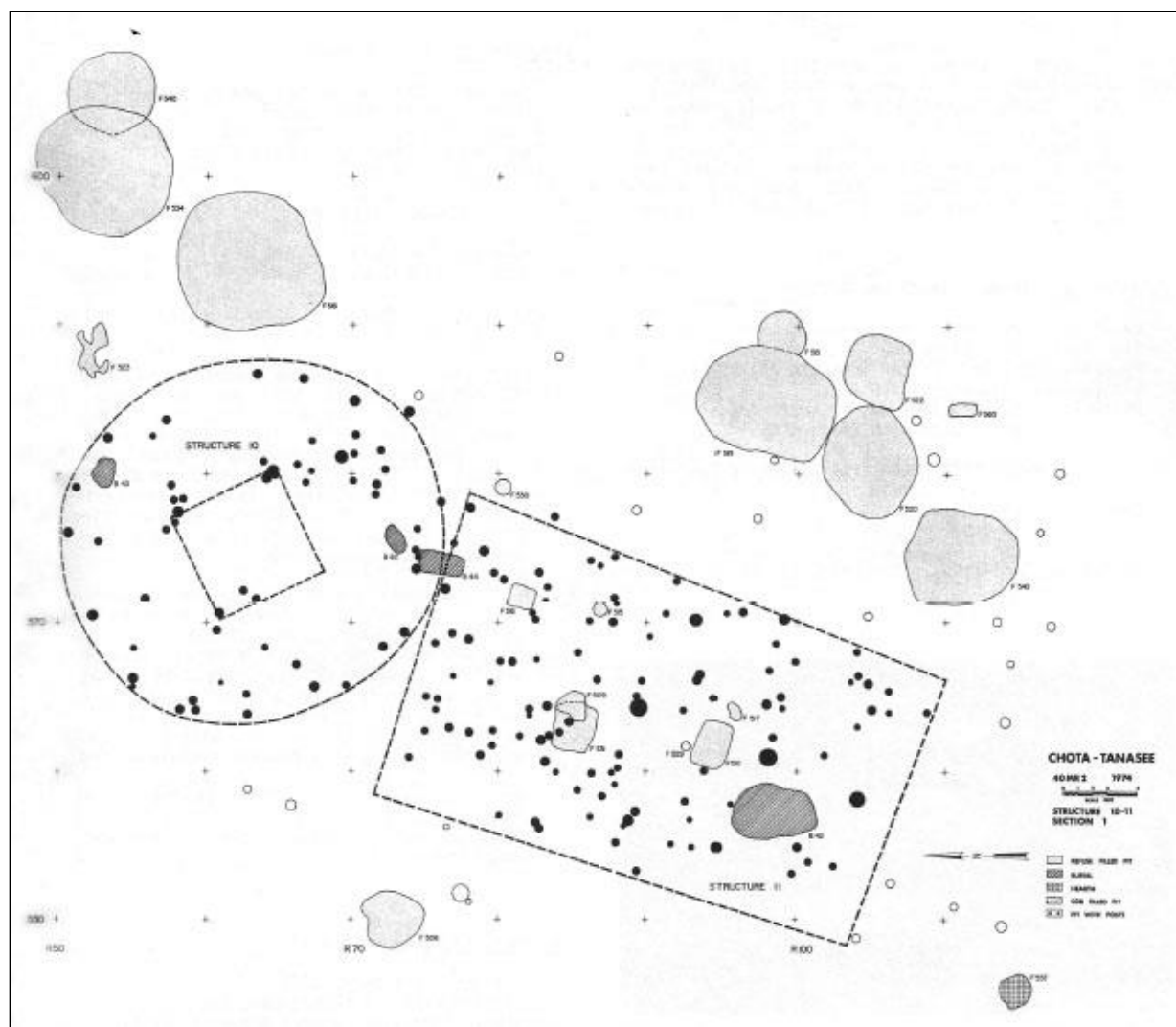


Figure 47. Excavation plan of Structures 10 and 11 (Schroedl 1986:245, Figure 4.21).

520, 521, 522, and 543) and northeast of Structure 10 (Features 518, 534, and 540). These features were used as borrow pits or potentially storage pits. A small oval basin (Feature 506) and a fire pit (Feature 557) were located towards the west of the building. No hearths were recovered within Structures 10 or 11 due to plowing.

Feature 510 was located near the center of the structure and measured 3.4 x 2 x 0.6 ft. with rounded corners, slightly sloping sidewalls, and a flat base (Figure 48) (Schroedl 1986:56). Fill consisted of a single stratum of yellow mottled clay and silt loam with small fragments of daub and charcoal. The pit contained a small amount of cultural remains including two arms-related artifacts and eight glass beads (Table 53, p. 276). This pit likely served as a personal storage pit.

Feature 516 was an unlined 2.3 x 1.7 x 0.3 ft. rectangular storage pit with straight and sloping walls and a flat bottom placed near the northeast corner of Structure 11 (Schroedl 1986:56). A layer of ceramic sherds was found atop the feature which was comprised of a single stratum of secondary fill (Figure 49). A clothing object, a personal item, as well as 82 glass beads were found in the pit (Table 53, p. 276). The pit is believed to have been used for food and/or personal storage.

Feature 531 was an off-center rectangular pit with vertical walls and a flat base (Schroedl 1986:56). A layer of charcoal (Feature 509) was found partially covering the feature and two posts intruded the fill. The feature's matrix consisted of four strata characterized by texture, color, and relative amounts of charcoal and daub. European artifacts found within the pit included a kitchen artifact, an architectural object, a clothing item, a personal item, 103 glass beads, 2 tobacco pipes, and 8 activity-related objects (Table 53, p. 276). The bones of an articulated bird wing and a turtle carapace rattle were also found potentially indicating the



Figure 48. Rectangular refuse-filled pit (Feature 510) in Structure 11 (Schroedl 1986:57, Figure 2.16).

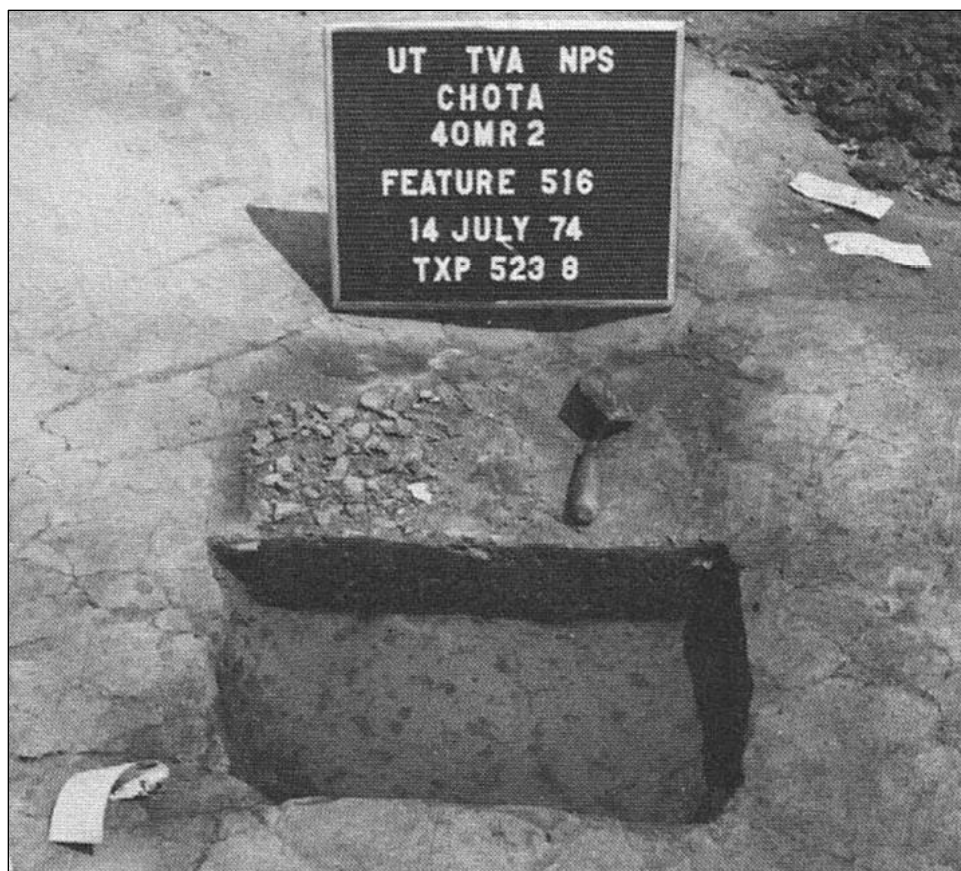


Figure 49. Rectangular refuse-filled pit (Feature 516) in Structure 11 (Schroedl 1986:57, Figure 2.17).

storage of ritual items in the pit. European artifacts date the pit cellar and its associated features to the colonial (post-1750) through Federal periods (1794-1818) (Schroedl 1986:57). The feature is thought to have been used as a personal storage pit based on its contents.

Rectangular Three-Bay Dwellings

Rectangular three-bay dwellings also contained interior storage pits some with posts excavated into their base. This type of structure is representative of structures recorded at Tomotley, another Cherokee site dating to the middle to late 18th century (1750-1775) (Baden 1983). Five structures contained seven pit cellars within them at four sites. Pits averaged 5.1 ft. in length, 3.1 ft. in width, and were typically 0.8 ft. in depth. Area averaged 15.3 sq. ft. and volume was estimated at 12.3 cu. ft. Plan shape was primarily rectangular with straight walls and flat bases. One circular to oval basin-shaped pit was also recovered. Four exterior pits with posts were also found in association with two rectangular segmented three-bay dwellings. One of these was located at Chota.

Structure 8

Structure 8 is a Tomotley-type, single, rectangular dwelling with three equally segmented rooms (Schroedl 1986:241-243). The structure was identified by 82 post molds set in a rectangular plan measuring 30 x 11.6 ft. (Figure 50). No hearth was recovered but several cob-filled pits and a refuse-filled basin were identified. Four pits were included in the database including an interior pit with posts (Feature 271) and three exterior outbuilding pits with posts (Features 255, 256, and 281). A rectangular refuse-filled basin, likely used for storage, was also located outside of the east wall of the building (Feature 284) and a number of circular-to-oval

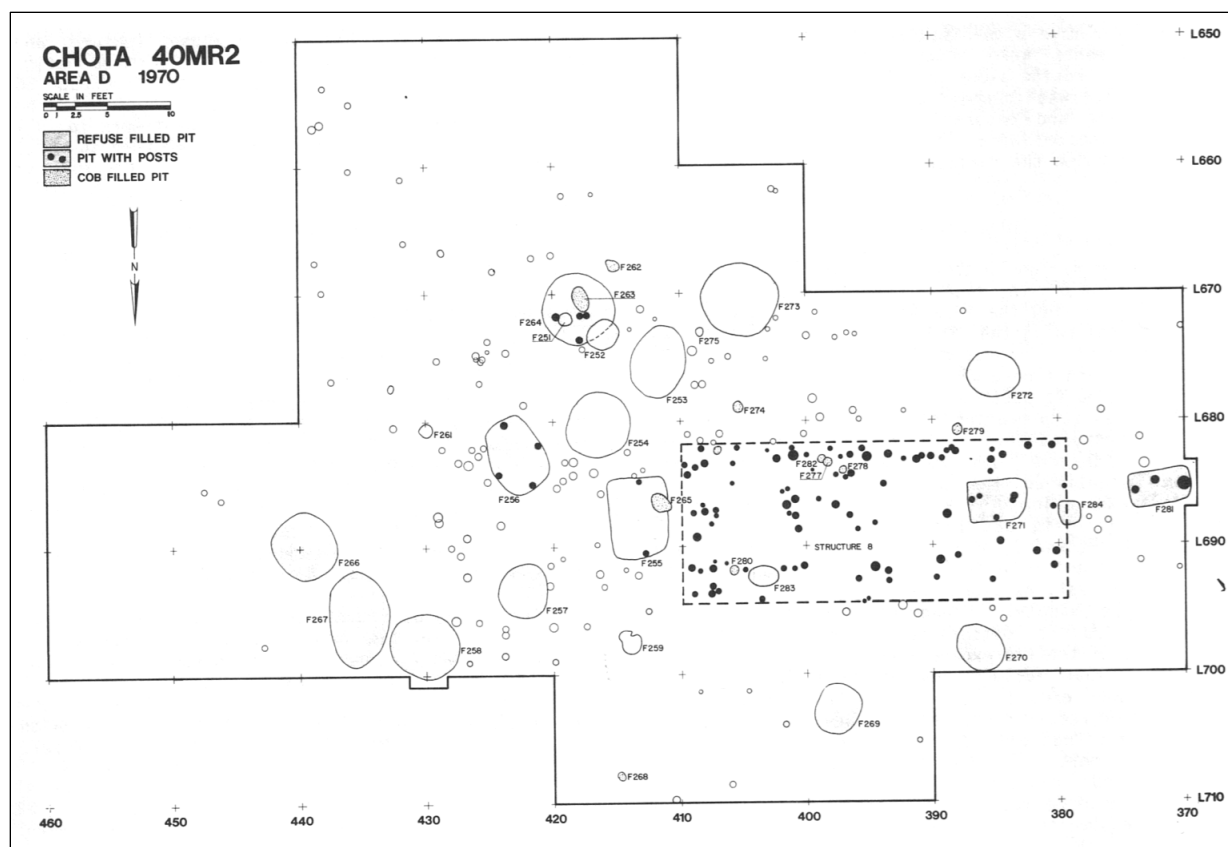


Figure 50. Structure 8 excavation plan (Schroedl 1986:24, Figure 1.21).

pits surround the structure. The structure dates to the Federal period (1794-1819) based on artifacts found within Feature 255.

Within the western section of Structure 8, an unlined interior pit cellar with five posts at its base was recovered measuring 4.7 x 3.6 x 0.3 ft. Some post molds intruded other posts intrusive indicating reconstruction or renovation of the pit. The pit was rectangular in plan measuring 16.9 sq. ft. with straight sidewalls, a flat base, and a total volume of 16.9 cu. ft. The pit was comprised of a single stratum and contained 32 European manufactured objects including 23 beads, 8 activity items, and 1 modified piece (Table 53, p. 276). The pit was interpreted as being used for food and/or personal storage.

This western section of the structure could have been used as a processing or storage room similar to structures at Tomotley. Structure 24 at Tomotley contained a section with three pit cellars which contained lots of botanical and faunal remains. This section of the dwelling was likely used as a room for storage or processing (Baden 1983:147). The eastern segment contained two cob-filled pits, a refuse-filled basin, and bench supports. It is possible they had specialized rooms.

Three exterior pits with posts were located within the vicinity of the structure's eastern and western ends. These represent post-in-ground outbuildings. While no fired areas occurred at their bases, they were likely used to store food.

Feature 255 was a rectangular unlined pit with straight walls and a flat base with two post molds. It measured 6.8 x 4.8 x 2.1 ft. with a total area of 32.6 sq. ft. and 68.5 cu. ft. of volume. It had a complex stratigraphy with a dark brown, brown, and yellowish-brown matrix containing a kitchen item, 4 architectural artifacts, 2 arms-related objects, 42 glass beads, 1 tobacco item,

and 12 artifacts in the activities group (Table 53, p. 276). A cob-filled pit (Feature 265) intruded the pit's fill. This pit with posts served primarily as a place to store food.

Feature 256 was a pit with posts similar and adjacent to Feature 255. It was rectangular with straight walls and a flat base; however, it contained four post molds at its midpoints. The pit measured 5.9 x 4.5 x 0.7 ft. comprising an area of 26.6 sq. ft. and volume of 18.6 cu. ft. It contained a single stratum, and the floor was covered with a layer of carbonized grass or cane. A single stone pipe fragment was recorded in the pit's fill with no European artifacts found. This pit was also likely used for food storage.

Feature 281 was located near the western wall of Structure 8. The pit was also rectangular in plan with straight walls and a flat base. It measured 4.8 x 2.7 x 0.3 ft. with an area of 13 sq. ft. and 3.9 cu. ft. of volume. It had a simple stratigraphy with two post molds at its base. Two kitchen items, an architectural object, 26 glass beads, and a stone pipe were found within the pit (Table 53, p. 276). This pit was also likely used for food storage.

Discussion

Pit cellars at Chota were found in multiple types of structures over the course of the colonial and Federal periods during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Paired winter and summer dwellings were the preferred type of Cherokee housing found throughout a majority of the 18th century and contained single large pit cellars or multiple small pits within them as well as multiple exterior pits used for storage and/or borrow pits including pits with posts. Other types of dwellings became popular to traditional Cherokee by the mid-to-late 18th century including single rectangular three-bay dwellings which typically contained one pit cellar and in a few cases were associated with outbuilding pits with posts. Structure 8 at Chota was associated with a

single small interior pit with posts and multiple exterior pits with posts one of which was large. Household preferences changed from two specialized seasonal dwellings to one dwelling with multiple specialized rooms. Structure 8 contained a single pit within a room believed to have been used for storage or processing foods similar to a pantry or kitchen, while another room contained multiple bench posts for the living area. Specialized storage outbuildings were also used primarily during the mid to late 18th century. Later, the Cherokee began living in single-pen log cabins similar to Euro Americans with single interior pits although multiple exterior storage pits were still used.

Fort Loudoun (40MR1)/Tuskegee (40MR4)

Fort Loudoun was a mid-18th-century English colonial fort constructed in the heart of Overhill Cherokee territory at their request to deter incursion from the French and their allies during the French and Indian War. The fort was situated near the confluence of the Little Tennessee and Tellico Rivers in the Valley and Ridge provenience within present-day Monroe County in East Tennessee. The fort was built on a slope near the end of a low limestone ridge and the second terrace above the Little Tennessee River (Kuttruff 2010:1). It was diamond shaped with bastions at each corner and measured 300 ft. on each side (Figure 51) (Kelly 1978:78; Bergeron et al. 1999:15). A ditch, parapet, as well as inner and outer palisade lines surrounded the fort which housed up to 16 cannon and upwards of a few hundred men, women, and children. Interior buildings included the powder magazine, a blacksmith shop, storehouses, and living quarters for the enlisted men. The contemporaneous Cherokee village of Tuskegee was just south of the fort, located primarily on the second terrace and spread out over most of the bottom between the fort and next ridge to the south.

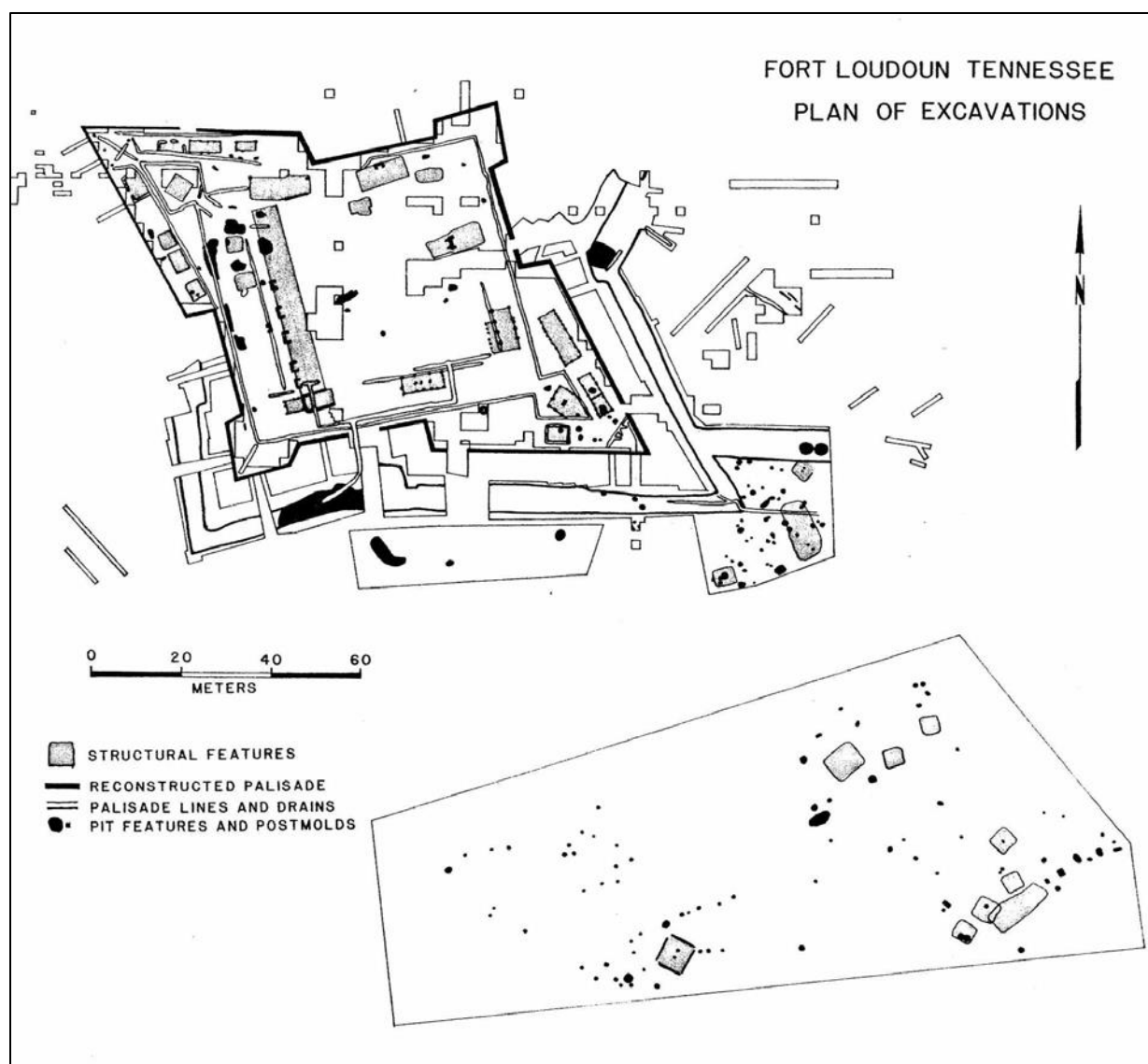


Figure 51. Plan of 1975-1976 Fort Loudoun and Tuskegee excavations (Kuttruff 2010:7, Figure 6).

