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Risk and Material Conditions of the African American Slaves at Locust Grove

Amy Lambeck Young
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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Amy Lambeck Young entitled "Risk and Material Conditions of the African American Slaves at Locust Grove." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Anthropology.

Charles Faulkner, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

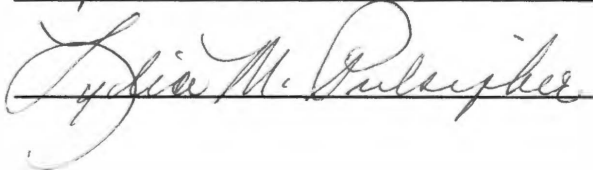
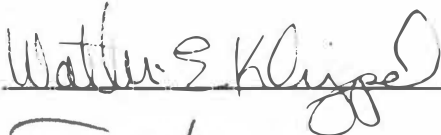
To the Graduate Council:

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Charles Faulkner, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of the Graduate School

RISK AND MATERIAL CONDITIONS
OF AFRICAN AMERICAN SLAVES AT LOCUST GROVE:
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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

Amy Lambeck Young
May, 1995

Thesis
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to

Dr. Charles H. Faulkner

I could not have hoped for a better major professor.

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ABSTRACT

Unfortunately, a static and romanticized image of plantations and slaves in the antebellum South has been created with movies like "Gone With The Wind." I call this "Taravision." This image, to some degree, has colored archaeologists perceptions of slavery and thus influenced our investigations of plantation life in the South. This image, of course, is not real, and ignores the importance of the roles of the African Americans, slave and free, in the culture of the Old South.

In this study, the theory of risk management is used as a context for understanding the special circumstances of African American slaves in the Upland South and those experiences common to all African American slaves during the antebellum period. This framework does not assume that Southern slavery was uniform from colonial times until the Civil War in the United States, nor does it assume uniformity in the populations derived from Africa. Rather, risk minimization allows for an understanding of the variability of the African American experience under the slave regime.

More specifically, the archaeology conducted at three slave cabin sites at Locust Grove, Louisville, Kentucky is documented and the material culture of the slaves at this

Upland South plantation is reconstructed. A detailed analysis of over 25,000 artifacts recovered in the excavations coupled with a consideration of the documented features provides the basis for a number of conclusions. Through this research it is suggested that the houses and furnishings as well as the diet and health of the slaves at Locust Grove were adequate. This was likely the result of the efforts of the slaves rather than the paternalism of the owners. The slaves at Locust Grove managed to minimize some of their risks by forming strong family and community ties, raising their own livestock and gardens and storing surplus in small pit cellars, and through the use of magic and religion to ward off misfortune and strengthen community bonds. They appeared to have maintained close ties with their African heritage, and used their African traditions to mitigate some of the evils of slavery.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Locust Grove (15JF541) was established circa 1790 by Major William Croghan (pronounced "CRAWN") and his bride Lucy Clark Croghan (Thomas 1969). Once the site of a plantation, and home to many folks, Locust Grove is now a museum. The site is situated on the Ohio River about five miles east of Louisville, Kentucky. In addition to the Croghan family consisting of William and Lucy, their nine children, and Lucy's famous brother, General George Rogers Clark, a number of slaves also lived and worked at Locust Grove, raising corn, wheat, hogs and sheep, and taking care of the Croghans.

While the Croghan family is richly documented in deeds, wills, tax lists, censuses, and in over 200 surviving letters, virtually nothing is known about the slaves at Locust Grove, who in 1819 numbered 41 (Jefferson County, Kentucky Tax List 1819). Beginning in 1987, the Department of Anthropology at the University of Louisville undertook archaeological investigations aimed at recovering the material remains owned and used by the slaves at Locust Grove. Sites of three slave houses were extensively excavated, features recorded, and thousands of artifacts recovered. The slaves and the excavations of the slave house sites are the subjects of this dissertation.

Locust Grove is located in a region not normally associated with plantations, and indeed Locust Grove itself does not fit the traditional definition of a plantation (Hedrick 1927; Phillips 1929; Weaver 1945; Adams and Boling 1989). The Croghan's slaves did not raise cotton, rice, sugar, or tobacco like their contemporaries on more typical Southern plantations. At its height, Locust Grove consisted of only 695.5 acres worked by 41 slaves, although the average number of slaves was around 20. It has long been assumed that Kentucky slavery differed from that in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and other states in the Coastal Plain (McDougle 1918; Hedrick 1927; Coleman 1940). The principal questions to be addressed in this dissertation are not how slavery varied by region and time period, but rather how African American culture under slavery manifested itself in Kentucky. In other words, it is not so much a question of slave treatment in the Upland South, although that is a part of the research, but it is a question of how and why slave lifeways were different in Kentucky during the period beginning in the late eighteenth century until the Civil War.

The purposes of this research are twofold:

1. Report on the material conditions of the slaves at Locust Grove.
2. Examine the potential risks faced by slaves living at Locust Grove.

Material Conditions and Slave Treatment

Locust Grove is one of the few slave sites in the Upland South to have been extensively excavated, and the only large-scale archaeological project in Kentucky centered on a slave site. As such, it stands as an example of the material conditions of slaves in Kentucky and the Upland South.

It is often assumed that slaves in Kentucky were better fed, better clothed, better housed, more literate, healthier, and worked less than slaves in the Coastal Lowlands (McDougle 1918; Coleman 1940). Coleman (1940:15) described Kentucky slavery as "the mildest that existed anywhere in the world." As treatment of slaves surely influenced their culture, to some degree, these assumptions based on documentary evidence such as travellers' accounts and runaway advertisements, deserve further investigation. The assumptions can actually be viewed as hypotheses that need testing. What better test of these hypotheses than with the archaeological record. Artifacts and features are not biased in the way most documents about slavery and slaves were biased.

For instance, Coleman (1940) maintained that Kentucky slaves were well-fed. According to documents, their diets consisted of corn meal, pork, and molasses from the master, as well as foodstuffs owned and raised by the slaves

themselves which included beans, sweet potatoes, other vegetables, chickens, and eggs (Coleman 1940:53). Lucas (1992:14-15) agrees that most Kentucky slaves ate well, with diets consisting of pork, corn meal, and molasses measured out by the owner or overseer, supplemented in season with "beans, potatoes, cabbage, blackeyed peas, greens, and a wide variety of other vegetables grown on the farm." The rations of pork, corn meal, and molasses for Kentucky slaves seem to conform to the general diet of enslaved African Americans throughout the South (Fogel 1989:134-137), something which may be more a factor of overgeneralizing on the part of historians than fact. The adequacy of slave diet in Kentucky, as well as its diversity, can be tested not only through analysis of faunal material recovered archaeologically (Reitz et al. 1985; Young 1993; Lev-Tov 1994), but also through analysis of features and artifacts related to food processing (Young 1994c).

McDougle (1918:80) estimated that at least ten percent of the slaves in Kentucky were literate. This is based on an analysis of the frequency of slave runaway advertisements that described bondsmen as able to read or write. The presence of such artifacts as graphite and slate pencils, and eyeglass lenses, has been used to examine this aspect of slave life on plantation sites investigated archaeologically (Singleton 1991:171), and such artifacts are likewise used to ascertain literacy of slaves at Locust Grove.

Lucas (1992:12-13), discussing housing of slaves on farms and plantations in Kentucky, indicated that only slaves on prosperous estates were adequately housed. Conversely, Coleman (1940:51-53) suggested that slave houses that were sufficiently large, clean, heated, and ventilated to prevent disease and overcrowding were the rule, rather than the exception in Kentucky. Coleman's (1940) conclusion was based on the examination of the few standing quarters he observed in the twentieth century. However, it is likely that only the substantial, well-constructed houses survived to the 1920s and 1930s, while the majority of the poorer houses in Kentucky had already disintegrated above ground (Young 1991). The archaeological record should contain a better, more representative sample of slave housing than surviving structures.

According to Singleton (1991:165):

...archaeology contributes to the study of slave housing by providing structural details and evidence of how slaves lived in their cabins. Excavations yield information on materials and methods used to lay foundations and to make repairs and modifications...

At Locust Grove, analyses of foundations, as well as nails, bricks, and window glass, are used to address the question of adequacy of slave housing.

In addition to the material conditions relating to housing, diet, and literacy, other aspects of slavery and

slave culture may have been influenced more by labor requirements and demography. It is somewhat ironic for archaeologists to note that it was work that dominated the lives of slaves in the New World and shaped "the course of their lives" (Berlin and Morgan 1993:1) when evidence of work is usually not to be found in the archaeological remains of slave houses. Most archaeologists studying slaves and plantations excavate slave house sites rather than activity areas related to plantation labor. Evidence of work found in the archaeological record are the few iron tools found in or near houses. However, labor requirements can be addressed through a thorough investigation of the documents left by the white masters of a particular plantation (Morgan 1982; Orser 1986). It is known through letters, censuses, and estate inventories associated with the Croghans, what agricultural products were raised at Locust Grove, and some of the other activities that took place on the property. In addition, it is also known how many slaves lived at Locust Grove for most years from 1789 until 1849. Using this information, work routines of the enslaved African American at Locust Grove have been reconstructed.

Archaeologists working in the plantation South have noted the varying material culture of slaves and have attributed differences to the system of labor used to organize plantation work (Orser 1986; Joseph 1987; Adams and

Boling 1989). For instance, Joseph (1987) argued that task labor, common to rice plantations of the Lowcountry, impacted slave subsistence, social stratification, and the consumption of luxury goods; three areas which may be addressed through study of the archaeological record. The task system allowed the slaves time enough to raise gardens and livestock, as well as hunt and fish. Joseph (1987:32) and Reitz et al. (1985) suggest that compared to slaves living on interior plantations, slaves on coastal plantations engaged in task labor consumed a greater variety of faunal species. A larger percentage of their diets was made up of wild game. Joseph (1987) also suggests that the presence of luxury goods like alcohol and tobacco indicate slaves had access to markets to sell their surplus and make purchases. Adams and Boling (1989) similarly suggest that status, as revealed through ceramic analysis, was somewhat higher for slaves in the coastal region of Georgia using task labor. The presence of luxury goods and access to markets by slaves at Locust Grove are also investigated in this research.

Risk and Risk Management

Many archaeological studies of slaves and slavery in the New World have focussed on status, caste, and class (Otto 1975, 1984; Orser 1988a&b; Adams and Boling 1989).

Others have stressed African survivals and adaptations (Wheaton et al. 1985; Brown and Cooper 1990; Ferguson 1991; Emerson 1994), and still others the treatment of slaves (Reitz et al. 1985; Kelso 1986; Joseph 1987; Deetz 1988; McKee 1988; Pogue 1988). However, regional and temporal variability have not been adequately addressed in archaeological studies of slaves and plantations because the scope of these large archaeological projects has limited work to a single site. Large, wealthy plantations on the Coastal Plain and in the Caribbean have been the focus of most studies (Andrews and Young 1992), making it difficult to investigate variability and make regional comparisons.

A number of studies have focussed on eighteenth century slave sites in the rice-growing regions of South Carolina (Lewis 1985; Wheaton and Garrow 1985; Ferguson 1992) and Georgia (Adams 1987; Joseph 1987, 1989; Adams and Boling 1989). Michie (1990) investigated a large nineteenth century rice plantation in South Carolina. The Chesapeake region has also been investigated (Kelso 1984; Klingelhofer 1987; Deetz 1988; McKee 1988, 1992; Emerson 1994), as well as the Virginia Piedmont (Kelso 1986; Pogue 1994; Sanford 1994) where tobacco was the principal plantation crop. Fewer sites in the western region of the cotton belt have been studied (Brown and Cooper 1990). Caribbean sugar plantation sites have been intensively investigated (Handler and Lange 1978; Goodwin 1982, 1987; Pulsipher 1982;

Pulsipher and Goodwin 1982; Armstrong 1985; Lange and Carlson 1985). Recently, postbellum plantations have been also archaeologically investigated (Adams 1980; Orser 1988b).

Labor requirements on different types of plantations growing different major staples, are quite varied.

According to Berlin and Morgan (1993:4):

...work with sugar was universally recognized as most taxing. The work-year of the sugar slaves was longer - more hours a day, more days a month - than that of slaves engaged in any other crop. Cane holing, manuring, and harvesting were three of the most exhausting operations known on New World plantations; morbidity and mortality rates were generally highest on sugar estates. Coffee and rice were considered more arduous to raise and process than cotton, and cotton more so than tobacco...

Because of variable labor requirements alone, not to mention the timing of different plantation cash crops, demography, and climate, there is no such thing as a single typical (representative) plantation. The degree to which labor requirements, crop differences, demography, and climate affected slave culture have yet to be thoroughly investigated.

The different theoretical frameworks in archaeological studies of slaves and slavery (e.g. a focus on status versus a focus on African heritage) and different labor requirements, demographic and climatic conditions have resulted in interpretations that appear to contradict each

other. There is an economic theory of risk minimization (Wiessner 1982a&b; Cashdan 1985, 1990) which has been successfully employed in anthropological studies of hunter-gatherer and agriculturalist societies that may well prove useful in archaeological studies of slaves and slavery. Theory of risk and risk management provides a unifying framework within which to investigate a number of different aspects of slavery. Risk, according to Cashdan (1985:455), "refers to the chance that an unpredictable loss will occur."

Both slaves and masters faced a variety of risks on colonial and antebellum plantations. Of course types of risk varied according to one's position on the plantation (e.g. slave versus master and field hand versus skilled craftsman). Risk also depended upon the developmental phase of the plantation (e.g. new frontier plantation versus well-established plantation) and the national and international economy. Risk also depended upon the type of crop produced on the plantation or farm (e.g. rice versus cotton) and the labor system employed (e.g. task versus gang).

Wiessner (1982a) has suggested that social organization is largely influenced by strategies for reducing risk because risk minimization requires "extensive cooperation" (Wiessner 1982a:172). She outlines four primary strategies for reducing risk (Wiessner 1982a:172-173):

- 1) prevention of loss
- 2) transfer of risk or loss
- 3) storage
- 4) pooling risk or sharing

Preventing loss by reducing hazard or minimizing loss among hunter-gatherers, according to Wiessner 1982a:172-173) included the control of resources, and rituals to ward off misfortune. These actions were also recorded among southern African American slaves. Slaves managed to control at least a portion of their food production and subsistence by tending their own gardens, raising livestock, and hunting and gathering wild food resources. Crystals and blue beads, coins, and other charms, derived from African cultures, were used by slaves to ward off witches, prevent illness, avoid punishment, and prevent sale of self or family members (Raboteau 1978; Singleton 1991:157-162; Ferguson 1992; Lucas 1992:130-131).

Transferring risk or loss, the second strategy described by Wiessner (1982a:173) used by hunter-gatherer groups, also occurred among slaves in the New World. Stealing corn or hogs from the master seems to have been relatively common, as well as feeding hungry slaves who lived on neighboring plantations (Lucas 1992:15-16). In this instance, feeding other slaves is not considered pooling or sharing because these individuals are strangers and there is no expectation of return.

Storage is a means of reducing shortfalls of food or other resources by accumulating goods above the subsistence level from previous harvests. Slaves, as well as hunter-gatherers acquired surplus and stored it. Pit cellars were used by slaves in some areas to store food and possibly tools (Young 1994c). Sometimes surplus food (garden produce and livestock) was converted to cash when slaves sold their goods in local markets (Campbell 1993; Berlin and Morgan 1993:24).

The last strategy described by Wiessner (1982a:173), pooling risk or sharing, is the primary means of reducing risk used by the Basarwa (Cashdan 1985). Gifts of food - small, everyday but predictable losses - are substituted for large, less predictable losses such as those caused by an unexpected drought. According to Cashdan (1985:456):

...the net effect for the individual, then, is to reduce the variance by substituting a certain small loss for an uncertain but potentially large one...

The small but predictable loss, a form of insurance through reciprocity, reduces the potential gain for the individual. Sometimes, rather than generalized reciprocity, individual partnerships are formed (Wiessner 1982a:173). Broad marriages, that is, marrying off the plantation (Gutman 1976; Sobel 1987) by slaves might be viewed as this type of strategy, although generalized reciprocity also occurred in

southern African American culture (Genovese 1976; Gutman 1976; Owens 1976; Blassingame 1979).

Reciprocity, as a means of reducing risk, would likely have been accomplished through kin networks of the enslaved African Americans at Locust Grove. Numerous scholars have provided data on how African American family members during the antebellum period helped each other with child rearing, work groups, deaths, births, and other life crises, and even in purchasing or obtaining freedom (Genovese 1976; Gutman 1976; Owens 1976; Blassingame 1979; Sudarkasa 1981; Foster 1983; McDaniel 1990). Helping family members in the African American community along these lines continues today (Aschenbrenner 1973; Stack 1974; Shimkin et al. 1978; Martin and Martin 1985; Lewis 1987; Ford et al. 1993; Hunter 1993). Sudarasa (1980, 1981), Foster (1983), and McDaniel (1990) view the African American family as based on African extended families. Sudarkasa (1981:47) hypothesized that the quarters on plantations were groups related through consanguineal and affinal ties similar to African compounds.

Reciprocity and risk are explored archaeologically by examining a number of data classes: artifacts related to religious or ritual practices; features related to food storage; and by examining matches of ceramics and other artifacts among the slave houses at Locust Grove that might indicate gift giving and sharing among households.

Conclusions

Locust Grove, as one of the few slave sites to receive substantial archaeological work in the Upland South, and the only slave site in Kentucky to be extensively tested, has yielded considerable information concerning lifeways and culture of enslaved African Americans in this region. Heretofore, it has been very difficult for archaeologists to develop a regional perspective, due to the large scope of archaeological work on plantation sites in the Lower South. Utilizing risk theory as a unifying framework, this study has placed slave culture at Locust Grove into a regional perspective. Variability of slave culture of different regions and time periods is also described herein. Only when we begin to understand the different influences of African American slave culture can we begin to realize our goals in archaeology; reconstructing lifeways and understanding culture process.

The Croghan family played a very important role in the lives of the slaves at Locust Grove. They are heavily documented in the historic record. Their history is reviewed in Chapter II, along with the documentary record of the slaves. Additionally, the plantation itself was the stage upon which the slaves, and their owners the Croghans played out their lives, so Chapter II also reviews the history and cultural and natural features of the plantation.

Chapter III briefly reviews the history of the region in which Locust Grove is situated, along with that of the nearby town of Louisville. Chapter IV covers the archaeological assemblages from the three slave houses. Also, the material conditions of the slaves at Locust Grove are evaluated. In particular, housing and furnishings, diet and health, access to markets, literacy, and the organization of labor are addressed. Chapter V examines the risks faced by slaves in the Upland South and how the slaves at Locust Grove coped with some of these risks, especially through the use of kinship and reciprocity. Chapter VI discusses one particular method that slaves used to manage risk, that is magic or religion. Chapter VII covers special kinds of features associated with the three slave houses at Locust Grove; pit cellars. Pit cellars, it is argued, were used to reduce the risk of food shortages. Chapter VIII summarizes some of the results of analyses of the archaeological and documentary materials from Locust Grove.

CHAPTER II

Background: Croghans, Slaves, and Locust Grove Plantation

This chapter consists of three parts. First, a description of the Croghan family and their kin is presented, based on surviving historic documents. Second, the documentary record of the slaves at Locust Grove is reviewed. These documents include references to their slaves in Croghan family letters as well as censuses, wills, estate inventories, and tax lists. Finally, a description of the physical features, cultural and natural, of the plantation is offered, along with a summary of the archaeological field work conducted at the site.

The Croghans and Their Kin

William Croghan, Sr., who established the Locust Grove plantation, was born in Ireland in 1752 (Thomas 1969). William's father Nicholas (died ca. 1790) sent his son to America in 1769. At this time, William Croghan was seventeen years old. Not much is known of Nicholas Croghan or his family in Ireland except that William had a brother named John and several sisters. Thomas (1969:32) suggested that William Croghan received little academic or professional training in Ireland. Rather, Nicholas Croghan arranged for William to gain mercantile training in America.

William Croghan arrived in Philadelphia in 1769 and stayed with his uncle Colonel George Croghan. He was placed with the Shipboy brothers to learn commerce (Thomas 1969).

In 1771, William Croghan joined the British military service in America and was commissioned an ensign. About 1775, William joined the American army and on April 19, 1776, was commissioned a captain in the 8th Virginia regiment (Thomas 1969:33). Later he was promoted to major. He served until 1783.

In 1781, William Croghan visited Virginia as a guest of a friend, Jonathan Clark. Here he met his future wife, Lucy Clark. Lucy was a younger sister of Jonathan and George Rogers Clark (Thomas 1969:43). Figure 2.1 presents the genealogy of the Croghan and Clark family members, many of whom later moved to Jefferson County, Kentucky.

In 1784, William Croghan and his friend George Rogers Clark were granted commissions as surveyors for Virginia (Thomas 1969:47). Clark and Croghan both were certified as surveyors at the College of William and Mary (Thomas 1969:47). As a surveyor, William Croghan managed to acquire considerable amounts of acreage in Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. In addition to this lucrative business, Croghan also acquired a passport to Spanish New Orleans where he and his partner sold produce at a considerable profit (Thomas

CLARK—CROGHAN GENEALOGY

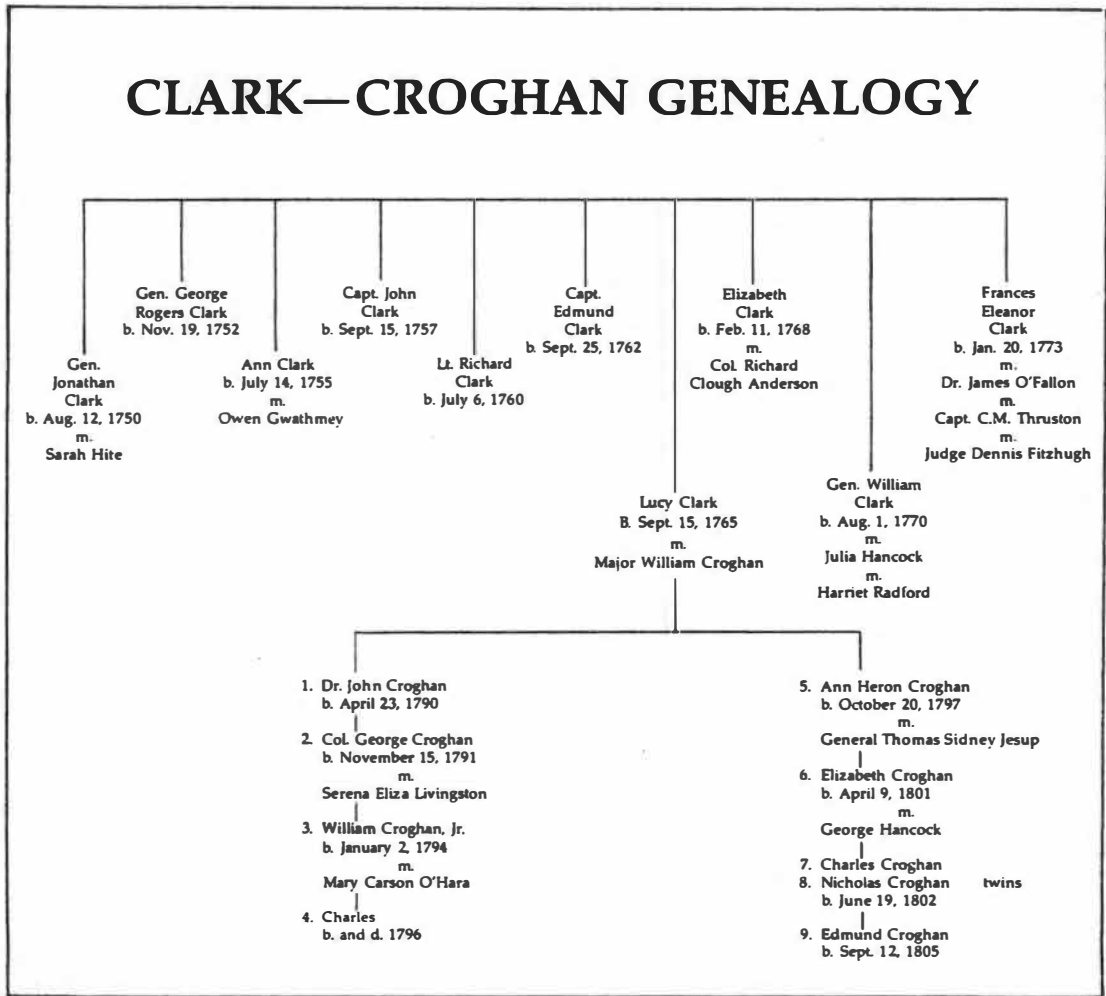


FIGURE 2.1: Geneology of the Clark/Croghan Family (after Huff et al. 1988:6).

1969:48). His partner in the New Orleans trade was Richard Clough Anderson, who would later become his brother-in-law.

In 1785, John and Ann Clark, parents of Jonathan, George Rogers, and Lucy Clark, moved to Jefferson County, Kentucky and established Mulberry Hill, a plantation near Louisville. William Croghan also moved to Jefferson County. On July 14, 1789, William Croghan married Lucy Clark at Mulberry Hill (Thomas 1969:48). About this time, the construction of the Locust Grove main house began. Presumably too, clearing and other agricultural activities began at Locust Grove.

In addition to a career in surveying, trading, and a life of agriculture on his plantation, William Croghan, Sr. also served as a representative of Jefferson County at the state constitutional convention in 1790. He was also a trustee of the town of Louisville (Thomas 1969:49).

After his partner George Rogers Clark retired in 1788, Croghan opened his own land office (Thomas 1969:49-50). Croghan advertised in the *Kentucky Gazette* on April 17, 1791 that his office at his home at Locust Grove would be opened (Thomas 1969:49).

In 1790, William and Lucy Croghan's children began arriving, starting with John Croghan born in April, 1790. In all, seven sons and at least two daughters were born to the Croghans.

Evidently, William Croghan, Sr. was intent on his children receiving the education that he never had (letters in Thomas, editor 1967). In 1809, he wrote to his son William Croghan, Jr.:

...You have it now in your power to be Acquainted with the Sciances [sic], by knowing them well you will find them pleasing and profitable to your Self and highly gratafying [sic] to your Mother myself & all your friends (Thomas, editor 1969:50).

First born John Croghan was educated at Priestly's Seminary in Danville, Kentucky, the College of William and Mary, and the University of Pennsylvania. Second born George also attended the Kentucky Seminary and briefly, the College of William and Mary. Third son William graduated from Transylvania in Lexington, and attended Dickenson College in Pennsylvania and Litchfield Law School in Connecticut. Charles and Nicholas (twins) attended St. Thomas College in Springfield, Kentucky. Daughters Ann and Elizabeth both went to Domestic Academy in Kentucky (Thomas 1969:50).

William Croghan, Sr. appears to have been a doting and affectionate father. Letters to his children and those written to him by his children attest to the great affection and care shared by the family (Thomas, editor 1967).

Major William Croghan, Sr. died at Locust Grove in 1822 and was buried in the family cemetery there. In his will, he left considerable property to his wife and surviving

family (Jefferson County Will Book 2:229). According to Thomas's calculations (1969:51) Croghan left his heirs a total of 53,860 acres. Additionally, his slaves were divided among his children, his wife, and Mrs. Emilia Clark. His will appears as Appendix 1.

Lucy Clark Croghan remains largely enigmatic. This is unfortunate because she undoubtedly played a major role at Locust Grove plantation, managing the house and slaves, and of course, raising the children. Like many plantation mistresses throughout the South, Lucy was very likely charged with clothing the slaves, tending the sick (her own children, slave children, and kin and neighbors), and aiding family, neighbor, and slave women in childbirth, in addition to the multitude of chores necessary in the running of a large household in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Smith 1980; Fox-Genovese 1988). Given Lucy's background, one cannot help wondering if the Locust Grove main house was designed for her, and that much of the status attained by the Croghan family was her influence. Unfortunately, the documentary record concerning Lucy is meager, but some information regarding her and her family is available.

Lucy Clark was born in 1765 in Virginia. As the seventh child of John and Ann Rogers Clark, Lucy is overshadowed by her more famous brothers, General Jonathan Clark, General George Rogers Clark, and Captain William

Clark who explored the Northwest with Captain Meriwether Lewis (Bodley 1926; Conner and Thomas 1966; Thomas 1967, 1969). Judging from surviving letters and other documents (Bodley 1926; Thomas, editor 1967) the entire Clark family was quite close and affectionate.

Lucy's parents, John and Ann Rogers Clark, have been described as "planter-people with comfortable means and good social position" (Bodley 1926:1). They were slaveholders, but not members of the powerful Tidewater aristocracy with their immense plantations (Palmer 1930:3-4). Rather, the Clarks were of the "sturdy small planter class" (Palmer 1930:4). John Clark married Ann Rogers in 1749 in King and Queen County in the Tidewater region of Virginia (Bodley 1926). Soon after their wedding, they moved to the Piedmont frontier region in Albemarle County (Bodley 1926:1). Adjoining their plantation was that of a close friend, Peter Jefferson, Thomas Jefferson's father. The first four Clark children, Jonathan, George Rogers, Ann, and John Clark, were all born in Albemarle County. After the outbreak of the French and Indian War, frontier conditions became unsettled and unsafe, so the Clarks moved back to Caroline County in the Tidewater (Caroline County was originally part of King and Queen County) (Bodley 1926:2). The remainder of the Clark children, Richard, Edmund, Lucy, Elizabeth, William, and Francis Eleanor, were born in Caroline County.

Little is known of the Clarks' life in Albemarle County; however, a diary by Jonathan Clark (eldest son of John and Ann Rogers Clark) reveals a happy life in Caroline County society (Bodley 1926:2-3). Letters that have survived by John Clark demonstrate that he was a relatively well-educated man who cared deeply about his children and wife (Bodley 1926:3). Friends of the Clark family in Virginia include Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and George Mason (Bodley 1926).

In 1785, John and Ann Rogers Clark moved to Jefferson County, Kentucky. Apparently, they brought their slaves with them from the Tidewater. The family resided at Mulberry Hill, a plantation off Poplar Level Road in the eastern part of the county. It was at Mulberry Hill that Lucy Clark and William Croghan were married.

Ann Rogers Clark died in 1789 in Jefferson County. John Clark died in 1799. John Clark's will dated October 1, 1799 (Jefferson County Will Book 1:86) states that a slave woman named Christian and her children were to be left to William Croghan, Sr. These slaves were already in Croghan's possession as of July 24, 1799 (Jefferson County Will Book 1:86).

It is difficult to ignore the influence of Lucy Clark's Tidewater Virginia upbringing when trying to understand why William Croghan, a relatively uneducated Irish immigrant, had Locust Grove built as he did. Additionally, it is

difficult to establish what influence the slaves that the Clarks brought with them from Virginia to Jefferson County had on the slaves at Locust Grove.

Letters written by Lucy Clark Croghan were not included in Thomas's edited (1967a) collection, except a single-line postscript. Perhaps none survived. Many letters written by her children refer to her with much affection (letters in Thomas, editor 1967). After her marriage to William Croghan, she moved to Locust Grove where she gave birth to nine children, eight of whom survived to adulthood. After her husband died, Lucy lived with her daughter Ann (who married General Thomas Jesup) in Washington D.C., at Locust Grove, and at her house in the town of Louisville. Toward the end of her life, she moved back to Locust Grove permanently. By that time, Locust Grove was owned and operated by her eldest son, John Croghan. In May 1837, John Croghan wrote to his brother-in-law Jesup, that he was building a room on to the Locust Grove house for his mother (letter dated May 20, 1837 in Thomas, editor 1967). Lucy Clark Croghan died in 1838 at Locust Grove. Her son George wrote to John Croghan from Washington D.C. concerning his anguish over his mother's death (letter dated April 17, 1838 in Thomas, editor 1967):

...I have been out today for the first time unless to church, since the receipt [sic] of the distressing news of the death of the best of Mothers. I feel more than you all her loss, for I have in addition to our common

griefs, the annonning [sic] reflection that I observe of all her children have by my repeated misconduct caused her anguish and distress...

Lucy was buried in the family cemetery at Locust Grove.

John Croghan was born April 23, 1790 in a cabin on the Locust Grove property (Conner and Thomas 1966:208; letter dated March 23, 1813 in Thomas, editor 1967). Evidently the brick mansion house was not yet completed. A great deal is known about John Croghan because numerous letters (written to him and by him) and other documents have survived (Conner and Thomas 1966; Thomas, editor 1967).

John Croghan was very well educated. He attended seminaries, colleges, and universities until he graduated in 1813 from the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania (Conner and Thomas 1966:206-210). Dr. Croghan began practicing medicine from his residence at Fitzhugh and Gwathmey's business in Louisville. When his father died in 1822, he inherited numerous properties (Conner and Thomas 1966:211; Jefferson County Will Book 2:229); however, many of the tracts of land were undeveloped and so provided little income (Conner and Thomas 1966:211). For additional income, Dr. Croghan began drilling for salt in 1826 and while drilling, struck oil in the Salt Bend area. According to Conner and Thomas (1966:212), this was one of the earliest discoveries of oil in the United States. At the time, this product was untested and considered worthless.

In addition to his travels drilling for salt, Dr. Croghan also spent considerable time taking care of his mother and younger brothers and sisters. For instance, Dr. Croghan took his brother Charles abroad because of Charles' ill health. Even though Charles died in Paris in 1832, Dr. Croghan stayed a while and became friends with James Fenimore Cooper (Conner and Thomas 1966:215). John Croghan also accompanied his brother George while touring military posts to keep his brother from excessive drinking and gambling (Thomas 1967).

John Croghan never married. He evidently did court (or try to court) Miss Eloise Bullitt between 1829 and 1831 (letters dated December 27, 1829, and March 25, 1831 in Thomas, editor 1967).

Dr. John Croghan purchased Locust Grove from his brother-in-law George Hancock after his sister Elizabeth Croghan Hancock died in 1833 (Conner and Thomas 1966). John attempted to become "a gentleman farmer" (letter dated October 31, 1834 in Thomas, editor 1967). He appeared somewhat bored or disillusioned with agriculture (letters in Thomas, editor 1967) and began dividing his time between collecting minerals, dealing with properties inherited from his father, and promoting his new property, Mammoth Cave (Conner and Thomas 1966:217).

At Mammoth Cave, Dr. John Croghan promoted both tourism and his tuberculosis hospital (Conner and Thomas 1966:217-

219). He erected accommodations for visitors to the cave, as well as rooms inside the cave for patients. Several slaves were retained as guides in Mammoth Cave, but none of the slaves listed by name in wills or letters were slaves who worked at Mammoth Cave. It is believed that John Croghan was the anonymous author of *Rambles in Mammoth Cave During the Year 1844*, a publication of 101 pages with engravings of scenes inside the cave (Conner and Thomas 1966:220).

By 1845, Dr. John Croghan's failing health largely confined him to Locust Grove where he entertained and corresponded with numerous friends and family. It was during this time that a famous duel between Cassius Marcellus Clay and Robert Wickliffe occurred near the mill at Locust Grove (Conner and Thomas 1966).

Dr. John Croghan died at Locust Grove on January 11, 1849. He was buried in the family cemetery there. In his will, he left Locust Grove to his brother George (Jefferson County Will Book 4:121). George Croghan, however, died on January 8, 1849 in New Orleans, just three days before John (Thomas 1967). John Croghan's will (Appendix 2) and estate inventory (Appendix 3) show that he was a slaveholder of considerable wealth when he died.

The third child of Major William Croghan, Sr. and Lucy Clark Croghan was George. Because of his frequent misconduct, George is the most interesting of the Croghan

family. This misconduct, especially excessive drinking and gambling, cost the Croghan family (and the Locust Grove estate) considerable money. George and his misdeeds were the subject of many of the Croghan's letters (Thomas 1967).

Like his brother John, George received a very good education. He studied at Priestly's Seminary in Danville, Kentucky, and briefly studied law at the College of William and Mary (Thomas 1967:304-305). He also served in the War of 1812 (Thomas 1967:306) and was the only offspring of William and Lucy Clark Croghan to pursue a military career. George also travelled extensively between New York and New Orleans. He married Serena Eliza Livingston and had a sugar plantation outside of New Orleans (Thomas 1967; letters in Thomas, editor 1967).

George Croghan was often in debt. He believed that his military service should earn him a political or military appointment, so he and his family enlisted the aid of General Andrew Jackson and President James Monroe (both had visited Locust Grove) to make a recommendation for a governmental appointment. Jackson recommended George for the position of postmaster at New Orleans (Thomas 1967). In July 1824, he arrived in New Orleans to take up his new post (Thomas 1967:309).

Evidently, George Croghan's salary and his income from his plantation were not sufficient to cover his debts. Additionally, he appears to have accumulated additional

debts through his enjoyment of New Orleans city life. To cover these debts, George illegally appropriated postal funds. When he left the post in 1826, he owed at least \$11,898.07 (Thomas 1967:310). His family paid the debt (Thomas 1967:310).

After leaving his post at New Orleans, George Croghan became inspector general of the United States. This meant that George make a yearly tour of army posts. Unfortunately, on these tours George would fall back into his old habits, drinking and gambling, and continued to accumulate debts. He family often rescued him. George also sold properties he inherited from his family to pay debts (Thomas 1967:312-313). On several occasions, George applied for his military pay from two locations (i.e. he was double paid), for which he was reprimanded (Thomas 1967:316-317). He was very nearly courtmarshalled for his misconduct.

Between tours, George, and sometimes his wife Serena, and their children, stayed at Locust Grove. During these times, his behavior was exemplary (Thomas 1967).

In 1845, Colonel George Croghan fought in the Mexican War with his friend and former neighbor Zachary Taylor. He remained in Monterey for a year before fever and diarrhea forced him to leave (Thomas 1967).

Colonel George Croghan died in New Orleans of cholera. His body was returned to Louisville, and he was buried in the family cemetery at Locust Grove. His children were Mary

Angelica (1818-1906), St. George Lewis Livingston (1822-1861), Charles, John, William, Marie Dallas (1832-1838) and Serena L. (1833-1926) (Thomas 1967).

The other children of Major William Croghan, Sr. and Lucy Clark Croghan are: William, Jr. (1794-1850); Charles (b. and d. 1796); Ann Heron (1797-1846); Elizabeth (1801-1833); Charles (1802-1832); Nicholas (1802-1826); and Edmund (1805-1825). Less is known of these children. Although George Croghan was never the master at Locust Grove, his behavior created serious shortfalls of cash for his father William Croghan, Sr. and later for his brother, John. This, in turn, must have affected the slaves at Locust Grove.

William Croghan, Jr. was a lawyer. In 1822 he inherited Locust Grove from his father and in 1823 he married Mary Carson O'Hara. In 1828, after his wife's death, he sold Locust Grove to his brother-in-law George Hancock. William Croghan then moved to Pittsburgh to administer the O'Hara estate.

Ann Heron Croghan married Thomas S. Jesup (1788-1860) who became the Quartermaster General of the U.S. Army. They lived in Washington D.C. where Ann's mother Lucy Croghan frequently stayed after her husband died. Jesup was intimately involved in the Croghan's lives, frequently offering them advice (letters in Thomas, editor 1967).

Elizabeth Croghan married George Hancock. From 1822 until her death in 1833 of cholera, Elizabeth was mistress of Locust Grove.

Charles and Nicholas were twins. Charles owned nearly half of Locust Grove and built a house there (the Croghan-Blankenbaker house) around 1826 (Keys 1992). He inherited this property from his twin Nicholas in 1826 who inherited it from his father. Charles died in Paris attended by his brother Dr. John Croghan.

Almost nothing is known of Edmund Croghan. He was planning a career in law when he died at the age of twenty.

As can be seen, a rich and detailed account of the lives of the Croghans of Locust Grove, and their relatives is available in the surviving documentary record. But of the slaves who lived and labored there, the documentary record is almost silent. Numbers, names, and values of these people are available for some, but concerning details of their everyday lives, surviving documents reveal very little.

The Slaves of Locust Grove

The following section covers what is known of the slaves who lived and worked at Locust Grove that is available through the surviving documentary record. The first brief part utilizes public records such as tax lists

and censuses. The larger second part focuses on what exists in the Croghan family letters. Unfortunately, these letters reveal more about the Croghans than about the slaves.

Jefferson County Tax Lists from 1789 through 1849 enumerate the number of slaves at Locust Grove. In 1789, William Croghan, Sr. paid taxes on two adult male slaves. In 1791, he owned six slaves, all over age sixteen. By 1794, the slave work force at Locust Grove increased to twelve. This is twice as many slaves as just three years earlier. From 1791 until 1849, the tax lists show an increase from 6 to 42 slaves (Figure 2.2). The 1810 census of Jefferson County, Kentucky shows that Major Croghan owned 35 slaves and the 1820 census shows 40 slaves for Croghan. It is not known how Major Croghan acquired most of his slaves. Some were obviously inherited, as was a slave woman named Christian and her children who were left to William Croghan, Sr. by his father-in-law John Clark in 1799 (Jefferson County Will Book 1:86). Some of the Croghan's slaves were the result of natural increase. But whether or not Croghan purchased (or sold) slaves is not known. Of the 40 slaves he owned in 1820, 22 were males and eight were females. There were eight adult males aged 20 or over, two adult females aged 20 or over, and 30 slave children (USBC 1820).

The will of Major William Croghan, Sr. who died in 1822, mentioned his slave property. It states:

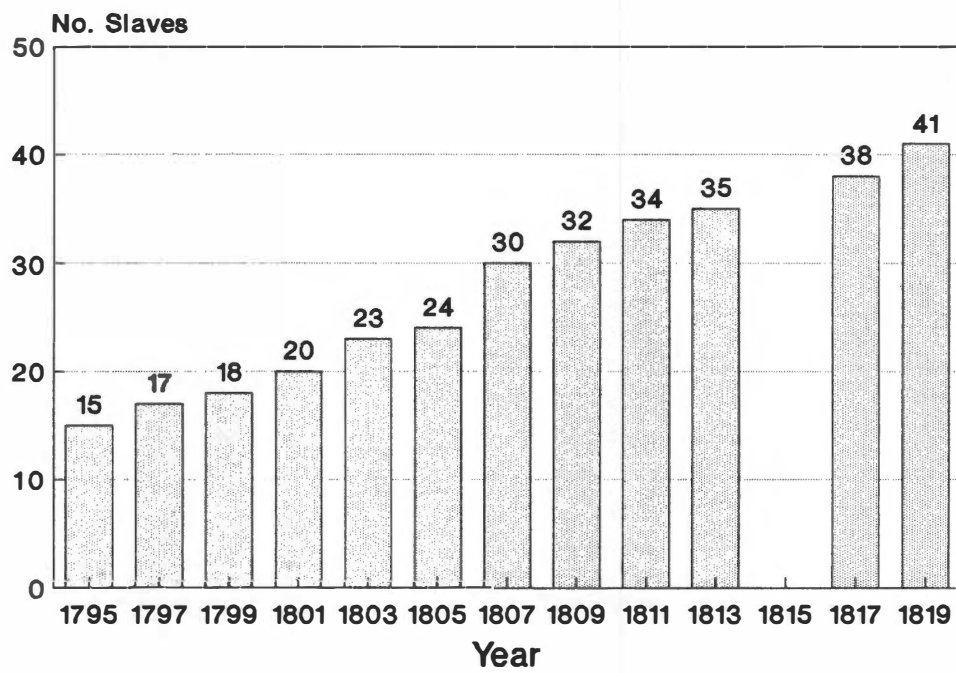


FIGURE 2.2: Slave Population at Locust Grove, 1795-1819.

...It is my will that my negroes continue under the direction of my wife and Executors untill [sic] my children of age are married or may require them, in which case I wish equal distribution of them to take place, Except Malinda and her children which I have given to Mrs. Emelia Clarke, such of my children as have received any of my negroes will account for them and allow their valuation when distribution takes place (Jefferson County Will Book 2:229, also see Appendix 1).

No estate inventory listing the slave property of Major William Croghan has been found.

Dr. John Croghan, eldest son of Major William Croghan, Sr. and Lucy Clark Croghan, owned and ran Locust Grove from 1836 until he died in 1849. In his will, he described his wishes as to the disposition of his slaves:

...I direct my said Trustees to hire out all my slaves except Isaac for three years so as to prepare them for freedom & to provide the means for their support & removal to Liberia or elsewhere; and at the expiration of said three years to Emancipate the said slaves and all their increase. I direct my Executor to Emancipate and set free from bondage immediately my slave Isaac, who has served me so faithfully (Jefferson County Will Book 4:121) (also see Appendix 2).

The estate inventory of Dr. John Croghan provides some information about his slaves at Locust Grove. The names, ages, values, and remarks of the 22 slaves owned by John Croghan at his death are included in the estate inventory (Appendix 3). Eleven of the slaves are male, and 11 female. There are five adult males, and seven adult females listed.

The Croghan's slaves were occasionally mentioned in their family correspondence. In a letter from Elizabeth

Croghan to her brother William Croghan, Jr. dated December 25, 1810, she wrote:

...what deverted [sic] me most was the blusxder [sic] Cook [sic] Robin made [.] Aunt hade [sic] a large cak [sic] made of brown sugar for the servoants [sic] and Cook [sic] Robin thru mistake took [sic] one of Aunts best cakes and left her the one that was made of brown suger [sic]...(in Thomas, editor 1967).

Others such anecdotes include those in a letter by William Croghan, Jr., to his young son William Croghan III:

...Little Abe and Al, find the most [eggs] & Al comes in & says "here old mister here is egg, now give me cake" & then he runs away & Abe he comes in with his...

...Little Harvey wants to go with me to Pitts: [Pittsburgh] he says he belong [sic] to you. little Bob lives in town & is learning to be a barber. he lives with the black Barber that once cut your hair...(in Thomas, editor 1967).

In a letter dated January 22, 1837 from Dr. John Croghan to Thomas Jesup (his brother-in-law), Croghan wrote:

...Billy boy and Big man walk a good deal with me over the farm and occasionally we pay old "Uncle Jim" as he is called a visit at the Mill. He feels highly honored at our visits...(in Thomas, editor 1967).

George Hancock who owned Locust Grove before Dr. John Croghan bought it from him when Elizabeth Croghan Hancock died had definite opinions about his slaves. He wrote to

William Croghan on December 15, 1828 about getting started at Locust Grove:

...since bringing out my Negroes I find that there are too many on the farm, and most of them are entirely worthless, so much so that I intend getting them off the place. The food they eat is to be sure a trifle...(in Thomas, editor 1967).

On December 25, 1822, George Hancock wrote to Thomas Jesup:

...and I feel unwilling that negroes that I am anxious to keep should be sold for half their value (in Thomas, editor 1967).

One wonders if Hancock did not want to part with property for whom he felt affection or duty, or simply did not want to lose money! In a way this apparent contradiction epitomizes the sentiments of many slaveholders in Kentucky (Lucas 1992). On December 15, 1838, George Hancock again wrote to Thomas Jesup:

...Having purchased of William his interest in Locust grove, & Mrs Croghan having given said the possession of the property and all upon it, I found myself unpleasantly situated in having the control of negroes who not looking on me as master, were insolent, & worthless...(in Thomas, editor 1967).

Some comments by the Croghans about their slaves remain ambiguous. For instance, Dr. John Croghan wrote to his brother-in-law Thomas Jesup on November 20, 1843:

...Negroes are not what they were five years ago...(in Thomas, editor 1967).

The health of the slaves at Locust Groves was occasionally discussed in Croghan letters. In the 1820s some of the slaves had influenza (letter by John Croghan to Thomas Jesup dated February 17, 1826 in Thomas, editor 1967). During the cholera epidemic of the 1830s in Louisville, several slaves fell ill, but evidently all survived. Other diseases and conditions also plagued the Locust Grove slave work force. In a letter to Thomas Jesup dated May 15, 1841, Dr. John Croghan wrote:

...I hired Harriett again to Mrs. Clark; but before the expiration of the quarter she was sent here [Locust Grove] with a Note stating that "her physician said she had consumption and ought to be in the country." Tubercules had formed in her lungs before I heard of her sickness, and although I do all I can for her, yet she is fast declining...(in Thomas, editor 1967).

By 1845, the slave Harriett had died (letter from John Croghan to Thomas Jesup dated February 2, 1845 in Thomas, editor 1967). She was survived by at least one son.

Hiring out was evidently fairly common for slaves at Locust Grove. In the same letter that mentioned Harriett's death, Dr. John Croghan wrote from Locust Grove:

...Betsey is again living with George Gwathmey. He offered \$30 for her, and stated that "in consequence of her having a child, it was a higher price than \$60, without such an incumbrance." I thought so too, but upon proposing \$40, he agreed to give it. Susan, Mr.