In 1756, a detachment of 200 troops were sent to construct and garrison the fort from South Carolina led by Captain Raymond Demere, expedition commander and engineer, and John DeBrahm who supervised construction (Bergeron et al. 1999:15). While there were many issues with the fort's construction, it was finalized in 1757 and garrisoned with troops until it was surrendered to the Cherokee three years later. In 1760, growing hostilities between Euro American settlers, colonial powers, and the Cherokee led to conflict at Fort Loudoun. The fort was besieged for nearly six months after which time the British surrendered. Its armaments were abandoned, and the inhabitants were allowed to leave. However, the next day Cherokee warriors attacked the group killing over 20 soldiers, 3 women, and most officers while taking the rest as prisoners (Bergeron et al. 1999:18). After the fort was deserted, it was likely demolished shortly after by the Cherokee since the fort was described as a ruin by Henry Timberlake during his travels in 1761-1762 (Kuttruff 2010:61).

Fort Loudoun and the adjacent Cherokee village of Tuskegee were primarily excavated as part of the Tellico Archaeological Project by the TVA and the Tennessee Division of Archaeology from 1975 to 1976 (Kuttruff 2010). Previous excavations had taken place at the fort during the 20th century including investigations by the Works Progress Administration, the Fort Loudoun Historical Association, the Tennessee Division of Archaeology, and the University of Tennessee primarily for interpretation and reconstruction of the fort. Additional work at Tuskegee was also undertaken by the University of Tennessee (Guthe and Blistine 1981). Excavations completed by the Tennessee Division of Archaeology exposed the defensive works including the ditch and parapet, bastions, and palisades as well as other detached features outside of the fort. A total of 24 potential structures were identified including barracks, officer's quarters, the powder magazine, the commissary, a guard house, a blacksmith shop, and

storehouse (Kuttruff 2010). Test units were largely excavated in 2m squares in natural and arbitrary levels depending on the visibility of the strata while features were generally excavated separately.

A unique feature was uncovered during excavations which was initially used as a pit cellar within a barracks and was later converted into an outbuilding pit with posts. The pit was kept as a single converted pit cellar within the database. The following describes the context of the pit cellar and potential interpretations.

Structure 1

Structure 1 at Fort Loudoun was positioned in the Southeast Bastion between the inner and outer palisade walls. It was a post-in-ground rectangular building measuring 32.8 x 9.8 ft. in dimension and was potentially built of hewn log or possibly frame siding (Figure 52). Postholes were rectangular with circular post molds spaced to create a four-bay structure with partitions or possibly two separate structures (Kuttruff 2010:138). The center of the building contained an open hearth (Feature 71), and a pit cellar (Feature 45) was uncovered at its southern end. The building was believed to have been used as a temporary barracks during the early period of the fort which was later dismantled possibly as early as 1757 once the fort's construction was complete (Kuttruff 2010:141). Archaeological evidence indicates that slag was distributed over the remains of the structure suggesting that the building was torn down during operation of the nearby blacksmith shop (Structure 2) and prior to the end of the fort's occupation (Kuttruff 2010:141).

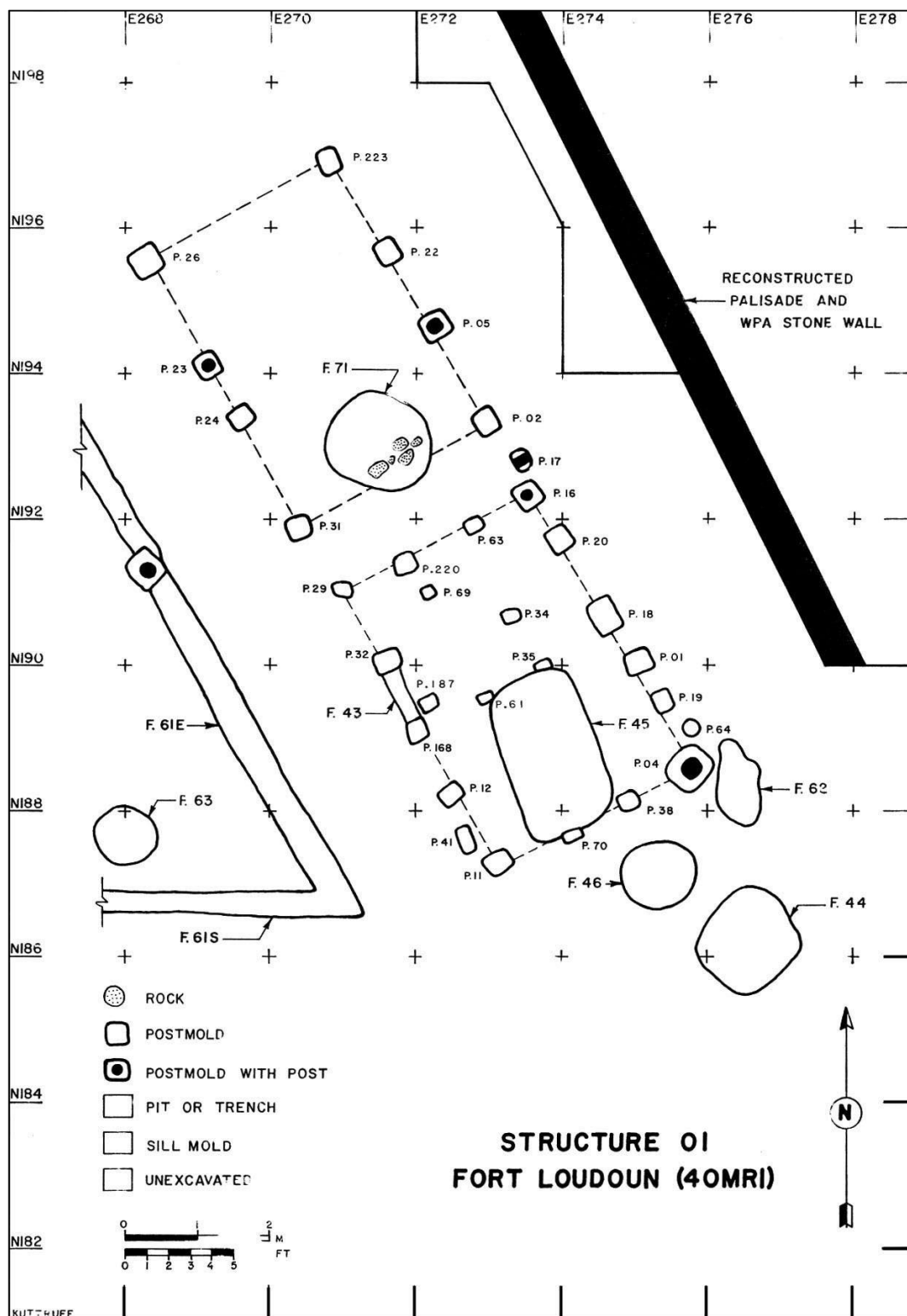


Figure 52. Structure 1 with outlines indicating partitions or potentially two structures (Kuttruff 2010:139, Figure 60).

Feature 45

Feature 45 was an unlined pit cellar initially excavated within Structure 1 and represents the earliest example of a Euro American pit in Tennessee. It was rectangular in plan, measuring 7.2 x 4.3 ft., with straight to sloping walls and a flat base that was 2.5 ft. deep (Figure 53). At some point after the dismantling of the temporary barracks, two posts were excavated into its base creating a Cherokee-style pit with posts. Pit stratigraphy shows a period of use and abandonment prior to intrusion of two posts at its base.

Five zones were identified within the feature fill that consisted of differential episodes of filling and use. Zone 4 was a mottled brown clay at the base of the pit. Zone 3 was a black loam with yellow clay mottling and charcoal which overlaid Zone 4. Zone 5 was a small pocket of sterile mottled clay along the west wall above Zone 3 (Kuttruff 2010:140). Zone 2 was a primary deposit consisting of a fired area with an ash lens and red clay mottling at the center of the pit. The remainder of the pit (Zone 1) was filled with a brown loam with charcoal mottling, limestone, and slag (Kuttruff 2010:140). Zone 3 forms the floor of the pit with posts while Zone 1 was deposited after its abandonment. Zones 3 and 4 are believed to have been deposited during or after abandonment of Structure 1 prior to conversion into a pit with posts.

A total of 3,642 artifacts were recovered in the pit cellar (Table 54) (Kuttruff 2010:295). Raw materials/manufacturing debris was by far the most numerous artifact category found within the feature. This was made up of slag and other materials associated with refuse from the nearby blacksmith shop. Slag totaled 1,976 pieces weighting 11.1 kg. It was found in abundance near the blacksmith shop around the Southeast Bastion and particularly in Feature 45 which contained one of the highest counts of slag within a pit feature. Only Feature 44 outside of Structure 1 and

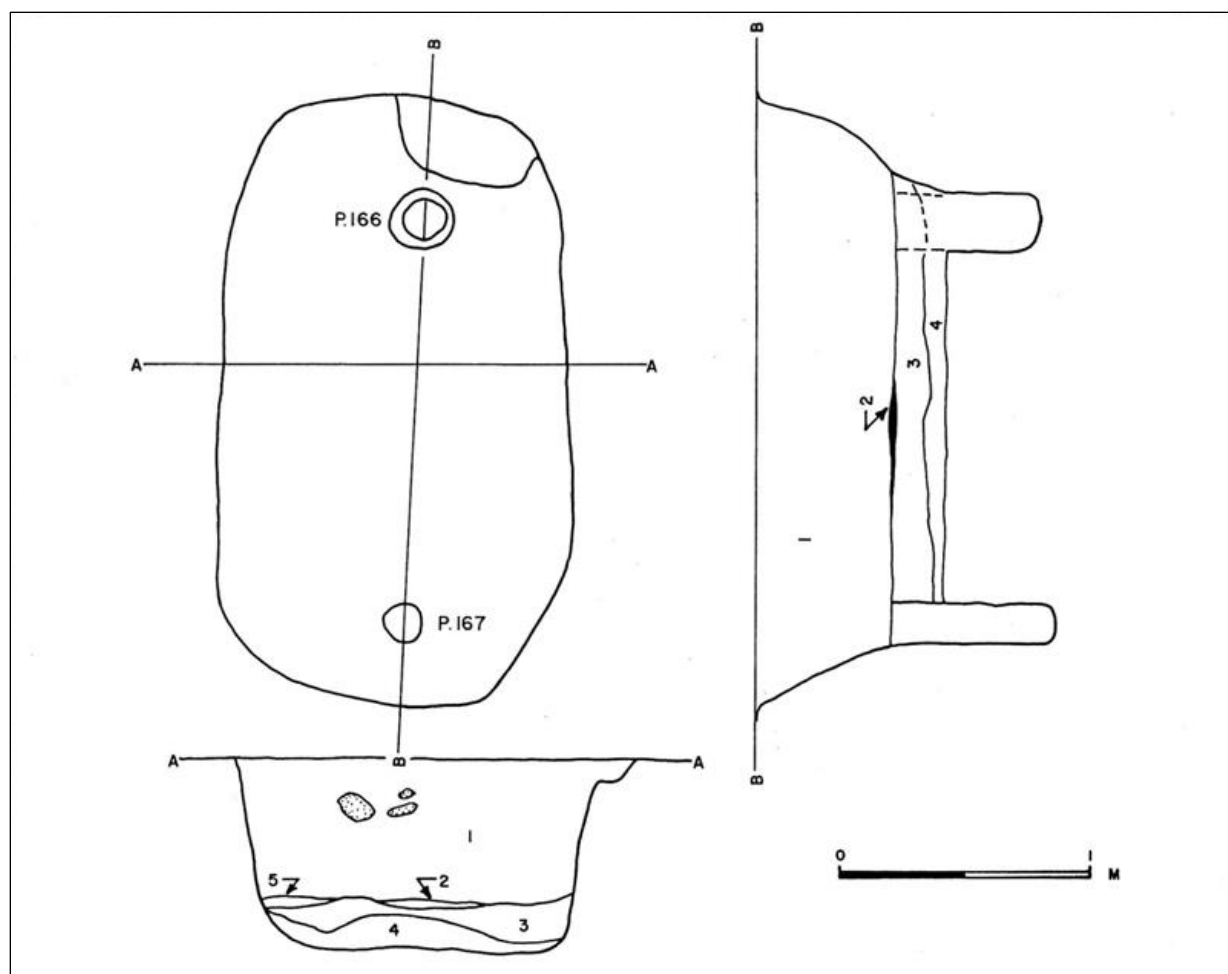


Figure 53. Feature 45 plan and profile views (Kuttruff 2010:140, Figure 61).

Table 54. Artifacts recovered from Feature 45.

Artifact Group	Count	%
English and Chinese Ceramics	1	0.03
Cherokee Ceramics	350	9.6
Glass	4	0.1
Nails	36	1.0
Building and Furniture Hardware	1	0.03
Braces and Strapping	1	0.03
Raw Materials and Manufacturing Debris	1,991	54.7
Arms	12	0.3
Buckles	1	0.03
Buttons	2	0.06
Personal Adornment	24	0.7
Grooming Items	1	0.03
Equestrian Items	2	0.05
Animal Bones	467	12.8
Prehistoric Ceramics	417	11.4
Lithic Artifacts	21	0.6
Lithic Debitage	311	8.5
Total	3,642	

Feature 50 near Structure 3 south of blacksmith shop contained more raw materials and manufacturing debris.

Other recovered materials were mostly comprised of Cherokee and prehistoric ceramics, animal bones, and lithic debitage. Cherokee ceramics totaled 350 sherds comprising nearly 10% of the artifacts recovered in the feature. The pit contained the highest number of these ceramics relative to other pit features excavated at the site, the next highest count being 259 pieces within Feature 50. Only the latrine and two large ditch or midden features contained more historic Indigenous ceramic sherds. Euro Americans at the fort were using Cherokee ceramics for utilitarian purposes and they frequently occur within features at the fort comprising one of the largest artifact categories (Kuttruff 2010:379). Only a single Chinese porcelain sherd was found in Feature 45. The site itself only had 36 European or Chinese pieces recovered. Redeposited prehistoric ceramic counts within the feature exceeded historic totals with 417 sherds. This represents one of the highest counts of prehistoric ceramics aside from those found in an interior drain and a large midden feature. Other artifacts consisted of nails, arms-related objects, and personal adornment items including a silver earring, a brass hawk bell fragment, and glass beads. Based on the context of the pit, it is believed that it could have functioned to store food, personal objects, and potentially arms-related items.

Discussion

Kuttruff (2010) interpreted the converted feature as a hothouse or sweathouse constructed and used by occupants of the fort shortly after the barracks was dismantled. The interpretation of pits with posts being used as hothouses has been discussed in previous literature (Schroedl 1986:68-69). The occurrence of fired areas at their bases and historic accounts of what

Europeans historically described as hothouses has led to their interpretation as possible sweathouses (Polhemus 1975). However, the use of the term “hothouse” also referred to winter domestic dwellings (Schroedl 1986:69). Fired areas were also only located within the base of some outbuilding pits with posts consisting of small, fired clay, ash, and wood charcoal concentrations or lenses. Fired areas with pits with posts were generally small in size and the pits don’t appear to have had large fires within them or been fired multiple, successive times as expected if used as a sweathouse.

I propose that Feature 45 was converted to a Cherokee pit with posts used as a storage outbuilding possibly during occupation of the fort but more likely after its abandonment by the garrison. The stratigraphy of the pit indicates that the pit was excavated, used for some time, then filling occurred during occupation or shortly after demolition of the overlaying structure by soldiers garrisoned at the fort. After that time, the pit was left opened and then converted to an outbuilding pit with posts. A small fire was then used to dry the clay or potentially smoke or dry meats, hides, and vegetables. The pit was then filled after its use as a pit with posts sometime in the middle to late 18th century.

Artifacts found within the feature were not described by stratigraphic position but indicate a high incidence of Cherokee and prehistoric ceramics, lithics, as well as slag. A large proportion of traditional ceramics in relation to mass-produced ceramics are commonly found at Cherokee sites (Ramenofsky 1998:88-89). However, the inhabitants of the fort were also regularly using Cherokee ceramics as utilitarian vessels (Kuttruff 2010:379). Adornment items including a silver earring were also found that were more likely associated with the Cherokee than with the garrison (Kuttruff 2010:610). Cherokee ceramics and adornment objects could have been trade goods bought for barter by soldiers or used by members of the garrison. They

also could have been used and discarded by the Cherokee after its conversion to a pit with posts. The large amount of slag could indicate that the pit was filled during operation of the blacksmith shop or a concentration of material from around Structure 1 was included in the pit's fill. Raw materials and manufacturing debris occur in large amounts near the southeast bastion and were deposited over the remains of Structure 1. The high concentrations of slag, Cherokee coarseware, and prehistoric artifacts suggests that the materials could have been pulled from the surrounding area and redeposited within the pit after its use rather than as a specific dumping spot for the blacksmith shop. Two other pits near Structures 1 and 3 also contained large amounts of these materials and included Cherokee adornment items which could represent a Cherokee occupation in this area after the fort was abandoned or the presence of Cherokee residing within the fort.

Examination of the pit's fill and artifacts creates two plausible scenarios. The pit could have been converted into a creolized version of a pit with posts used as storage cellar by the inhabitants of the fort or it was a marker of Cherokee ethnicity indicating a Cherokee domestic presence during or after the fort was abandoned and dismantled. I propose that Feature 45 was a Euro American pit cellar later used as a Cherokee pit with posts constructed by inhabitants of Tuskegee after the fort was surrendered.

After the demolition of the temporary barracks, soldiers would likely have no longer needed small storage outbuildings as storehouses, and corn houses had been constructed at that point. It could possibly be associated with the occupation of Structure 5, another post-in-ground structure believed to have been used as a temporary barracks which stood the entirety of the fort's existence; however, the inhabitants would have likely constructed a pit cellar underneath the building for personal storage rather than outside of the structure. Soldiers were also

constructing buildings regularly at the site and its stands to reason that if they wanted to continue use of the pit as a storage outbuilding, they would have likely created another European-style, post-in-ground structure above it.

Pits with posts were associated with domestic buildings and as such could have been used by families living in the fort. Sixty women and some children were at the fort upon its surrender (Kuttruff 2010:57). It is possible that soldiers were marrying Cherokee women as well. Cherokee men and women were allowed within the fort's walls and a large number were recalled as coming to the fort every day to trade or mend tools and weapons at the blacksmith shop (Kelly 1978:84). It is possible that Cherokee were living in the fort and reused the open pit.

Pits with posts were related to Cherokee lifeways and regularly occur in association with Cherokee domestic dwellings. A Cherokee influence at Fort Loudoun is evident as it was directly adjacent to the town of Tuskegee and was a locus of trade and interaction. However, the pit with posts is more likely associated with the inhabitants of Tuskegee who used it as a domestic outbuilding built after the garrison left the fort. Tuskegee had up to an additional three pits with posts built in similar configurations with fired areas at their bases.

The converted pit with posts at Fort Loudoun was distinctively Cherokee in construction. During periods of colonial interaction in the frontier, the blurring of boundaries can create a situation for creolization and the borrowing and blending of different ethnic traits. However, pits with posts were more likely an affirmation of ethnicity rather than a blending of traits. Pits with posts represent the most likely candidate for pits that could have served as ethnic boundary markers based on their distinctiveness in form, contents, and context.

While pits with posts were distinctively Cherokee, later more Euro American-style construction was used for housing by non-traditional Cherokee which included small interior

square pits. At 40RE192 in Roane County, East Tennessee, an early-19th-century log cabin was constructed that contained a small, square pit cellar constructed similarly to Euro American or African American pits (Bentz 2001). Aside from an interior pit, three exterior pits were located adjacent to the dwelling indicating the persistence of Cherokee lifeways in the form of external storage pits adjacent to dwellings. Artifacts within pits also indicate a change from a dominance of small objects in the form of glass beads and activity items to a dominance of kitchen and clothing objects with a much higher artifact density.

The Hermitage (40DV120)

The Hermitage was a 19th-century rural plantation and home to President Andrew Jackson, his family, and a large, enslaved community. The site is located in the low-lying Central Basin of Middle Tennessee just east of Nashville in Davidson County. The plantation was originally part of a 640-acre land grant given to Nathaniel Hays in 1780 from North Carolina (Smith 1976a:30). It was purchased by Jackson from Nathaniel Hayes in 1804 and included 425 acres as well as a two-story farmhouse that became his home (Kellar 2004b:28). From the 1820s to the 1840s, Jackson expanded his farm to a large 1,100-acre plantation which eventually housed as many as 150 enslaved people in about a dozen or more slave quarters and constructed a large brick Federal-style home later renovated into a Greek-Revival mansion (Smith 1976a; McKee et al. 1992; McKee 2000). The Hermitage today is a house museum and grounds focusing on the life of Andrew Jackson and the enslaved workforce.

In 1804, Andrew Jackson purchased what he called the Hermitage and moved into the standing two-story log farmhouse on the property. Shortly after, he constructed a duplex log slave quarter and kitchen about 40 ft. behind his residence. His first home on the property,

referred to as the First Hermitage, was opulently decorated for the time containing lavish wallpaper and painted trim. This was the home of Jackson when he became famous for commanding the defeat of the British at New Orleans at the end of the War of 1812. Jackson, and his wife Rachel, lived in the lavish cabin until 1821 when they moved into a newly constructed Federal-style brick building built on the property. The First Hermitage was then converted to a single-story slave quarter since the building was likely considered too luxurious for the enslaved inhabitants (Jones 2006). Jackson's move into a larger dwelling marked a distinct period of reorganization on the plantation (McKee 2000; Battle-Baptiste 2011:82). The enslaved population also increased at this time as well. In 1820, Jackson sold his Alabama plantation and moved his captive workers to the Hermitage, essentially doubling the enslaved population overnight from 44 to more than 80 people (Jones 2006:45; Battle-Baptiste 2011:82). By the 1840s, that number again doubled to nearly 150 individuals (McKee 2000:192). In 1831, the mansion was redesigned into a Classical-style home with two flanking single-story additions and a front two-story portico. After a chimney fire in 1834, the house was again renovated into a Greek-revival mansion which stands today.

The plantation contained a number of slave quarters and other outbuildings including a kitchen, icehouse, smokehouse, springhouse, cotton gin, still, carriage house, and barns. The mansion also had a large ornate garden and tomb on its east side. The enslaved worked as house laborers, skilled laborers, or as farm or field laborers. They lived within quarters typically constructed with 20 x 20 ft. pens which housed single family units (McKee 2000:193). Production on the plantation was focused primarily on cotton with corn and other grains also grown for food or feed. Livestock were also raised on the farm including pigs, cattle, oxen, horses, mules, sheep, chickens (Smith 1976a:12).

After Jackson's death in 1845, the property was bequeathed to his adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr. With mounting financial troubles, he was forced to sell the Hermitage to the State of Tennessee in 1856. Ultimately, the family remained as tenants of the property through the late 19th century and live there with some of the former enslaved workers. In 1889, the Ladies' Hermitage Association was founded to help preserve the site and were given management rights to the property. The house and grounds were then opened to the public.

Excavation has been conducted on the property since the 1970s and eventually housed a long-term historical archaeology program focused on the plantation and the enslaved population. The first work at the Hermitage was a study by Donald Brown from Vanderbilt University in 1972 focused on the mansion and excavation underneath the extant kitchen outbuilding (Brown 1972). Archaeology was then performed by professional contractors and the Tennessee Division of Archaeology throughout the remainder of the 1970s and 1980s. Projects included excavations at the First Hermitage area, tomb, necessary, smokehouse, brick kilns, as well as the identification of field quarters and fence lines surrounding the main drive (Smith 1974, 1976a, 1976b, 1977, 1982; Smith et al. 1977; Hinshaw 1979, 1980, 1981; Ruple 1987). In 1988, an in-house archaeology program was instated by the Ladies' Hermitage Association headed by Larry McKee. Archaeological excavations were conducted at over a dozen slave quarters surrounding the mansion, the First Hermitage, and at the field quarters (McKee 1995, 2000). Work was also done at the mansion including the garden and tomb (McKee et al. 1992; McKee 1996). Other outbuilding excavations were conducted at the icehouse and cotton gin (McKee et al. 1994; Kellar 2001). Archaeology methods used at the site included shovel testing and geophysical survey of the property over the years, while structures were primarily investigated through detailed excavation of 10 x 10 ft. or 5 x 5 ft. units following the natural stratigraphy. After

dissolution of the archaeology program in 2009, small cultural resource management projects have been conducted at the site by local contracting firms. Artifacts from slave quarters excavated at the site have also been added to DAACS.

Thirteen structures, associated with at least 17 households, contained 27 pits at the Hermitage, marking the second largest number of pits at a site next to Chota. While this dissertation views households as tied to a single dwelling space, households at the Hermitage were likely more complex and extended beyond the dwelling (Battle-Baptiste 2011:73-107). Pits were recorded during the excavation of 12 buildings used as slave quarters including the First Hermitage. One pit was also documented in the outbuilding kitchen pit cellar behind the mansion. Two exterior pit cellars were also found in association with slave quarters. One pit was located outside of the First Hermitage and another near an early-19th-century field quarter. Slave quarters were located around the mansion, at the First Hermitage complex about 250 yards in the rear of the mansion, and the field quarters located about 500 yards from the main house (Figure 54). A few temporary quarters are believed to have been constructed west of the mansion as well (Hinshaw 1981; McKee et al. 2016). Three quarters housed tenants or servants who remained on the farm until the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Dwellings were either single- to double-pen log cabins or brick structures with two to three 20 x 20 ft. pens. All buildings contained a single story excluding the early First Hermitage which later became a one-story building around 1821. Slave quarters on the property were also whitewashed inside and out (Smith 1976a:44; Jones 2006:45).

Pit cellars at the Hermitage were between 2.7 and 10.5 ft. long on a side and averaged about 2 ft. in depth, 25.8 sq. ft. in area, and were 50.14 cu. ft. in mean volume. Pit cellars were

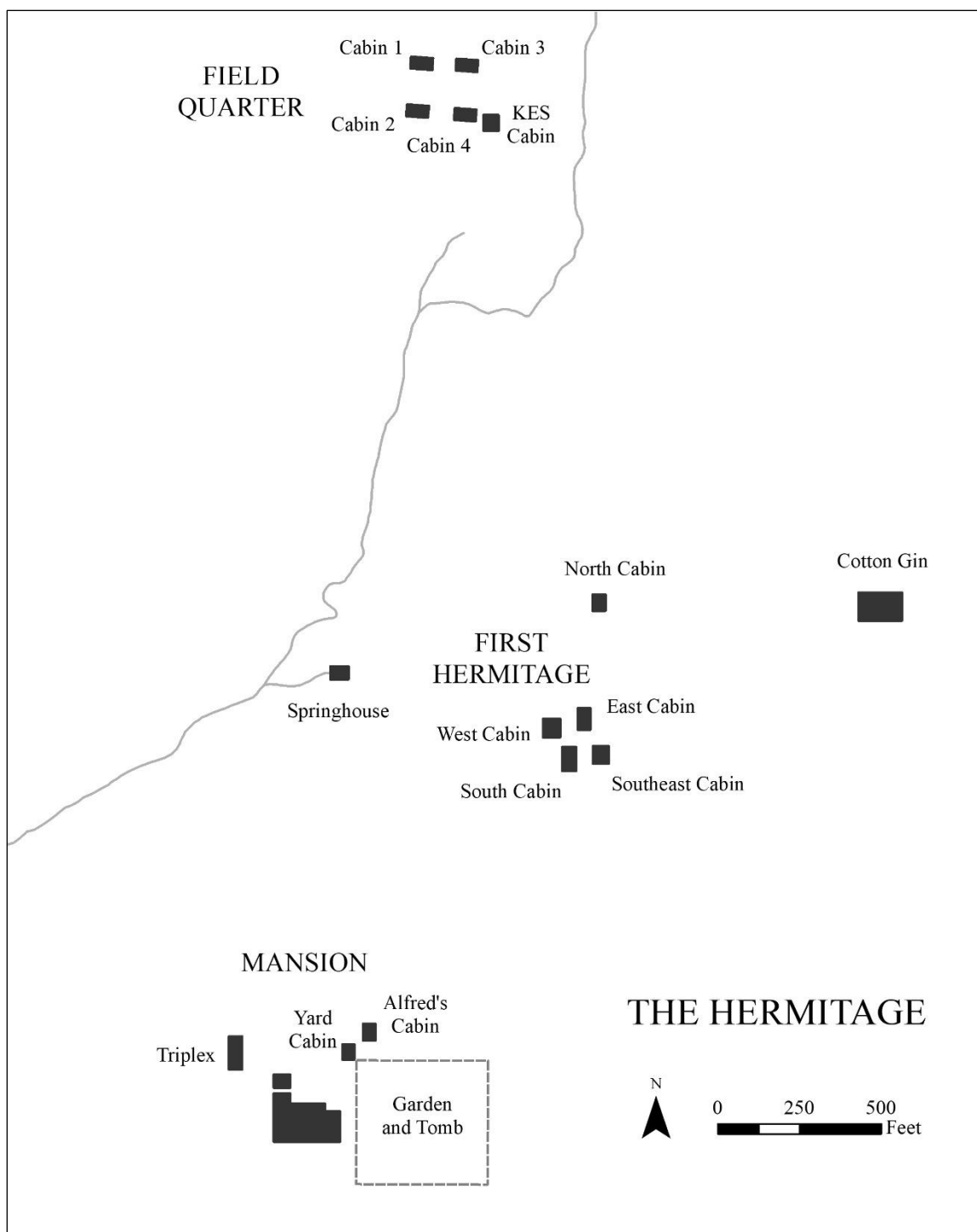


Figure 54. The Hermitage grounds including the mansion, First Hermitage, and field quarters (Adapted from McKee 2017, Figure 1).

primarily rectangular in plan with straight walls and flat bases. Two oval pits with sloped walls and concave bases were also recorded at the field quartering area.

A majority of pits were either unlined (n=11) or lined with brick (n=10). Brick-lined pits consisted mainly of a single, dry laid course of bricks. A few walls consisted of a double course of mortared bricks or single and double courses along different walls. Brick-lined pits typically had brick lining on, or added to, their bases while some remained unlined or had wooden boards lining the floor. Three pits had wood lining along the walls and another three probably had wood lining on the floor. Jackson's outbuilding cellar was the only pit found with stone lining and another pit at a slave quarter had sheet metal lining the walls with a wood plank floor. Brick or wood partitions were also evident within six pit cellars.

Pits were predominantly located adjacent to the hearth, several were centrally located, and three were near the walls of the building. Two were exterior storage pits. Nine pits were reconstructed or renovated to include lining or partitions.

Most pits contained simple strata with a single filling episode. Eleven, however, had complex stratigraphy with two to nine separate strata. Six pits with complex stratigraphy also had primary deposits at their bases comprised of floor fill and/or ash.

Pit cellars at the Hermitage functioned to store food in root or cool cellars and stow away personal items. Another large pit cellar at the Triplex, a three-pen quarter near the mansion, also possibly stored equipment for sewing and medicines. Exterior pits could have also been used to procure clay for building construction.

First Hermitage Farmhouse/West Cabin

The First Hermitage refers to Jackson's early farmhouse and the complex of buildings surrounding it. The farmhouse has also been described as the West Cabin in relation to other buildings in proximity to it including the East, South, and Southeast Cabins which all served as slave quarters (Figure 54, p. 302). The West Cabin was a two-story log cabin with half-dovetail corner notching set on limestone piers with a limestone chimney on its south side. It was a 26 x 24 ft. dwelling and contained four rooms: one on the first floor and three upstairs rooms. The cabin also had an attic loft for sleeping or storage. The cabin was constructed around 1798 by Nathaniel Hays prior to Jackson's purchase of the property. It was then used as Jackson's home after 1804 and was later converted to a slave quarter around 1821 when the mansion was completed. At this time, the first story was removed, and the second story dropped to create a single-story, three-room slave cabin. A shift in the building's alignment by one foot also provides evidence of this alteration (Kellar 2004b:4). A brick chimney was also installed and set on the original limestone base. All interior furnishings including windows, wallpaper, and painted trim were also removed for conversion to a quartering area (Jones 2006:45). The door, which faced towards the west, now faced east towards the kitchen/slave quarter behind Jackson's former home. After Emancipation, the building housed the former enslaved population who worked as tenants through the late 19th century (McKee and Galle 1999). The building was then used as a storage building from the 1870s until about 1890. The Ladies' Hermitage Association was formed in 1889 and began restoration on the building, which was in poor condition, eventually opening it to the public as a historic site museum (Jones 2006:i).

The West Cabin was partially excavated during early archaeology projects in the mid-to-late 1970s (Smith 1974, 1976a; Hinshaw 1979). During a restoration of the standing East and

West Cabins around the turn of the century, the interior of the cabin was made available for excavation. From 1997 to 1999, Hermitage staff and Earthwatch participants excavated the cabin and yard area as part of the restoration project (McKee 1997, McKee and Galle 1998, 1999). Four quadrants were excavated within the cabin in the available space left between floor and wall joists (McKee and Galle 1999). Features, including pit cellars, were excavated separately within units following the natural stratigraphy. Additional excavation of the building was also conducted under the sill logs surrounding the pier stones once the building was removed for restoration in 2002 (Kellar 2004b).

Four pit cellars were identified in association with the West Cabin (Figure 55). Three interior pit cellars and one exterior storage pit were recorded. Two pits within the interior of the cabin were used during the early two-story cabin period (Features 785 and 786). Newer pits were constructed after conversion to a slave quarter in 1821. One brick-lined pit was added inside near the hearth (Feature 798) and an exterior pit cellar was dug on the southeastern corner of the building (Feature 726).

Feature 785

Feature 785 was an unlined pit cellar located adjacent to the hearth and was oriented to the original two-story cabin configuration. The pit was rectangular in plan with rounded corners, straight walls, and a flat base. It measured 5.9 x 5 ft. with a depth of 1.2 ft., an area of 29.5 sq. ft., and was 35.4 cu. ft. in volume. The pit contained a single stratum of brown silt mixed with reddish clay consisting of redeposited subsoil all of which had been disturbed by rodents (McKee and Galle 1999:5; DAACS 2019a). Artifact data for features were made available by DAACS (2019b) and general artifacts were combined into categories for comparison (Table 55).

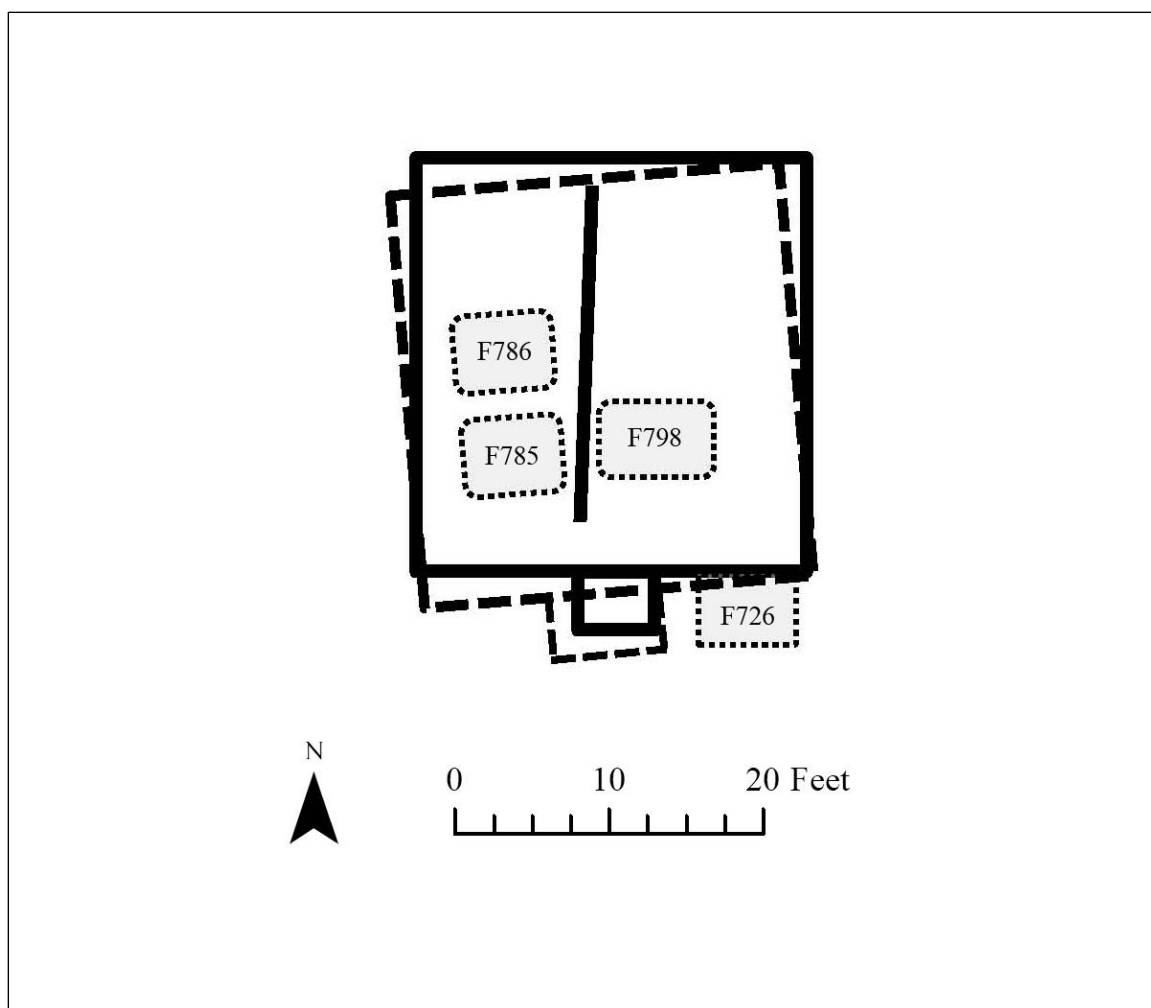


Figure 55. West Cabin pit cellars.

Table 55. Artifacts recovered from pit cellars at the West Cabin.

Artifact Group/ Type	Feature 726	%	Feature 785	%	Feature 786	%	Feature 798	%
Ceramics	49	6.78	74	23.64	10	3.51	116	4.62
Stoneware	4	0.55	5	1.59			3	0.12
Porcelain	6	0.83	6	1.92			12	0.48
Refined	39	5.39	60	19.17	10	3.51	101	4.02
Unidentifiable			3	0.96				
Fauna	22	3.04	1	0.32	8	2.81	401	15.96
General	591	84.74	146	46.64	241	84.56	1,831	72.91
Activities	23	3.18	19	6.07	60	21.05	288	11.47
Architecture	322	44.54	48	15.34	118	41.40	1,188	47.31
Arms							3	0.12
Clothing	1	0.14	5	1.6	12	4.21	91	3.62
Furniture	1	0.14			1	0.35	40	1.59
Modern	11	1.52					7	0.28
Other	3	0.41	25	7.99	9	3.16	13	0.52
Personal			2	0.64	3	1.05	52	2.07
Prehistoric	99	13.69	23	7.35	21	7.37		
Stone	20	2.76	14	4.47			63	2.51
Window Glass	111	15.35	10	3.19	17	5.96	86	3.42
Glass	61	8.44	91	29.07	25	8.77	158	6.29
Bottle	23	3.18	56	17.89	8	2.81	134	5.34
Container	14	1.94	10	3.19	1	0.35		
Tableware	10	1.38	2	0.64	3	1.05	12	0.48
Unidentifiable			23	7.35	13	4.56	12	0.48
Tobacco Pipes			1	0.32			4	0.16
Utensils					1	0.35	1	0.04
Totals	723		313		285		2,511	

Artifacts totaled 313 objects with a relatively low artifact density of 8.8 per cu. ft. Artifacts were made up of primarily ceramics or glass and included lesser amounts of architectural materials and additional items. Mean ceramic dates equaled 1869 with a terminus post quem of 1840 likely due to later occupation of the structure and bioturbation (DAACS 2019c). Based on its location in proximity to the hearth and its depth, the pit likely served to store food including potential use as a root cellar.

The pit's orientation places its origin to the early period of occupation and its construction could be attributed to Hays or Jackson. The pit was also unlined and indicates it was likely constructed prior to the firing of bricks on the property during construction of the mansion and additional slave quarters. It is also possible the building was used for a short time as a slave quarter prior to removal of the first story and, in this case, it could have been constructed by the enslaved residents. The low density of artifacts and lack of ash suggests it was used for a short time and filled with redeposited subsoil (McKee and Galle 1999:56).

Feature 786

Feature 786 was an unlined pit cellar located centrally within the dwelling adjacent to Feature 785. The pit cellars were similar in design and orientation leading to the assumption that they were constructed and used contemporaneously during the early First Hermitage period (Figure 55, p. 306). The feature was rectangular in plan with rounded corners, straight walls, and a flat base. While only a portion of the pit was excavated, it measured 6 x 5 ft. with a depth of 0.8 ft., an area of 30 sq. ft., and was 24 cu. ft. in volume. The pit contained a single stratum of brown silt and red clay from redeposited subsoil (McKee and Galle 1999:5; DAACS 2019a).

Rodent burrowing had also disturbed the pit. Based on its location in the building, it likely served as a place to store personal items.

A total of 285 artifacts were recovered in the partially excavated pit with a density of nearly 60 artifacts per sq. ft. The pit cellar was likely contemporaneous to Feature 785, but it is possible it could have been built prior to or later than the adjacent pit. The feature contained fewer ceramics and less glass than Feature 785, but had more architectural materials, activities, and clothing-related artifacts. This could be related to the proximity of the secondary deposits that filled it with food-related or dining-related materials being deposited near the hearth while other items like clothing, activities, and architectural materials were deposited farther away. This discrepancy could also be attributed to the pit being filled at a different time than Feature 785. The calculated mean ceramic date equaled 1837 with a terminus post quem of 1840. The MCD for the pit was over 30 years earlier than Feature 785 and could indicate the pit was filled earlier, though the date is only based on 10 sherds and the TPQ dates for the pits are similar.

It is possible the pit was used by the Hays and/or Jackson households as their primary storage cellar and the adjacent pit was added later during Jackson's residency. It is also possible that the enslaved residents added an additional pit cellar prior to removal of the first story. Multiple pits found within Euro American dwellings were rare in Tennessee and only one barracks at Tellico Blockhouse contained more than one pit per room. It is unlikely that Jackson was using two pits but not beyond the realm of possibility. It is more probable that only one pit was in use during Jackson's residency. Jackson either discontinued use of the pit cellar and constructed a new one located near the hearth, or it was added after transitioning into a slave quarter prior to any significant architectural changes. The pit was certainly not in use after the cabin was reoriented since a wall panel from the second story blocked access (McKee and Galle

1999:5-6). The presence of redeposited subsoil also suggests that Features 785 and 786 may have been filled when an additional brick-lined pit was built adjacent to the hearth (McKee and Galle 1999:5).

Feature 798

Feature 798 was a brick-lined pit cellar placed near the hearth and was aligned with the later renovated slave quarter. The two unlined pits were used during the earlier phase of the cabin within the single room of the first floor. These were filled after conversion to a one-story slave quarter around 1821. The brick-lined pit cellar was then added in the south room of the three-room slave quarter. It measured 7.2 x 4.7 ft. and was 1.5 ft. deep providing an area of 33.8 sq. ft. and 50.7 cu. ft. of storage space. The pit cellar was rectangular with straight walls and had a flat clay floor. The lining was comprised of two courses of English bond laid bricks that were mortared. Only part of the brick wall was left in place though the rest of the pit was certainly lined with brick as well. Based on its depth and location next to the hearth, it likely served to store food and possibly root crops.