Goodwin has, I presume hired out, he being instructed so to do. Her hire last year 1843 \$50, I paid on your note in the Northern Bank; all of last year's hire, 1844, has not been collected. One of her children (Lucy) a smart little girl is living with Mr. Duncan, the other is here. Harriet, who died, has a boy living here. I thought it best to hire Silva out to a neighbor - he agreed to give \$30 a year - payments quarterly. As yet nothing has been paid & I expect to take her home. Isaac is living here - So much for the Darkies - decidedly the most troublesome and worst property a man can have...(in Thomas, editor 1967).

A slave Isaac, is mentioned as living at Locust Grove in a letter dated September 6, 1810 written by Ann Heron Croghan (who later married Thomas Jesup). This is the earliest reference of a slave in the Croghan letters (Thomas, editor 1967). This may be the same slave Isaac who Dr. John Croghan freed according to his will in 1849. Isaac is again mentioned in a letter dated January 18, 1849 from George Gwathmey to Thomas Jesup describing Dr. John Croghan's death:

...The Doctr [John Croghan] called his boy, Isaac who slept in a chair at the fire place. The judge got up and sent the Boy to his Master - just as he got to the bed side, the Doctr was seen to throw up his hands and before the judge got to him he was no more...(in Thomas, editor 1967).

So his slave, Isaac, was the last person Dr. John Croghan saw and reached for as he died. Gwathmey, Judge Brown, Judge Bullock, and George Hancock were also with Dr. John Croghan when he died (Conner and Thomas 1966).

In all, of the 261 surviving letters of the Croghan family included in Thomas's (1967) collection, only 21 letters even mention the slaves (about eight percent of the total). Extant documents reveal more about the Croghan's attitudes about slaves and about the institution of slavery than about the day-to-day lives of the slaves at Locust Grove.

Locust Grove Plantation

Locust Grove plantation was the setting in which the slaves, the Croghans, and many of their relatives played out their lives. This section contains a brief history of the property and a description of the archaeological field work conducted there from the 1960s through the 1980s. A brief chronology of Locust Grove appears at the end of the chapter.

Locust Grove began as a modest farm when Major William Croghan, Sr. purchased 387 acres from Hancock Lee in 1790 (Jefferson County Deed Book 6:249). From 1790 until 1811, Major Croghan increased and improved his land holding in the county. In 1792, an additional 104.5 acres west of and adjoining Locust Grove was purchased (Jefferson County Deed Book 6:544). In 1811, Croghan bought 202 acres south and east of his plantation from his neighbor Richard Taylor (Jefferson County Deed Book 9:150) making the total area of

his plantation 693.5 acres. Thomas (1969:51) suggested that the upper 400 acres were under cultivation, and the area near the river was left for timber and woodland pasture. The source of information for this interpretation is not named. Possibly the information came from the will of Major William Croghan, Sr. (Jefferson County Will Book 2:229) (see also Appendix 1). Various letters (in Thomas, editor 1967) indicate that the Croghans and the slaves raised corn, wheat, hogs, cattle, sheep, horses, and possibly maintained orchards. In addition to Locust Grove proper, Major Croghan also purchased Six Mile Island in 1798, an island in the Ohio River opposite Locust Grove. The deed for this was not recorded until 1813 (Jefferson County Deed Book 10:80).

The Croghans had numerous structures built at Locust Grove. The mansion house was built between 1790 and 1792 (Conner and Thomas 1966). It is a brick four-over-four late Georgian style house situated on a small knoll, one of the highest points on the property. The floor plan of this restored building deviates from typical Georgian symmetry. The first floor consists of four rooms and a central hall. The two rooms in the east half of the house are smaller than the room on the southwest corner. The room on the northwest corner is the smallest because of the stairway in the central hall (Figure 2.3). The second floor contains a large room, interpreted as a ballroom and three smaller

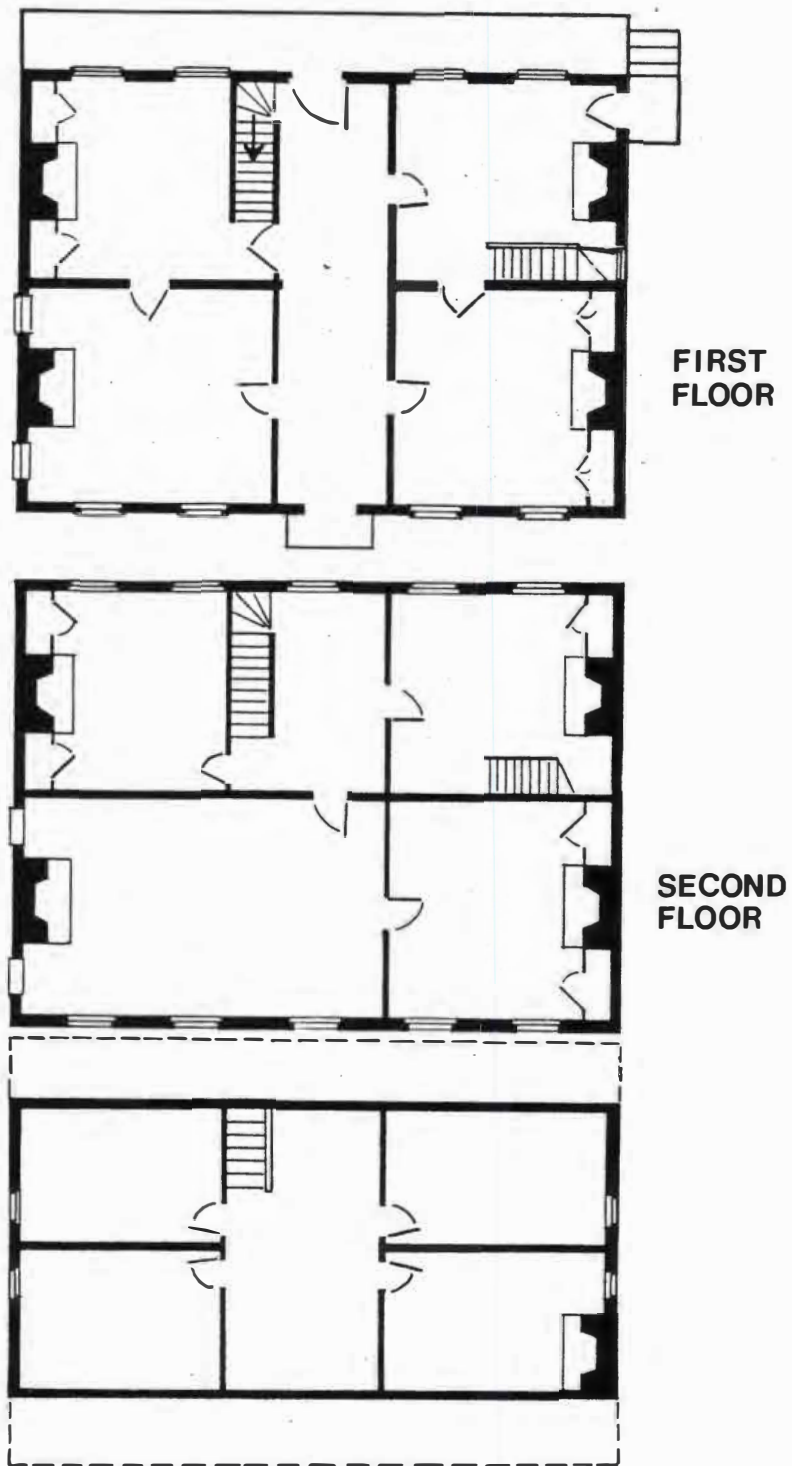


FIGURE 2.3: Floor Plan of Locust Grove Mansion House (after Huff et al. 1988:14).

chambers. The four rooms on the third floor are interpreted as children's rooms. The structure rests on a limestone foundation over a cellar. In 1837, a room was added onto the northwest for Lucy Clark Croghan. This room was removed when the mansion was restored in the 1960s.

To the north and east of the main house, a kitchen complex was built. Just north of the kitchen complex sits another structure, interpreted as a dairy that was rebuilt, along with the kitchen complex in the 1960s. A springhouse was located about 100 meters northeast of the main house area. This also, was rebuilt. Another building is located north of the dairy. Its function remains unknown; however, it too was rebuilt and is now called the "school house".

In 1791, Major William Croghan, Sr. announced the opening of a land office at Locust Grove in the *Kentucky Gazette* (April 26, 1791). This office was described later (Thomas 1969:50) as being situated in the garden. It has not been identified archaeologically.

Also by 1791, a mill was in operation, located about a half mile from the main house. A road from Louisville to Croghan's mill was proposed by Jefferson County for easier access to it for those living in the area (Jefferson County Minute Book 5:64). Samuel Thomas, while acting as caretaker of Locust Grove in 1963 indicated that he found the foundation. Plat #22007 by J. W. Henning, surveyor in 1868 for the Louisville Title Company located the mill on a

horseshoe curve on the Muddy Fork of Beargrass Creek
(footnote 146 in Conner and Thomas 1966:233).

In addition to the slaves, Major William and Lucy Clark Croghan and their children, General George Rogers Clark ("Conqueror of the Northwest Territory" and founder of Louisville) also resided at Locust Grove. The ailing general spent the last years of his life there, cared for by his sister and her family. Some researchers believe that Major Croghan's standing in the community and the notoriety of General Clark made Locust Grove an important gathering place for national political and social figures (Conner and Thomas 1966; Thomas 1967,1969). Important visitors to Locust Grove included John James Audubon, James Monroe, Aaron Burr, and Andrew Jackson (Conner and Thomas 1966; Thomas 1969).

In September 1822, Major William Croghan, Sr. died and was buried at Locust Grove. William Croghan, Jr. eventually took possession of 400 acres of Locust Grove, while Nicholas Croghan inherited the rest of the plantation (Jefferson County Will Book 2:229). Lucy Clark Croghan divided her residence between Locust Grove, a house in Louisville, and the home of her daughter Ann Jesup in Washington, D.C. Jefferson County tax lists tell a slightly different story than the wills and deeds for Locust Grove between 1823 and 1830 (Table 2.1). In 1823, John Croghan paid taxes on 693.5 acres in Jefferson County and 42 slaves. Lucy Croghan is

TABLE 2.1: Owners of Locust Grove from 1823 through 1849
(from Jefferson County, Kentucky tax lists 1823-1849).

YEAR	TAXPAYER	ACRES	SLAVES
1823	John Croghan	693.5	42
1824	Lucy Croghan	700	11
1825	Lucy Croghan	400	11
1826	Charley Croghan	300	-
1827	Lucy Croghan	400	12
	Charley Croghan	300	-
1828	Charley Croghan	300	20
1829	Charley Croghan	300	20
1830	George Hancock	460	44
1831	George Hancock	460	44
1832	no data		
1833	George Hancock	460 + 300	47
1834	no data		
1835	John Croghan	460	20
1836	George Hancock	585	38
1837	John Croghan	529	28
1838	John Croghan	529 + 22	28
	Charles Croghan	317	-
1839	John Croghan	157	28
	Charles Croghan	317	3
1840	John Croghan	551	28
	Charles Croghan	317	3
1841	no data		
1842	John Croghan	454	25
1843	John Croghan	454	23
1844	John Croghan	454	23
	St. George Croghan	317	-
1845	John Croghan	454	23
	St. George Croghan	317	-
1846	no data		
1847	John Croghan	454	22
	St. George Croghan	317	-
1848	John Croghan	260	29
1849	John Croghan	260	29

listed with 700 acres and 11 slaves in 1824, but in 1825, she lists 400 acres and 11 slaves. George Hancock does not appear to have owned Locust Grove until 1830 (Jefferson County Tax Lists 1823, 1824, 1825, 1830). Deeds and letters (in Thomas, editor 1976) indicate that William Croghan, Jr. sold Locust Grove to his brother-in-law and sister, George and Elizabeth Croghan Hancock in 1829 (Conner and Thomas 1966:215).

In 1834, Dr. John Croghan bought Locust Grove from Hancock (Conner and Thomas 1966:230) just after his sister Elizabeth died. John Croghan owned the property until his death in 1849. The Jefferson County tax lists show that Dr. John Croghan's acreage varied from 551 to as few as 260 acres (Table 2.1).

According to Dr. John Croghan's will, Locust Grove was to be held in trust to support his brother George (who died just three days before John), or to support George's son St. George (Jefferson County Will Book 4:121; Appendix 2). St. George had actually begun managing Locust Grove in 1847 for his Uncle John whose health was failing.

St. George Croghan rented Locust Grove out until his death in 1861 when his son George inherited the plantation (Conner and Thomas 1966; Jefferson County Deed Book 139:485). George Croghan sold Locust Grove to James Paul in 1878 (Jefferson County Deed Book 221:549). Paul sold it in 1883 to the Waters family who operated Locust Grove as a

farm. The farm was held by the Waters family until 1961 when it was sold to Jefferson County, Kentucky. Restoration work began in the early 1960s. Currently the county owns 55 acres of the original 693.5 acres that was once Locust Grove plantation. The surrounding acres have been developed into suburban neighborhoods.

Unfortunately little is known about the residents of Locust Grove between 1849 when Dr. John Croghan died and 1883 when the Waters family purchased the farm. Attempts have failed to locate the slaves that Dr. John Croghan wanted to hire out and free by his will. The 1858 Bergmann Map of Jefferson County does not show who lived at Locust Grove although owners of surrounding properties are listed (Figure 2.4). The 1879 map of Jefferson County shows the name of Cohan at Locust Grove (Figure 2.5).

The 1880 census of Jefferson County shows that James Paul probably did not live at Locust Grove. Instead, he was listed as living with his brother-in-law Thomas Brewer. Paul's age is shown as 20 years old at the time of the census. Three black adults are also listed in the Brewer household: Louisa Gardner age 35; Scott Trabee age 50; and Albert Morton age 25.

The 1890 census was destroyed; however, the 1900 census shows John S. Waters living in the Indian Hills Precinct with his wife, four children, and five blacks (Appendix 4). In 1910, John Waters, his wife and seven children are

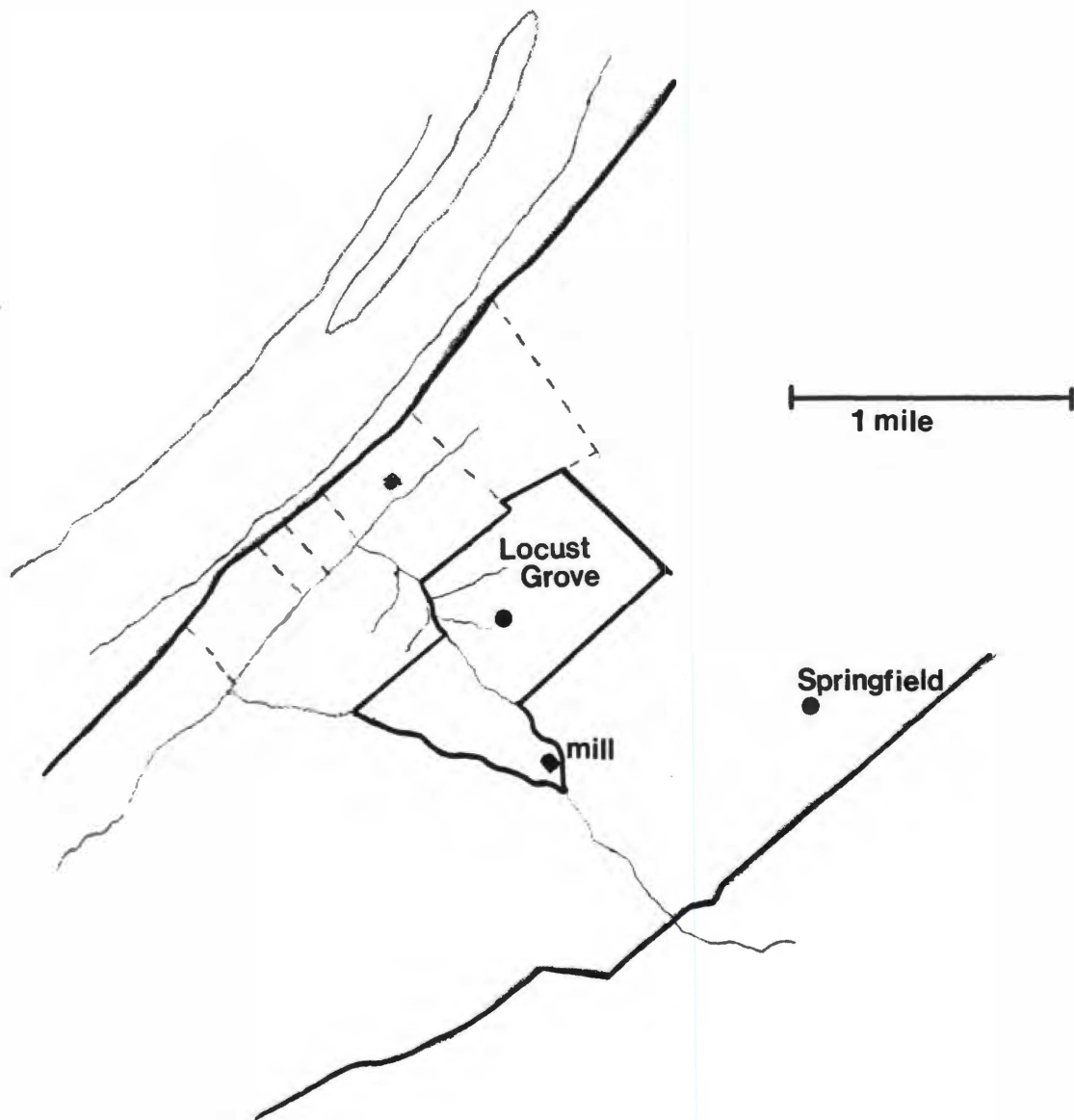


FIGURE 2.4: Portion of the Bergmann 1858 Map of Jefferson County.

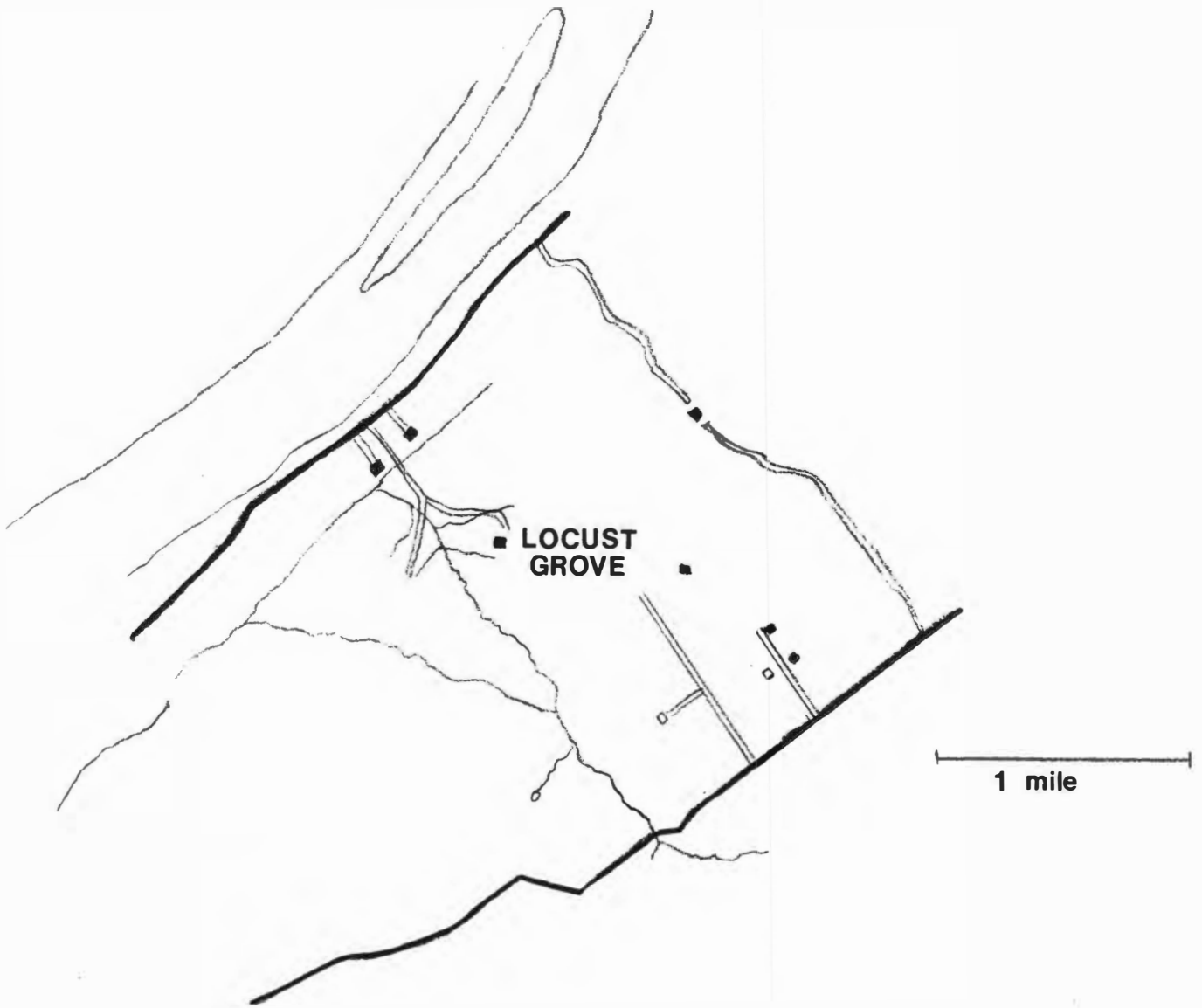


FIGURE 2.5: Portion of the 1879 Map of Jefferson County.

listed, along with Belle Taylor, Jesse A. Griffen, William Medley, and Clara Medley (Appendix 5). In 1920, John Waters, his wife and four children, as well as a "hired man" named John Caldwell are listed (Appendix 6). The Waters family members recalled that a former slave called Uncle John remained at Locust Grove in a cabin until he died in the 1920s. John Caldwell was born ca 1871, after freedom, although his age on the census may be incorrect.

The earliest archaeological work at Locust Grove began in the 1960s and was centered on the main house area. Work was conducted in order to aid reconstruction of early nineteenth century outbuildings. The kitchen complex consisting of three pens; presumably a kitchen, smokehouse, and so-called "servants quarters" was uncovered. The "dairy" was also excavated. The kitchen and dairy have both been reconstructed. No report exists concerning this early archaeological work although the artifact assemblages are curated at the University of Louisville. Provenience information is poor and difficult to reconstruct, and the excavation methods remain a mystery. It appears that the soil was shovel sorted and no screens were used. Very few small items like buttons are included in the assemblage. Some animal bone was curated, but whether all faunal material was kept is unclear.

Refined ceramics from the excavations at the kitchen complex and dairy include creamware (mainly undecorated),

pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone, and porcelain. A type collection of eighteenth and nineteenth century ceramics based on decorations was constructed. At least 130 different decorative patterns or types make up this collection of ceramics used by the Croghan family and other inhabitants of the main house. The most prominent of these is Canton porcelain, dating from 1800 to 1830. Green and blue shell edge, and blue transfer printed decorations are very common in the pearlware. Early teas include blue handpainted pearlware, polychrome handpainted pearlware cups and saucers, as well as enamelled porcelains. A refined red-bodied luster tea cup was also recovered within the main house complex excavation units, along with a black basalt teapot sherd. Annular and mocha wares from the main house are rare but these decorative patterns are found in creamware, pearlware, and whiteware.

Decorated whiteware ceramics from the kitchen excavations include numerous blue transfer printed patterns. Brown transfer printed whiteware is also fairly common. A few green transfer printed plate and cup fragments are also associated with the main house. Yellowware is relatively uncommon.

A single sherd of Westerwald stoneware dating from 1700 to 1775 was recovered from around the kitchen. Decorated with cobalt blue bands, this grey Rhenish stoneware sherd

most likely is from a mug, although Westerwald chamberpots and pitchers were also manufactured.

Early glass tableware was also recovered from the kitchen excavations. Items include a leaded cut glass tumbler, a cut glass vessel that probably was a celery vase, an early leaded glass tumbler with a design on the base (probably dating around 1830), and a leaded pressed glass hollow ware piece, possibly a cruet or small decanter. Later pressed glass tumblers, not leaded and dating after 1870, were also recovered.

Tobacco pipes are very rare in the main house area assemblage. The single example is a stub-stemmed refined earthenware glazed piece decorated with black enamel under the glaze.

In 1969 and 1970, the springhouse at Locust Grove was excavated (Granger and Mocas 1972; Granger n.d.). The springhouse measured fourteen by fourteen feet (Granger n.d.:20). A small dipping well was uncovered in the southwest corner (Granger n.d.:Figure 3, Figure 6). A total of 1523 historic artifacts and 13 prehistoric artifacts was recovered. Evidently a fire destroyed the springhouse and it was used as a dump from the mid- to late-nineteenth century (Granger n.d.).

In 1975, the Locust Grove ice house was excavated by Don Janzen at Centre College (DuVall 1977). The ice house

is located near the main house, south of the kitchen complex.

After a hiatus of twelve years, in 1987, archaeological investigations resumed at Locust Grove. Dr. Joseph Granger served as Principal Investigator. Rather than focussing on the main house, the area east of the main house across an intermittent stream was investigated. A barn foundation and a farm road bed were located during the archaeological testing. One objective was to locate and excavate remains of slave houses on the property. Three slave house foundations were located and excavated. The archaeological field work on the three slave house areas is described in more detail below.

In June 1987, intensive archaeological investigations began in an area where nineteenth century ceramics were found eroding onto the surface earlier that spring. Patchy vegetation in March prior to the field school suggested that a foundation of a building might be just below the surface. In all, 53 one by one meter units covered the area. Given the very dry weather of the summer of 1987, stratigraphic soil color and texture changes were not apparent and excavations proceeded in ten centimeter arbitrary levels. Soils were dry screened through quarter inch mesh. No samples were saved for flotation or water screening. This accounts for the scarcity of small artifacts like egg shell, beads, and straight pins.

Excavations revealed a single pen structure, measuring five meters by six meters, had been built on a continuous limestone foundation (Figure 2.6). A limestone chimney pad was located on the north wall. The hearth was constructed of roughly dressed limestone, like the wall foundation, and filled with soil. An unlined pit cellar measuring approximately one by one and a half meters was placed directly in front of the hearth. Very little area outside the walls was excavated, so almost nothing is known of the surrounding house yard.

In the spring of 1988, an area north of the 1987 slave house excavation was tested with a soil resistivity meter. Anomalous readings suggested the presence of subsurface features, so excavations were scheduled for later that spring and summer to test the area. During the 1988 summer field season, a total of 78 square meters was excavated by the University of Louisville field school students. The field methods were the same as the previous year. Unfortunately, the drought of 1987 extended into 1988 and dry conditions prevented the easy detection of soil color changes, thus making stratigraphic definition difficult.

Two notable features were uncovered during the fieldwork. One is a macadamized farm road. The second, just to the north of the road, is a small brick-lined pit cellar. The cellar was aligned in a similar manner to the house and pit cellar excavated in 1987. In fact, the

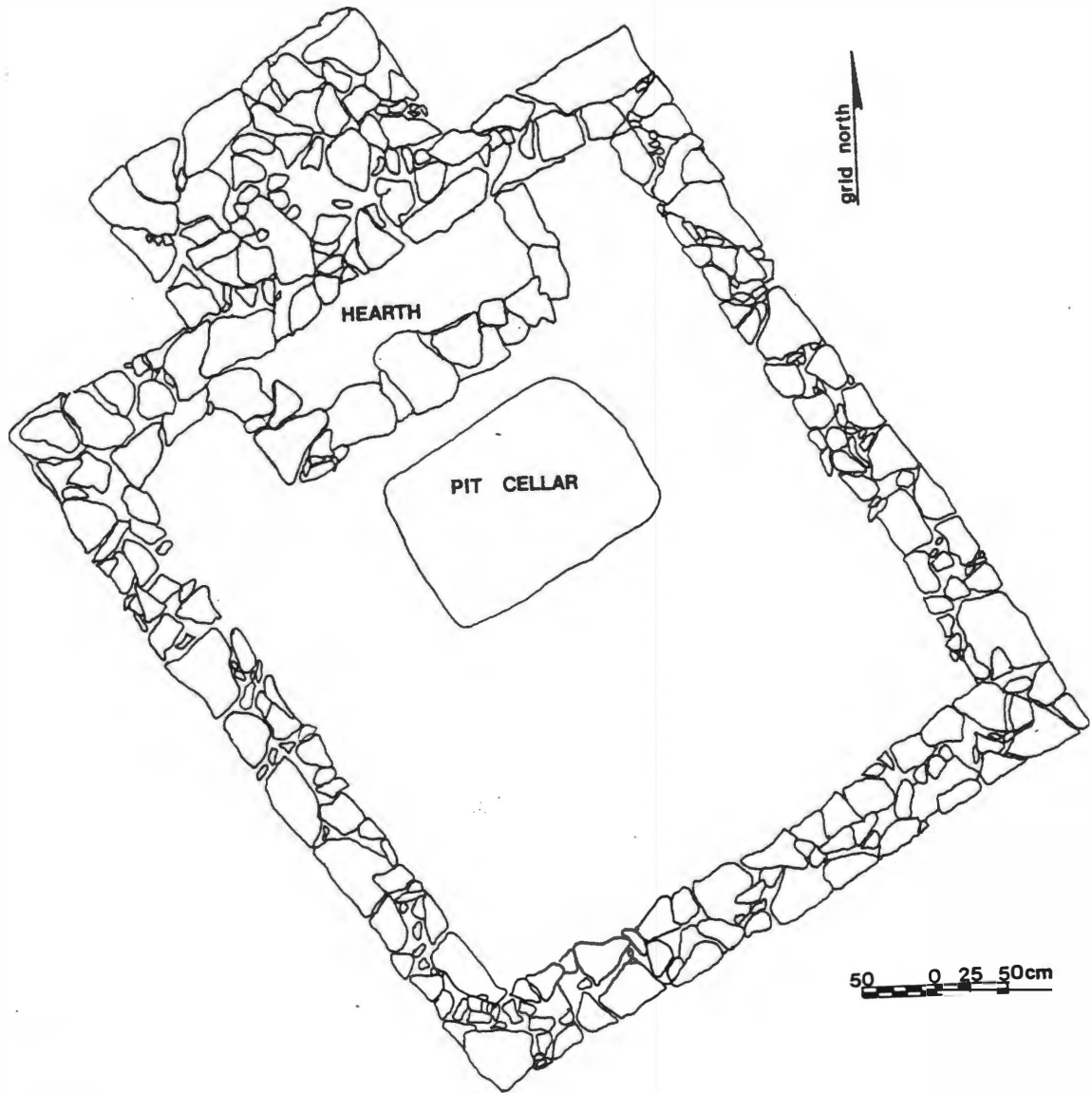


FIGURE 2.6: South House Plan View.

dimensions of the second cellar were quite similar the first. Because of the difficulty in detecting soil color changes, the feature was excavated by piece-plotting all artifacts possible. Arbitrary five centimeter levels were excavated in case some artifacts were missed *in situ*.

Unfortunately, no wall foundations were revealed during excavations. Evidently, the foundation, or piers, were removed once the house was abandoned and torn down. These could have been robbed and reused when the road was macadamized. A photograph of the 1988 excavations reveals the possible robber's trench (Plate 2.1). This information, along with the pit cellar, and the large quantities of domestic materials show that a structure once stood over the area.

More than likely, the house which sat over the brick-lined cellar measured five by six meters. These are the dimensions of the house excavated the previous year to the south as well as those of the house located north and excavated in 1989.

The third slave house location was excavated in 1989, also by University of Louisville summer field school students. The limestone foundation and chimney pad along the north and west walls had remained exposed. Like the other two houses previously excavated, this house contained a pit cellar in front of the hearth. The house measured



PLATE 2.1: Possible Robber's Trench for Central House.

approximately five meters by six meters, suggesting that the slave houses at Locust Grove were uniform in size.

Excavation methods for this north slave house site were similar to those of the previous two years. A total of 42 square meters was excavated in and around the foundation, using arbitrary levels. Soil was dry-screened through quarter inch hardware cloth. No soil samples were collected for water screening or flotation.

The archaeological excavations at Locust Grove conducted from 1987 through 1989 proved very fruitful. Foundations of an early nineteenth century barn were located, along with a farm road and three slave houses. Each slave house contained a pit cellar. Figure 2.7 shows the locations of these features along with the main house complex, the stream, and the spring house locations. From the three slave houses, thousands of artifacts were recovered, parts of objects acquired, used, and discarded or lost by the slaves at Locust Grove. These artifacts are discussed in Chapter IV.

In sum, Locust Grove has been used for the last 200 years, as a farm, plantation, as a museum, and as a site for archaeological investigations. For quick reference, a short chronology of some of the major events at Locust Grove is provided.

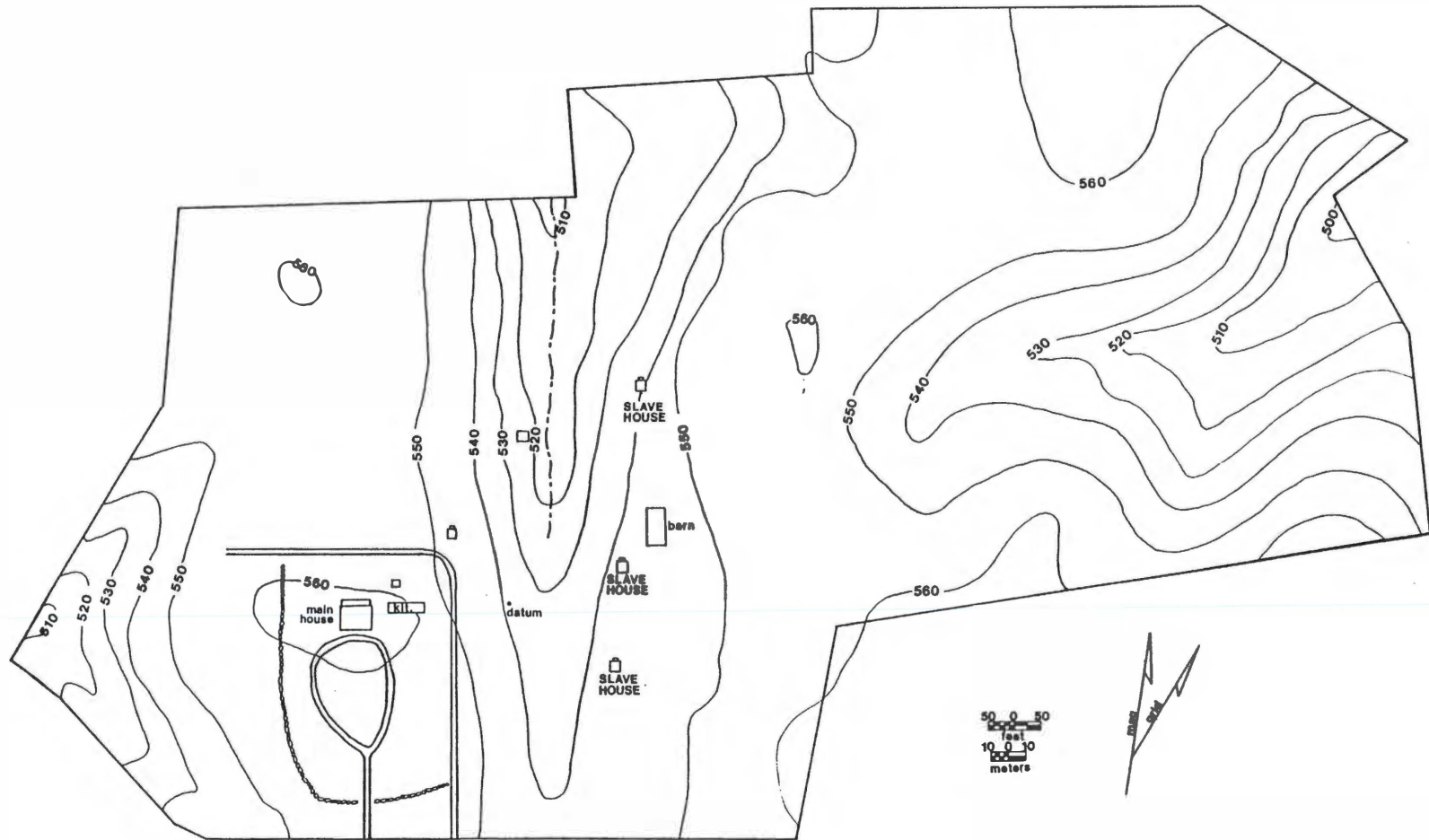


FIGURE 2.7: Layout of Locust Grove.

Chronology of Locust Grove

- 1790 Establishment of Locust Grove
- 1791 Mill established at Locust Grove
- 1818 George Rogers Clark dies and is buried in family cemetery
- 1822 William Croghan dies and is buried in family cemetery
- 1828 George Hancock buys Locust Grove from William Croghan, Jr.
- 1834 John Croghan buys Locust Grove from Hancock
- 1839 John Croghan buys Mammoth Cave
- 1847 St. George Croghan manages Locust Grove for John
- 1848 St. George rents Locust Grove from John
- 1849 John Croghan dies and is buried in family cemetery, Locust Grove is inherited by St. George and rented out
- 1861 St. George Croghan dies, inherited by his son George
- 1878 Locust Grove sold to James Paul
- 1883 Locust Grove sold to Richard Waters
- 1961 Locust Grove sold to Jefferson County and Kentucky
- 1962 Restoration of Locust Grove began, along with early archaeological field work around the kitchen complex and main house
- 1967 Archaeology of the springhouse
- 1975 Archaeology of the ice house
- 1987 Archaeology of the south slave house
- 1988 Archaeology of the central slave house
- 1989 Archaeology of the north slave house

Chapter III

The Bluegrass Region, Jefferson County, and Louisville, Kentucky: A Brief History

Sometimes Locust Grove is referred to as a plantation because of the elite owners and substantial slave population. Sometimes Locust Grove is called a farm, especially because of its size, its location in the Upland South, and the types of crops grown there. But whether farm or plantation, in no way can Locust Grove be considered a closed system. In its most broad structural context, Locust Grove, and all other plantations, have been placed in a capitalist world-system (Wolf 1982; Harrison 1993). The inhabitants of Locust Grove, both slave and free, were part of a larger system than located within the plantation boundaries. The Croghans and the slave participated in a larger culture or cultures. Numerous family letters of the Croghan family (in Thomas, editor 1967), reviewed in Chapter II, attest to the connectedness of the slaves and the Croghan family with neighbors and kin not only on the plantation, but also throughout Jefferson County, in the city of Louisville, in Kentucky, and across the nation. For the most part, too, the slave population was too small to be self-sustaining. Surviving records show that the slaves from Locust Grove had contact with people off the plantation through travels with their owners in the county and in town, and through hiring out, very common for black slaves in

Kentucky (Lucas 1992), and throughout the Upland South (Eaton 1960). It can be said that the blacks and whites at Locust Grove participated in the Bluegrass folk, elite, and popular cultures (Alvey 1992) and also in the Southern and the larger American cultures. Therefore, to properly understand the significance of this site, its local context must also be understood. To accomplish this, a brief history is presented of the Bluegrass Region and Jefferson County. Additionally, the history of the town of Louisville, just five miles from Locust Grove is reviewed here.

Jefferson County and the Bluegrass Region

Jefferson County was formed in 1780 from Kentucky County, Virginia. It was one of the three original Kentucky counties of Jefferson, Fayette, and Lincoln. The county was named in honor of the Governor of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson (Yater 1987).

Jefferson County lies on the northern edge of the Bluegrass Region, sometimes referred to as the Outer Bluegrass. The Bluegrass Region is a fertile area of Kentucky characterized by a gently rolling topography (Figure 3.1). The Bluegrass Region is well-known for its agricultural production, with major crops consisting of corn, hemp, wheat, and tobacco. The Bluegrass is also

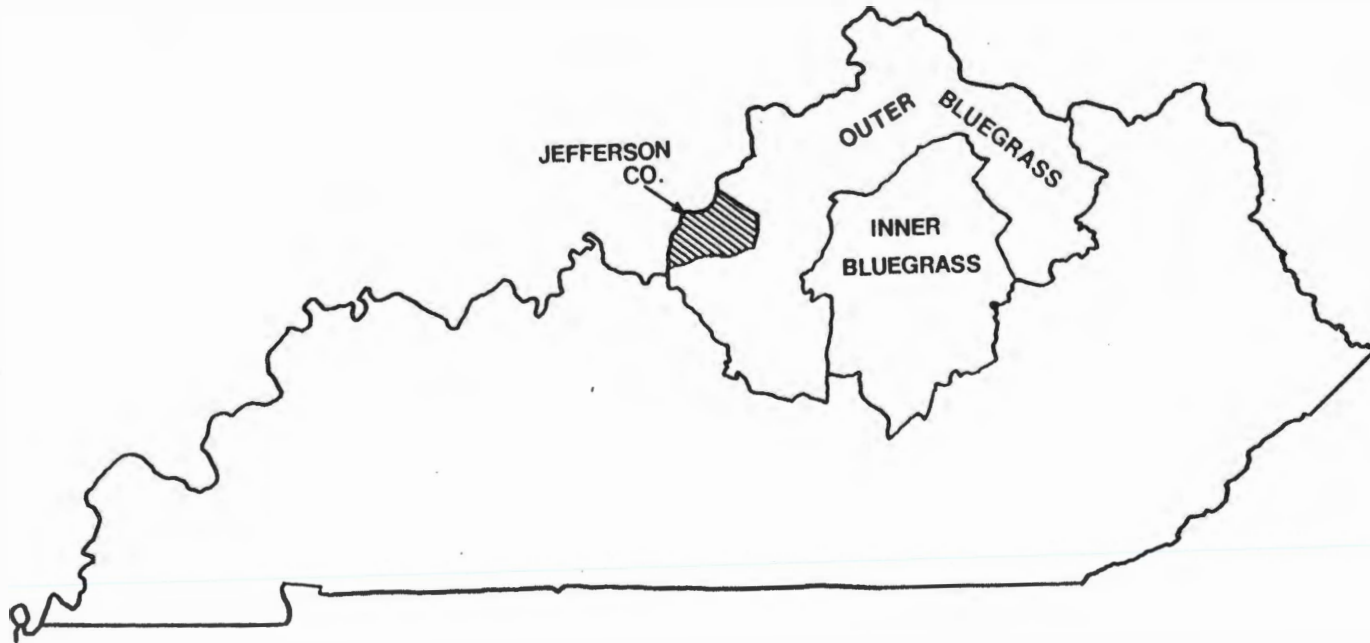


FIGURE 3.1: Jefferson County and the Bluegrass Region.

famous for its horses and horse farms, and for its whiskey (Alvey 1992).

The dominant natural feature on the landscape in Jefferson County is the Ohio River which forms its northern and western boundaries. The Ohio River was of major importance to slaves in Jefferson County and the rest of the South as the northern terminus of the slave states (Lucas 1992). The Falls of the Ohio, a stretch of rapids on the river, was the major reason Louisville was established. Louisville is the primary cultural feature of the Jefferson County landscape. It is the county seat, and from 1830 to the present, the largest city in Kentucky (Yater 1987; Jones 1981; Keys 1992).

Before the establishment of Boonesborough and Harrodstown, the non-indigenous population of Kentucky consisted of just a few hundred European American and African American men (Alvey 1992; Lucas 1992). These men were primarily hunters and explorers. For instance, in 1751 Christopher Gist and a black slave, exploring the area near the Ohio River, discovered another black man, a slave at an Indian village on the Scioto River before making their way down river to within fifteen miles of the Falls (Lucas 1992:xi). Slaves also accompanied Daniel Boone into Kentucky in early explorations in the 1760s and 1770s (Lucas 1992:xi).

Almost all of the earliest, non-aboriginal Kentuckians settled in the Bluegrass Region of Kentucky rather than other physiographic regions. They settled in forts like Boonesborough (O'Malley 1987,1994), which was settled by North Carolinians, and Harrodstown, settled by Virginians. In addition to settlers from Virginia and North Carolina, many also came from Maryland and Pennsylvania. Often settlers came in large kin groups from their native regions and states (Eslinger 1988).

Actual settlement by European Americans and African Americans in Jefferson County began in 1778 when George Rogers Clark with troops and citizens, settled on Corn Island (Hammon 1978; Jones 1981; Yater 1987; Alvey 1992). With the added security of Clark's military base there, other settlements in the county soon followed (Hammon 1978). Many settlers had received Virginia land grants for military service (Keys 1992).

After Corn Island, the earliest of these settlements in Jefferson County were located principally in the eastern part of the county, especially along Beargrass Creek and its tributaries, Floyds Fork, Harrods Creek, Goose Creek, Long Run, and Chenoweth Run. The pioneers were threatened by Indian attacks, and as a consequence, early settlements in Jefferson County and the rest of the Bluegrass were small stations. In Jefferson County, some of these stations include Floyd's, Dutch's, A'Sturgis's, Hogland's, Spring,

and Linn's stations (Hammon 1978) (Figure 3.2).

Unfortunately, no traces of these Jefferson County stations have been positively identified in the archaeological record. Even more unfortunate, most of the archaeological remains of these stations have likely been obliterated by development in Jefferson County since 1975. The single exception to this may be A'Sturgis Station at Oxmoor in eastern Jefferson County.

Between 1790 and 1800, thousands of settlers began pouring into the Bluegrass Region through the Cumberland Gap. This large second wave settled among the earliest pioneer stations. It is believed that Major William Croghan, Sr. was part of this second wave; however, his in-laws, the Clarks, had been part of the first wave of settlement. This large, second-wave migration caused a huge increase in the Kentucky population, with an increase to approximately 100,000 in 1792 (Alvey 1992:18). Although significant numbers came from England, Germany, France, and Ireland, second- and third-generation Virginians formed the majority of the new settlers and had a substantial influence on the character of the Bluegrass inhabitants. Virginia gentry dominated because of their wealth and political power; they brought with them "their slaves, their thoroughbred animals, and their rural, patrician way of life" (Alvey 1992:18-19). For instance, in 1792, Kentucky legislators incorporated the laws of Virginia regarding

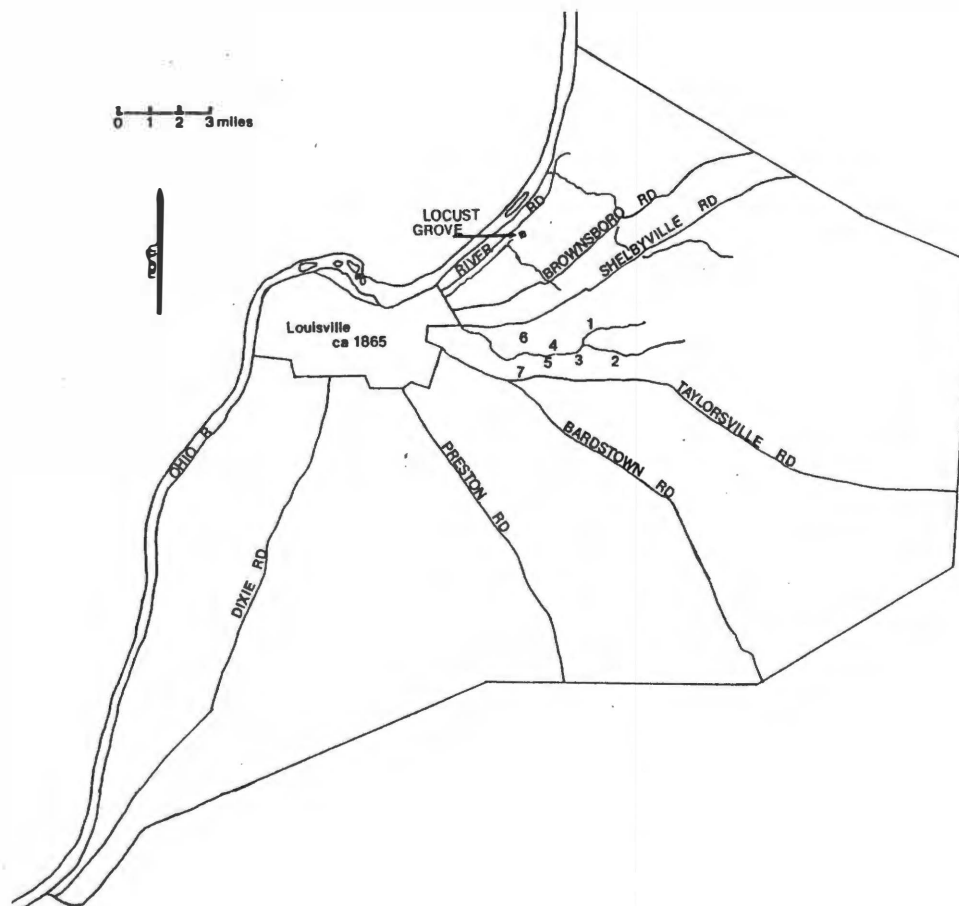


FIGURE 3.2: Jefferson County Stations. (1=A'Sturgis; 2=Lynn; 3=Dutch; 4=Floyds; 5=Hogland; 6=Spring; 7=Sullivan)

slavery into their first constitution (Lucas 1992). Specific to Locust Grove, Major William Croghan, Sr. had come from Ireland via Virginia where he became acquainted with his bride-to-be Lucy Clark. Also, the Clark family moved to Jefferson County from the Tidewater region of Virginia (Thomas 1969).