The fill consisted of a secondary deposit that had been disturbed by rodent activity made up of brown silt mixed with redeposited red clay subsoil. A large number of artifacts were recovered in the fill (n=2,511) with a density of 49.5 artifacts per cu. ft. Artifacts included items such as beads, buckles, buttons, ceramics, frozen Charlotte and other doll parts, eggshell, animal bone, jewelry, mirror fragments, straight pins, shoe parts, writing slate, equine hardware, tacks, glass containers, bottles, and window glass. A branding iron with the reversed initials “AJ” was also found at the bottom of the pit (Jones 2006:94). However, nearly half of the artifacts found were related to architectural materials dumped in the pit. A mean ceramic date was calculated at

1869 and the brick-lined pit had a TPQ of 1840. The pit cellar was constructed after 1821 and used throughout the 1850s, possibly until as late as the 1880s when the building was no longer inhabited.

Feature 726

Another pit cellar was also constructed outside of the West Cabin on its southeastern corner after the cabin's conversion into a slave quarter (Figure 54). The pit was unlined and rectangular in shape with straight walls and a flat clay floor. It measured 5.9 x 4.6 x 2.3 ft. in dimensions and totaled 27.1 sq. ft. in area with 62.3 cu. ft. of storage space. The exterior pit had a complex stratigraphy with four identifiable strata. Strata included, from top to bottom, redeposited orange clay subsoil, grayish brown ashy loam, an ash lens, and a level of ash transitioning into subsoil. The presence of ash could be related to dumping of the fireplace, preparation or seasoning of the pit prior to use, or it could have been used to cover and preserve food stored in the pit. The pit was likely used for food storage to store root crops. The pit was probably under a small, attached shed seen in historic photography (McKee and Galle 1998:3).

Artifacts totaled 723 objects, with a relatively low density of 11.6 artifacts per cu. ft. The pit contained a scatter of large metal fragments including a hoe blade and stove parts but mainly consisted of architectural materials and window glass. The pit was probably filled in the 1870s or around the time interior brick-lined pit was filled. A mean ceramic date of 1869 and a TPQ of 1840 were calculated for the pit similar to other features within the building.

One other unlined exterior pit cellar was constructed outside of an early slave quarter at the field quartering area of the property (McKee 1991). The pit was a 6 x 4 ft. oval measuring 1.8 ft. deep located outside of the KES cabin, an early-19th-century single-pen log cabin with a

mud-and-stick chimney. The interior of the dwelling also contained another unlined pit with a potential shelf or step (McKee 1991). The pit was used to store food stuffs including root crops and was possibly used as a borrow pit for construction of the cabin. Only one other non-Indigenous exterior pit cellar was found outside a dwelling during the survey in East Tennessee. At the Ramsey House site, a circular pit measuring 3 ft. in diameter and 1 ft. deep was found outside of a slave quarter dating to the early 19th century to mid-19th century (Faulkner 2001, 2008).

Multiple interior pits were also located in the rooms of four different slave quarters at the Hermitage. The East Cabin was a log duplex with two pits within each pen. One brick and one unlined pit were in the north pen and one multi-chambered, brick-lined pit and an unlined pit were situated in the south pen as well. The South Cabin was a brick duplex that had two pit cellars in its southern pen. One was an unlined pit adjacent to the hearth and another was a sheet-metal-lined pit close to the western wall. Two of the field quarter duplexes also had multiple pits within a room. While it is possible that Jackson had two pit cellars at the First Hermitage, it is more probably that at least one of the pits was constructed later by the enslaved residents of the cabin prior to the first story being removed. However, Jackson did have a pit cellar constructed underneath his mansion kitchen outbuilding around 1836 for use by his enslaved workers (Brown 1972; McKee et al. 1992). This cellar was lined with stone on its walls and floor, measured 10 x 5 ft. and was about 1.8 ft. deep. A thin layer of sand was also found underneath the mortared limestone floor and two of the stone walls did not interlock, leading to the conclusion that it had been renovated or rebuilt during its use (Brown 1972). The pit cellar was used to store food for the kitchen and was filled sometime in the 1890s after the Ladies' Hermitage Association took stewardship of the property.

Discussion

The pit cellars at the Hermitage do not exhibit any great distinction in form, function, or deposits between different users on the property. Their shape was typically rectangular with straight walls and flat bases. They also functioned as utilitarian spaces to store food or personal items. The fill of most pit cellars was simple with a single filling episode deposited after the building was no longer inhabited. Most of the observed variation is seen in personal decisions about pit size, lining, placement, and the inclusion of partitions. Pits ranged from 12 to over 100 cu. ft. in volume and multiple chambers were possibly included within 6 different pits at the site. Linings included wood, brick, stone, and metal. Pits were also located in different areas of a building including in front of the hearth, centrally within the building, or adjacent to a wall. In several cases, there were multiple pits within dwelling spaces.

The West Cabin had multiple pits, but their ethnic association is difficult to distinguish. The two pits associated with the early two-story farmhouse were similar in shape and form but were located in different areas and likely used for different purposes. While it is likely that Jackson had constructed one pit cellar for use in his cabin, it is unlikely that he had multiple pits in use at one time. It is more likely that multiple pits within non-Indigenous dwellings are associated with quartering areas whether they be enslaved African Americans or enlisted Euro Americans housed in barracks.

The conversion of early Euro American cabins into slave quarters is not uncommon in Tennessee. Five additional temporary dwellings were found that were used later as quarters. The ethnic association of pit cellars in these contexts is inconclusive. Both Euro Americans and African Americans used pit cellars and the pits initial construction date is usually not able to be discerned as easily as its fill date. It was difficult to distinguish the construction dates of most of

the cellars in the survey which were generally associated with the construction of the building in which they were found. Their use as boundary markers in these situations is also not able to be discerned. In most cases, I was unable to distinguish if a pit was built by the original Euro American occupants or the later enslaved African American residents. Boundaries in these situations were obscured making it difficult to assign a particular ethnicity.

Size was also not a good indicator of ethnicity. Euro American pit cellars were larger than African American pits on average in Middle Tennessee. The pits at the First Hermitage were similar in size and larger pits were found in some of the slave quarters in comparison to Jackson's farmhouse cellar. The outbuilding kitchen cellar constructed next to the mansion was also smaller than other pits, including the largest pit cellar at the site located in the central pen of the Triplex not far from the kitchen which measured 8.4 x 8 x 2.7 ft. at its fullest extent. However, Jackson constructed a substantial stone-lined pit cellar and had better access to cut stone while the enslaved population used metal, wood, or brick to line their pit cellars. Jackson also had additional storage space in his pantry and basement in the mansion as well as in the smokehouse and icehouse behind his kitchen.

Exterior pit cellars were also used by different ethnic groups at the Hermitage. These are the most notable type of pits found at the site since they offer the best possibility of examining overt displays of ethnic affiliation. Exterior pits included African American storage cellars next to the First Hermitage and KES Cabin as well as Jackson's outbuilding kitchen cellar.

Exterior storage pits were only found in Native American and African American contexts during my survey and were generally used to store foodstuffs. These pits were also mentioned in farm journals and were known historically to have been used by Euro Americans (USDA 1966;

Gage 2012). These pits, therefore, are not representative of ethnic boundary markers but were rather adapted for use by different groups when necessary.

Outbuildings are potentially a better means to address this issue. Jackson had a brick outbuilding which contained a stone-lined pit cellar. The building served as a kitchen and displayed his prominence by exhibiting a detached kitchen with a large well-built cellar rather than the cellar itself. Outbuilding cellars, or dairies, would have been more readily visible for their intended storage function. Outbuildings, however, were not normally able to be built and used by enslaved African Americans. Therefore, multiple interior pits or exterior storage pits were used if additional storage space was needed. During the antebellum period, outbuildings could have served as potential ethnic markers for Euro Americans though it is more likely related to class and the restrictions of slavery than to ethnicity. After Emancipation, outbuilding cellars were also used by African Americans. At 40RH156 in East Tennessee, an outbuilding cellar was constructed by an African American tenant who also had an interior pit cellar within their home (Bentz 2001).

Pit cellars at the Hermitage were not markers of African American ethnicity, but rather were used for essentially utilitarian purposes since other storage options like cupboards or chests were generally unavailable (McKee 2000:196, 2017). Both Andrew Jackson and his enslaved workers constructed and used pit cellars. While enslaved workers were unable to construct outbuildings with cellars like Jackson, they did dig unlined, exterior storage pits. Enslaved households were also able to alter the interior of their homes by constructing pit cellars adapted for their own particular use. Only one slave quarter at the Hermitage, Alfred's Cabin, did not contain a pit cellar under its floor (McKee 2000:195). This cabin was the last slave quarter built on the property in 1843 and points to a lack in the need to construct pit cellars in this cabin and

possibly to a decline in the necessity of pits related to the waning of prosperity of the farm in general after Andrew Jackson's death a few years later. It may also suggest tightening restrictions on enslaved communities in the South prior to the Civil War (McKee 2017).

Chapter 8

Conclusions

This research was undertaken to understand the differences and similarities between the ethnic and regional use of pit cellars and to determine if groups used the pits to create and maintain boundaries. The use of a contextual perspective has allowed me to assemble disparate data sources from multiple disciplines, interpret the meanings of things in the past and present, as well as understand the choices made by people who used pits in particular physical and social situations. These choices included membership within an ethnic group or acceptance of regional ideals and the symbolic expression of those values through the construction and use of pit cellars. I used the theoretical lens of materiality to understand how identity shaped pit cellars and how pit cellars shaped identity by examining households that used pit cellars, as well as the associated physical and built environment. How Tennesseans thought about pit cellars in the past was further analyzed through a creolization perspective that assisted in interpreting the changing ideas about pits by different groups in the Upland South as a practical solution to storage.

My research questions focused on understanding the context of pit cellars in the state including when and where they were found, who used them, what form they took, and how they functioned. Identity consists of numerous qualities. I have focused on regional and ethnic identity to examine the spatiality of who was constructing and using pits. These are not singular entities and intertwine with other aspects of selfhood (e.g., gender, class, race, age, and religion) to form a person's identity.

Boundaries define differences between groups and can be used to negotiate identity. If pit cellars were used to mark identity, then there should be distinctions in the construction and

use of these features between groups. Variation in the data was used to determine if differences were dependent on regional and/or ethnic affiliation.

I found that boundaries were largely related to situational use among different ethnic groups and regional preferences for pit construction. They were expressions of ethnic and regional boundaries. Pit cellars exhibited differences between ethnic and regional groups over time and this allows for an examination of boundary maintenance. Bounded use between different ethnic groups in Tennessee's regions was fluid and situationally dependent on the temporal and social setting. Cherokees during the 18th century almost exclusively used post-in-ground construction including outbuildings known as pits with posts and multiple exterior storage pits. Pits with posts were the best examples of pits that could serve as ethnic boundary markers.

Euro Americans on average constructed large pit cellars during the 19th century. African Americans used pit cellars more often during the antebellum period and included multiple pits within dwellings used as slave quarters. However, the classification of large pits or multiple pits within dwellings as ethnic boundaries is problematic and these pits might be more related to class or racial distinctions during slavery.

Other factors also influenced the use of pits including regional preferences which can be seen in the disparity of pit cellars found in the lowlands of West Tennessee. While East and Middle Tennessee had some notable differences in the use of pit cellars, the largest discrepancy observed in the data was between the upland and lowland regions of Tennessee. Pit cellars were used primarily in the uplands of East and Middle Tennessee by all ethnic groups. Different ethnic groups in West Tennessee did not use pits as exclusively as other areas. Over time, pit

cellars became an expression of Upland South cultural values related to small-scale rural farms rather than ethnic boundaries.

Pit cellars were primarily constructed in domestic log cabins or Native American post-in-ground dwellings. Euro American households generally used a single pit cellar while African Americans and Native Americans had larger numbers of pit cellars per dwelling. The number of pits within dwellings decreased over time due to the increase of single-family units living within slave quarters (Neiman 1997; Fesler 2004). In Tennessee, slave quarters were generally comprised of a single family assigned to a structure or pen during the antebellum period (McKee 2000; Brock 2012). It is possible that the use of multiple pit cellars in some African American and Native American contexts is due to a larger number of individuals and extended family members within their households creating a need for more storage space or a greater number of unrelated people sharing quarters. Dividing pits with partitions could have also served a similar purpose as using multiple pits. Partitioned pits were also exclusively used by enslaved African Americans, but these were only found at the Hermitage plantation and may represent conditions specific to that site.

However, the use of multiple pits within dwellings is not restricted to enslaved African Americans and not an effective gauge of ethnicity. Multiple pit cellars also occur in Native American dwellings, Euro American military barracks and frontier stations during the 18th century, and were possibly used by African American tenants during the late 19th century.

Pit cellars were mainly recovered at Native American Cherokee sites in East Tennessee. Euro Americans used pits more regularly than African Americans and Euro American pit cellars were more frequent in East Tennessee. African American pit cellars were constructed mainly in Middle Tennessee and were influenced heavily by samples recorded at the Hermitage, which

also made Middle Tennesseans the largest non-Indigenous users of pit cellars. Most slaveholding Euro Americans who had pits also lived in Middle Tennessee while more Euro Americans were non-slave owning in East Tennessee.

Types of pits included interior and exterior pit cellars. The most notable difference between groups is in exterior pit use which could have served more readily as boundary markers due to their visibility. Exterior storage pits were recorded in African American and Native American contexts. The use of multiple exterior pits found associated with dwellings was only found in Native American contexts and indicates bounded use between groups. None were found in association with Euro American dwellings but there is a potential for these exterior pits to occur as their use is documented during the 20th century (USDA 1966; Gage 2012). This type of pit would be difficult to define and could have been misinterpreted as a refuse pit unless materials associated with its use were left in situ and preserved. Euro Americans used pits exterior to the dwelling associated with outbuilding kitchens, smokehouses, and outbuilding cellars. Enslaved African Americans were seldom afforded the opportunity to construct their own outbuildings, but they did use exterior storage pits prior to Emancipation. Rather than an ethnic boundary, the lack of outbuildings is more associated with the restrictions set around the institution of slavery.

Exterior storage pits are regularly found associated with Cherokee structures dating to the 18th century and were too numerous to include in my survey. However, non-traditionalist Cherokee during the Federal period who adopted Euro American material culture and were living in corner-notched log cabins on dispersed farmsteads also continued to use multiple exterior pits alongside individual pits inside the dwelling, pointing to the flexibility of ethnic

choices. The use of multiple exterior storage pits in these contexts points to the continuation of an Indigenous tradition which is associated with Cherokees in East Tennessee.

The Cherokee also used a specific type of pit cellar described as pits with posts. These features occurred within dwellings and in outbuildings specifically designed to cover the pit. The use of these unique pit cellars could have symbolized membership within a group and hence served as a boundary for ethnic identity associated with Cherokee lifeways including post-in-ground construction. Though outbuilding pits with posts are distinct, all groups used a form of exterior pit cellar in the Upland South.

Pit cellar size is not a good indicator of ethnic affiliation. All groups built large and small pit cellars (Table 31, p. 168). While Euro Americans used larger pits, these pits mostly occur in East Tennessee (Figure 23, p. 176). When plotted by ethnic affiliation, different size gradients were also used by all groups excluding three extremely large pit cellars in East Tennessee built by Euro Americans (Figure 24, p. 177). The difference in size seen in Native American cellars is potentially due to the construction of smaller dwellings restricting the interior available space to construct large pit cellars. Non-traditional Cherokee pit cellars were also smaller in size.

In Tennessee, there was a preference in most cases for rectilinear pits with flat bases. However, traditional Cherokee used curvilinear pits more often. Pits were primarily unlined although all groups used linings in the Upland South. As suggested from the numerous pits at the Hermitage in Middle Tennessee, African Americans lined their pits and, in some instances, also partitioned them. No linings or partitions were found in African American pits in East Tennessee.

Pit cellars were used for multiple purposes, often simultaneously, but overall, these features functioned as food or personal storage spaces for all groups throughout the state. Pit

cellars were found predominantly at sites associated with farming, indicating their use for food storage at the place of agricultural production. Most pits were also adjacent to a hearth, further suggesting their use for food storage, particularly root crops. Pits were used for personal storage about 40% of the time based on my analysis and could have been used to store equipment, arms, medicine, and a variety of other items. East Tennessee was the only region with more conclusive evidence of hidey holes, shrines or ritual concealments, and a single safe deposit box. Hidey holes were used by all ethnic groups at various times and were associated with inter- and intra-group tensions in Tennessee including English contact and colonialism, slavery, and periods of conflict like the Civil War. Places to conceal ritual objects or pits used as shrines were found at Euro American and African American sites while only a single pit possibly used as a safe deposit box was found underneath a slave quarter. Pit cellars in Tennessee were not found to be constructed exclusively as spiritual spaces. Though their use surely included ideas about magico-religious beliefs or luck, they were principally utilitarian.

Change over time is also indicative of the shifting boundaries of households and pit cellar use. Differences were tied to occupational and settlement histories and stressful situations including contact and colonialism, slavery, and conflict. Pit cellars were less likely used as ethnic boundary markers over time and were possibly used for storage related to increased fitness during periods of stress created by internal and external forces which could lead to intergroup competition. However, they meant the same thing to different ethnicities, especially during times of conflict, as a practical place to store and preserve food or personal items.

The highest incidence of pit cellars used by Native Americans dates to the colonial period. For any ethnic group, the Cherokee had the most differentiation in pit use. Aside from diverging ethnic ideals, the use of pit cellars during the colonial period was also likely associated

with the increased use of introduced plant domesticates plus intergroup competition associated with the changing colonial landscape and resistance to hegemonic elites amassing power during a period of increased interaction with Euro Americans (DeBoer 1988; Wesson 1999; Marcoux 2012). Cherokee pit cellars occur more regularly in large towns during the colonial period based on what is currently known. While pit cellars persisted into the 19th century, they decreased in number and were associated with non-traditional Cherokee settlements. The small, dispersed communities of the 19th-century Cherokee became more similar to Euro American farmsteads. At this time, there was reduced competition between close neighbors, or resistance to elites, and less of a need for multiple interior pit cellars or pits with posts. Cherokee pit cellars became more similar to Euro Americans types prior to Removal aside from the persistence of exterior storage pits. This demonstrates how boundaries and self-identification can change over time and how ethnic groups can incorporate different preferences.

African Americans constructed and used pit cellars primarily during enslavement in the antebellum period. Distinctions here were also less likely to indicate the use of pits as boundaries of ethnicity. These pits could have been used as a means of resistance against slavery and a way to conserve goods for increased fitness (Singleton 1995, 1998; Neiman 2008). Pits could have been used for intergroup competition in some instances; however, at sites like the Hermitage, enslaved residents likely worked together collectively rather than as rivals (Thomas 1995). Pit cellars here were ultimately found to be used for utilitarian purposes and were constructed out of a need for secure storage space when other options like cupboards and chests were not available (Mc Kee 2000:196). Pit cellar use after Emancipation decreased rapidly with limited use into the middle of the 20th century, possibly due to more available storage space

accessible to free African Americans. The steep decline in African American cellars could also be due to fewer surveyed or identified African American sites dating to that time period.

Euro Americans used pit cellars more frequently from the late 18th century to the middle of the 19th century. An early spike in the construction and use of pit cellars during the frontier and territorial period is linked to an increased presence of Euro Americans and could potentially be related to conflict with Native Americans on the frontier. During the middle of the 19th century, the increased use of pit cellars could have been related to increased agricultural production or their use to store goods during the Civil War. Small farms increased production from 1850 to 1860 while larger farms decreased production, possibly influencing the use of pits for food storage (Mooney 1957:127-146; Strutt 2012:47-48).

Pit cellars begin to wane in popularity after the mid-19th century. Though few in number, they were still being constructed into the 20th century as well. Archaeologically recovered pit cellars decline in use by the middle of the 20th century. Their decrease in use, which coincided with the USDA (1966) publication on how to effectively store food in cellars, is likely related to a decrease in small farms and rural populations as well as modernization. Most pits were found at small rural farmsteads. By the mid-20th century, most small farms were replaced by modern industrial farms and Tennessee's urban population also surpassed rural population frequencies for the first time (Bergeron et al. 1999:263, 290; Groover 2008:3). Pit cellars were also largely constructed in log cabins in the 19th century. It is also possible that use of pit cellars was viewed as backward or lower class by the end of the 19th century similar to log dwellings after the increased use of frame building techniques (Morgan 1990). Modernization in food preservation and storage techniques, such as canning or refrigeration, and an increase in commercially available foods also likely contributed to their decline. In the early 20th century,

innovations in “food processing, refrigeration, and preservation” techniques changed “the way families prepared, served, consumed, and stored food” (Cabak et al. 1999:35-36). Electricity provided to residents of Tennessee in urban and rural areas during the early 20th century helped make this possible (Bergeron et al. 1998:272-273). Changing ideas about personal storage space including an increase in storage spaces within dwellings, such as closets, pantries, or basements common today, could also be related to their decreased use. While archaeologically recovered pits were used until the mid-20th century, pit cellars are still used in limited numbers today. A cursory internet search reveals a number of farmers, gardeners, and hobbyist use them primarily for root cellaring.