By 1790, when Locust Grove was being built, the danger from Indian attack had eased, and farms and plantations replaced stations on the Bluegrass and Jefferson County landscape (Jones 1981; Yater 1987; Alvey 1992; Keys 1992). As such, Locust Grove stands as one of the earliest surviving non-fortified sites in Jefferson County.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of continued growth and development in Jefferson County and the rest of the Bluegrass Region. The number of farms in this predominantly agrarian region increased, while the average size of farms in Jefferson County decreased. However, a few farmers and planters like the Croghans did manage to increase their holdings. By the middle of the nineteenth century, most farms were comprised of fewer than 100 acres (Jones 1981; Keys 1992). At its height in the early 1820s, Locust Grove consisted of nearly 700 acres. When the founder of Locust Grove died in 1822, his holdings were divided into smaller farms, but each was still larger than most other farms in the county (see Chapter II).

Jefferson County remained principally agrarian well into the twentieth century. Farms in the county produced corn and other grains, fruits and vegetables, hemp, cattle, hogs, and sheep, and orchards and stock farms were particularly important in Jefferson County during the second half of the nineteenth century. Locust Grove remained a family farm until the 1960s (see Chapter II).

Industry during the late-eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century was centered primarily on two activities: salt manufacturing and milling. Salt manufacturing was the first industry in Kentucky as salt was largely unavailable to settlers in the forts and stations of the Bluegrass. Salt production started in what is today southern Jefferson County and in Bullitt County just south of Jefferson. Mann's Lick, in present-day Fairdale in Jefferson County, and Bullitt's Lick near Shepherdsville in Bullitt County employed hundreds of workers (Yater 1987:18). In the town of Louisville, by 1820, other industries were underway including a soap and candle factory, five tobacco processors, and a nail factory (Kramer 1978:167). By 1830, salt production in Jefferson County ended, because steamboats were reaching the Falls and there were more efficient means of extracting salt. Milling continued to be an important industry during the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Jefferson County. Grist mills, saw mills, and fulling and carding mills were numerous. Most

major creeks in Jefferson County had at least one mill (Keys 1992:xiv). The Croghans owned and operated a mill at Locust Grove, located about a quarter of a mile from the main house (Thomas 1967).

Also during the first half of the nineteenth century, Louisville, Middletown, Jeffersontown, and numerous smaller villages in the county continued to grow. By 1820, there were nearly 7000 Louisvillians, with blacks making up 28% of the population (1031 slave and 93 free) (Yater 1987). As populations in towns and villages in Jefferson County grew, roads between them were built and improved. Major roads included Shelbyville Road, Dixie Highway, Bardstown Road, Taylorsville Road, Preston Highway, and Brownsboro Road (Keys 1992:xiv). In addition to Brownsboro Road, by 1792, at least one other road led to Locust Grove from Louisville so neighbors could access Croghan's mill.

The period from 1790 to 1820 in Jefferson County was one of growth, but also of settling in. In addition to Major William Croghan, Sr., a number of other prominent families established plantations and farms in the eastern part of the county. These families included the Andersons, Taylors, Bullitts, Christians, Browns, Tylers, Hites, and Funks. The homes and farms of some of these friends, relatives, and neighbors of the Croghans are described below.

Colonel Richard Taylor from Virginia, father of President Zachary Taylor, established Springfields in the late 1780s. Springfields consisted of 400 acres next to Croghan's Locust Grove. The mansion house survives today as a private residence surrounded by a twentieth century suburb (Jones 1981:74; Keys 1992:96). The Taylor family owned a significant number of slaves. In 1810, Richard Taylor owned 42 slaves, in 1820 he owned 36 (United States Bureau of Census [USBC] 1810, 1820). The Taylors were intimately connected to the Croghans, their nearest neighbors. For instance, Zachary Taylor wrote to John O'Fallon describing his anxiety concerning Major William Croghan's illness:

...Major Croghan, who is rapidly declining, and I am fearful, unless a change for the better takes place shortly, he can not stand it... (in Thomas, editor 1967).

Soldier's Retreat was owned and built by Richard Clough Anderson, and was established on a tract of land on Beargrass Creek in eastern Jefferson County. Anderson's wife, Elizabeth Clark, was Lucy Clark Croghan's sister. The residence of Soldier's Retreat was similar in size and form to Locust Grove, although built of stone rather than brick. Several outbuildings, two slave houses, a kitchen, and a spring house still survive (Jones 1981:110; Keys 1992:62-63). The Andersons also owned quite a few slaves. The 1810

census (USBC 1810) shows Richard Anderson in Jefferson County with 20 slaves.

Oxmoor, on Beargrass Creek, has remained in the Bullitt family for more than 200 years. In 1786, William Christian of Virginia gave 1000 acres to Alexander Scott Bullitt, also of Virginia, who married Christian's daughter, Pricilla. In 1787, Bullitt bought an adjoining tract of 1200 acres. The mansion house, a stone springhouse, a two-story log house believed to have been built in the 1780s by William Christian, an ice house, smokehouse, kitchen, and slave quarters all survive at Oxmoor. In addition, A'Sturgis Station was located on the property (Hammon 1978) and is probably the only station site in Jefferson County to survive archaeologically. The Bullitts owned many slaves. In 1810, Alexander Scott Bullitt owned 83 slaves and was the second largest slaveholder in the county, second only to David L. Ward who owned 103. In 1820, William C. Bullitt, Alexander's son, and heir to Oxmoor, owned 24 slaves, and in 1830, 23 slaves. This is considerably fewer than his father, who probably divided his slaves among all his heirs at his death. By 1840, William C. Bullitt owned 47 slaves (USBC 1840).

Colonel Abraham Hite came to Jefferson County in the 1780s from Virginia. In the 1790s, he built a two-story, three-bay brick house on a stone foundation with interior end chimneys (Jones 1981:44; Keys 1992: 30). The structure

survives today along with the Hite family graveyard nearby. The Hites were also slaveholders. The 1810 census of Jefferson County shows Abraham Hite owned 15 slaves (USBC 1810). In 1820, he owned 18 and two free black males were listed with his household (USBC 1820).

The Funk family migrated to Jefferson County from Maryland in the early 1790s. They settled near Jeffersontown. Either John Funk or his son Peter who married Abraham Hite's daughter Harriett, built a brick Georgian-style house very similar in form and size to Locust Grove and Soldier's Retreat (Keys 1992:41-42). Along with the main house, a brick kitchen wing and a stone spring house survive on the property.

James Brown came to Jefferson County from Delaware around 1800. In 1810 he bought 480 acres on Beargrass Creek on land that was originally part of Dutch's Station. By 1824, Brown owned over 1000 acres surrounding his home, Wildwood. His mansion house today serves as a club house surrounded by apartments built in the 1980s. Brown owned 13 slaves in 1810, but by 1840 he owned 51 slaves (USBC 1810; 1840). Brown died in 1853. One son, Arthur, inherited the Wildwood house and part of the farm, and another son, Theodore, inherited an adjoining tract and built Woodhaven in the 1850s (Jones 1981:70; Keys 1992:59).

Edward Tyler, Sr., and his sons, Edward Jr., William, Robert, and Moses came to Jefferson County in 1779 or 1780

from Virginia. The Robert Tyler house is believed to be one of the oldest surviving structures in the county. The main house is a log building, clapboarded and joined to a double-pen stone house (Keys 1992:48). A log barn and a stone spring house also survive. The house believed built by Edward Tyler, Sr. is a one-and-a-half story brick house which stands behind a brick, two-story, three-bay house with a hipped roof and four central interior chimneys. Also on this site is a collapsed stone spring house, two log outbuildings, and a spring-fed pond. These structures and the Robert Tyler house are located near Jeffersontown in eastern Jefferson County (Keys 1992:48-50).

Moses Tyler's plantation is known as Blackacre, and is one of Jefferson County's most complete nineteenth century farm complexes (Keys 1992:56). Blackacre contains a stone house, a brick farm house, a log barn, and a stone spring house. All of the Tyler structures, including Blackacre's, comprise the Tyler Settlement Rural Historic District (Keys 1992:48-50,56).

The Taylors of Springfield, the Andersons of Soldier's Retreat, the Bullitts of Oxmoor, the Hites, Funks, Browns, and Tylers are just a few of the relatives and neighbors of the Croghan family of Locust Grove. The locations of these family farms and plantations relative to Locust Grove in Jefferson County are shown in Figure 3.3. Like the Croghans, these families were of substantial economic means,

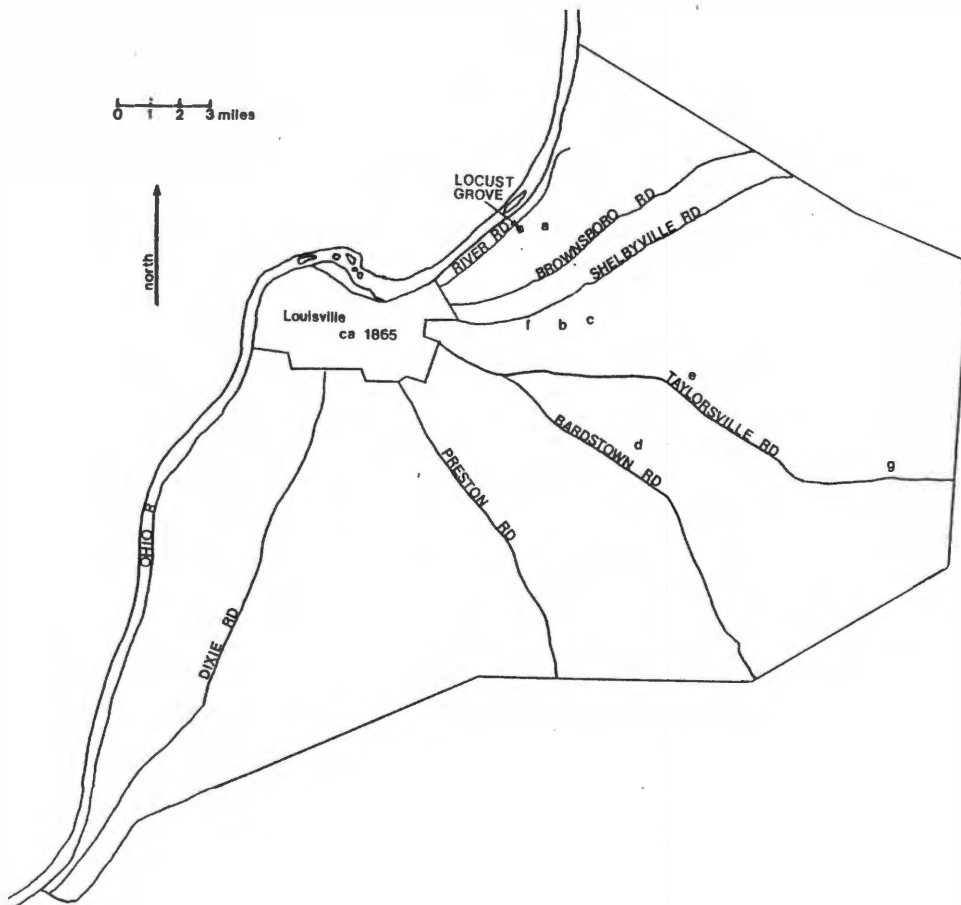


FIGURE 3.3: Neighboring Slaveholdings in Jefferson County. (a=Taylor; b=Bullitt; c=Anderson; d=Hite; e=Funk; f=Brown; g=Tyler)

and were slaveholders, therefore the Croghan's peers. The individual slave communities of these friends, relatives, and neighbors, no doubt, interacted with the Locust Grove slave community.

Analysis of the 1810 federal census of Jefferson County, Kentucky reveals some interesting trends concerning slave life in the county (USBC 1810). Data show that many slaveowners in the county owned 15 or more slaves. In fact, 67 slaveholders owned 45% of the slaves in Jefferson County (Table 3.1).

In contrast to the Deep South where 25% of the slave population lived on large plantations with 50 or more slaves, most African American slaves in Kentucky lived on small farms and in small groups of five slaves or less (Lucas 1992). The majority of whites in Kentucky did not own slaves, and in 1850, a quarter of the nearly 40,000 slave owners owned only a single slave. Most slave owners in Kentucky owned five slaves (Lucas 1992). Nevertheless, the idea and practice of slavery was deeply embedded in Kentucky, particularly in the Bluegrass Region (Lucas 1992).

Kentucky slaves often labored with their masters on farms. Labor was the most prominent feature in the slaves' lives (Berlin and Morgan 1993). According to the interpretation by Lucas (1992:3), slaves in Kentucky:

TABLE 3.1: Large Slaveholders in Jefferson County, 1810
(USBC 1810).

NAME	NO. SLAVES
Griffin Lawman	15
Obediah Newman	15
Thomas Parker	15
Fanny Prather	15
Francis Taylor	16
Martin Brinkman	17
Samuel Philips	17
Amos Riley	17
Peter Shrote	17
James Aerenon	18
Mrs. Dickenson	18
John Bealer	21
John Pea	21
Samuel Lawrence	22
Samuel Oldham	22
Squire Brooks	23
Robert Breckinridge	24
Stephen Ormsby	24
Elizabeth Berkeley	25
William A. Boothe	26
Richard Finley	26
Matthew Love	26
William Merriwether	26
Edmond Ship	26
Samuel Wells	27
Aaron Fountain	28
Thomas Philips	28
Newborne B. Beall	29
William Merriwether	29
Rubin Taylor	30
Huston Hammon	31
Isaac Miller	32
James Taylor	33
Henry Churchwell	34
Jenkin Philips	34
William Croghan	35
Robert Coleman	36
Elizabeth Thompson	40
Samuel Cheer	41
Richard Taylor, Sr.	42
Samuel Churchwell	43
Benjamin Lawrence	46
Lawrence Rofz	48
Alexander S. Bullitt	83
David L. Ward	103

...arose early and fed the horses, mules, and oxen. They tended the chickens and slopped the hogs. Slaves hauled salt blocks to the fields, counted the farm animals, and drove the cattle and sheep from one pasture to another. Bondsmen plowed the fields and raised corn, sweet potatoes, and wheat for the farm, as well as the cash crops of tobacco, hemp, and flax. They weeded and harvested garden vegetables and trucked produce and staples to market. Bondsmen broke horses and mules, chopped out briar patches, cleared additional pasture or crop land, and shelled corn. Old or handicapped slaves, unable to work in the fields, sometimes carded wool, spun cotton or woolen thread, wove or dyed cloth, and tailored clothes. In short, they provided the labor that made Kentucky such a prosperous antebellum state.

Many Kentucky slaves on farms worked in their owners homes as domestic laborers. Not always as physically taxing as the agricultural work of typical field hands, the chores were often hard and the hours even longer than from sunrise to sunset. Some domestic slaves enjoyed an easier life and closer relationship with their masters and mistresses; however, the proximity of the house slaves made them almost always subject to the whims of their owners (Lucas 1992:6). Most domestic slaves in Kentucky were women who built and tended fires, milked cows, cleaned the house, washed clothes, served as cooks, tended the sick, and cared for their master's children (Lucas 1992:6). Some slaves on farms and plantations acquired important skills and gained impressive reputations as horse trainers, blacksmiths, carpenters, entertainers, coopers, shoe makers, tanners, and millers (Lucas 1992:7-8).

According to Lucas (1992:12), slave housing in Kentucky reflected the wealth and generosity of the slave owners, as well as how much time and effort the slaves managed to devote to themselves and family. Lucas believes that most slave houses on farms and plantations in Kentucky were single pen log structures with a brick or stone fireplace, dirt floors, and shake roofs (Lucas 1992:13). Most had no glazed windows, but those that did had only one, usually small. Furnishings often consisted of bedsteads for adults and trundle beds for children, lumber placed on wooden crates for tables, rough quilts made from cast-off clothing, and pots and skillets for cooking (Lucas 1992:14).

Diets of slaves on farms and plantations in the Bluegrass were monotonous but usually adequate (Lucas 1992). Rations of pork, meal, and molasses were supplemented with beans, potatoes, cabbage, greens, blackeyed peas, and other vegetables grown on the farm. Sometimes slaves hunted, trapped, and fished, and some gathered wild berries, and had access to apples and other orchard fruits (Lucas 1992:14-15).

Most slaves in Kentucky, like those throughout the South, wore homespun clothes made of linsey-woolsey, wool, or cotton and wool cloth. Osnaburg, duffels, kersey, bombazette, cassimer, calico, Kentucky jeans, and tow linen was often used for slave clothing. In winter, most slaves had brogans, hats, and socks (Lucas 1992:16). Only house

slaves on wealthy plantations and farms, or in elite houses in towns and cities were usually well-dressed.

This brief summary of slave life and material culture in Kentucky and in Jefferson County is only a rough generalization. It does, however, provide a starting point to compare with archaeological and historical data of the African American slaves who lived and labored at Locust Grove.

Louisville

Although the landscape of Jefferson County was largely agrarian, Louisville played a major role in the lives of the Locust Grove black slaves and in the lives of the Croghans. The records (1813-1817) of a store in Louisville owned by Fitzhugh and Gwathmey (relative of Major William Croghan, Sr.) reveal that the Croghan family members made many purchases there. Major Croghan owned property in Louisville, including Lot Number 80 at the corner of Fifth and Main streets. This lot was divided among Croghan's heirs (Jefferson County Will Book 2:229). The Croghans and their slaves made many trips into the city.

Louisville, Kentucky, established on the south side of the Ohio River at the Falls, was eventually to become a major commercial center. Merchants from Philadelphia sent their goods overland to Pittsburgh, then down the Ohio River

on flatboats to Louisville. Trade in the other direction, back upriver, was much more difficult. Taking boats upstream before steampower was available, was costly and slow. Rather, Kentucky produce reached markets by moving downriver on flatboats to New Orleans (Yater 1987:19).

The early development of Louisville was slow when compared to Lexington in the heart of the Bluegrass Region. In 1800, Louisville had a population of only 359, while Lexington's population was 1759, even though Louisville was designated a federal port of entry in 1789 (Kramer 1978:166). This slow development was due to a number of factors including raids and diseases. Indian raids and threats of British attack frightened Louisville settlers during the early years which were not so intense in the interior region around Lexington. Another problem hampering Louisville's growth was the severity and common occurrence of fevers in the summer, a malaria-like illness caused by mosquitos breeding in numerous ponds in the county. This and epidemics like smallpox earned Louisville the name "Graveyard of the West" (Yater 1987:24).

Accounts of Louisville written by various travellers during the early years provide a general description of the town. One traveller, in 1796, described Louisville as consisting of about 30 houses, none elegant. Yater (1987:25) believes cabins were omitted from this count. A visitor a year later said there were about 200 houses,

mostly frame (Yater 1987:25). Most of Louisville's population and commercial activities in 1800 was in an area of two blocks between Market Street and the Ohio River. Main Street was the major thoroughfare (Kramer 1978:166). Louisville at this time had at least five taverns, a stone courthouse, and many small shops (Kramer 1978:166). But by 1805, Louisville was described as a "brisk little town" (Yater 1987:32). In 1807, some 2000 boats arrived in New Orleans from Louisville. Unfortunately, the rapids at Louisville made navigation from Pittsburgh to New Orleans impossible except during the highest stages of the river. Boats from Pittsburgh and Cincinnati were forced to unload and have their cargo carried overland from Louisville to Shippingport (Yater 1987:32). By 1810, population in Louisville had risen to 1357 inhabitants, including 484 black slaves (Yater 1987:33; USBC 1810).

Two events in the first half of the nineteenth century had dramatic effects on the town of Louisville and its population. First was the arrival of steamboats in Louisville in 1810, making shipment of Louisville's goods upriver to Pittsburgh possible. The second was the opening in 1830 of the Portland Canal, which allowed ships to move unimpeded down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. These events helped Louisville to exceed Lexington in population by 1830 when the federal census (USBC 1830; Yater 1987:55) showed Louisville's

population was 10,341. By 1840, Louisville was the twelfth largest city in the United States with a population of 21,210 (Yater 1987:55).

During this period of urban growth, Louisvillians began lighting streets with gas lamps (in 1839) (Yater 1987:55). Local transportation by 1838 allowed Louisvillians to move through the city and into the county by train (Yater 1987:56). By the 1850s, Louisville was connected to numerous towns and cities both in the South and in the North by rail. At this time, factories were established in Louisville, especially foundries (Yater 1987:61). The increasing use of coal for heating homes and businesses, coupled with exhaust from foundries caused the city's first serious air pollution problem. Charles Dickens, in 1842, wrote of Louisville:

...The buildings are smoky and blackened, but an Englishman is well used to that appearance, and indisposed to quarrel with it...(in Yater 1987:58).

The population of Louisville in 1850 was approximately 43,000 (Yater 1987:61). The Portland Canal was largely responsible, allowing for the creation of jobs and homes for the numerous German immigrants, and to a lesser extent, Irish immigrants who came to town to live and work.

Overall, Louisville is a difficult city to characterize. It differed from typical Southern towns because of its large foreign population, especially German

and Irish immigrants. Louisville also differed from northern towns and cities because of the fairly large population of African American slaves. Through trade, Louisville had strong ties to the North and to the South. On the eve of the Civil War, Louisville was a city torn by pro-slavery activists, by pro-Unionists, and by anti-slavery forces (Yater 1987:70).

While most Kentucky slaves lived and worked on small farms, many African Americans (enslaved and free) lived in towns and cities in the Commonwealth (Lucas 1992:2). Substantial black communities existed in Lexington, Frankfort, Maysville, Paris, Paducah, Danville, and in Louisville. In Louisville, free blacks and urban domestic slaves resided together in "segregated enclaves where they developed a strong sense of community" (Lucas 1992:110). One black neighborhood developed between Ninth, Chestnut, Eleventh, and Walnut streets (Lucas 1992:110). Twenty-five percent of Louisville's free black population lived in this neighborhood. According to Lucas (1992:92), Louisville's black community worked to protect free blacks from illegal kidnappers who sold them into slavery.

Louisville, by 1860, had the largest urban concentration of African Americans in Kentucky; yet proportionally the black population was on the decline. In 1810, fully one-third of Louisville's population was black (n=495), while in 1860, only about 10% of the total

population of Louisville was black (Lucas 1992:xviii).

After the Civil War, however, this trend reversed itself with a black population of 14.8% in 1870, peaking in 1900 at 19.1% (Wright 1985:46, 1992).

Louisville served as a major entrepot for Kentucky slaves. The early slave traders in the city were "small-time operators who often conducted sales on the streets" (Lucas 1992:90) and dealt in slaves along with other, more usual kinds of merchandise. By the 1840s, however, larger enterprises that dealt exclusively in slaves operated in Louisville. These traders included William Kelly, Thomas Powell, William Talbott, and the Arteburn brothers (Lucas 1992:90-92), who lived in eastern Jefferson County (Bergmann 1858). The most notorious slave trader was Matthew Garrison (Lucas 1992:90-92) who once held Henry Bibb and his family in a Louisville work-house (Lucas 1992:92).

In Louisville, most slaves were domestics or personal servants. However, some slaves were employed moving cargo, working on docks, building roads, canals, and bridges in town. Some slaves were skilled furniture makers and other artisans. Some worked in brickyards and bagging factories, some were barbers, porters, and waiters.

Housing for Louisville slaves was different from their rural counterparts. Wealthy slaveholders had quarters built on their town lots behind their homes. In Louisville, alleys were lined with brick, stone, and especially frame

slave houses. Some slaves who were hired out in town, found their own housing in Louisville, usually of extremely poor quality (Lucas 1992:13-14).

Mobility and social interaction for African Americans in Louisville must have exceeded that of plantation slaves. Yet, one ordinance required that slaves without passes be off the streets by 10:30 pm and another prohibited more than three blacks from assembling at public places (Lucas 1992). Of course, such laws indicate first and foremost that such activities were taking place sufficiently often to warrant regulation.