The largest distinction observed in Tennessee was the disparate use of pits cellars between areas in the Upland and Lowland South signifying regional boundaries of use. Pit cellars were found primarily in the upland regions of East and Middle Tennessee at rural domestic farmsteads or Cherokee settlements. Only three sites with four pit cellars were documented in West Tennessee. To understand if the near absence of pit cellar use in West Tennessee was the product of survey bias, the number of historic sites recorded in the state was compared to the number of pit cellars (Figure 56). The results indicate that West Tennessee has the least number of historic sites by percentage. However, when the percentage of pit cellar sites is subdivided by region, it reveals that West Tennessee still has the lowest number of sites with pit cellars at 0.25% compared to Middle Tennessee at 0.66% and East Tennessee with 1%. No Native American sites with pits were found outside of East Tennessee. Even if Native American sites are removed, 0.76% of the historic sites in East Tennessee still contain pit cellars, far exceeding West Tennessee. This indicates that regardless of the number of sites recorded, West Tennessee had a lower percentage of pits relative to other regions. It also has the smallest area

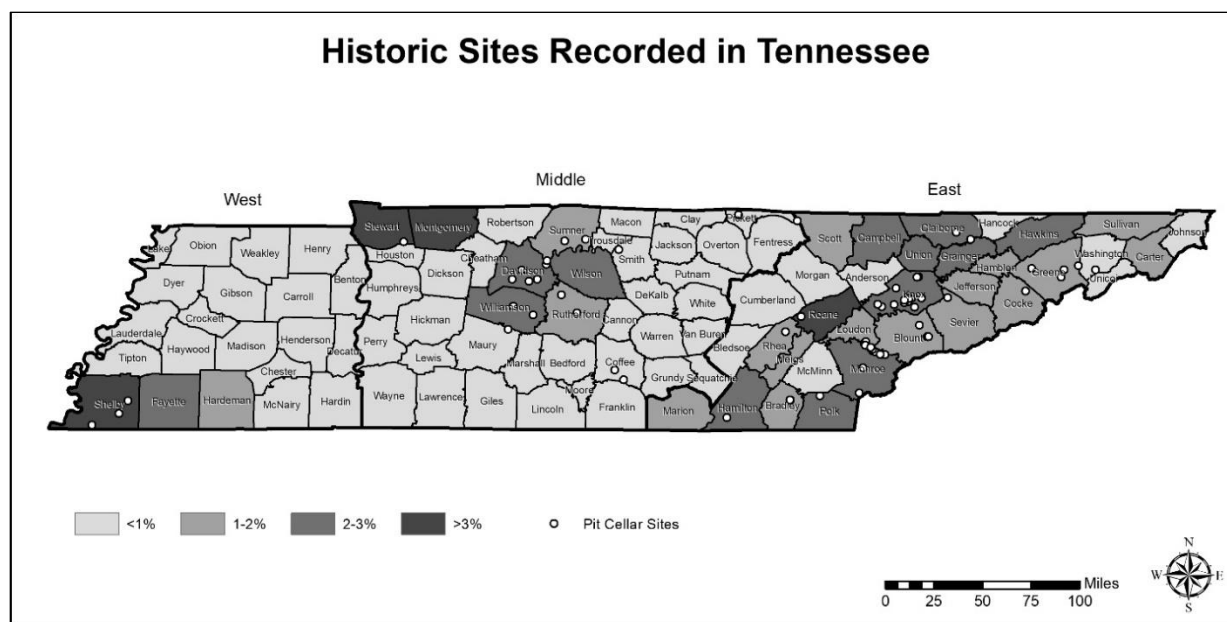


Figure 56. Percentage of historic sites recorded in Tennessee's counties.

of any region and the lowest population. The small number of pits in West Tennessee also conforms to patterns seen in other regions of the Lowland South.

The small number of sites recorded in West Tennessee corresponds to recent and historic population trends (Figure 8, p. 107). West Tennessee had a small population compared to other regions until the middle of the 19th century, when the prosperity of plantations and increased urbanization of Memphis resulted in population growth. Since the end of the 19th century, it has remained the least populated region in the state. A lower population would result in the creation of fewer archaeological sites as well as reduce the need for growth in the present resulting in fewer archaeological compliance surveys.

West Tennessee is also different from other areas of the state due to its geography, climate, economy, culture, and later settlement which could have contributed to disparities in pit cellar construction. West Tennessee was settled later by Euro Americans and African Americans after the Chickasaw Purchase of 1818, though one site is believed to have been inhabited by squatters early in the 19th century. The lag in settlement when compared to other areas of the state could also have influenced the construction of pits though they were contemporaneously constructed in other areas more regularly. West Tennessee also did not have a substantial population until the middle of the 19th century when pit cellar use begins to decline. Hamilton County in East Tennessee was additionally opened to settlement later and had the lowest incidence of pit cellars of any urban county.

The lack of pits in West Tennessee also points to differences in the practice of slavery and regional economies. The Lowland South identifies with large-scale, monocrop agriculture associated with the planter class and slavery during the antebellum period. In East Tennessee, agriculture was focused on tobacco and corn production on small farms with few enslaved

African Americans. Middle Tennessee farmers and plantation owners focused on cotton, corn, livestock, wheat, and tobacco agriculture on small farms to large plantations with larger enslaved populations. West Tennessee planters primarily produced cotton on large plantations and had the largest slave population of any region by the middle of the 19th century. Storm cellars are a common feature found on West Tennessee farms today. It is also possible that rather than using pit cellars, large storm cellars, used as a place of refuge from severe storms, were a more appropriate solution to storage in this region.

The Upland South is distinguished by its geography, economy, politics, and culture. Upland South culture initially formed from a mixture of different groups coming together in Tennessee during the frontier era. Euro Americans and their African American bondsmen came to Tennessee during the late 18th century from the East Coast and brought the use of pit cellars with them. Here they encountered Native Americans who had been using pit cellars since the Late Archaic (Bentz 1988).

Over time pit cellars became an expression of Upland South cultural values related to small-scale rural subsistence farming. They were effective utilitarian storage features which assisted in negotiating the social and environmental conditions of the Upland South. Their use became a creolized Upland South tradition similar to other forms of material culture including horizontal log construction.

The Upland South was, however, not uniform and consisted of multiple identities in different regions of the state. While not considered here, examinations of additional intersecting identities would be productive avenues of research. Pit cellars, for example, were mainly used for food storage and could be largely used by women in the past. Subfloor pits have been examined through the lens of gender by Samford (2004) and Fesler (2004, 2010) in Virginia.

Understanding the control of resources within patrilineal or matrilineal households, like those found in traditional Cherokee contexts, would also be a useful topic of investigation related to the use of pit cellars in East Tennessee. Exploring the socioeconomic divergence that occurred in Federal-period Cherokee contexts is another beneficial area of investigation (Riggs 1987). Examining the different ways pits were constructed and used by wealthy planters and less affluent farmers could also be a useful means to compare socioeconomic variation. By the late 19th century, ethnicity has also been found to be less important in the selection of material possessions including the built environment when compared to economic class based on a “cultural homogeneity and standardization wrought by the nation’s emerging industrialization and consumerism” (Cabak et al. 1999:22).

Evolutionary perspectives and examinations of resistance can also contribute to a better understanding of storage practices, fitness, and competition during times of stress (DeBoer 1988; Singleton 1995, 1998; Wesson 1999; Neiman 2008). Additional comparisons between ethnic identities and regional use in other states and regions, particularly comparisons between the Upland and Lowland South, would be beneficial. Future excavators of pit cellars should also pay attention to the variable forms, functions, contents, and contexts of use described in this dissertation. Focus on rigorous excavation techniques concentrating on stratigraphy and potential primary deposits with cached items, as well as flotation and specialized analyses, will help future researchers address similar questions posed in this study.

The information presented in my study of pit cellars in Tennessee contributes to a growing body of data surrounding these features, ethnicity, and regional identity in the Upland South. The incorporation of multiple ethnic groups, greater time depth, and a larger sample of pits into a discussion of pit cellars helps to broaden the interpretive potential of these significant

features and provides a wealth of information about their use and identity. It has also allowed for a reanalysis of the assumption that pit cellars were primarily associated with enslaved African Americans. This investigation provides informative data for regional research in Tennessee, the Upland South, and greater Southeast. By examining a range of variables relating to pit cellars over time, this study adds to an understanding of the processes of cultural maintenance and change within a multicultural landscape. It also helps to better understand the shared heritage and use of pit cellars in the past as well as how people came together to form modern America.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Pit Cellar Data.

Table A1. Sites.

Table A2. Structures.

Table A3. Pit Cellars (Context, Location, Dimensions, Shape).

Table A4. Pit Cellars (Lining, Renovations, Primary Deposits, Artifacts).

Table A5. Pit Cellars (Functions, Dates, Ethnic Affiliation, Citations).

Appendix II: Pit Cellar Bibliography.

Appendix I
Pit Cellar Data

Table A1. Sites.

Site Number	Site Name	County	Grand Division	Physiographic Province	Settlement Type	Associated Component	Ethnic Affiliation	Estimated Dates
40BT090	Townsend/ Apple Barn Site	Blount	East	Blue Ridge	Native American/ Rural	Village, Farmstead	Native American/ Euro American	1650-1715, 1850-1920
40BT091	Townsend/ Pony Ride Site	Blount	East	Blue Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1805-1940
40BT166	Davis Farm	Blount	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1805-1950
40BY185	Beeler/Ledford Site	Bradley	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1830-1970
40BY192	McMillin House	Bradley	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1835-1960
40CE061		Claiborne	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1875-1965
40CF296	Ross Farm	Coffee	Middle	Eastern Highland Rim	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1890-1940
40CF338		Coffee	Middle	Eastern Highland Rim	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American?	1860-1840
40CK184		Cocke	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1800-1850
40DV120	The Hermitage	Davidson	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Plantation	African American/ Euro American	1800-1950
40DV171	Belle Meade Plantation	Davidson	Middle	Western Highland Rim	Rural/Suburban	Domestic Dwelling	African American/ Euro American	1805-1955

Table A1 continued.

Site Number	Site Name	County	Grand Division	Physiographic Province	Settlement Type	Associated Component	Ethnic Affiliation	Estimated Dates
40DV247	Shute-Turner Farm	Davidson	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Plantation	African American/ Euro American	1790-2020
40DV255	Grassmere	Davidson	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Plantation	African American/ Euro American	1795-1965
40DV401	Gowan Farmstead	Davidson	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Small Plantation	Multiethnic/ African American	1790-1950
40DV714	15th Ave Baptist Village Manor	Davidson	Middle	Central Basin	Urban	Domestic Dwelling/ Commercial	African American/ Euro American	1855-1965
40GN063	Myers Site	Greene	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1820-1965
40GN205	Davy Crockett Birthplace	Greene	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1780-1970
40GN257	Samuel Doak Plantation/ Tusculum Academy	Greene	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Small Plantation/ Educational Institution	Euro American	1820-2020
40GN321		Greene	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1880-1940
40GR022	Evans Ferry	Grainger	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Small Plantation/ Commercial	African American/ Euro American	1805-1960
40HA198	Amnicola Farm	Hamilton	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American?	1855-1980
40KN068	James White Second Home	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1785-1900
40KN085	Roddy House	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1820-1985
40KN086	Mabry House	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Small Plantation	African American/ Euro American	1830-1985

Table A1 continued.

Site Number	Site Name	County	Grand Division	Physiographic Province	Settlement Type	Associated Component	Ethnic Affiliation	Estimated Dates
40KN113	Cherokee Farm	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Domestic Dwelling	Euro American	1800-1950
40KN120	Ramsey House	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1795-2020
40KN124	Gibbs Farmstead	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1790-1970
40KN125	Marble Springs	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1790-1940
40KN145	Knoxville Courthouse Block	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Urban	Domestic Dwelling, Domestic Dwelling/ Commercial	Euro American	1790-1950
40KN150	Collier Site	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1820-1965
40KN202	Bell Cabin Site	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1795-1835
40KN269	Wenger House	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1890-1925
40KN275	Perry House	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Small Plantation	African American/ Euro American	1800-1930
40KN319	Fort Higley Cabins	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Domestic Dwelling	Euro American	1820-1970
40KN368	Riverview Tower	Knox	East	Valley and Ridge	Urban	Domestic Dwelling, Domestic Dwelling/ Commercial	Euro American	1850-1880
40LD107	Wear Bend	Loudon	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American	Village	Native American	1795-1820
40LD179	Tipton-Dixon House	Loudon	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1820-1970

Table A1 continued.

Site Number	Site Name	County	Grand Division	Physiographic Province	Settlement Type	Associated Component	Ethnic Affiliation	Estimated Dates
40MR001	Fort Loudoun	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural/Fortification, Native American	Military Fort, Village	Native American/ Euro American	1755-1800
40MR002	Chota	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American	Village	Native American	1700-1820
40MR003	Mialoquo	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American	Village	Native American	1760-1780
40MR004	Tuskegee	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American	Village	Native American	1755-1775
40MR005	Tomotley	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American	Village	Native American	1750-1775
40MR006	Toqua	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American	Village	Native American	1745-1820
40MR007	Citico	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American	Village	Native American	1745-1775
40MR021	Harrison Branch Site	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1800-1820
40MR050	Tellico Blockhouse	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural/Fortification	Military Fort/ Trading Post	Euro American	1795-1810
40MR062	Tanasee	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American	Village	Native American	1700-1760
40MR211	Bell Rattle Cabin Site	Monroe	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American/Rural	Farmstead/ Commercial	Native American	1800-1825
40MR708	Fort Armistead	Monroe	East	Blue Ridge	Rural	Domestic Dwelling, Domestic Dwelling/ Commercial	Euro American	1830-1865
40MU493	Aenon	Maury	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1800-1850
40PK003	Hiwassee Old Town	Polk	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American	Village	Native American	1680-1820
40PT006	Jake's Place	Pickett	Middle	Cumberland Plateau	Rural	Farmstead/ Commercial	Euro American	1825-1945
40PT062	Cordell Hull Birthplace	Pickett	Middle	Eastern Highland Rim	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1830-1955

Table A1 continued.

Site Number	Site Name	County	Grand Division	Physiographic Province	Settlement Type	Associated Component	Ethnic Affiliation	Estimated Dates
40RD023	Sam Davis Home	Rutherford	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1810-1925
40RD225	Oaklands Mansion	Rutherford	Middle	Central Basin	Rural/Suburban	Domestic Dwelling	African American/ Euro American	1815-1960
40RE192		Roane	East	Valley and Ridge	Native American/Rural	Farmstead	Native American	1815-1845
40RH156		Rhea	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1825-1930
40SM069	Denney Site	Smith	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1815-1935
40SU032	Bledsoe Station	Sumner	Middle	Central Basin	Rural/Fortification	Private Fortification/ Station	African American/ Euro American	1785-1820
40SU085	Barry Site	Sumner	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1800-1830
40SV161	Henry's Station	Sevier	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1780-1950
40SW723	Hollister House	Stewart	Middle	Western Highland Rim	Rural	Plantation	African American/ Euro American	1820-1965
40SY508	Morning Sun Farmstead	Shelby	West	Coastal Plain	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1825-1990
40SY615	Hilderbrand/ McTighe House	Shelby	West	Coastal Plain	Rural	Plantation	African American/ Euro American	1835-1985
40SY644		Shelby	West	Coastal Plain	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1800-1850
40WG082	Sevier/Jackson Farm	Washington	East	Valley and Ridge	Rural	Farmstead	Euro American	1785-1965

Table A1 continued.

Site Number	Site Name	County	Grand Division	Physiographic Province	Settlement Type	Associated Component	Ethnic Affiliation	Estimated Dates
40WM092	Carnton Plantation	Williamson	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Plantation	African American/ Euro American	1785-1980
40WM153	Berry-Patton Farmstead	Williamson	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Farmstead	African American/ Euro American	1790-2000
40WM444	Eastern Flank Battlefield Park	Williamson	Middle	Central Basin	Rural	Domestic Dwelling	Euro American	1800-1805

Table A2. Structures.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40BT090_01	22	Domestic Dwelling	Circular/ Octagonal Winter Dwelling	26.9 x 24.6	1650-1715		Native American	Cherokee
40BT090_02	41	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Summer Dwelling	25.8 x 14	1650-1715		Native American	Cherokee
40BT090_03	47	Domestic Dwelling	Circular/ Octagonal Winter Dwelling	25.3 x 22	1650-1715		Native American	Cherokee
40BT090_04		Domestic Dwelling			1850-1920		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40BT091_01		Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin		1805-1820		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40BT166_01	1	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter		20 x 20	1805-1865		African American	Enslaved
40BY185_01	Feature 3	Domestic Dwelling	Timber Frame	40 x 30	1880-1900		Euro American	
40BY192_01		Outbuilding/Cellar			1840-1900		Euro American	Slaveholder
40CE061_01	1	Domestic Dwelling			1875-1965		Euro American	
40CF296_01		Domestic Dwelling/ Tenant Dwelling?	Timber Frame		1890-1940		Euro American	Tenant
40CF338_01		Domestic Dwelling	Timber Frame	32.8 x 26.2	1860-1940		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40CK184_01		Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter			1800-1850		African American	Enslaved
40DV120_01	Triplex	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Brick, Triplex	60 x 20	1835-1870		African American	Enslaved
40DV120_02	Yard Cabin	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Double Pen	40 x 20	1820-1865		African American	Enslaved
40DV120_03	Kitchen	Outbuilding/Kitchen	Brick	21 x 19	1835-1890	1890- present	Euro American	Slaveholder
40DV120_04	East Cabin	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter/Tenant or Servants Quarters	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Kitchen	30 x 18	1805-1870	1870- present	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant?

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40DV120_05	West Cabin	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter/Tenant or Servants Quarters	Log Cabin, Single Pen	26 x 24	1800-1870	1870- present	African American/Euro American	Enslaved/ Slaveholder, Converted Housing
40DV120_06	South Cabin	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Brick, Duplex	40 x 20	1820-1865		African American	Enslaved
40DV120_07	Cabin 2	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter/Tenant or Servants Quarters	Brick, Duplex	40 x 20	1820-1925		African American	Enslaved, later Tenant
40DV120_08	Cabin 3	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Brick, Duplex	40 x 20	1820-1860		African American	Enslaved
40DV120_09	Cabin 3 Early Cabin	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin?, Single Pen		1800-1820		African American	Enslaved
40DV120_10	KES Cabin	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen	12 x 12	1800-1820		African American	Enslaved
40DV120_11	West Yard Cabin	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter			1820-1835		African American	Enslaved
40DV120_12	West Yard Kitchen	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Kitchen?		1820-1835		African American	Enslaved
40DV120_13	West Yard Cabin 2	Domestic Dwelling /Slave Quarter			1820-1835		African American	Enslaved
40DV171_01		Domestic Dwelling/ Tenant Dwelling	Timber Frame		1875-1955	1955-1960	African American	Tenant
40DV247_01		Domestic Dwelling/ Temporary Housing/ Slave Quarter/Tenant or Servants Quarters	Log Cabin		1820-1875		African American/Euro American	Enslaved/ Slaveholder, Temporary Housing
40DV255_01	Feature 7	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter/Tenant or Servants Quarters	Kitchen	32 x 16	1810-1875		African American	Enslaved, later Servant
40DV401_01	1	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter/Tenant or Servants Quarters	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Saddlebag, Kitchen	45 x 20	1790-1870	1870-1900	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40DV401_02	2	Domestic Dwelling		41 x 29.5	1790-1890		Multiethnic	Slaveholder
40DV401_03	5	Domestic Dwelling/ Temporary Housing/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen	22.3 x 18.4	1790-1825		Multiethnic/ African American	Slaveholder, Temporary Housing/ Enslaved
40DV714_01		Outbuilding/Cellar	Timber Frame		1890-1965		African American/Euro American	Tenant
40GN063_01		Outbuilding/Cellar			1820-1855		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40GN063_02		Domestic Dwelling/ Tenant Dwelling?	Timber Frame, Kitchen/Dining Addition	20 x 20	1880-1965		Euro American	Tenant
40GN205_01	Stonecypher Cabin	Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin	24 x 18	1825-1890	1890-1955	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40GN257_01		Domestic Dwelling/ School	Timber Frame		1850-1890		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40GN321_01		Outbuilding/Cellar			1880-1940		Euro American	
40GR022_01	Slave Quarter	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter			1820-1850		African American	Enslaved
40GR022_02		Domestic Dwelling	Kitchen, Ell Addition	29.5 x 23	1820-1850		Euro American	Slaveholder
40HA198_01		Domestic Dwelling/ Tenant Dwelling	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Dogtrot	40 x ?	1855-1980		Euro American	Tenant
40KN068_01		Outbuilding/Sorghum Furnace	Timber Frame	26 x 13.5	1850-1865		Euro American	Slaveholder
40KN085_01		Outbuilding/Kitchen	Log Cabin		1825-1880		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder, Irish Immigrant
40KN086_01	1	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Saddlebag	36 x 18	1830-1860		African American	Enslaved
40KN086_02	2	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Timber Frame	24 x 18	1830-1860		African American	Enslaved

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40KN113_01		Domestic Dwelling,	Kitchen?		1820-1850		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40KN120_01	4	Domestic Dwelling/ Temporary Housing/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen	20 x 20	1795- 1820, 1820-1865		African American	Enslaved
40KN124_01		Outbuilding/ Smokehouse	Log		1790-1915		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder, German Immigrant
40KN125_01	Sevier Cabin	Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin	20 x 16	1790-1940	1940- present	Euro American	Slaveholder
40KN125_02	1	Domestic Dwelling/Slave Quarter	Log Cabin		1790-1820		African American	Enslaved
40KN145_01	1	Domestic Dwelling /Commercial, Hardware Store		15 x 12	1850-1870		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40KN145_02		Domestic Dwelling/Office			1795-1825		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40KN150_01		Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Outbuilding, Ell Addition, Kitchen/Dining	20 x 18, Ell 33.5 x 16	1820-1965		Euro American	Slaveholder
40KN150_02		Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen		1820-1865		African American	Enslaved
40KN202_01	Bell Cabin	Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Saddlebag	36 x 18	1795-1835		Euro American	Slaveholder
40KN269_01	Wenger House	Domestic Dwelling	Timber Frame	36 x 18	1890-1925		Euro American	German Mennonite
40KN275_01		Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen		1800-1840		African American	Enslaved
40KN275_02		Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen		1800-1840		African American	Enslaved

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40KN275_03		Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen		1800-1840		African American	Enslaved
40KN275_04		Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen		1800-1840		African American	Enslaved
40KN275_05		Domestic Dwelling/ Temporary Housing/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin, Single Pen		1800-1820		African American/Euro American	Enslaved/ Slaveholder, Temporary Housing
40KN275_06		Outbuilding/Kitchen	Log Cabin		1800-1840		Euro American	Slaveholder
40KN319_01	Cabin 1	Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin w/ Clapboard Siding	18 x 15	1820-1865		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40KN368_01		Domestic Dwelling			1850-1880		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40KN368_02		Domestic Dwelling/ Commercial, Storehouse, Gunsmith/ Locksmith Shop?			1850-1865		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40LD107_01		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1795-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40LD107_02		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1795-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40LD179_01	Tipton House	Domestic Dwelling	Timber Frame/ Brick	45 x 20	1825-1970		Euro American	Slaveholder
40LD179_02		Outbuilding/Cellar	Shed		1900-1950		Euro American	
40LD179_03		Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin		1820-1865		African American	Enslaved
40MR001_01	1	Military Barracks/ Outbuilding, Pit with Posts	Log Cabin/Pit with Posts	32.8 x 9.8/?	1755- 1760, 1760-1775		Euro American/Native American	Soldier/Cherokee
40MR002_01	2	Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin, Horizontal Pole Cabin	20.2 x 13	1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40MR002_02	5	Domestic Dwelling	Circular Winter Dwelling	23 ft dia	1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_03	8	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Segmented 3-Bay Dwelling	30 x 11.6	1795-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_04	11	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Summer Dwelling	35 x 19	1750-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_05	12	Domestic Dwelling	Circular Winter Dwelling	23 ft dia	1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_06	26	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Summer Dwelling	32 x 18	1750-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_07		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_08		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_09		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_10		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_11		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_12		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1795-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_13		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1795-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_14		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1795-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_15		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_16		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40MR002_17		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_18		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_19		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_20		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_21		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR002_22		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR003_01	3	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Single Dwelling	25 x 12	1760-1780		Native American	Cherokee
40MR003_02	8	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Single Dwelling	15 x 9.6	1760-1780		Native American	Cherokee
40MR003_03		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1760-1780		Native American	Cherokee
40MR003_04		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1760-1780		Native American	Cherokee
40MR003_05		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1760-1780		Native American	Cherokee
40MR003_06		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1760-1780		Native American	Cherokee
40MR003_07		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1760-1780		Native American	Cherokee
40MR004_01		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1755-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR004_02	V-11	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Single Dwelling	43.9 x 21.3	1755-1775		Native American	Cherokee

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40MR004_03		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1755-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR004_04		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1755-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR005_01		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1750-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR005_02		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1750-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR005_03		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1750-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR005_04		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1750-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR005_05	25	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Segmented 3-Bay Dwelling?	41.9 x 14	1750-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR005_06	24	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Segmented 3-Bay Dwelling	53.1 x 11.2	1750-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR005_07		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1750-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR005_08	27	Domestic Dwelling	Square Single Dwelling	33.5 x 28	1750-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR006_01	101	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Segmented 3-Bay Dwelling	38 x 15	1745-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR006_02	111	Domestic Dwelling	Circular Winter Dwelling	22 ft dia	1745-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR006_03		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1760-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR006_04		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR006_05		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1820		Native American	Cherokee

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40MR006_06		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR006_07		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR006_08		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR006_09	109	Domestic Dwelling	Circular Winter Dwelling?	26 ft dia	1745-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR006_10		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR006_11		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1820		Native American	Cherokee
40MR007_01		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR007_02		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1745-1775		Native American	Cherokee
40MR021_01		Domestic Dwelling			1800-1820		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder, Squatter?
40MR050_01	B	Military Barracks	Log Barracks	90 x 20	1800-1805		Euro American	Soldier
40MR050_02	C	Military Barracks	Log Barracks	64 x 16	1795-1805		Euro American	Soldier
40MR062_01	3	Domestic Dwelling	Circular Winter Dwelling	23 ft dia	1710-1745		Native American	Cherokee
40MR062_02	4	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Summer Dwelling	28 x 18.5	1710-1745		Native American	Cherokee
40MR062_03	5	Domestic Dwelling	Circular Winter Dwelling	22 ft dia	1710-1745		Native American	Cherokee
40MR062_04	6	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Summer Dwelling	33 x 20	1710-1745		Native American	Cherokee
40MR062_05		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1710-1745		Native American	Cherokee

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40MR062_06		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1700-1760		Native American	Cherokee
40MR062_07		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1700-1760		Native American	Cherokee
40MR211_01	Bell Rattle Cabin	Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin, Cribbed		1800-1825		Native American	Cherokee, Non-traditional
40MR708_01		Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin		1840-1860		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40MR708_02		Domestic Dwelling/Commercial, Inn, Stockyard	Log Cabin?		1830-1835		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40MR708_03		Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin		1840-1860		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40MU493_01		Domestic Dwelling/Slave Quarter?	Log Cabin, Single Pen		1830-1840		African American/Euro American	Enslaved/Slaveholder, Squatter?
40PK003_01	1	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Single Dwelling	24 x 9.84	1775-1780		Native American	Cherokee
40PK003_02	3	Domestic Dwelling	Rectangular Segmented 3-Bay Dwelling	32 x 14	1775-1780		Native American	Cherokee
40PK003_03		Outbuilding/Pit with Posts	Wood		1775-1780		Native American	Cherokee
40PT006_01		Domestic Dwelling/Commercial, Blacksmith/Gunsmith Shop	Log Cabin, Double Pen, I-House	27 x 15	1880-1945		Euro American	
40PT062_01		Outbuilding/Cellar?			1870-1955		Euro American	
40RD023_01	Kitchen	Outbuilding/Kitchen	Timber Frame	18 x 16	1810-1850		Euro American	Slaveholder
40RD225_01		Outbuilding/Cellar	Brick or Timber Frame?		1820-1900		Euro American	Slaveholder, Servants
40RE192_01		Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin	26 x 14	1815-1845		Native American	Cherokee, Non-traditional

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40RH156_01		Domestic Dwelling/ Tenant Dwelling	Log Cabin, Single Pen	22 x 18	1865-1930		African American	Tenant
40RH156_02		Outbuilding/Cellar			1865-1900		African American	Tenant
40RH156_03		Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin		1825-1850	1850-1930	Euro American	Slaveholder
40SM069_01	Fruit Cellar/Dairy	Outbuilding/Cellar, Diary	Timber Frame?		1850-1935		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40SU032_01		Domestic Dwelling/Private Fortification/Station	Log Cabin, Single Pen	20 x 16	1785-1800		Euro American	Slaveholder
40SU032_02		Domestic Dwelling /Private Fortification/ Station	Log Cabin, Single Pen	20 x 16	1785-1800		Euro American	Slaveholder
40SU032_03		Domestic Dwelling/ Private Fortification/ Station	Log Cabin, Single Pen	20 x 16	1785-1820		Euro American	Slaveholder
40SU032_04		Domestic Dwelling/ Private Fortification/ Station	Log Cabin, Single Pen	20 x 16	1785-1820		Euro American	Slaveholder
40SU032_05		Domestic Dwelling/ Private Fortification/ Station	Log Cabin, Single Pen	20 x 16	1785-1820		Euro American	Slaveholder
40SU032_06		Domestic Dwelling/ Private Fortification/ Station	Log Cabin, Single Pen	20 x 16	1785-1800		Euro American	Slaveholder
40SU032_07		Domestic Dwelling/ Private Fortification/ Station	Log Cabin, Double Pen?	32 x 20	1785-1800		Euro American	Slaveholder
40SU032_08		Domestic Dwelling/ Private Fortification/ Station	Log Cabin, Double Pen?	32 x 20	1785-1800		Euro American	Slaveholder
40SU032_09		Domestic Dwelling/ Private Fortification/ Station	Log Cabin, Single Pen	20 x 16	1785-1800		Euro American	Slaveholder

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40SU032_10		Domestic Dwelling /Private Fortification /Station	Log Cabin, Single Pen	20 x 16	1785-1800		Euro American	Slaveholder
40SU085_01		Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter?	Log Cabin, Double Pen?, Kitchen	22 x 18?	1800-1830		African American/Euro American	Enslaved or Slaveholder?
40SV161_01	Tenant House	Domestic Dwelling/ Tenant Dwelling	Timber Frame		1910-1950		African American/Euro American	Tenant
40SW723_01	Kitchen/Slave Quarter	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter/Tenant or Servants Quarters	Kitchen		1850-1880		African American	Enslaved, later Tenant?
40SW723_02	Smokehouse	Outbuilding/ Smokehouse			1850-1880		Euro American	Slaveholder, Landlord or Servants
40SY508_01		Domestic Dwelling	Brick	34 x 17	1845-1990		Euro American	Slaveholder
40SY615_01	5_North Cabin	Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter	Timber Frame, Kitchen	26 x 18	1835-1890		African American	Enslaved
40SY615_02	6_South Cabin	Domestic Dwelling/ Temporary Housing/ Slave Quarter	Log Cabin w/ Clapboard Siding, Single Pen	26 x 18	1835-1850	1850-1860	African American/Euro American	Enslaved/ Slaveholder, Temporary Housing
40SY644_01		Domestic Dwelling			1810-1845		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder, Squatter?
40WG082_01		Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin, Double Pen, Saddlebag?		1830-1895		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder
40WM092_01	Kitchen Wing	Domestic Dwelling and Slave Quarter/ Tenant or Servants Quarters, Service Wing	Brick, Three-Bay Ell, Kitchen	46 x 16	1810-1910		Euro American	Slaveholder

Table A2 continued.

Structure ID	Structure Name	Type	Description	Estimated Size (ft.)	Estimated Dates	Post-Occupation Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description
40WM153_01		Domestic Dwelling/ Slave Quarter?	Log Cabin		1800-1850		African American/Euro American	Enslaved/ Slaveholder
40WM444_01		Domestic Dwelling	Log Cabin		1800-1805		Euro American	Non-Slaveholder, Squatter?

Table A3. Pit Cellars (Context, Location, Dimensions, Shape).

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40BT090_01_01	995	Pit Cellar	Off Center, Hearth Adjacent	1.5 x 1.4	0.9	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40BT090_02_01	2022	Pit Cellar	Off Center, Hearth Adjacent	1.8 x 1.6	0.9	Circle, Ovoid	Sloped	Basin	N
40BT090_03_01	706	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	1.7 x 1.3	1.2	Circle, Ovoid	Sloped	Flat	N
40BT090_03_02	707	Pit Cellar	Off Center	2 x 1.9	0.9	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40BT090_04_01	1611	Pit Cellar		15 x 15	1.7	Square	Sloped	Basin	N
40BT091_01_01	676	Pit Cellar		6.8 x 6.2	0.6	Oval, Irregular	Sloped	Basin	N
40BT166_01_01	1	Pit Cellar		9.9 x 5.9	1.5	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40BY185_01_01	4	Pit Cellar		9.8 x 8.2	4.4	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	Y
40BY192_01_01	7/MM	Outbuilding Cellar	Central	6.2 x 5.9	3.6	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40CE061_01_01	3	Pit Cellar		5.2 x 3.7	0.2	Rectangle, Irregular	Sloped	Basin	N
40CF296_01_01	2	Pit Cellar		6 ft dia		Circle?			N
40CF338_01_01	2	Pit Cellar		4.9 x 3.3	1.1	Rectangle	Sloped	Flat	N
40CK184_01_01	1	Pit Cellar		3.9 x 3.9	0.7	Square	Sloped	Basin	N
40DV120_01_01	835	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	8.6 x 4.2	2.9	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_01_02	485	Pit Cellar	Central	8.4 x 8	2.7	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_01_03	496	Pit Cellar	Central	6 x 3.5		Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_02_01	165	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	5.3 x 2.5		Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_03_01		Outbuilding, Pit Cellar	Central	10 x 5	1.8	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_04_01	697	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3.5 x 3.2	2.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_04_02	698, 715	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	6.2 x 6	1.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40DV120_04_03	662, 662AB, 703, 708, 712, 772	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	6.4 x 4.5	2	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_04_04	702	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	4.3 x 3.4	1.4	Rectangle	Straight?	Flat	N
40DV120_05_01	785	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	5.9 x 5	1.2	Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40DV120_05_02	786	Pit Cellar	Central	6 x 5	0.8	Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40DV120_05_03	798	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	7.2 x 4.7	1.5	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_05_04	726	Exterior Storage Pit	Exterior_Attached Shed?	5.9 x 4.6	2.3	Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40DV120_06_01	916	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	4.2 x 3.8	1.1	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_06_02	931	Pit Cellar	Central	1.7 x 1.2 ex	2.5		Sloped	Flat	N
40DV120_07_01	326	Pit Cellar	Central	5.2 x 2.5	2.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_07_02	344ABC	Pit Cellar	Central	5 x 3.5	1.7	Oval, Irregular	Sloped	Basin	N
40DV120_07_03	344D	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	5 x 2	2	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_08_01	279	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	2.7 x 2.6	1.8	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_08_02	291	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3.6 x 3.5	1.8	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_08_03	301	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent/Wall Adjacent	3.8 x 3.5	1.8	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_09_01	590	Pit Cellar		7.5 x 5.6	2.1	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_10_01	289	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	10.5 x 4.5	1.7	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_10_02	275	Exterior Storage Pit	Exterior	6 x 4	1.8	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40DV120_11_01	1	Pit Cellar		2.7 x ?	1.5	Rectangle?	Straight	Flat	N
40DV120_12_01	7	Pit Cellar		6.7 x ?	3.9	Rectangle?	Straight	Basin?	N
40DV120_13_01	8	Pit Cellar		7.8 x ?	4.4	Rectangle?	Straight	Flat	N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40DV171_01_01	4	Pit Cellar		6 x 4	3.5	Rectangle			N
40DV247_01_01	5	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	6 x ?	2.3	Rectangle	Straight		N
40DV255_01_01	10	Pit Cellar	Central, Hearth Adjacent	12 x 12	2	Square		Basin/Sloped	N
40DV401_01_01	11	Pit Cellar	Central, Hearth Adjacent	9.2 x 9.2	4.1	Square	Straight	Flat	N
40DV401_01_02	56West	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	13.1 x 4.6	1.6	Rectangle, Irregular	Straight	Flat	Y?
40DV401_02_01	55	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent?, East Side	13.1 x 13.1	2	Square	Sloped, Shallow	Sloped, Not Basin Or Flat	N
40DV401_03_01	66	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	9 x 4.6	0.8	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40DV401_03_02	94	Pit Cellar, or Exterior Storage Pit?	Wall Adjacent or Exterior?	7.3 x 4.7	1.5	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40DV714_01_01	1	Outbuilding Cellar		6.3 x 6.3	2.6	Square	Straight	Flat	N
40GN063_01_01	6	Outbuilding Cellar		10 x 5.6	3.5	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40GN063_02_01	7	Pit Cellar	Central, Hearth Adjacent	17.4 x 14.4	2.1	Rectangle	Sloped	Basin	N
40GN205_01_01	2	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent, Away from Hearth	6.5 x 5	1.5	Rectangle, Irregular			N
40GN257_01_01	30	Pit Cellar		5.1 x 3.8	0.3	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40GN321_01_01	2	Outbuilding Cellar		11.3 x 6.7	3.3	Rectangle			Y
40GR022_01_01	38	Pit Cellar		9.1 x 6	2.3	Rectangle	Sloped	Flat	N
40GR022_02_01	Within Feature 21	Pit Cellar		3.3 x 1.6	1.3	Rectangle			N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40HA198_01_01	1	Pit Cellar		0.5 x 0.3	0.8	Rectangle			N
40KN068_01_01	6	Outbuilding, Pit Cellar	Central	3.9 x 2.7	0.4	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40KN085_01_01	5	Outbuilding, Pit Cellar		8 x 8	2.9	Square, Irregular	Straight	Flat	N
40KN086_01_01	1	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	10 x 10	3	Square	Sloped	Flat	Y
40KN086_01_02	20	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent, Between Dividing Wall	2.5 x 1.5	1	Rectangle, Irregular			N
40KN086_02_01	6	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	5 x 3	1	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40KN113_01_01	1	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent?	18 x 12.5	1.5	Rectangle, Irregular			Y?
40KN120_01_01	115	Exterior Storage Pit	Exterior	3 ft dia	1	Circle	Sloped	Basin?	N
40KN124_01_01	16	Outbuilding, Pit Cellar	Central	7 x 6	2	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40KN125_01_01	2	Pit Cellar	Corner, Under Stairs	6 x 4?	2	Rectangle?	Sloped	Basin	N
40KN125_02_01	14	Pit Cellar		6 x 6	1	Square	Sloped	Flat	N
40KN145_01_01	Structure 1	Pit Cellar	Corner	8 x 6	3	Rectangle	Sloped	Flat	Y
40KN145_02_01	15	Pit Cellar		8 x 6	2	Oval, Irregular	Sloped	Basin	N
40KN150_01_01	3	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent, Possibly Foundational Cellar?	16.2 x 7.2 (8 x 7)	3.6	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	Y
40KN150_02_01	16	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	7 x 5.3	1.4	Rectangle	Sloped	Flat	N
40KN202_01_01	9	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	15 x 15?	4	Square?	Sloped?	Flat	N
40KN269_01_01	3	Pit Cellar	Central, Hearth Adjacent	10? X 8.9	4.9	Rectangle	Sloped	Flat?	N?