Hiring out was quite common in Kentucky, and many slaves did so in Louisville. Every December, in larger towns and cities, newspapers ran advertisements describing slaves available for hiring or seeking skilled slaves for hire (Lucas 1992:102). Slave hiring auctions were held in large towns on the first day of the year (Lucas 1992:101-102), with contracts often running from January 1 to December 25 (Lucas 1992:102). Hired slaves worked in the building trades, as mechanics, in railroad yards, as draymen, and in brickyards, also in hotels, restaurants, and taverns as waiters, porters, bartenders, and cooks.

Louisville and other towns in the Bluegrass Region also provided markets where people could buy and sell vegetables and other farm and garden products. Free blacks and slaves were active market participators. In 1807, a visitor to

Lexington wrote that mostly black men and women sold vegetables at the local market (Lucas 1992:9). Perkins (1991) documented that slaves and free blacks were trading in stores in the Bluegrass Region as early as the frontier era. One store in Louisville owned by McDonald and Thruston shows that a slave named Jack, belonging to Rebecca Hite (married Abraham Hite), held an account there. Two other blacks also held accounts at the McDonald and Thruston store (Perkins 1991:496). These African Americans purchased calico, tea, shoes, buckles, velvet, thread, and a hat, sometimes paying in cash or trading with raccoon skins and other merchandise (Perkins 1991:496-497). Even though Kentucky's slave code adopted from Virginia listed penalties for a slave trading without permission from his or her master, Perkins (1991:497) believes that frontier conditions favored such economic freedom for African Americans. She finds it significant that black slaves in Kentucky could trade on credit (Perkins 1991:497).

While the roads in Jefferson County were patrolled for slaves travelling without passes, slaves were often able to move around the immediate vicinity at night, and on weekends and holidays, visiting churches, neighboring farms and plantations, and local markets. Some slaves travelled fairly freely on roads, railroads, and on steamboats further afield than the local neighborhood (Lucas 1992:29-33). In fact, Lucas (1992:33) believes that "bondsmen in Kentucky

were far more mobile than has been generally believed." Laws were unevenly enforced, roads were poor and patrolling the countryside was difficult. In addition, most slaves were well acquainted with local roads and footpaths in their neighborhoods (Lucas 1992:33). No doubt many slaves in eastern Jefferson County travelled undetected and often to meet friends and family, attend church, and trade at local markets in Louisville.

CHAPTER IV

Artifacts

Introduction

This chapter concerns the artifacts that were recovered within and around the three slave house locations at Locust Grove during the 1987, 1988, and 1989 field seasons. Because there are no available reports covering these excavations, this chapter presents a brief summary of the general artifact analyses. There are three general sections. The first section of this chapter is devoted to understanding the culture history of the slave sites at Locust Grove. The second section utilizes a functional typology to describe the three assemblages. Finally, the third section addresses some basic questions concerning the material conditions experienced by the slaves at Locust Grove as revealed by the artifact analysis.

Culture History

As noted in Chapter II, the slave population at Locust Grove was quite dynamic from the establishment of the plantation around 1789 until John Croghan died in 1849. The slave population was quite small in 1789, and grew continuously until 1820, reaching 40 slaves. Beginning in the 1820s, the slave population began to decline, until it

reached about 20 when the last of the Croghans died. It would be expected, therefore, that the slave houses would have been built as they were needed as the size of the slave community grew at Locust Grove; then they were gradually abandoned as the population declined. The archaeological record of the three slave houses should reflect these trends.

The best methods that historical archaeologists have for determining chronological sequences are analyses of ceramics and window glass, because the dates of manufacture of these artifacts are generally well documented (South 1972, 1977; Deetz 1973; Smith 1977; Roenke 1978; Hume 1985; Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Moir 1987; McKelway 1992).

Based primarily on ceramic wares (creamware, pearlware, and whiteware) and on decorative techniques and color palettes, ceramics from each of the three slave houses were sorted into chronological types (South 1972, 1977; Deetz 1973; Smith, ed. 1976; 1983; Faulkner 1984; Majewski and O'Brien 1987). The 577 ceramic sherds from the south slave house could be accurately assigned manufacturing date ranges. The central house site ceramic assemblage yielded 339 sherds that could be sorted into date-range categories, and the north house site ceramics had 455. The categories and their frequencies are presented in Table 4.1.

Most of the datable ceramics from the south slave house are pearlware sherds from vessels that were manufactured

TABLE 4.1: Ceramics with Date Ranges and Frequencies from the South, Central and North Slave Houses.

Type	Date Range	South	Central	North
Delft	1620-1770	5	0	0
Creamware	1760-1820	28	9	9
Caneware	1780-1820	0	1	0
Pearlware	1790-1820	302	130	134
Porcelain	1800-1830	28	29	19
Pearlware	1810-1830#	31	4	2
Pearlware	1818-1846*	1	0	1
Refined	1820-1840	0	0	4
Whiteware	1830-1834*	1	0	0
Whiteware	1830-1845*	1	4	0
Whiteware	1830-1850#	17	1	35
Whiteware	1830-1860	159	141	155
Whiteware	1840-1860	3	2	7
Ironstone	1840-1860	1	13	0
Whiteware	1850-1870	0	1	45
Whiteware	1850-1900	0	0	8
Ironstone	1850-1900	0	4	0
Porcelain	1850-1900	0	0	5
Porcelain	1859-1891*	0	0	9
Porcelain	1860-1900	0	0	1
Whiteware	1860-1900	0	0	15
Stoneware	1860-1900	0	0	2
Whiteware	1870-1900	0	0	1
Whiteware	1880-1900	0	0	2
Whiteware	1914-1917*	0	0	1
TOTALS		577	339	455

London Style

* marked pieces (Godden 1964; Little 1969; Kovel and Kovel 1986).

from about 1790 until around 1830. Although only recovered in small numbers, creamware dates from 1760 to 1820. From the central and north slave houses, the majority of the datable ceramics are decorated whitewares manufactured between 1830 and 1860, although nearly equal proportions of the north and central house ceramic assemblages consist of pearlwares. The postbellum occupation of the north house is indicated by the ceramic assemblage. Nearly 20% (n=89) of the ceramics from the north house were manufactured between 1850 and 1917.

The large portion of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century ceramics in the south slave house suggests that perhaps it was constructed about the time that the plantation was established, around 1789. The fairly high frequencies of pearlware in the central and north assemblages indicates that these two houses were probably built before 1830. Since the slave population peaked at Locust Grove around 1820, more than likely, the north and central slave houses were constructed prior to that time.

Some degree of success has been realized using South's (1977:236) formulae for calculating beginning dates if ending dates are known (if beginning dates are known, then ending dates can be calculated). The process begins with first calculating a mean ceramic date (South 1972, 1977), then using this date, calculating a date that represents the median date of occupation (South 1977:236). From this,

using a terminal date, an initial date of occupation can be figured. For example, Faulkner (1984:77) calculated a mean ceramic date of 1822.2 for the James White Second Home. Using this date, a median date of occupation was calculated (1820.8). Historic documents revealed the house was dismantled in 1852, suggesting that the beginning occupation date is 1788. According to Faulkner, this initial date is not unreasonable.

The same formulae were applied to the south assemblage to estimate the abandonment date of the house. The mean ceramic date was calculated to be 1819.7, and the median date of occupation is 1818.6. Assuming that this house was built when Locust Grove was established in 1789, this means the terminal date for the south slave house is 1848.2. Interestingly, this date corresponds closely to the date when John Croghan died (1849).

Unfortunately, neither the initial nor terminal dates for the central house are known. However, the mean ceramic date was calculated. It is 1827.6, significantly later than the mean date of the south house (1819.7).

The last family to occupy Locust Grove, the Waters, recalled that a former slave lived in the north house until the 1920s (see Chapter II). Using South's (1977) formulae, the mean ceramic date was computed to be 1836.5. The median date was calculated to be 1833.3. Using a terminal date of 1925, South's formulae suggests that the initial date of

occupation is 1741.6. This simply is not possible, and the ceramic data bear this out. Very few artifacts from the north house can be confidently dated to the eighteenth century. Also, the history of the county and region are fairly well known (see Chapter III), and virtually no persons of African or European origin were living in the area in 1741.

One final method for reconstructing chronology using the ceramic data seems applicable. This is seriation. Brooks and Hanson (1989) studied ceramics recovered from over 50 historic sites in the Savannah River region of South Carolina. Utilizing graphic seriation, they were able to construct a relative chronology for the area based on methods utilized by prehistoric archaeologists since the 1950s (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951). Brooks and Hanson (1989) used percentages of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware, and tested this against South's (1972) mean ceramic dating formula. They found that seriation worked well even when samples were small.

From the south slave house, 28 creamware sherds, 333 pearlware sherds, and 182 datable whiteware sherds were collected. The north house yielded nine creamware sherds, 134 pearlware sherds, and 150 whiteware sherds. The central house frequencies are nine creamware sherds, 136 pearlware sherds, and 269 whiteware sherds. Figure 4.1 presents the percentages of these wares for the south, central, and north

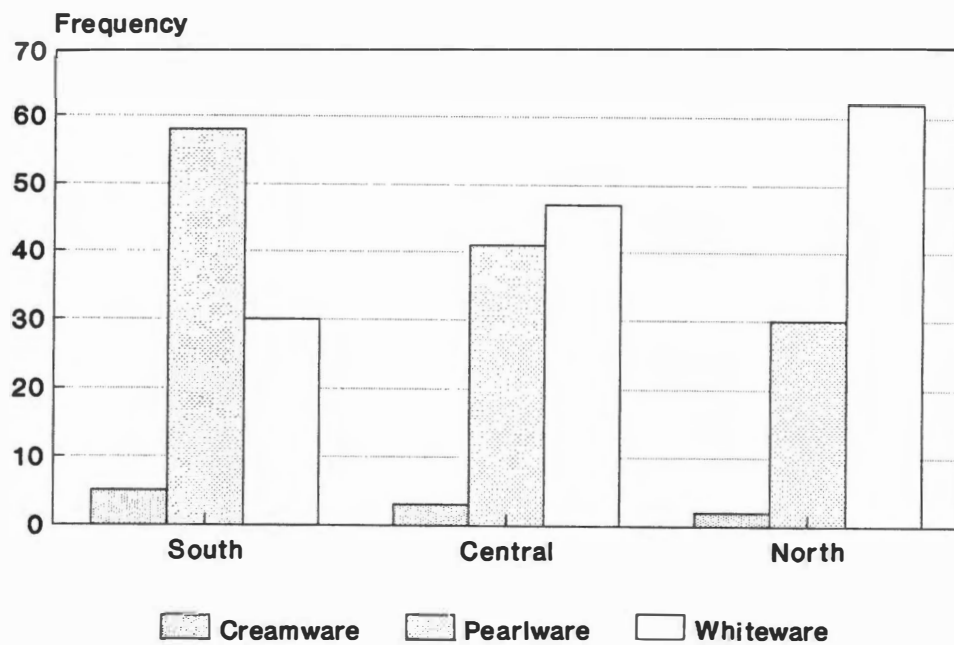


FIGURE 4.1: Percentages of Creamware, Pearlware, and Whiteware from the South, Central, and North Slave Houses.

slave houses. Analysis suggests that the south slave house is the earliest site, and the north house is the latest.

Window glass has also been reliably used to reconstruct chronology (Roenke 1978; Moir 1987; McKelway 1992). As Owens (1994) noted, some researchers sort sherds into thickness classes that correspond to a date range. Frequencies within different classes are interpreted to be building and remodeling episodes (Roenke 1978; McKelway 1992). Other researchers measure thickness, calculate a mean and apply a regression formula to compute dates of initial construction (Moir 1987).

The Locust Grove window glass sherds were measured using digital calipers and sorted into thickness classes (in millimeters). For the south slave house, 893 sherds of window glass were recovered and placed into thickness categories. For the central house, 433 window glass sherds were measured and sorted, and for the north house, 1100 window glass sherds were assigned thickness categories. These are presented in Table 4.2. It must be noted that window glass manufactured prior to 1810 has not been found to correlate with thickness categories (Roenke 1978; Moir 1987). Initial dates for the three Locust Grove slave houses, therefore, cannot be derived from the window glass data.

Using data from Table 4.2 a histogram showing the frequencies of sherds in the different classes was

TABLE 4.2: Frequencies of Window Glass Sherds in Thickness Classes from the Three Slave Houses At Locust Grove.

Thickness	Class	Date Range	South	Central	North
.75-.99	2		3	17	13
1.0-1.24	3	1810-1845	84	137	71
1.25-1.49	4	1810-1845	129	120	66
1.5-1.74	5	1845-1855	186	85	63
1.75-1.99	6	1850-1865	131	32	106
2.0-2.24	7	1855-1885	214	24	225
2.25-2.49	8	1870-1900	120	10	334
2.5-2.74	9	1900-1915	21	8	98
2.75-2.99	10		4	0	48
3.0-3.24	11		1	0	38
3.25-3.49	12		0	0	22
3.5-3.74	13		0	0	15
3.75-3.99	14		0	0	1

constructed for the south house (Figure 4.2). As can be seen, classes with the highest frequencies of window glass from the south house are 5 and 7. Class 5 dates from 1845 until 1855. The class 7 date range is 1855-1885.

Interestingly, a fairly high frequency of window glass falls into class 8 (n=120), that, according to Roenke (1978) was manufactured between 1870 and 1900. Very few ceramic sherds or other artifacts could be reliably dated between 1870 and 1900, except for two two-cent coins that date between 1864 and 1873. Perhaps the south house was intermittently occupied during the postbellum period.

A histogram for the central house that shows the frequencies of glass in the different classes presents another picture (Figure 4.3). Classes 3 and 4 have the highest frequencies. This suggests that the major occupation was from circa 1810 until the 1850s. This certainly correlates with the time when the highest number of slaves occupied Locust Grove. Window glass manufactured during the postbellum period is not well represented in the central house assemblage.

A histogram showing the classes and frequencies of window glass was also constructed for the north house (Figure 4.4). Very high frequencies of window glass were assigned to classes 7 and 8, dating primarily to the postbellum period. Sherds dating to the early 20th century are less abundant, but combined classes 9 through 14 do

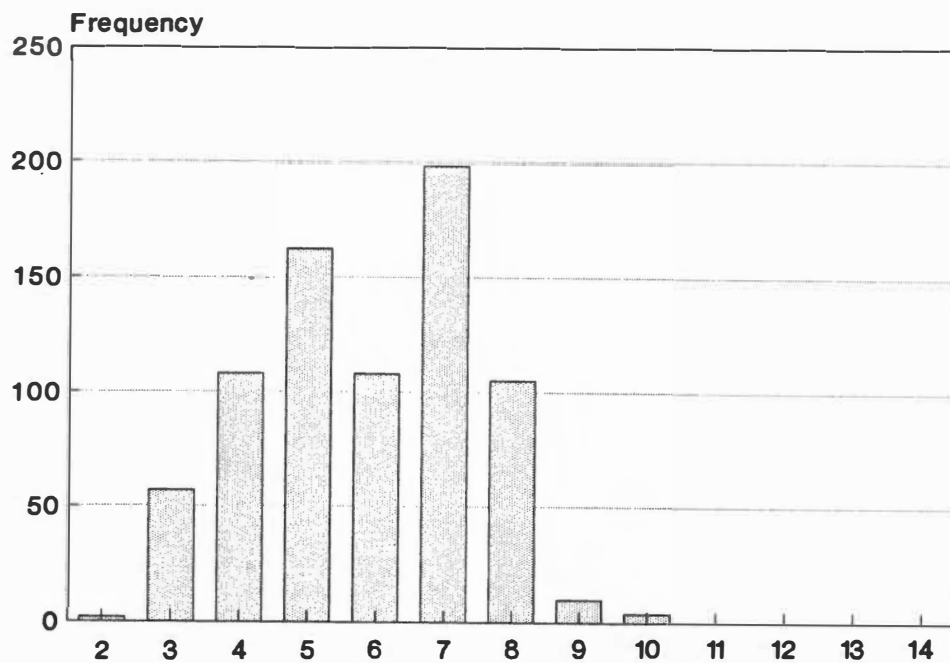


FIGURE 4.2: Frequencies of Window Glass Sherds in Thickness Classes from the South Slave House.

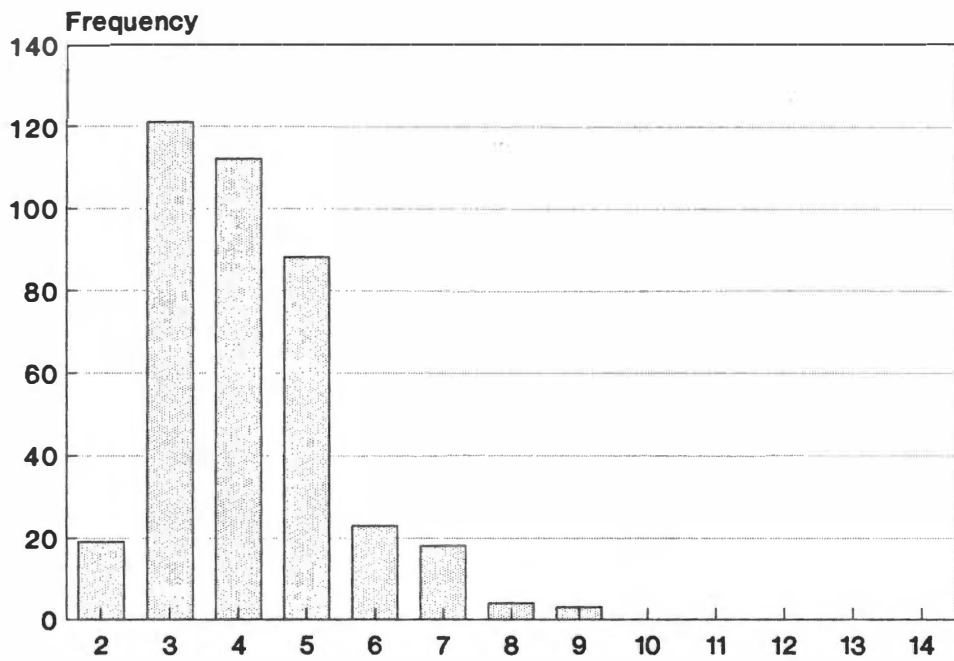


FIGURE 4.3: Frequencies of Window Glass Sherds in Thickness Classes from the Central Slave House.

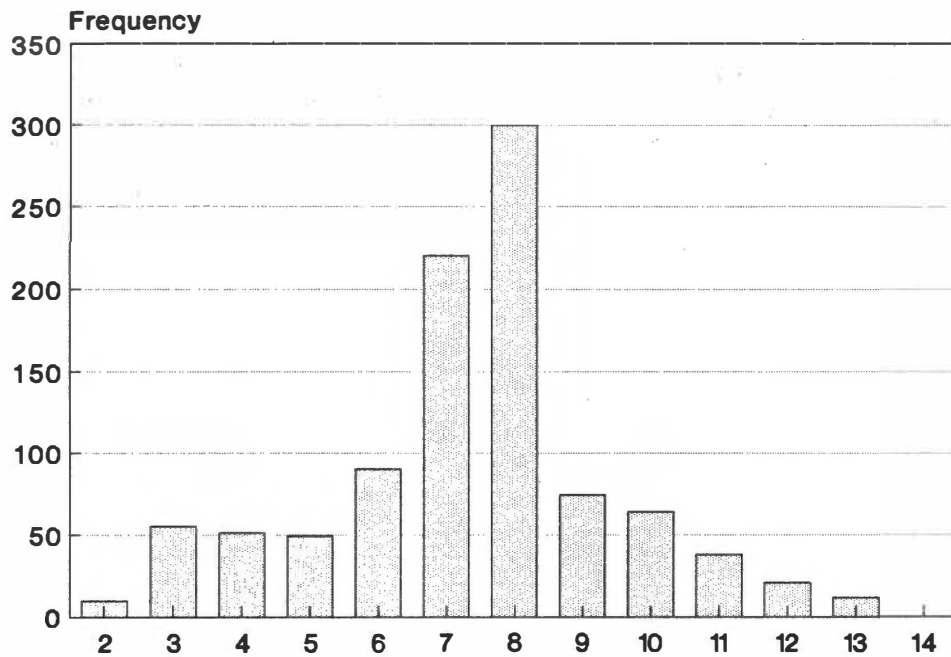


FIGURE 4.4: Frequencies of Window Glass Sherds in Thickness Classes from the North Slave House.

account for a substantial portion of the overall glass assemblage. It may be that the sherds in classes 9 through 14 are larger and actually represent a higher proportion of glass than simple counts reflect (Owens 1994). Also, the well-documented economic deprivation of the African Americans living in the Louisville region (Wright 1985, 1992) during the early twentieth century may be reflected in the window glass assemblage. In other words, the African Americans living at Locust Grove during this period may have lacked the resources to replace panes in broken windows.

Dates derived from window glass analyses for slave sites must be approached with caution. As some researchers have noted, during the period beginning in the late 1820s until the Civil War many planters began revising their ideals concerning slave housing (Breedon 1980). Probably this was due to the effects of abolitionists, resulting in planters in the South building slave houses that were somewhat more comfortable. Planters in the South often pointed to their humane treatment of African Americans as justification for slavery. Glazed windows might have become more common in slave houses only after the 1820s.

Overall, the ceramic and window glass analyses corroborate, to some degree, that slave houses were built as needed at Locust Grove, rather than having all been built at one time. Also, the south house was probably the earliest slave dwelling and may have been built when the plantation

was established. According to both ceramic and window glass data, the south and central houses were probably the first to be abandoned, and the north house continued to be occupied until the first quarter of the 20th century. Data suggest that the south house was occupied from 1789 until circa 1870, the central house from around 1810 until around 1870, and the north house from circa 1810 until the 1920s.

Functional Typologies and the Locust Grove Material

A total of 28,670 artifacts (excluding faunal materials) was analyzed from the 1987, 1988, and 1989 field season excavations at Locust Grove. From the south slave house, 9709 artifacts were analyzed. The central slave house yielded 9308 artifacts, and the north house yielded 9653 artifacts. Artifacts were sorted into five broad categories based on material: nails, window glass, ceramics, container glass, and other (which includes mostly metal, shell, and bone artifacts). These are presented in Table 4.3. As can be seen, nails and window glass combined account for the majority of the artifacts in the south and north house assemblages, and a very large portion of the assemblage of the central house.

Several typological systems for the classification of artifacts have been developed and used by historical archaeologists, most notably by South (1977), but also

TABLE 4.3: Artifact Frequencies from the Three Slave House Locations at Locust Grove.

	South	Central	North
nails	4334 (44.7%)	3857 (41.5%)	4539 (46.9%)
window glass	893 (9.1%)	433 (4.7%)	1100 (11.5%)
ceramics	1318 (13.5%)	2038 (21.9%)	1551 (16.0%)
container glass	1406 (14.5%)	2004 (21.6%)	1418 (14.6%)
other	1758 (18.1%)	976 (10.4%)	1045 (10.9%)
TOTALS	9709	9308	9653

Sprague (1981), Orser (1988), and Armstrong (n.d.) have developed functional typologies. Both Orser's (1988) and Armstrong's (n.d.) systems were developed particularly for the plantation setting. While these kinds of classification systems have received heavy criticism (Orser 1989; Brown and Cooper 1990), and functional typologies have their limitations, they are still useful, especially for describing historic artifact assemblages. This is especially important when dealing with very large, unwieldy assemblages such as those from Locust Grove. The purpose of this chapter is not to criticize functional artifact typologies and their misuse by historical archaeologists. Rather, Orser's (1988) typology developed for Millwood Plantation is used to describe the artifact assemblages recovered from the three slave houses at Locust Grove. It was chosen not only because it was designed for the plantation setting, but also because it was developed for nineteenth and twentieth century artifact assemblages like those from Locust Grove.

Orser (1988:233) divides the artifacts into five broad categories: Foodways, Clothing, Household/Structural; Personal; and Labor. Each of these categories also contains subcategories. The categories and subcategories, along with examples of artifacts in each, are presented in Figure 4.5.

The artifacts from the three slave house locations were assigned functional categories. Two additional categorie

Clothing

1. Fasteners - buttons, hooks and eyes, snaps
2. Manufacture - needles, pins, scissors, thimbles
3. Other - shoe leather, metal shoe shanks, clothes hangers

Foodways

1. Procurement - ammunition, fishhooks, fishing weights
2. Preparation - baking pans, cooking vessels, lg knives
3. Service - redware, stoneware, glass bottles and jars
4. Remains - faunal and floral

Household/Structural

1. Architectural/Construction - nails, flat glass, mortar, bricks, slate
2. Hardware - hinges, tacks, nuts, bolts, staples, hooks, brackets
3. Furnishings/Accessories - stove parts, furniture pieces, lamp parts, decorative fasteners

Personal

1. Medicinal - medicine bottles, droppers
2. Cosmetic - hairbrushes, hair combs, jars
3. Recreational - smoking pipes, toys, musical instruments, souvenirs
4. Monetary - coins
5. Decorative - jewelry, hairpins, hatpins, spectacles
6. Other - pocketknives, fountain pens, pencils, inkwells

Labor

1. Agricultural - barbed wire, horse and mule shoes, harness buckles, hoes, scythe blades
2. Industrial - tools

FIGURE 4.5: Orser's (1988) Functional Typology.

were added, Prehistoric, and Unidentified. These are presented in Table 4.4.