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40KN275_01_01	1	Pit Cellar		8.5 x 4.8	1.3	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40KN275_02_01	2	Pit Cellar		8 x 5	1.6	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40KN275_02_02	3B	Pit Cellar		7.4 x 4.4	1.5	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40KN275_03_01	9	Pit Cellar		6.1 x 4.6	0.6	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40KN275_03_02	141	Pit Cellar		9 x 5	2.2	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40KN275_04_01	105	Pit Cellar		9 x 3.5	0.6	Rectangle	Straight/Sloped	Flat/Basin	N
40KN275_05_01	15	Pit Cellar		5 x 5	1.3	Square	Straight	Flat	N
40KN275_06_01	140	Outbuilding, Pit Cellar		9 x 4.5	1.9	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40KN319_01_01	3	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	8 x 5	2.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40KN368_01_01	11	Pit Cellar		8 x 6	3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40KN368_02_01	13	Pit Cellar		15 x 10	3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat With Basin-Shaped Hole	Y?
40LD107_01_01	10	Pit with Posts		5.6 x 4	0.4	Oval			N
40LD107_02_01	26	Pit with Posts		5.3 x 5.1	0.3	Oval			N
40LD179_01_01	5	Pit Cellar	Central, Hearth Adjacent	12.5 x 11.8	4.9	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	Y
40LD179_02_01	10	Outbuilding Cellar		6.2 x 4.7		Rectangle	Straight	Flat	Y?
40LD179_03_01	40	Pit Cellar		7.5 x 6.7	0.8	Rectangle	Straight/Sloped	Flat	N
40MR001_01_01	45	Pit Cellar/Pit with Posts	Wall Adjacent	7.2 x 4.3	2.5	Rectangle	Straight/Sloped	Flat	N
40MR002_01_01	41	Pit Cellar	Central	5.6 x 4	2.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_02_01	294	Pit Cellar, Interior Pit with Posts	Wall Adjacent	7.3 x 5.8	1.6	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40MR002_03_01	271	Pit Cellar, Interior Pit with Posts	Central	4.7 x 3.6	0.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_04_01	510	Pit Cellar	Off Center	3.4 x 2	0.6	Rectangle	Sloped, Slight	Flat	N
40MR002_04_02	516	Pit Cellar	Corner	2 x 1.7	0.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_04_03	531	Pit Cellar	Off Center	4.1 x 3.1	1.2	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_05_01	555	Pit Cellar, Interior Pit with Posts	Off Center	7.6 x 6.2	1.7	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_06_01	214	Pit Cellar, Interior Pit with Posts	Off Center	10.5 x 8.6	2.3	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40MR002_07_01	60	Pit with Posts	Near Str 2	6.6 x 5.9	4.1	Oval	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_08_01	72	Pit with Posts		6.6 x 5.5	1.5	Oval	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_09_01	97	Pit with Posts		8 x 5.4	1	Rectangle	Sloped	Flat	N
40MR002_10_01	112	Pit with Posts		7.2 x 5.4	1.4	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_11_01	114	Pit with Posts		6.5 x 5.1	1.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_12_01	255	Pit with Posts	Near Str 8	6.8 x 4.8	2.1	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_13_01	256	Pit with Posts	Near Str 8	5.9 x 4.5	0.7	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_14_01	281	Pit with Posts	Near Str 8	4.8 x 2.7	0.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_15_01	354	Pit with Posts		4.3 x 3.9	0.7	Oval	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_16_01	358	Pit with Posts		5 x 2.8	2.6	Oval	Straight	Flat	N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40MR002_17_01	359	Pit with Posts		4.3 x 3.5	0.5	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40MR002_18_01	424	Pit with Posts	Near Str 9	7 x 5.6	1.8	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_19_01	448	Pit with Posts		8 x 6	0.8	Oval	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_20_01	525	Pit with Posts		5.6 x 4.2	1.4	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR002_21_01	739	Pit with Posts	Near Str 27	9.1 x 7.3	2.1	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40MR002_22_01	757	Pit with Posts	Near Str 17	8 x 7	0.8	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40MR003_01_01	24	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent?, North Half	9.8 x 9.4	3.5	Circle, Ovoid			N
40MR003_02_01	30	Pit Cellar, Interior Pit with Posts	Wall Adjacent	5.7 x 4	2.4	Oval	Straight	Flat	N
40MR003_03_01	12	Pit with Posts		5.2 ft dia	1.1	Circle			N
40MR003_04_01	25	Pit with Posts	Near Str 3	7.9 x 5.6	0.8	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR003_05_01	28	Pit with Posts	Near Str 8	6.4 x 4.4	1	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR003_06_01	57	Pit with Posts	Near Str 6	6 ft dia	2.1	Circle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR003_07_01	62	Pit with Posts	Near Str 6	6.9 x 6.1	1.4	Circle, Ovoid	Straight	Flat	N
40MR004_01_01	2	Pit with Posts	Near Str 2	7 x 6.3	2	Oval	Sloped	Flat	N
40MR004_02_01	270	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	1.6 x 1.3	0.5	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40MR004_03_01	352	Pit with Posts?	Near Str V-8	6.7 x 6.1	1.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40MR004_04_01	358	Pit with Posts	Near Str V-8	6.1 x 5.4	0.8	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR005_01_01	1	Pit with Posts	Near Str 18	9.8 x 7.6	0.9	Rectangle, Irregular	Straight?	Flat?	N
40MR005_02_01	67	Pit with Posts		7 x 5.5	0.6	Oval	Straight?	Flat?	N
40MR005_03_01	111	Pit with Posts		11 x 6.4		Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40MR005_04_01	323	Pit with Posts	Near Str 19 and 20	8.6 x 5.9	0.5	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR005_05_01	334	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	6 x 4	1.1	Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40MR005_06_01	346	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	5.3 x 2.3	0.9	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR005_06_02	349	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	3.9 x 2.7	1	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR005_06_03	350	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	3.9 x 2.2	0.8	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR005_07_01	352	Pit with Posts		7.4 x 5.2	0.4	Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40MR005_08_01	387	Pit Cellar, Interior Pit with Posts	Off Center	5.9 x 3.5	0.5	Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40MR006_01_01	1090	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	4.8 x 4.6	1.1	Circle, Ovoid	Sloped	Basin	N
40MR006_02_01	669	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	5.4 x 5.2	1.4	Circle, Ovoid	Sloped	Basin	N
40MR006_03_01	3	Pit with Posts		8.6 x 8	2.4	Circle, Ovoid	Straight	Flat	N
40MR006_04_01	75	Pit with Posts		9.2 x 8.6	2.3	Circle, Ovoid	Straight	Flat	N
40MR006_05_01	96	Pit with Posts	Near West Slope of Mound A	6.5 x 4.8	2.4	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR006_06_01	615	Pit with Posts		6.5 x 4.8	0.7	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR006_07_01	628	Pit with Posts		10 x 7.5	2.4	Oval	Straight	Flat	N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40MR006_08_01	635	Pit with Posts		7.8 x 7.4	3	Circle, Ovoid	Straight	Flat	N
40MR006_09_01	638	Pit Cellar, Interior Pit with Posts	Wall Adjacent?	8.3 x 6.5	1	Oval	Straight	Flat	N
40MR006_10_01	937	Pit with Posts		6.3 x 6.2	2.1	Circle, Ovoid	Straight	Flat	N
40MR006_11_01	1133	Pit with Posts	Near Str 105	6.5 x 5.5	0.5	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR007_01_01	202	Pit with Posts	Near Str 17	7 x 4.8		Oval			N
40MR007_02_01	231	Pit with Posts	Near Str 15	2.8 x 2		Oval			N
40MR021_01_01	33	Pit Cellar		5 x 5	3	Square	Straight	Flat?	N
40MR050_01_01	642	Pit Cellar	Central, Flanked by Two Hearths	20 x 10	2	Rectangle, Irregular	Sloped	Flat?	Y
40MR050_02_01	6	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	10 x 10	3.5	Square	Sloped	Flat	Y
40MR050_02_02	706	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent, Away from Hearth	9.5 x 4.5	1.4	Rectangle, Irregular			N
40MR050_02_03	716	Pit Cellar	Corner	4.3 x 4	0.8	Circle, Ovoid			N
40MR062_01_01	76	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	2.6 x 2	0.3	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40MR062_01_02	82	Pit Cellar	Off Center, Between Hearth and Wall	3.6 x 2.2	0.6	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40MR062_01_03	89	Pit Cellar	Off Center, Between Hearth and Wall	1.8 x 1.4	0.2	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40MR062_01_04	90	Pit Cellar	Off Center, Between Hearth and Wall	2.6 x 2.2	0.4	Oval	Straight?	Flat?	N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40MR062_02_01	91	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	3.6 x 3.3	0.8	Circle, Ovoid	Straight?	Flat?	N
40MR062_02_02	96	Pit Cellar	Central	1.3 ft dia	0.3	Circle	Sloped	Basin	N
40MR062_03_01	79	Pit Cellar	Central, Hearth Adjacent	2.8 x 2.6	0.7	Circle, Ovoid	Straight?	Flat?	N
40MR062_04_01	51	Pit Cellar, Interior Pit with Posts	Off Center, North Central	9.1 x 7.5	2	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40MR062_04_02	38	Pit Cellar	Central	4.1 x 3.1	1	Oval	Straight?	Flat?	N
40MR062_04_03	46	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent	3.7 x 3.2	0.7	Circle, Ovoid	Straight?	Flat?	N
40MR062_05_01	95	Pit with Posts	Near Str 4	6.5 x 4.4	1.8	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR062_06_01	120	Pit with Posts		5.8 x 4.4	0.8	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40MR062_07_01	185	Pit with Posts		7.3 x 4.9	2.6	Rectangle, Irregular	Straight	Flat	N
40MR211_01_01	1	Pit Cellar		7.4 x 2.6	1.8	Rectangle, Elongated	Sloped	Flat	N
40MR708_01_01	2	Pit Cellar		11.5 x 8.2	1	Oval			N
40MR708_02_01	7	Pit Cellar		7.6 x 5.5	2.6	Rectangle	Straight	Flat?	Y
40MR708_03_01	9	Pit Cellar		9.2 x 4.3	1	Rectangle	Sloped	Basin	N
40MU493_01_01	43A	Pit Cellar		2.8 x 2.8	0.4	Square, Irregular	Sloped	Basin	N
40MU493_01_02	43B1	Pit Cellar		4.6 x 3	0.4	Rectangle, Irregular	Sloped	Basin	N
40PK003_01_01	104	Pit Cellar, Interior Pit with Posts	Wall Adjacent	7.2 x 3.9	1.4	Rectangle			N
40PK003_02_01	117	Pit Cellar, or Exterior Storage Pit?	Wall Adjacent, Exterior?	7.3 x 2.4	0.4	Rectangle, Elongated			N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40PK003_03_01	130	Pit with Posts	Near Str 3	5.6 x 4.6	0.7	Oval			N
40PT006_01_01		Pit Cellar	Off Center, Away from Hearth	11.5 x 6.6		Rectangle			N
40PT062_01_01	5	Outbuilding Cellar		12 x 12	3.5	Square			Y
40RD023_01_01	2	Outbuilding, Pit Cellar	Central	8 x 6.5		Oval, Irregular	Sloped	Basin	N
40RD225_01_01		Outbuilding Cellar	Adjacent to Kitchen, Possibly Foundational Cellar?	10.2 x 8.4	4.6	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	Y
40RE192_01_01	2	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent, Away from Hearth	4.3 x 4.3	0.5	Square	Straight	Flat	N
40RE192_01_02	1	Exterior Storage Pit	Exterior	4.3 x 3.3	0.4	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40RE192_01_03	5	Exterior Storage Pit	Exterior	4.6 x 4.2	0.8	Circle, Ovoid	Sloped	Basin	N
40RE192_01_04	8	Exterior Storage Pit	Exterior	5.2 x 4.9	0.5	Circle, Ovoid	Sloped	Basin	N
40RE192_01_05	9	Exterior Storage Pit	Exterior	3.9 x 3.3	0.3	Circle, Ovoid	Sloped	Basin	N
40RH156_01_01	2	Pit Cellar	Central?, Away from Hearth	7.6 x 6	1.3	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40RH156_02_01	7	Outbuilding Cellar		6.9 x 6.4	1.6	Square	Sloped	Flat	Y?
40RH156_03_01	9	Pit Cellar		8.2 x 8.2	1.2	Square	Sloped	Basin	N
40SM069_01_01	12	Outbuilding Cellar		7.5 x 6	3	Rectangle/Oval, Irregular	Straight, Disturbed	Flat	N
40SU032_01_01		Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	6.5 x 4		Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40SU032_02_01		Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3 x 2.5		Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40SU032_03_01		Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3 x 2.5		Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40SU032_04_01		Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3 x 2.5		Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40SU032_05_01		Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3 x 2.5		Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40SU032_06_01		Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3 x 2.5		Oval			N
40SU032_07_01		Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3 x 2.5		Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40SU032_07_02		Pit Cellar	Central	5 x 5		Square	Straight?	Flat?	N
40SU032_08_01		Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3 x 2.5		Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40SU032_08_02		Pit Cellar	Central	5 x 5		Square	Straight?	Flat?	N
40SU032_09_01		Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3 x 2.5		Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40SU032_10_01		Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3 x 2.5		Rectangle	Straight?	Flat?	N
40SU085_01_01	1	Pit Cellar	Corner	5.9 x 3.3	0.9	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40SU085_01_02	3	Pit Cellar	Wall Adjacent/Hearth Adjacent?	8.7 x 7.1	0.9	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40SU085_01_03	5	Pit Cellar	Corner	5.2 x 3.3	0.9	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40SV161_01_01	15	Pit Cellar		10 x 6		Rectangle?			N
40SW723_01_01	4	Pit Cellar		6 x 4	1.4	Oval	Sloped	Basin	N
40SW723_02_01	6	Outbuilding, Pit Cellar		6 x 5	1.4	Rectangle	Sloped	Basin	N
40SY508_01_01	23	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	7 x 3.5	0.7	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40SY615_01_01	20	Pit Cellar	Central	13.6 x 12.8	1	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40SY615_02_01	33	Pit Cellar	Central	12.7 x 12.6	1	Rectangle	Straight	Flat	N
40SY644_01_01	2	Pit Cellar		6.1 x 5.9	0.5	Rectangle?	Straight	Flat	N
40WG082_01_01	1	Pit Cellar	Hearth Adjacent	3 x 2 ex	1.1		Sloped	Basin	N
40WM092_01_01	4	Pit Cellar	Corner	11 x 5.5	3.3	Rectangle	Sloped	Sloped, Not Basin	N

Table A3 continued.

Pit ID	Feature Number	Type	Location	Estimated Max Dimensions (ft.)	Estimated Max Depth (ft.)	Plan Shape	Wall Shape	Base Shape	Entrance
40WM153_01_01	617	Pit Cellar		9 x 7	1.5	Rectangle, Irregular	Sloped	Flat	N
40WM444_01_01	1	Pit Cellar		7 x 5.8	0.9	Rectangle	Straight	Sloped	N?

Table A4. Pit Cellars (Lining, Renovations, Primary Deposits, Artifacts).

Pit ID	Lining	Wall Lining	Base Lining	Reconstructed/ Renovated	Primary Deposits	Primary Description	Artifact Total	Estimated Volume Excavated (cu. ft.)	Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)
40BT090_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			11	1.4	7.86
40BT090_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			23	2.1	10.95
40BT090_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				2	
40BT090_03_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				2.7	
40BT090_04_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			4169	191.3	21.79
40BT091_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			243	19.9	12.21
40BT166_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Cache	703	68.9	10.2
40BY185_01_01	Stone	Unlined	Limestone?	N			759	353.8	2.15
40BY192_01_01	Brick	Brick, Single and Double Course	Unlined	N			2327	131.8	17.66
40CE061_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			302	1.9	158.95
40CF296_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			749		
40CF338_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			58	1.8	32.22
40CK184_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			42	5.3	7.92
40DV120_01_01	Brick	Brick, Single and Double Course	Unlined/Brick	Y	Primary	Fill	5069	104.7	48.41
40DV120_01_02	Brick	Brick, Single and Double Course	Unlined	N	Primary	Fill	6774	181.4	37.34
40DV120_01_03	Brick	Brick, Single Course	Unlined	N	Primary	Fill	1616		
40DV120_02_01	Brick	Brick, Single Course	Brick	N			1923		
40DV120_03_01	Stone	Limestone	Limestone, Mortared, Sand at Base	Y				45	
40DV120_04_01	Brick/Wood	Brick, Single Course	Wood, Boards	N			1536	25.8	59.53
40DV120_04_02	Brick	Brick, Double Course, Mortared	Unlined/Brick Added	Y			1075	48.4	22.21

Table A4 continued.

Pit ID	Lining	Wall Lining	Base Lining	Reconstructed/ Renovated	Primary Deposits	Primary Description	Artifact Total	Estimated Volume Excavated (cu. ft.)	Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)
40DV120_04_03	Brick	Brick, Single Course	Unlined/Brick Added	Y	Primary	Fill	1802	57.6	31.28
40DV120_04_04	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Fill	438	20.4	21.47
40DV120_05_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			313	35.4	8.84
40DV120_05_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			285	4.8	59.38
40DV120_05_03	Brick	Brick, Double Course, Mortared	Unlined	N			2511	50.7	49.53
40DV120_05_04	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			723	62.3	11.61
40DV120_06_01	Metal/Wood	Metal, White	Wood, Boards	N			1112	16.7	66.59
40DV120_06_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			75	5.1	14.71
40DV120_07_01	Brick	Brick, Double Course, Mortared	Brick	Y?			4222	29.9	141.2
40DV120_07_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y?			1758	11.7	150.26
40DV120_07_03	Wood	Unlined	Wood, Boards?	N			579	10	57.9
40DV120_08_01	Brick	Brick, Single Course	Brick	Y			183	12.6	14.52
40DV120_08_02	Wood	Wood?	Unlined?	Y			702	22.7	30.93
40DV120_08_03	Wood	Wood?	Unlined?	Y			301	23.9	12.59
40DV120_09_01	Wood	Wood	Unlined	N			821	44.1	18.62
40DV120_10_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			2591	80.4	32.23
40DV120_10_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			623	33.8	18.43
40DV120_11_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			291		
40DV120_12_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40DV120_13_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Floor Fill			
40DV171_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				42	
40DV247_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40DV255_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			253	57.6	4.39

Table A4 continued.

Pit ID	Lining	Wall Lining	Base Lining	Reconstructed/ Renovated	Primary Deposits	Primary Description	Artifact Total	Estimated Volume Excavated (cu. ft.)	Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)
40DV401_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Fill?	6114	346.9	17.62
40DV401_01_02	Stone	Limestone/Lower Portion Unlined	Unlined	N			135	96.5	1.4
40DV401_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y	Primary	Fill?	289	68.6	4.21
40DV401_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			609	23.4	26.03
40DV401_03_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			1366	40.4	33.81
40DV714_01_01	Brick	Brick, Single and Double Course, Mortared/Concrete	Unlined	Y				25.8	
40GN063_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			13466	98	137.41
40GN063_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			9549	342.1	27.91
40GN205_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			964	43.9	21.96
40GN257_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				4.6	
40GN321_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			53	24.6	2.15
40GR022_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Floor Fill	5467	125.6	43.53
40GR022_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				6.9	
40HA198_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Cache	8	0.2	40
40KN068_01_01	Wood	Wood, Box	Wood, Box	N			139	4.2	33.1
40KN085_01_01	Wood	Unlined	Unlined/Wood, Small Pine Logs Added, Sand at Base	Y	Primary	Fill, Cache	1142	92.8	12.31
40KN086_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				150	
40KN086_01_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				3.8	
40KN086_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				15	
40KN113_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			215	33.8	6.36
40KN120_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				7.1	

Table A4 continued.

Pit ID	Lining	Wall Lining	Base Lining	Reconstructed/ Renovated	Primary Deposits	Primary Description	Artifact Total	Estimated Volume Excavated (cu. ft.)	Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)
40KN124_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Fill?	3112	84	37.05
40KN125_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y			189	12	15.75
40KN125_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Cache	85	18	4.72
40KN145_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			3344	144	23.22
40KN145_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			647	75.4	8.58
40KN150_01_01	Stone/Brick	Limestone/Brick/ Mortar Lined	Unlined	Y			2822	419.8	6.72
40KN150_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			643	51.9	12.39
40KN202_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				225	
40KN269_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			1264	218.1	5.8
40KN275_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			927	41.6	22.28
40KN275_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y?			345	50.2	6.87
40KN275_02_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y?			80	38.4	2.08
40KN275_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y?			353	13.2	26.74
40KN275_03_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y?			309	77.7	3.98
40KN275_04_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			361	18.9	19.1
40KN275_05_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			1378	32.5	42.4
40KN275_06_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			1205	77	15.65
40KN319_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			1725	92	18.75
40KN368_01_01	Brick	Brick, Double Course	Brick	N			311	115.2	2.7
40KN368_02_01	Wood	Wood, Boards	Wood, Boards	N			14149	405	34.94
40LD107_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				7	
40LD107_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				6.4	

Table A4 continued.

Pit ID	Lining	Wall Lining	Base Lining	Reconstructed/ Renovated	Primary Deposits	Primary Description	Artifact Total	Estimated Volume Excavated (cu. ft.)	Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)
40LD179_01_01	Brick	Brick, Double Course/ Limestone/Mortar Lined	Unlined	Y				722.8	
40LD179_02_01	Brick/ Concrete	Brick, Single Course, Concrete Lined	Concrete Lined	N			15		
40LD179_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			1211	40.2	30.12
40MR001_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y	Primary	Fill	3642	77.5	46.99
40MR002_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				55.2	
40MR002_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y				67.7	
40MR002_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y				5.1	
40MR002_04_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				4.1	
40MR002_04_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				1.2	
40MR002_04_03	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				15.2	
40MR002_05_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Floor		80.1	
40MR002_06_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				163.1	
40MR002_07_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				118.9	
40MR002_08_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				42.8	
40MR002_09_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				43.2	
40MR002_10_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Burial		54.5	
40MR002_11_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				43.2	
40MR002_12_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				68.5	
40MR002_13_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Floor		18.6	
40MR002_14_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				3.9	
40MR002_15_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Fill		9.2	
40MR002_16_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				14.3	

Table A4 continued.

Pit ID	Lining	Wall Lining	Base Lining	Reconstructed/ Renovated	Primary Deposits	Primary Description	Artifact Total	Estimated Volume Excavated (cu. ft.)	Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)
40MR002_17_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				5.9	
40MR002_18_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				70.6	
40MR002_19_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				30.2	
40MR002_20_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				32.9	
40MR002_21_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				109.4	
40MR002_22_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				35.2	
40MR003_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			1313	126.6	10.37
40MR003_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			769	43	17.88
40MR003_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			230	23.3	9.87
40MR003_04_01	Wood	Unlined	Wood, Bark or Thin Wood?	N			444	35.4	12.54
40MR003_05_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			570	28.2	20.21
40MR003_06_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			217	59.4	3.65
40MR003_07_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y			1258	46.2	27.23
40MR004_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			40	69.2	0.58
40MR004_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			11	0.8	13.75
40MR004_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined, Sand at Base	N	Primary	Floor	89	53.2	1.67
40MR004_04_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			17	26.3	0.65
40MR005_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			141	67.1	2.1
40MR005_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				18.1	
40MR005_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40MR005_04_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			301	25.4	11.85
40MR005_05_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			452	26.4	17.12
40MR005_06_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			21	11	1.91
40MR005_06_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			181	10.5	17.24

Table A4 continued.

Pit ID	Lining	Wall Lining	Base Lining	Reconstructed/ Renovated	Primary Deposits	Primary Description	Artifact Total	Estimated Volume Excavated (cu. ft.)	Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)
40MR005_06_03	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			208	6.9	30.14
40MR005_07_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			30	15.4	1.95
40MR005_08_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			184	10.4	17.69
40MR006_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				19	
40MR006_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				30.8	
40MR006_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				129.6	
40MR006_04_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				142.8	
40MR006_05_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				74.9	
40MR006_06_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				21.8	
40MR006_07_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				141.4	
40MR006_08_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				135.9	
40MR006_09_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				42.4	
40MR006_10_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Floor, Materials		64.5	
40MR006_11_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				17.9	
40MR007_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40MR007_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40MR021_01_01	Stone	Limestone	Unlined	N			229	37.5	6.11
40MR050_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			2591	400	6.48
40MR050_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y?	Primary	Fill	7493	350	21.41
40MR050_02_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			3450	59.9	57.6
40MR050_02_03	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Materials	309	10.8	28.61
40MR062_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				1.2	
40MR062_01_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				3.7	
40MR062_01_03	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				0.4	

Table A4 continued.

Pit ID	Lining	Wall Lining	Base Lining	Reconstructed/ Renovated	Primary Deposits	Primary Description	Artifact Total	Estimated Volume Excavated (cu. ft.)	Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)
40MR062_01_04	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				1.8	
40MR062_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				7.4	
40MR062_02_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				0.4	
40MR062_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				4	
40MR062_04_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y?				107.2	
40MR062_04_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				10	
40MR062_04_03	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				6.5	
40MR062_05_01	Wood	Unlined	Wood, Boards?	N				51.5	
40MR062_06_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				20.4	
40MR062_07_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				93.1	
40MR211_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Fill, Artifacts	16665	34.6	481.65
40MR708_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			26	37	0.7
40MR708_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			820	21.7	37.79
40MR708_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			275	9.9	27.78
40MU493_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y?			6	3.1	1.94
40MU493_01_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	Y?			2	5.5	0.36
40PK003_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N				39.3	
40PK003_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Materials		7	
40PK003_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N	Primary	Burial, Materials		14.1	
40PT006_01_01	Unlined?	Unlined?	Unlined?	Y?			302		
40PT062_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			1481	126	11.75
40RD023_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			164		

Table A4 continued.

Pit ID	Lining	Wall Lining	Base Lining	Reconstructed/ Renovated	Primary Deposits	Primary Description	Artifact Total	Estimated Volume Excavated (cu. ft.)	Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)
40RD225_01_01	Brick	Brick, Triple Course, Mortared, Whitewashed or Mortar Lined	Brick, Mortared	Y?	Primary	Floor Fill		197.1	
40RE192_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			2853	9.3	306.77
40RE192_01_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			43	4.4	9.77
40RE192_01_03	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			207	12.2	16.97
40RE192_01_04	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			103	10	10.3
40RE192_01_05	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			97	1.5	64.67
40RH156_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			2476	59.3	41.75
40RH156_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			544	70.7	7.69
40RH156_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			1540	80.6	19.11
40SM069_01_01	Stone	Limestone/ Bedrock	Unlined/Bedrock	N			260	67.5	3.85
40SU032_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_03_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_04_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_05_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_06_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_07_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_07_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_08_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_08_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_09_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SU032_10_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					

Table A4 continued.

Pit ID	Lining	Wall Lining	Base Lining	Reconstructed/ Renovated	Primary Deposits	Primary Description	Artifact Total	Estimated Volume Excavated (cu. ft.)	Artifact Density (per cu. ft.)
40SU085_01_01	Wood	Wood, Boards?	Unlined	N			964	17.6	54.77
40SU085_01_02	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			3346	55.6	60.18
40SU085_01_03	Wood	Wood, Boards?	Unlined	N			715	15.5	46.13
40SV161_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N					
40SW723_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			2515	13.2	190.53
40SW723_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			308	21	14.67
40SY508_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			302	17.2	17.56
40SY615_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			32052	174.1	184.1
40SY615_02_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			2620	160	16.38
40SY644_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			997	9	110.78
40WG082_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			214	6.5	32.92
40WM092_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			2255	199.7	11.29
40WM153_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			1090	94.5	11.53
40WM444_01_01	Unlined	Unlined	Unlined	N			530	37.1	14.29

Table A5. Pit Cellars (Functions, Dates, Ethnic Affiliation, Citations).

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40BT090_01_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Hidey Hole?	1650-1715	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Marcoux 2008, 2010, 2012
40BT090_02_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Hidey Hole?	1650-1715	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Marcoux 2008, 2010, 2012
40BT090_03_01	Food Storage?, Personal Storage, Hidey Hole?	1650-1715	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Marcoux 2008, 2010, 2012
40BT090_03_02	Food Storage?, Personal Storage, Hidey Hole?	1650-1715	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Marcoux 2008, 2010, 2012
40BT090_04_01	Food Storage?	1850-1920	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	DeCorse et al. 2011
40BT091_01_01	Food Storage?	1805-1820	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	DeCorse et al. 2011
40BT166_01_01	Personal Storage, Medicine Storage, Hidey Hole, Shrine/Ritual Concealment?	1805-1865	African American	Enslaved	Creswell 2005
40BY185_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar	1880-1900	Euro American		Lafferty and Alexander 2008
40BY192_01_01	Food Storage	1840-1900	Euro American	Slaveholder	Lafferty and Alexander 2008; McCarthy and Manning 2010
40CE061_01_01	General Storage, Food Storage or Personal Storage	1875-1965	Euro American		Alvey and McIlvenna 1997
40CF296_01_01	Food Storage	1890-1940	Euro American	Tenant	Bradley et al. 2016
40CF338_01_01	Food Storage?	1860-1940	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Bradley et al. 2016
40CK184_01_01	General Storage, Food Storage or Personal Storage	1800-1850	African American	Enslaved	Alexander et al. 2001
40DV120_01_01	Food Storage, Root, Cellar, Cool Cellar	1835-1870	African American	Enslaved	Kellar et al. 2000; Galle 2004; DAACS 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d
40DV120_01_02	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage, Equipment Storage, Medicine Storage	1835-1870	African American	Enslaved	McKee et al. 1994; Galle 2004; DAACS 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d
40DV120_01_03	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1835-1870	African American	Enslaved	McKee et al. 1994; Galle 2004; DAACS 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d
40DV120_02_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1820-1865	African American	Enslaved	Thomas 1995; McKee 1997a; McKee and Cooper 2013a; DAACS 2019e, 2019f, 2019g
40DV120_03_01	Food Storage	1835-1890	Euro American	Slaveholder	Brown 1972; McKee et al. 1992

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40DV120_04_01	Food Storage, Root, Cellar, Cool Cellar	1805-1870	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant	Smith 1976; Hinshaw 1980; McKee 1997b; McKee and Galle 1998, 1999; Kellar 2004; Jones 2006; DAACS 2019h, 2019i, 2019j
40DV120_04_02	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1805-1870	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant	Smith 1976; Hinshaw 1980; McKee 1997b; McKee and Galle 1998, 1999; Kellar 2004; Jones 2006; DAACS 2019h, 2019i, 2019j
40DV120_04_03	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1805-1870	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant	Smith 1976; Hinshaw 1980; McKee 1997b; McKee and Galle 1998, 1999; Kellar 2004; Jones 2006; DAACS 2019h, 2019i, 2019j
40DV120_04_04	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1805-1870	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant	Smith 1976; Hinshaw 1980; McKee 1997b; McKee and Galle 1998, 1999; Kellar 2004; Jones 2006; DAACS 2019h, 2019i, 2019j
40DV120_05_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1800-1820	Euro American?	Slaveholder	Smith 1976; Hinshaw 1979; McKee 1997b; McKee and Galle 1998, 1999; Kellar 2004; Jones 2006; DAACS 2019k, 2019l, 2019m
40DV120_05_02	Personal Storage	1800-1820	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1976; Hinshaw 1979; McKee 1997b; McKee and Galle 1998, 1999; Kellar 2004; Jones 2006; DAACS 2019k, 2019l, 2019m
40DV120_05_03	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1820-1870	African American	Enslaved	Smith 1976; Hinshaw 1979; McKee 1997b; McKee and Galle 1998, 1999; Kellar 2004; Jones 2006; DAACS 2019k, 2019l, 2019m
40DV120_05_04	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1820-1870	African American	Enslaved	McKee 1997b; McKee and Galle 1998, 1999; DAACS 2019k, 2019l, 2019m
40DV120_06_01	Personal Storage	1820-1865	African American	Enslaved	Smith 1976; Thomas 1995; Galle 2004; Brock 2006; DAACS 2019n, 2019o, 2019p
40DV120_06_02	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage	1820-1865	African American	Enslaved	Smith 1976; Thomas 1995; Galle 2004; Brock 2006; DAACS 2019n, 2019o, 2019p
40DV120_07_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage	1820-1885	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant	McKee 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993; Thomas et al. 1995; McKee and Bollwerk 2013; DAACS 2019q, 2019r, 2019s
40DV120_07_02	Personal Storage	1820-1875	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant	McKee 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993; Thomas et al. 1995; McKee and Bollwerk 2013; DAACS 2019q, 2019r, 2019s

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40DV120_07_03	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1820-1875	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant	McKee 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993; Thomas et al. 1995; McKee and Bollwerk 2013; DAACS 2019q, 2019r, 2019s
40DV120_08_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1820-1860	African American	Enslaved	McKee 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993; Thomas 1995; Thomas et al. 1995; Galle 2004; McKee and Cooper 2013b; DAACS 2019t, 2019u, 2019v
40DV120_08_02	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1820-1860	African American	Enslaved	McKee 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993; Thomas 1995; Thomas et al. 1995; Galle 2004; McKee and Cooper 2013b; DAACS 2019t, 2019u, 2019v
40DV120_08_03	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Personal Storage?	1820-1860	African American	Enslaved	McKee 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993; Thomas 1995; Thomas et al. 1995; Galle 2004; McKee and Cooper 2013b; DAACS 2019t, 2019u, 2019v
40DV120_09_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar	1800-1820	African American	Enslaved	Thomas et al. 1995; McKee and Cooper 2013b; DAACS 2019t, 2019u, 2019v
40DV120_10_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1800-1820	African American	Enslaved	McKee 1990, 1991, 1992; Thomas et al. 1995; McKee and Bates 2013; DAACS 2019w, 2019x, 2019y
40DV120_10_02	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Borrow Pit	1800-1820	African American	Enslaved	McKee 1990, 1991, 1992; Thomas et al. 1995; McKee and Bates 2013; DAACS 2019w, 2019x, 2019y
40DV120_11_01	Food Storage?	1820-1835	African American	Enslaved	McKee et al. 2016
40DV120_12_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar	1820-1835	African American	Enslaved	Hinshaw 1981; McKee et al. 2016
40DV120_13_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar	1820-1835	African American	Enslaved	Hinshaw 1981; McKee et al. 2016
40DV171_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar	1875-1955	African American	Tenant	McKelway et al. 1989
40DV247_01_01	Food Storage, Root, Cellar, Cool Cellar	1820-1875	African American/ Euro American	Enslaved/ Slaveholder, Temporary Housing	Gardner 1987

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40DV255_01_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1810-1875	African American	Enslaved, later Servant	Riegel 1989
40DV401_01_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage	1790-1870	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant	Smith 1991; Weaver et al. 1993
40DV401_01_02	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1790-1870	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant	Weaver et al. 1993
40DV401_02_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1790-1820	Multiethnic	Slaveholder	Weaver et al. 1993
40DV401_03_01	Personal Storage	1790-1825	Multiethnic/ African American	Enslaved/ Slaveholder, Temporary Housing	Weaver et al. 1993
40DV401_03_02	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Personal Storage	1790-1825	Multiethnic/ African American	Enslaved/ Slaveholder, Temporary Housing	Weaver et al. 1993
40DV714_01_01	Food Storage, Commercial Storage?	1890-1965	African American/ Euro American	Tenant	McKee et al. 2005
40GN063_01_01	Food Storage, Canning	1820-1855	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Kim 1998
40GN063_02_01	Food Storage, Root, Cellar, Cool Cellar	1880-1965	Euro American	Tenant	Kim 1998
40GN205_01_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1825-1890	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Smith 1980
40GN257_01_01	General Storage, Food Storage or Personal Storage	1850-1890	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Honerkamp 2005
40GN321_01_01	Food Storage	1880-1940	Euro American		Creswell 2012
40GR022_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar	1820-1850	African American	Enslaved	Matchen 2004
40GR022_02_01	Food Storage	1820-1850	Euro American	Slaveholder	Matchen 2004
40HA198_01_01	Personal Storage, Medicine Storage?, Hidey Hole, Shrine/Ritual Concealment?	1885-1890	Euro American	Tenant	Dorwin 1984

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40KN068_01_01	Food Storage, Canning?, Personal Storage, Equipment Storage, Arms Storage?, Hidey Hole?	1850-1865	Euro American	Slaveholder	Faulkner 1984a, 1894b
40KN085_01_01	Food Storage, Canning?, Personal Storage, Shrine/Ritual Concealment?	1825-1880	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder, Irish Immigrant	Faulkner 1986, 1988
40KN086_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage, Equipment Storage, Safe Deposit Box	1830-1860	African American	Enslaved	McKelway 1994a, 1994b, 2000
40KN086_01_02	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Personal Storage, Hidey Hole	1830-1860	African American	Enslaved	McKelway 1994a, 1994b, 2000
40KN086_02_01	Personal Storage	1830-1860	African American	Enslaved	McKelway 1994a, 1994b, 2000
40KN113_01_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1820-1850	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Angst 2005
40KN120_01_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1820-1865	African American	Enslaved	Faulkner 2001, 2008
40KN124_01_01	Food Storage	1790-1850	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder, German Immigrant	Groover 1998, 2003, 2005, 2008
40KN125_01_01	Personal Storage	1790-1820	Euro American	Slaveholder	Avery 2002; Barber 2002
40KN125_02_01	Personal Storage, Borrow Pit, Shrine/Ritual Concealment?	1790-1820	African American	Enslaved	Faberson and Faulkner 2003, 2005
40KN145_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage, Arms Storage, Commercial Storage, Hidey Hole?	1850-1870	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Garrow 1996a, 1996b
40KN145_02_01	Food Storage	1795-1825	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Garrow 1996a, 1996b
40KN150_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Canning?, Personal Storage	1820-1965	Euro American	Slaveholder	Meyers 1998, 2001
40KN150_02_01	Personal Storage	1820-1865	African American	Enslaved	Meyers 1998, 2001

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40KN202_01_01	Food Storage, Root, Cellar, Cool Cellar	1795-1835	Euro American	Slaveholder	Faulkner 1997; Stinson 1999; Ellenburg 2000; Naunheimer 2012
40KN269_01_01	Food Storage, Root, Cellar, Cool Cellar	1890-1925	Euro American	German Mennonite	Avery et al. 2004
40KN275_01_01	General Storage, Food Storage or Personal Storage	1800-1840	African American	Enslaved	Avery et al. 2013, 2015
40KN275_02_01	General Storage, Food Storage or Personal Storage	1820-1840	African American	Enslaved	Avery et al. 2013, 2015
40KN275_02_02	General Storage, Food Storage or Personal Storage	1800-1820	African American	Enslaved	Avery et al. 2013, 2015
40KN275_03_01	Food Storage	1820-1840	African American	Enslaved	Avery et al. 2013, 2015
40KN275_03_02	Food Storage, Cool Cellar	1800-1820	African American	Enslaved	Avery et al. 2015
40KN275_04_01	General Storage, Food Storage or Personal Storage	1800-1840	African American	Enslaved	Avery et al. 2015
40KN275_05_01	Food Storage?, Personal Storage, Medicine Storage?	1800-1820	African American/ Euro American	Enslaved/ Slaveholder, Temporary Housing	Avery et al. 2013, 2015
40KN275_06_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage, Medicine Storage?	1800-1840	Euro American	Slaveholder	Avery et al. 2015
40KN319_01_01	Food Storage, Root, Cellar, Cool Cellar	1820-1865	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Angst et al. 2010
40KN368_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar	1850-1880	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Carnes 1983
40KN368_02_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage, Equipment Storage?, Arms Storage, Commercial Storage, Hidey Hole?	1850-1865	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Carnes 1983
40LD107_01_01	Food Storage	1795-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Chapman 1980
40LD107_02_01	Food Storage	1795-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Chapman 1980

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40LD179_01_01	Food Storage, Root, Cellar, Cool Cellar	1835-1900	Euro American	Slaveholder	Ahlman 1998, 2000; Ahlman et al. 1999
40LD179_02_01	Food Storage	1900-1950	Euro American		Ahlman 1998, 2000; Ahlman et al. 1999
40LD179_03_01	Food Storage	1820-1865	African American	Enslaved	Ahlman 1998, 2000; Ahlman et al. 1999
40MR001_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage, Arms Storage	1755-1775	Euro American/Native American	Soldier, later Native American	Kuttruff 2010
40MR002_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_02_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_03_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1795-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_04_01	Personal Storage	1750-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_04_02	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1750-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_04_03	Personal Storage	1750-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_05_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_06_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1750-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_07_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_08_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_09_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_10_01	Food Storage, Dog Grave	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_11_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40MR002_12_01	Food Storage	1795-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_13_01	Food Storage	1795-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_14_01	Food Storage	1795-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_15_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_16_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_17_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_18_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_19_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_20_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_21_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR002_22_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR003_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage	1760-1780	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Russ and Chapman 1983
40MR003_02_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1760-1780	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Russ and Chapman 1983
40MR003_03_01	Food Storage	1760-1780	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Russ and Chapman 1983
40MR003_04_01	Food Storage	1760-1780	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Russ and Chapman 1983
40MR003_05_01	Food Storage	1760-1780	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Russ and Chapman 1983
40MR003_06_01	Food Storage	1760-1780	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Russ and Chapman 1983

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40MR003_07_01	Food Storage	1760-1780	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Russ and Chapman 1983
40MR004_01_01	Food Storage	1755-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Guthe and Bistline 1981
40MR004_02_01	Personal Storage	1755-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Kuttruff 2010
40MR004_03_01	Food Storage	1755-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Kuttruff 2010
40MR004_04_01	Food Storage	1755-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Kuttruff 2010
40MR005_01_01	Food Storage	1750-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Milligan 1969; Baden 1983
40MR005_02_01	Food Storage	1750-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Guthe and Bistline 1981
40MR005_03_01	Food Storage	1750-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Guthe and Bistline 1981
40MR005_04_01	Food Storage	1750-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Baden 1983
40MR005_05_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1750-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Baden 1983
40MR005_06_01	Personal Storage	1750-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Baden 1983
40MR005_06_02	Personal Storage	1750-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Baden 1983
40MR005_06_03	Personal Storage	1750-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Baden 1983
40MR005_07_01	Food Storage	1750-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Baden 1983
40MR005_08_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1750-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Baden 1983
40MR006_01_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1745-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987
40MR006_02_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1745-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40MR006_03_01	Food Storage	1760-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987
40MR006_04_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Personal Storage, Equipment Storage	1745-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987
40MR006_05_01	Food Storage	1745-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987
40MR006_06_01	Food Storage	1745-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987
40MR006_07_01	Food Storage	1745-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987
40MR006_08_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage, Equipment Storage	1745-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987
40MR006_09_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1745-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987
40MR006_10_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1745-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987
40MR006_11_01	Food Storage	1745-1820	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Polhemus 1987
40MR007_01_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Chapman 1979
40MR007_02_01	Food Storage	1745-1775	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Chapman 1979
40MR021_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar	1800-1820	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder, Squatter?	Schroedl 1975; Chapman 1977; Ford 1982
40MR050_01_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Personal Storage, Arms Storage	1800-1805	Euro American	Soldier	Polhemus 1979
40MR050_02_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage, Arms Storage	1795-1805	Euro American	Soldier	Polhemus 1979
40MR050_02_02	Food Storage, Personal Storage, Arms Storage, Borrow Pit?	1795-1800	Euro American	Soldier	Polhemus 1979

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40MR050_02_03	Food Storage, Personal Storage, Equipment Storage, Arms Storage	1795-1800	Euro American	Soldier	Polhemus 1979
40MR062_01_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_01_02	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_01_03	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_01_04	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_02_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_02_02	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_03_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_04_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_04_02	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_04_03	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_05_01	Food Storage	1710-1745	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_06_01	Food Storage	1700-1760	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR062_07_01	Food Storage	1700-1760	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Schroedl 1986
40MR211_01_01	Food Storage	1800-1825	Native American	Cherokee, Non-traditional	Riggs 1987
40MR708_01_01	General Storage, Food Storage or Personal Storage	1840-1860	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Riggs et al. 2014
40MR708_02_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Commercial Storage	1830-1835	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Riggs et al. 2014

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40MR708_03_01	Food Storage	1840-1860	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Riggs et al. 2014
40MU493_01_01	Food Storage?, Personal Storage?, Arms Storage, Borrow Pit?	1830-1840	African American/ Euro American	Squatter?	Faulkner 1995
40MU493_01_02	Food Storage, Personal Storage, Medicine Storage?, Borrow Pit?	1830-1840	African American/Euro American	Squatter?	Faulkner 1995
40PK003_01_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1775-1780	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Riggs et al. 1988
40PK003_02_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar, Personal Storage	1775-1780	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Riggs et al. 1988
40PK003_03_01	Food Storage, Grave	1775-1780	Native American	Cherokee, Traditional	Riggs et al. 1988
40PT006_01_01	Personal Storage, Equipment Storage?, Arms Storage?, Commercial Storage	1880-1945	Euro American		Prentice 1999
40PT062_01_01	Food Storage	1870-1955	Euro American		Nance 1992
40RD023_01_01	Food Storage	1810-1850	Euro American	Slaveholder	Fielder 1977
40RD225_01_01	Food Storage, Canning	1820-1890	Euro American	Slaveholder	Hinshaw 1976
40RE192_01_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage, Medicine Storage?	1815-1845	Native American	Cherokee, Non-traditional	Longmire and Crites 1998; Bentz 2001
40RE192_01_02	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1815-1845	Native American	Cherokee, Non-traditional	Longmire and Crites 1998; Bentz 2001
40RE192_01_03	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1815-1845	Native American	Cherokee, Non-traditional	Longmire and Crites 1998; Bentz 2001
40RE192_01_04	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1815-1830	Native American	Cherokee, Non-traditional	Longmire and Crites 1998; Bentz 2001
40RE192_01_05	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1815-1830	Native American	Cherokee, Non-traditional	Longmire and Crites 1998; Bentz 2001
40RH156_01_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1865-1930	African American	Tenant	Longmire 1995; Longmire and Crites 1998; Bentz 2001
40RH156_02_01	Food Storage	1865-1900	African American	Tenant	Longmire 1995; Longmire and Crites 1998; Bentz 2001

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40RH156_03_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1825-1850	Euro American	Slaveholder	Longmire 1995; Longmire and Crites 1998; Bentz 2001
40SM069_01_01	Food Storage, Canning, Dairy	1850-1935	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Weaver and McNutt 1979
40SU032_01_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1785-1800	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_02_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1785-1800	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_03_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1785-1820	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_04_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1785-1820	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_05_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1785-1820	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_06_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1785-1800	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_07_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1785-1800	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_07_02	Personal Storage	1785-1800	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_08_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1785-1800	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_08_02	Personal Storage	1785-1800	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_09_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1785-1800	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU032_10_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1785-1800	Euro American	Slaveholder	Smith 1996, 2000
40SU085_01_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1800-1830	African American/ Euro American		Pace 2004
40SU085_01_02	Food Storage, Personal Storage?	1800-1830	African American/ Euro American		Pace 2004
40SU085_01_03	Food Storage, Canning?, Personal Storage?, Borrow Pit	1800-1830	African American/ Euro American		Pace 2004
40SV161_01_01	General Storage, Food Storage or Personal Storage	1910-1950	African American/ Euro American	Tenant	Creswell 2007
40SW723_01_01	Food Storage	1850-1880	African American	Enslaved, later Tenant	Barrett and McKee 2013
40SW723_02_01	Food Storage	1850-1880	Euro American	Slaveholder	Barrett and McKee 2013

Table A5 continued.

Pit ID	Potential Functions	Estimated Dates	Ethnic Affiliation	Affiliation Description	Citation(s)
40SY508_01_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1845-1855	Euro American	Slaveholder	Weaver et al. 1990
40SY615_01_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage	1835-1890	African American	Enslaved	Weaver et al. 2011
40SY615_02_01	Personal Storage	1835-1850	African American/ Euro American	Enslaved/ Slaveholder, Temporary Housing	Weaver et al. 2011
40SY644_01_01	Food Storage	1810-1845	Euro American	Non- Slaveholder, Squatter?	Oster et al. 2006
40WG082_01_01	Food Storage, Root Cellar	1830-1895	Euro American	Non-Slaveholder	Shumate and Evans-Shumate 2002
40WM092_01_01	Food Storage, Cool Cellar, Personal Storage	1825-1910	Euro American	Slaveholder	Ruple 1991; McKee et al. 2003
40WM153_01_01	Food Storage, Personal Storage?	1800-1845	African American/ Euro American		Gardner et al. 1998
40WM444_01_01	Personal Storage	1800-1805	Euro American	Non- Slaveholder, Squatter?	McKee et al. 2015

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Vita

Daniel Brock was born in Chattanooga, Tennessee on December 25, 1975. Daniel has primarily lived in the state throughout his life and began his professional career while in undergraduate studies at Middle Tennessee State University. Daniel received a B.S. degree majoring in anthropology and minoring in geology while studying under Dr. Kevin Smith and Dr. Sarah Sherwood. After graduation, Daniel worked in cultural resource management and at the Hermitage with Dr. Elizabeth Kellar. Daniel then attended graduate school at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville while working at the Archaeological Research Laboratory. He received a Master of Arts degree in anthropology at the university focusing on historical archaeology and studying with Dr. Barbara Heath. Daniel was then accepted to the doctoral program in anthropology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville with Dr. Heath again serving as his chair. Daniel currently serves as the State Programs Archaeologist for the Tennessee Division of Archaeology.