Unidentified artifacts make up a significant portion of the assemblage and will be described briefly, along with the prehistoric artifacts. Following this, clothing, foodways, household, labor, and personal artifacts will be discussed.

Unidentified Artifacts

From the south slave house site, 2192 artifacts could not be identified and their function discerned. The largest contributor to this category is container glass (n=1238). Almost all of these glass artifacts are body sherds that probably represent bottles and jars. It was impossible to identify medicine bottles and cosmetic jars (personal artifacts) from body sherds from bottles and jars used to store liquid and other food. Their function, therefore, is unidentified. A total of 912 "other" (see Table 4.3) artifacts was also unidentified. These are mostly iron and other metal. From the ceramic artifacts recovered from the south house, 42 could not be assigned a function. They are largely hollow ware vessels that could be either chamber pots or large serving vessels. Positive identification of body sherds was sometimes impossible, especially on undecorated pieces.

A total of 2865 unidentified artifacts was recovered from the central slave house. Of these, 1818 are

TABLE 4.4: Frequencies of Artifacts in Functional Categories

	South	Central	North
Unidentified	2192	2865	1985
Prehistoric	40	15	12
Clothing	89	76	60
Foodways	1504	1856	1489
Household	5331	4375	5680
Labor	436	66	386
Personal	117	55	41
TOTALS	9709	9308	9653

unidentified container glass, 633 unidentified "other" artifacts (mostly unidentified iron and other metal), and 414 ceramic artifacts. The large proportion of unidentified ceramics from the central house, when compared to the south house is probably the result of post-depositional disturbances, and because a large portion of the assemblage was burned, perhaps prior to being deposited. Additional post-depositional breakage may have occurred after the building was torn down and the foundation robbed.

Excavations at the north house yielded 1985 artifacts whose function could not be identified. Most of these are container glass (n=1287). The remainder are "other" artifacts (n=485), and ceramics (n=213).

Prehistoric Artifacts

A number of prehistoric artifacts was also recovered from each of the three slave houses. Most came from the south slave house (n=40), although 15 were recovered from the central house, and 12 from the north house. Two bifaces and two biface fragments were recovered from the south house. The remainder of the prehistoric materials from the south house are flakes (n=26), retouched flakes (n=1), shatter (n=7), a chert pebble (n=1), and a groundstone fragment (n=1). The central house site contained two bifaces and 13 flakes. The north site contained two bifaces and ten flakes. Even though the ratio of flakes to bifaces

is quite high for all three slave house sites, these artifacts are probably unrelated to the slave occupation. The bifaces may have been collected by the slaves; however, the knolls close to the slave houses were probably intermittently occupied during prehistoric times and may represent hunting or other short-term occupation camps. Locust Grove's location near the Ohio River, on an intermittent stream, makes this site an ideal location for such short term occupations, especially during the Archaic and Woodland periods.

Clothing Artifacts

Very few artifacts were related to clothing. The category of clothing contains only very small frequencies of artifacts. Those from each slave house are discussed briefly below.

Most of the clothing artifacts from the south slave house are buttons (n=83). The remainder of the clothing artifacts are buckles (n=2), thimbles (n=2), an eyelet (n=1), and a straight pin (n=1). The thimbles and straight pins are clothing manufacturing items, and the eyelet, buckles, and buttons are fasteners.

The central house clothing artifacts are somewhat different from those recovered from the south slave house. Manufacturing artifacts were more prominent. Seven straight pins and two thimbles were recovered. The straight pins

came from the brick-lined cellar, where great care was taken in excavation and artifact retrieval. Fasteners in the clothing category include two small brass hooks (hook & eyes), a buckle, a suspender loop, and 63 buttons.

Clothing artifacts from the north house include a brass buckle, four eyelets, a safety pin, a scissors handle, one straight pin, and an iron clasp (like those from rain slickers). In addition, 51 buttons were recovered.

Buttons, then, were the largest contributor to the clothing category. There are many different types of buttons in each of the three slave house assemblages. Table 4.5 presents the frequencies of buttons made from different materials and in different styles from each slave house site. As can be seen, milk glass buttons are one of the most common kinds of buttons retrieved from each house. These were manufactured after 1840. Interestingly, all three slave house sites yielded identical blue transfer printed milk glass buttons (calico). The remainder of the milk glass buttons are plain. Bone buttons are fairly common as well. Most are four or five hole plain buttons, larger than the milk glass buttons. The metal shank buttons are quite variable. Some are pewter, and some yellow metal. A number are also gilt. The shell buttons recovered show variability as well. Many are fragments that are largely degraded. The buttons will be addressed again in the third

TABLE 4.5: Frequencies and Percentages of Buttons from the Three Slave Houses at Locust Grove.

	South	Central	North
Shell	8 (9.6%)	7 (11.1%)	12 (23.5%)
Milk Glass	24 (28.9%)	14 (22.2%)	13 (25.5%)
Bone	15 (18.0%)	13 (20.6%)	10 (19.6%)
Metal Shank	19 (22.9%)	16 (25.4%)	8 (15.7%)
Domed	6 (7.2%)	3 (4.7%)	5 (9.8%)
Metal 4 hole	4 (4.8%)	6 (9.5%)	2 (3.9%)
Other	7 (8.4%)	4 (6.3%)	1 (1.9%)
TOTALS	83	63	51

section of this chapter where material conditions related to clothing are discussed.

Foodways Artifacts

This category contained a very high frequency of artifacts from each of the three slave houses. Foodways items from each of the three slave houses will be discussed briefly below.

The artifacts classified as foodways from the south slave house make up 15.5% of the overall assemblage, and 20.1% of the identified assemblage (total assemblage less unidentified and prehistoric artifacts). Most of the foodways artifacts are ceramics (n=1274, %=84.6). Container glass, mostly bottles, contributed 148 (%=9.8) artifacts. Other artifacts, like parts of iron cooking vessels, metal kitchen utensils, and bone handles, make up the remainder of the foodways items (n=82, %=5.4).

Of the ceramics, most (n=1075) are classified as service (i.e., tablewares like plates, bowls, cups, saucers, platters, pitchers, and tureens), and 199 are storage vessels like redware and stoneware crocks. Appendix 7 lists the ceramic artifacts classified as foodways.

The container glass classified as foodways is made up of bottles like extract bottles, bottles that contained spirits (wine, champagne, beer), as well as tumblers, goblets, decanters, and pitchers. These items appear in

Appendix 8 . Storage containers numbered 124, while the frequency of service container glass is 24.

In addition to the ceramic and container glass artifacts placed in the foodways category, a number of other artifacts were also assigned this function (n=82). These include cooking pot fragments (n=25), part of a pewter vessel, an iron hook used to suspend a pot over a fire, five pot or kettle handles, tin can fragments (n=19, one vessel), utensil handles (n=6), a two-tine fork (n=1), large knife blades (n=4), two small knife blades, several spoon bowls (n=4), and 14 items used in food procurement (a fish hook, seven percussion caps, and six shell or shot fragments). These items appear in Appendix 8 . In terms of Orser's (1988) subcategories, 38 are food preparation artifacts, 14 are procurement objects, 11 are service (used at the table), and 19 are storage (the tin can fragments) (see Appendix 9).

Foodways artifacts comprise 19.9% of the overall assemblage for the central slave house, and 28.9% of the identified assemblage. Most are ceramics (n=1621, %=87.3), 182 (%=9.8) are container glass, and 53 (%=2.8) are miscellaneous other artifacts.

Ceramic foodways artifacts from the central slave house were divided into service and storage subcategories. Most of the ceramic foodways artifacts are tablewares classified as service (n=1314), and the remainder are storage vessels

like redware and stoneware crocks (n=307). These appear in Appendix 10.

Container glass artifacts from the central house classified as foodways were also divided into service and storage subcategories. A total of 139 container glass artifacts is service vessels, including goblets, tumblers, and clear, leaded hollow vessels, while 43 are storage containers, mostly bottles. These appear in Appendix 11.

Other items retrieved from the central slave house that were classified as foodways items appear in Appendix 12. These objects include tin can fragments (n=30), kitchen utensil handles (n=9), a ladle bowl, three metal pot handles, a two-tine fork, three small knife blades, a fancy flatware handle of metal and shell, two silver-plated tea spoons (different patterns), a gun flint, and a minie ball. The subcategory of service contains eight items, storage contains 30 artifacts (probably a single tin can), 13 are food preparation, and two are food procurement artifacts (see Appendix 12).

Foodways artifacts comprised 15.4% of the total assemblage from the north slave house, and 19.4% of the identified assemblage. Like the foodways artifacts from the south and central houses, most are ceramics (n=1335, %=89.6). The second largest contributor to the foodways artifacts is container glass (n=126, %=8.4). In addition,

there are 28 (%=1.8) miscellaneous other artifacts from the north house that were identified as foodways articles.

Appendix 13 lists the ceramic foodways artifacts from the north slave house. Most represent service vessels (n=1166), and the remainder are sherds from storage vessels (n=167) and preparation vessels (n=2). The preparation vessel sherds are from a Bristol glazed stoneware vessel with blue sponge decoration. Most likely it is a large bowl.

Container glass artifacts belonging to the foodways category include bottles, tumblers, goblets, decanters, pitchers, hollow ware, and a jar. The two subcategories that contain glass are service (n=69) and storage (n=57). These are shown in Appendix 14.

Appendix 15 lists the remainder of the north house artifacts identified as foodways articles. Food preparation items include cooking vessel parts (n=8), a sieve, and a large spoon bowl. Procurement items include part of a gun and four discarded cartridges. Service artifacts are flatware bone handles (n=2), a small knife blade, two pewter spoons, two spoon handles, and a complete (backmarked "W&D") silver tea spoon. Storage articles include a complete stoneware bottle and part of a bucket.

Household/Structural Artifacts

Artifacts identified as household or structural items were recovered in very high frequencies at all three slave houses. Most of these artifacts are nails and nail fragments. The next largest contributor to this category is window glass, which has already been discussed.

Miscellaneous other artifacts make up the remainder of the household/structural artifact assemblages from the three slave houses.

Nineteenth and twentieth century sites almost always contain a large number of nails (Young 1991,1994a). The Locust Grove slave sites were no exception. The nails from each of the three slave house sites are discussed separately.

The south slave house site yielded 4334 nails and nail fragments. Most are cut (n=3677), 30 are hand wrought, and 15 are wire. The remainder of the nails (n=612) are unidentified. Many of the nails are complete (n=1394). Nail fragments include proximal portions (with the head) (n=1301), distal portions (the points) (n=857), medial sections (n=721), and unidentified fragments (n=61).

The central house yielded 3857 nails and nail fragments. Cut nails are most common (n=2692). Only 17 hand wrought nails were recovered from the central house area. Nails with square shanks (either cut or hand wrought)

are fairly common (n=459). Wire nails totalled 159. The remainder (n=530) are unidentified.

Complete nails from the central house are fairly rare (n=911). Most of the identifiable fragments are proximal portions (n=1499). There are 490 distal fragments and 920 medial fragments. The remainder (n=37) are unidentified as to portion.

A total of 4539 nails and nail fragments was recovered from the area of the north slave house. Most are cut (n=2800), but 1204 are wire. Only five hand wrought nails were recovered. Many more complete nails comprise the nail assemblage than in the central and south houses (n=2538). There are 1044 proximal fragments, 375 distal fragments, and 511 medial fragments. Unidentified fragments number 71.

In addition to the nails and window glass, 104 other household/structural artifacts were recovered from the south slave house. These are enumerated in Appendix 16. Architectural items include brick fragments, cement, mortar, plaster, a spike, and ceramic drain pipe fragments. Household furnishings include a chandelier crystal, a wedge for splitting wood (assumed used to split firewood), barrel bands, an escutcheon plate, a large key, 28 sherds of lamp chimney glass, part of a lamp, three pieces of plate glass, a stove part, and three whetstones. Hardware includes furniture tacks, four hinges, seven nuts and bolts, six screws, and four washers.

A total of 76 other household and structural artifacts (excluding nails and window glass) was recovered in excavations at the central slave house site. These include 22 architectural artifacts (brick fragments, ceramic drain pipe fragments, four padlocks, plaster, and a ceramic tile). Household furnishings consist of eight chandelier crystals, barrel bands, a brass spigot, 17 sherds of lamp chimney glass, a sherd of a Staffordshire figurine, stove legs, and three whetstones. Hardware from the central house include tacks, two latches, an iron pipe, nuts and bolts, screws, and a rivet. These artifacts appear in Appendix 17.

In addition to the window glass and nails, 50 other household/structural artifacts were collected from the north slave house. Brick fragments, ceramic drain pipe fragments, and a ceramic tile comprise the architectural artifacts. Household furnishings include barrel bands, a ceramic knob, a chandelier crystal, an escutcheon plate, a metal drawer pull, a padlock, stove parts, hinges, nuts, and bolts, washers, and a screw. These are enumerated in Appendix 18.

Labor Artifacts

Artifacts related to labor comprise very small portions of the assemblages from the three slave houses. Since labor was probably the single most important factor in the slaves' lives (Berlin and Morgan 1993), it is unfortunate that the

archaeological record reveals very little concerning this aspect of life.

Labor artifacts are rare in the south house assemblage. Most of these artifacts are fence wire (n=401). The remaining 35 labor artifacts are harness gear, wagon gear, a shovel blade, and various tools and machine parts. These artifacts appear in Appendix 19. Concerning the barbed wire and fence staples, it is not known whether these artifacts suggest that a fence line ran near the house remains, or if fencing material was stored within the slave house. No fence post holes were identified during excavations.

Artifacts relating to labor are also rare in the central house assemblage. Only 66 items are included in this category. They appear in Appendix 20. The most remarkable is a complete hoe blade recovered from the brick-lined cellar. Most of the labor-related artifacts are fencing wire (n=45) and fence staples (n=5). Several post holes were uncovered in excavations, suggesting that these artifacts relate to a fence that ran north-south through the site. The low quantity of fence wire may reflect poor preservation, especially considering that the site was heavily disturbed when the builder's trench was robbed.

The north house assemblage contains 386 artifacts related to labor. Most are fence wire (n=358) and fence staples (n=20). These and the remaining labor artifacts are found in Appendix 21.

Personal Artifacts

Personal artifacts make up very small percentages of the total and identified assemblages from each of the three slave houses. While few in number, these personal artifacts are quite diverse.

A total of 117 personal artifacts was identified from the south slave house. These appear in Table 4.6. The artifacts with the highest frequency in the personal category are tobacco pipes. Twenty-five stub stem tobacco pipe fragments and four kaolin pipe fragments were recovered. Most of the stub stem pipes are stoneware and redware, but four are glazed earthenware.

In addition to the tobacco pipes, other recreational items include marbles, porcelain doll fragments (n=4), snuff bottle fragments (n=3, MNV=1), two harmonica reeds, and two small metal toy wheels.

Seventeen marbles were recovered from the south slave house. One is glass, eight are undecorated clay, four are handpainted clay, four are stone, and one is a clay marble with a Rockingham glaze.

Medicine bottles were fairly common. Most are panel bottles. Sixteen fragments (MNV=11) were recovered. In addition, one poison bottle with an embossed skull and crossbones, was identified.

A number of coins were also found during the excavations. A large cent with a date of 1828 was recovered

TABLE 4.6: Personal Artifacts from the South Slave House.

Object	N	Subcategory
comb	2	cosmetic
amber glass bead	1	decorative
blue glass bead	1	decorative
bone beads	2	decorative
jewelry part	2	decorative
onyx pendant	1	decorative
coin, 2 cent, 1870	1	monetary
coin, 2 cent, 1864-1873	1	monetary
coin, dime, 1857	1	monetary
coin, Indian cent 1859-1909	1	monetary
coin, lg cent, 1828	1	monetary
Chinese coin	1	other
ferrule (pencil or paintbrush)	2	other
graphite pencil	1	other
slate pencil	4	other
slate board	10	other
knapsack hook	2	other
mirror glass	2	other
umbrella part	4	other
watch key	1	other
harmonica reed	2	recreational
toy wheel, metal	2	recreational
marble, glass	1	recreational
marble, plain clay	8	recreational
marble, painted clay	4	recreational
marble, rockingham glaze	1	recreational
marble, stone	3	recreational
kaolin tobacco pipe fragments	4	recreational
stub stem tobacco pipe fragments	25	recreational
porcelain doll fragments	4	recreational
snuff bottle (MNV=1)	3	recreational
creamware chamber pot fragments	1	other
yellow ware chamber pot fragments	1	other
pharmacy bottles, (MNV=11)	16	medicinal
poison bottle	1	other
TOTAL	117	

from the pit cellar. Two-cent coins were also identified. One dates 1870. The other two-cent coin is notched in four places (to be more fully discussed in Chapter VI). The date is illegible, but these coins were only manufactured between 1864 and 1873. One dime was also recovered. It dates 1857. Finally, an Indian cent was found in the excavations. The date is illegible, but these coins were minted between 1859 and 1909.

Decorative and cosmetic artifacts are also associated with the south house. Two combs were recovered, as well as several beads, part of an onyx pendant, and fragments of jewelry.

Other personal items retrieved from the south slave house are sherds from chamber pots. These are fairly rare, only two were recovered. One sherd is creamware, and one is yellow ware.

Other personal artifacts from the south slave house include a perforated Chinese coin (to be discussed in Chapter VI), two knapsack hooks, two sherds of mirror glass, four umbrella parts, a watch key, two ferrules, a graphite pencil, four slate pencils, and ten fragments of a slate writing tablet.

Fifty-seven personal artifacts were recovered from the central slave house site. They are listed in Table 4.7. Of the personal artifacts, 14 are tobacco pipe fragments. Only

TABLE 4.7: Personal Artifacts from the Central Slave House.

Object	N	Subcategory
bottle, leaded, pressed (perfume)	3	cosmetic
bone comb	1	decorative
glass bead	2	decorative
jewelry parts	1	decorative
coin, dime, 1822	1	monetary
coin, 1g cent, 1842	1	monetary
coin, half dime, 1858	1	monetary
coin, half dime, date illegible	1	monetary
chamber pot, pearlware	2	other
chamber pot, whiteware	1	other
Chinese coin	1	other
mirror glass	9	other
eyeglass lens	1	other
slate pencil	1	other
umbrella part	3	other
marble, plain clay	11	recreational
marble, painted clay	3	recreational
kaolin tobacco pipe fragment	1	recreational
stub stem tobacco pipe	13	recreational
pharmacy bottle (MNV=1)	1	medicinal
pearlware chamber pot	2	other
whiteware chamber pot	1	other
TOTAL	57	

one is kaolin, the rest are stub stem. One is a glazed redware face pipe.

Fourteen marbles were identified from the central slave house. All are clay marbles. Three are handpainted, and the remainder are plain.

Four coins were found. Two are half dimes, one dating to 1858, the other's date is illegible. A dime that dates 1822 was also found. It is heavily worn and a cross or "x" has been scratched on one side (discussed in Chapter VI). An 1842 large cent was recovered from the brick-lined cellar.

Those items that are included in the cosmetic and decorative subcategories include three sherds of small pressed, leaded bottles that probably contained perfume, two glass beads, and one piece of broken jewelry, and a fragment of a bone comb. The three small perfume bottle sherds represent two vessels.

Other personal items recovered from the central slave house include mirror glass (n=9), an eyeglass lens, a slate pencil, umbrella parts (n=3), two pearlware chamber pot sherds, and one sherd of whiteware from a chamber pot.

A total of 46 personal artifacts was identified from the north slave house. Personal artifacts are listed in Table 4.8. These include a glass bead, six pieces of fragmented jewelry, three ceramic sherds from chamber pots (one each of creamware, ironstone, and whiteware), a Chinese

TABLE 4.8: Personal Artifacts from the North Slave House

Object	N	Subcategory
glass bead	1	decorative
jewelry parts	6	decorative
coin, Indian head, 1898	1	monetary
coin, half dime, illegible date	1	monetary
ferrule, pencil	1	other
graphite pencil	2	other
slate board	1	other
umbrella part	1	other
chamber pot, creamware	1	other
chamber pot, ironstone	1	other
chamber pot, whiteware	1	other
marble, glass	2	recreational
marble, handpainted clay	1	recreational
marble, plain clay	9	recreational
marble, stone	1	recreational
harmonica reed	3	recreational
kaolin tobacco pipe fragments	1	recreational
stub stem tobacco pipe fragments	1	recreational
stub stem tobacco pipe, complete	1	recreational
porcelain doll fragments	2	recreational
pharmacy bottles (MNV=5)	5	medicinal
creamware chamber pot	1	other
ironstone chamber pot	1	other
whiteware chamber pot	1	other
TOTAL	46	

coin, a pencil ferrule, two graphite pencils, one umbrella part, three harmonica reeds, two porcelain doll fragments, five sherds from medicine bottles (MNV=5), as well as coins, marbles, and tobacco pipes.

Tobacco pipes were notably rare at the north slave house. Only one complete red clay stub stem pipe was recovered, as well as a single fragment of a stoneware pipe bowl, and one kaolin stem.

Only 13 marbles and marble fragments were collected from the north house. One is a handpainted clay marble. Two marbles are glass, one is complete, one a fragment. One marble fragment is made of stone. The remainder of the marbles are plain clay.

Two coins were recovered from the north house. One is an Indian cent dating 1898. The other is a half dime. The date is illegible.

Material Conditions

Archaeologists who undertake excavations at slave sites attempt to understand the living conditions of the occupants, and evaluate their quality of life as revealed by the archaeological record (Singleton and Bograd 1995:17-18). This study of Locust Grove material is no exception. Several broad areas are explored that relate to material conditions of the slaves at Locust Grove: housing and

furnishings; clothing; literacy; work routines; luxury goods; and access to markets.

Housing and Furnishings

As noted in the above sections, architectural debris (mostly nails and window glass) make up a substantial portion of the total assemblage from each of the three slave houses. These and other data are used to reconstruct what the houses looked like at Locust Grove.

Excavations at the south and north houses revealed that the buildings rested on continuous limestone foundations. Excavation at the central house failed to reveal either pier supports or a foundation. Indications are that the central house also rested on a limestone foundation, like the south and north houses.

The materials from the central house area were apparently heavily disturbed. Mid-nineteenth century materials were just as common at the bases of excavation units (just before sterile subsoil was encountered) as in the upper levels. The ceramic and glass sherds are generally quite small. Except for large artifacts collected from the brick-lined cellar, no large artifacts were found that are often associated with protected contexts as beneath buildings. As stated in Chapter II, the foundation of the central house was probably robbed and reused for the macadamized road. There is evidence to suggest that all

three slave houses were built on continuous limestone foundations. The foundations of the south and north houses are approximately 50 cm wide. The width of the foundations indicates that the structures were probably single story, or perhaps were story and a half dwellings.

Although a fairly large quantity of limestone was uncovered in excavations, it is doubtful that the buildings were stone construction. Also, very few bricks were recovered. Most likely the three slave houses were of wood construction. The most common wood building methods in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were log construction, timber frame construction, and balloon frame construction. Occasionally log buildings, especially early log buildings such as some built in the late eighteenth century in Kentucky, were built without any nails. However, for most log structures, nails were used for flooring, roofing, and for siding under the eaves (Loveday 1983:27), and sometimes for interior woodwork. In timber frame structures, large timbers were joined with mortise and tenons to form a framework covered by wood siding (Noble 1984:136-137; McAlester and McAlester 1984:36-37). Nails used for timber frame construction include nails for flooring, roofing, and siding. No large nails were needed to join large timbers. For balloon frame construction, large quantities of nails and milled lumber are required. Large nails were necessary to connect corner posts, plates,

and sills, usually built with two by fours (Noble 1984:136-137; McAlester and McAlester 1984:36-37). Previous analysis (Young 1991; Young and Carr 1993) suggests that nails of certain lengths were used for specific functions like roofing, siding and light framing, flooring, and heavy framing. Nail lengths from 1.5 to 1.75 inches (four and five penny nails) were usually used for roofing, nails measuring 2 to 2.5 inches (six, seven, and eight penny nails) were used for siding and light framing, nails from 2.75 to 3.0 inches (nine and ten penny nails) were often used for flooring, and nails greater than 3.0 inches (twelve penny and larger) were characteristically used for heavy framing.

Nails from each of the three slave house sites were measured and assigned pennyweights. These data appear in Table 4.9. The moderate percentages of nails used for roofing, light framing, and for flooring, and the low quantities of heavy framing nails for the south and central houses suggest that these two structures were log buildings with wood floors. Most of the nails from the north house are six, seven, and eight penny nails. These light framing and siding nails are twice as frequent in the north house than the other two. Also there are more large nails (twelve, fourteen, and sixteen penny) nails in the north slave house. This suggests that perhaps the north house was possibly of frame construction, either timber or balloon

TABLE 4.9: Frequencies of Nail Pennyweights from the South, Central, and North Slave Houses at Locust Grove.

Pennyweight	South	Central	North
1	4	0	1
2	53	20	23
3	199	228	178
4	141	120	464
5	80	45	40
6	64	48	428
7	68	49	50
8	112	157	926
9	63	56	7
10	79	154	328
12	8	8	5
16	3	8	3
20	13	5	56

frame. All three houses were eventually sided, and all likely had shake roofs.

Very few bricks or brick fragments were recovered from any of the Locust Grove slave houses. This, coupled with the paucity of burned clay, suggests that the houses had stone, rather than brick or cats and clay (stick and mud) chimneys.

Window glass was recovered in large enough quantities to indicate the presence of glazed windows. However, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, it is unknown how long each building was occupied before the windows were glazed.

It is very difficult to reconstruct furnishings of the slave houses at Locust Grove, especially since usable materials would have been removed when the houses were abandoned as dwellings. However, a few tentative conclusions can be drawn.

Each of the three slave house sites contained stove parts, suggesting the presence of cast iron stoves. Lamp parts, or at least lamp chimney glass in all three sites indicates that lamps were used. A few furniture artifacts were also recovered from each house, including escutcheon plates, drawer pulls, furniture tacks, and knobs, suggesting each household had a chest for belongings. Of course, each slave house site yielded remnants of cooking pots or kettles, and abundant evidence of dishes. Finally, the iron

bands used on barrels hints that perhaps each house had a barrel, probably to collect and store water.

To sum up housing and furnishings, the slave houses at Locust Grove were fairly small, each measuring approximately five by six meters. They were all probably wood buildings, with floors, glazed windows, and shake roofs. The south and central houses were probably built of logs, and the north was likely a frame building. All were eventually sided. The furnishings, while perhaps adequate were meager, consisting of a stove for cooking, and perhaps a pot and skillet. Perhaps each house contained a chest. The remains of barrels found at each slave house suggests that these were storage containers, possibly for water.

Clothing

Virtually nothing is known of slave clothing in Kentucky. The sometimes severe winters experienced in Kentucky makes clothing an important issue. Some researchers, relying on advertisements for fugitive slaves (run-aways) have attempted to reconstruct the type of clothing that the slaves wore (Coleman 1940). Coleman (1940) suggested that slaves in Kentucky were generally well dressed. However, Lucas (1992:16) suggests that slave clothing in Kentucky was highly variable, and many slaves were insufficiently clothed. More than likely, slaves on wealthier farms and plantations in Kentucky were given

better clothes than slaves on poor farms. Clothing, too, varied with occupation (i.e., field hand or household slave).

What little that can be gleaned from the archaeological record about clothing comes from buttons and other fasteners. Most of the buttons recovered from the slave houses were plain milk glass buttons, probably used on men's shirts. A fairly large quantity of bone buttons were probably used for men's breeches. The larger metal buttons were often needed for vests, cloaks, and coats (O'Malley 1995). The presence of some larger, metal buttons from each of the houses suggests that perhaps the slaves had coats and cloaks for cold winter wear. Women's clothing in the nineteenth century was often laced, and buttons were not required (O'Malley 1995). It is well documented that masters and mistresses often distributed cast off clothing to favored slaves (Baumgarten 1988). All three slave house sites yielded fancy buttons that could have come into the slaves' possession via the main house. The variety of types and sizes of the buttons suggests that perhaps the slaves at Locust Grove were adequately clothed, although buttons may reflect other behavior, like cast-off clothing from the main house used in quilts.

Diet and Health

One area of concern to both historians and archaeologists is slave diet (Hilliard 1972; Otto 1975, 1984; Genovese 1976; Owens 1976; Reitz et al. 1985; McKee 1987, 1988; Crader 1990; Singleton 1991, Lucas 1992; Reidy 1993; Berlin and Morgan 1993). Studies of diet content have clearly shown that the diets of slaves varied widely depending on area, economic conditions, time period, and a host of idiosyncratic variables such as disposition and wealth of the master. For instance, the earliest African American slaves were treated little differently from English indentured servants who often lived in the master's house, ate what the master ate, perhaps even sat at the master's board (Deetz 1988). However, once slavery became deeply entrenched in the colonies, Africans and African Americans were treated quite differently from whites (Kolchin 1993:11-13). Slaves were housed separately from the whites, and the dietary needs of the slaves considered different from whites. During the late antebellum period, a debate raged among planters concerning the content and source of slaves subsistence, documented in period agricultural journals (Breedon 1980). Basically, a continuum emerged with extreme viewpoints. On one end of the continuum, masters and overseers believed that meals for slaves should be provided completely by the master. This was an extreme form of paternalistic control of slaves, implying an overly

protective attitude, a need to dominate and a desire to extract labor with maximum efficiency. These planters usually agreed that the slaves' meals should be cooked in a central kitchen. In this way, almost all of a slave's waking hours could be devoted to labor. On the other end of the continuum, some planters believed that slaves should raise their own livestock and gardens, and cook for themselves in their own homes because slaves were happier doing so (and because happy slaves work better and do not run away), and because expenses were greatly reduced for the master. Most slave owners utilized a variety of techniques for provisioning their slaves depending on season, economy, and other variables.

The diet and health of slaves in Kentucky are not clearly understood. Lucas (1992:14-15) suggests that, in general, the Kentucky slaves were adequately fed, although their diets were quite often monotonous. Additionally, slaves in Kentucky sometimes had their own gardens and livestock, and supplemented their food supplies with hunting and fishing, and foraging wild plants (Lucas 1992:15-16).

Lev-Tov's (1994) analysis of the faunal material from Locust Grove provides insight into the diet and the sources of food of the slaves there. A total of 521 pieces of bone was recovered from the south, central, and north slave house pit cellars. Forty-five percent (n=234) was identifiable to taxonomic level of order or better. Not surprisingly, 63%

of the identifiable bones are those of pigs. Additionally, chickens make up nearly 20% of the identifiable assemblage; sheep and sheep/goats make up six percent. Cattle bones are present, and account for four percent. Other identified animals include various wild mammals, frogs, freshwater drum, snapping turtle, and a Canada goose (Lev-Tov 1994).

The 43 domestic chicken bones include all elements, even skull and mandible fragments. Both mature and immature individuals were represented. The proportion of chicken bones and the wide range of ages indicate that either the slaves were raising their own fowl, or had access to the Croghan's henhouse (Lev-Tov 1994).

The frequency of wild species exploited by the Locust Grove slaves was somewhat unexpected (Figure 4.6). When compared to other inland slave faunal assemblages, and to coastal plantations, Locust Grove falls between the two types (Young 1993; Lev-Tov 1994). This suggests that perhaps Locust Grove slaves had time to hunt, trap, and fish to supplement their diet (Lev-Tov 1994).

A mortality profile was constructed for pigs at Locust Grove (Figure 4.7). The bimodal profile shows that the slaves had access to pigs slaughtered at two years of age, and pigs less than one year (newborns or sucklings). The presence of the very young pigs is interesting in that it is not economical to cull hogs, or butcher them so young. One

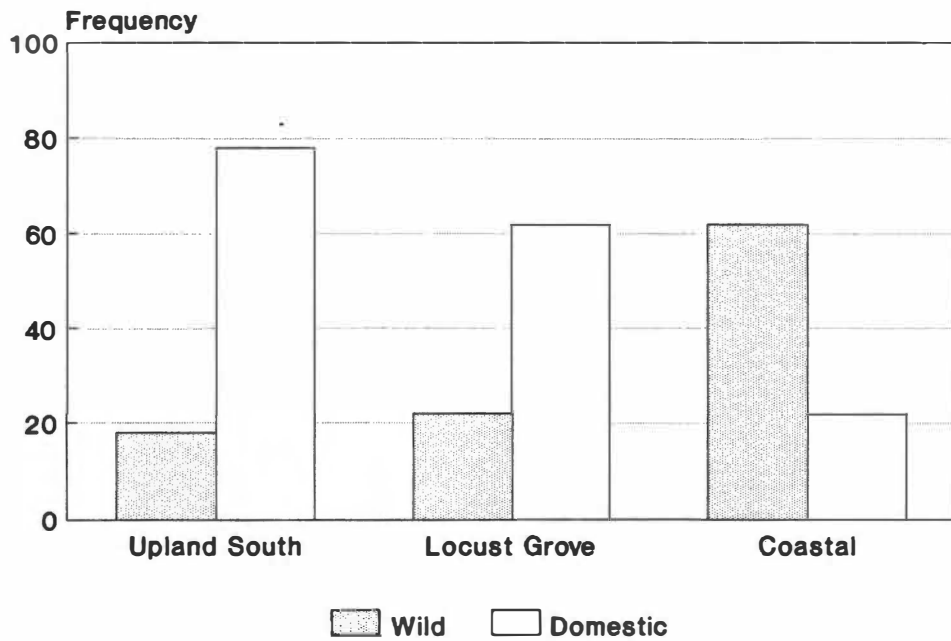


FIGURE 4.6: Frequencies of Wild and Domestic Species from the Locust Grove Slave Houses Compared to Coastal Lowlands and Other Upland South Sites.

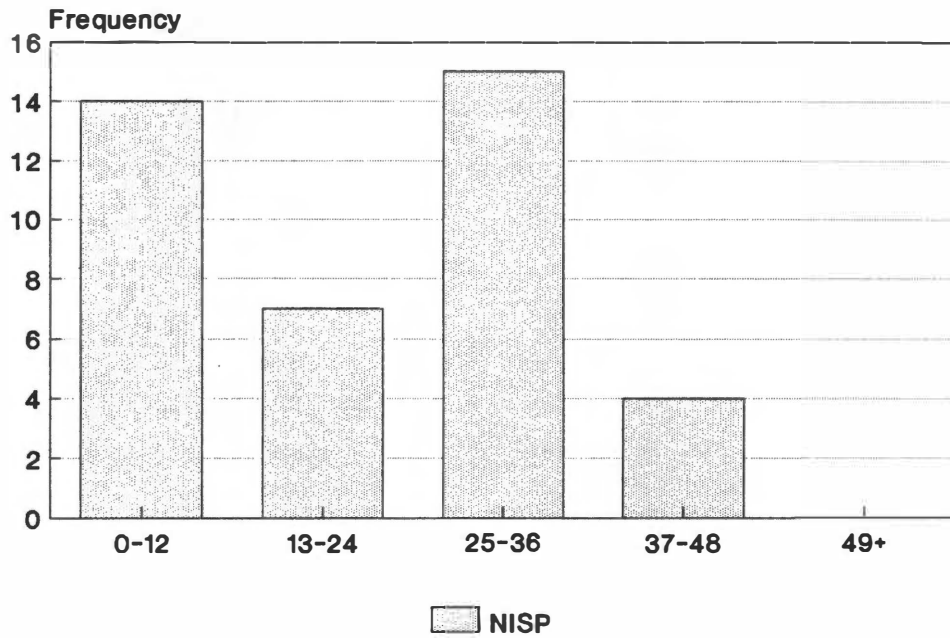


FIGURE 4.7: Mortality Profile for Pigs from the Locust Grove Slave Houses.

possible explanation is that the piglets represent items stolen from the master, a practice reported in period documents (see Genovese 1976:599-601; McKee 1988:80-81). Another, more likely explanation is that pig mothers frequently roll over and crush their young, so that slaves were not actually culling the herd, but consuming piglets accidentally killed. This is especially likely if the slaves owned their own hog lots.

Along with diet, health of slaves in the antebellum period has also long been an area of intense study and debate (Shryock 1930; Swados 1941; Mitchell 1944; Postell 1951; Genovese 1960; Owens 1976; Savitt 1978; Kelly and Angel 1987; Rathbun 1987; Fogel 1989; Meadows and Bass 1989; Marks 1993). Lucas (1992) indicates that slaves in Kentucky suffered from the same diseases as whites; however, the lack of resources of many slave owners, and the desire to save money, led to the practice of the master or his wife generally treating ill slaves. Various patent medicines and home remedies were used to treat health complaints. Typical supplies in the farm or plantation medicine chest included "anti-bilious pills," "eye water," "worm destroying lozenges," "fever" powders and pills, "healing salves," "anti-dyspeptic pills" and others (Lucas 1992:39). Only when home remedies failed, were physicians called in to treat slaves. The presence of various medicine bottles, as well as references to slaves' health problems in various

Croghan letters (Thomas, editor 1967), suggest that Lucas (1992) is probably correct in his assessment. Additional data could only come from analyses of skeletal material from Locust Grove.

Luxury Goods, Work Routines, Literacy, and Access to Markets

Beginning with Otto's (1975, 1984) study of plantation life in Georgia during the antebellum period, archaeologists have been fascinated with the question of status and class on southern plantations (Moore 1985; Orser 1988; Adams and Boling 1989; Howson 1990; McKelway 1992, 1994; Singleton 1990, 1991; Singleton and Bograd 1995). Otto (1975, 1984) proposed that the slaves at Cannon's Point relied heavily on stews and soups for nourishment and ate their meals from bowls, whereas the planter and his family ate roasts and other good cuts of meat from plates. The spartan lives of the slaves in Otto's interpretation contrasts with the scenario presented by Adams and Boling (1989) who found significant quantities of high status ceramics at the Kings Bay plantations in Georgia (tea wares, porcelain, and printed and painted earthenwares). The question of status and class continues to engender debate concerning the quality of slaves lives (Singleton and Bograd 1995).

Ceramics from the south, central, and north slave houses were analyzed as to vessel and decoration. This was

done in order to shed light on the question of status and, especially, the material conditions experienced by the slaves at Locust Grove.

Often, it was impossible to identify the vessel type because the sherds were too small. However, vessel forms of a portion of each of the three slave house ceramic assemblages were identifiable. Bowls, cups, saucers, flatware, and hollow ware, the most common forms of tea and dinner services from each of the three slave house assemblages appear in Table 4.10. The largest portion are plates, platters, and sherds identified as flatware. Cups and saucers were common in all three slave houses as well. Bowls were relatively rare; however, a significant number of hollow wares were identified. These data suggest that tea and dinner wares were the norm in the slave houses, and not all slaves subsisted primarily on soups and stews.

Decorated ceramics were very common in all three slave house assemblages, as well. Sherd frequencies of the most common decorative techniques appear in Table 4.11. The decoration with the highest frequency is blue transfer print. Polychrome hand painted vessels were recovered in fairly high frequencies, as were blue handpainted, blue edge decorated, Canton (blue underglaze) and red transfer printed sherds. Less common were green transfer printed, brown transfer printed, green shell edge, flow blue, and red shell edge sherds.

TABLE 4.10: Frequencies of Vessel Forms of Refined Ceramics from the South, Central, and North Slave Houses at Locust Grove.

Vessel	South	Central	North
Bowls	5	8	17
Cups	108	69	109
Saucers	146	109	88
Plates, Platters, etc	330	416	670
Hollow ware	166	197	192
TOTAL	755	799	1076

TABLE 4.11: Decorations on Ceramics from the South, Central, and North Slave Houses at Locust Grove.

Decoration	South	Central	North
blue transfer print	230	143	191
polychrome handpainted	75	56	84
blue handpainted	75	21	14
blue edge	23	53	31
Canton	28	35	31
overglaze	23	31	29
red transfer print	23	21	32
green transfer print	10	5	34
brown transfer print	15	26	11
green edge	5	5	1
flow blue	0	22	9
red edge	2	20	0

Interestingly, the most common type of decoration found on ceramics from the south, central, and north slave house assemblages are transfer printed and polychrome handpainted ceramics. These are considered the most expensive types of table and tea wares available in the first half of the nineteenth century (Miller 1991).

Many of the decorated ceramics recovered from the three slave houses matched ceramics recovered from around the main house (Young and Andrews 1994). From the south slave house, 12.6% of the decorated ceramics matched main house ceramics. Nearly 13% of the decorated ceramics from the central house matched main house ceramics, and 7.25% of the decorated ceramics from the north house matched ceramics from the main house (Young and Andrews 1993). Many of these ceramics were expensive Chinese export porcelain, both Canton and overglaze enamelled porcelain, as well as blue transfer printed refined earthenwares. This suggests that one source of ceramics for the slaves, especially expensive ceramics, was hand-me-downs from the main house. The nearly equal percentages suggest that perhaps, from the perspective of the Croghans, who owned the slaves at Locust Grove, there were no major status differences among the slaves, each slave or slave household having relatively equal access to goods from the main house (Young and Andrews 1994). This would have been the case if slaves were not permanently

divided into field hands and domestic slaves, but rather worked as needed and as the Croghan desired.

Each of the three slave houses yielded objects that might reflect literacy of the slaves at Locust Grove. Slate pencils, graphite pencils, slate board fragments, ferrules, and even an eyeglass lens were recovered. Abilities of slaves to read and write probably have been underestimated (Lucas 1992), and the Locust Grove data support this.

The coins found in each of the slave houses hints that perhaps the slaves managed to acquire cash, possibly through hiring out and trading at local markets in Louisville. This income could have been used to purchase goods like ceramics from stores in town. Perkins (1991) documented that as early as the frontier era in Kentucky, in the 1770s, 1780s, and 1790s, slaves were making purchases with cash and on credit for goods in stores in Lexington and Louisville.

One of the most interesting and informative documents concerning the Croghans at Locust Grove is a surviving inventory from the store in Louisville of Fitzhugh and Gwathmey covering the years 1813 through 1817. Many purchases were made by the Croghans during these years. The most frequently purchased items are cloth, buttons, and other articles for sewing. However, the Croghans also purchased wine, paper, tea, sugar, coffee, ceramics, spices, and tobacco. Interestingly, all tobacco purchases are cigars, no tobacco pipes are listed in the inventory. The

paucity of tobacco pipes from the main house (see Chapter II), and their relative abundance in the slave quarters, suggests that the slaves themselves were buying or trading for pipes and tobacco.

Material Conditions: Summary and Conclusions

Overall, analysis of materials recovered from the three slave houses at Locust Grove suggests that the African Americans there were generally modestly-housed, sufficiently clothed, adequately fed and cared for in illness, and owned a quantity of luxury goods. Likely, too, some could read and write. However adequate their education and material conditions, this does not erase the reality of enslavement. In many ways, sufficient material conditions are no more than a sugar-coating of the awful conditions of slavery.

Many people, scholars and lay persons alike, believe that slavery in Kentucky was less brutal than in the Deep South (Lucas 1992:42). Lucas believes that this perception stemmed in part from the fact that Kentucky slaveholders usually owned fewer slaves and often worked side-by-side with their slaves. Additionally, reactions against abolitionist propaganda urged many slaveholders to treat their slaves better, and provide them with more material possessions (Lucas 1992:42). It is possible, too, that the proximity of free states engendered slightly better

treatment by slave owners and overseers. What the archaeological material from Locust Grove reveals is not necessarily the "mildest form [of slavery] that existed anywhere in the United States" (Coleman 1940:218), but rather the possibility that the efforts of the slaves on their own behalf, substantially supported a tolerable standard of living for themselves. The Croghans and other slaveholders like them may have facilitated the self-sufficiency of their slaves for self-serving reasons. Certainly the slaves would have had a higher standard of living had they not been forced to subsidize the plantation system with their free labor.

Kentucky slavery was probably not the mildest form in the United States. Henry Bibb certainly did not think so. Bibb was a fugitive slave from the area near Louisville and author of **Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, An American Slave**. He stated:

The laws of Kentucky, my native State, with Maryland and Virginia, which are said to be the mildest slave States in the Union, noted for their humanity, Christianity and democracy, declare that "Any slave, for rambling in the night, or riding horseback without leave, or running away, may be punished by whipping, cropping and branding in the cheek or otherwise, not rendering him unfit for labor." Any slave convicted of petty larceny, murder, or wilfully burning of dwelling houses, may be sentenced to have his right hand cut off; to be hanged in the usual manner, or the head severed from the body, the body divided into four quarters, and head and quarters stuck up in the most public place in the county, where such act was committed." (in Osofsky 1969:75-76).

All slaves throughout the antebellum period in the United States faced a variety of dangers and risks that depended partly upon the region, as well as economic conditions, and the idiosyncratic behavior of slave owners. The idea of risk faced by slaves at Locust Grove and at other farms and plantations in Kentucky and the rest of the Upland South is addressed in Chapters V, VI, and VII.

CHAPTER V

Risk

Introduction

All people face risks. This is because all people have basic biological and psychological needs that sometimes are less than adequately met. This chapter concerns the risks faced by slaves and free African Americans in the Upland South during the antebellum period in general, and those faced by the slave community at Locust Grove in particular. To do this, a brief review of some other anthropological studies of risk is presented, and a basic theoretical perspective is outlined.

Risk and Anthropology

Risk avoidance plays a crucial role in all economic systems. Baksh and Johnson (1990) observed that "considerable economic, social, and other human behavior is oriented towards minimizing risks faced by individuals, households, and communities." Risk avoidance strategies are developed and used both by societies in the form of formal institutions like the hxaro (Wiessner 1982) and by individuals.

Many anthropological studies of risk are elegant mathematical analyses of decision making, often involving subsistence (Hegmon 1989; Kaplan, Hill, and Hurtado 1990; Smith and Boyd 1990; Winterhalder 1990). Baksh and Johnson (1990) have pointed out that while these formal quantitative studies are valuable in anthropological risk analyses, complimentary qualitative analyses are also necessary in order to construct a cross-cultural theory for predicting the kinds of risks in specific environmental and cultural circumstances, and the risk strategies likely to be used by persons in those situations. This chapter is largely a qualitative and descriptive analysis.

When anthropologists discuss and analyze risk, they are generally referring to the chance that an unpredictable loss will occur (Cashdan 1985). For instance, crop failure caused by unexpected flooding was a risk recently realized by many American farmers along the Mississippi River. Many anthropological studies of risk incorporate ecological variables like rainfall variation. Baksh and Johnson (1990:196-199) suggest that environment and mode of production, combined with level of social complexity can be used to predict the risks and strategies for minimizing risks for any social system.

For the purposes of this study, the plantation South is divided into two major regions: the Coastal Lowlands, and the Upland South. Slaves in the Coastal Lowlands usually

worked on large plantations raising rice, cotton, or sugar. In the Upland South, slaves mainly worked on plantations and farms devoted to diversified agricultural products like corn, wheat, and hogs. Not only was the climate different in the Upland South from that in the Coastal Lowlands, but the topography, demography, and the seasonal labor cycles were also quite different. Because of climate, demography, and seasonal cycles of labor, some of the risks encountered by slaves in the Upland South were unlike those faced by slaves in the Coastal Lowlands. However, because of the customs and conditions associated with the institution of slavery across the entire South during the antebellum period, some risks would have been common to all African Americans.

The economic theory of risk minimization, which has been successfully employed in anthropological studies of hunter-gatherer and agricultural societies, provides a unifying framework within which to investigate a number of different aspects of slaves' lives and the institution of slavery. Because of the importance of environment, it is also quite valuable when making comparisons between plantations in the Coastal Lowlands, and farms and plantations in the Upland South like Locust Grove.

Baksh and Johnson (1990:199) proposed four categories of risk for all human populations. They are:

1. Environmental risk;
2. Subsistence risk;
3. The risk of social conflict; and
4. The risk of cultural loss.

Environmental risks, as defined by Baksh and Johnson (1990:201), are "environmental hazards to health apart from nutritional failures." These risks include disease, injury, and exposure. To make this category useful for understanding the risks faced by slaves in the antebellum South, those parts of the slaves' social environment largely controlled by the master are also included in this category. This means that physical abuse in the form of beatings, overwork, neglect of medical emergencies, and poor housing and clothing provided to slaves by their owners are subsumed under the heading of environmental risks.

Subsistence risk is the "disruption of access to food and water" (Baksh and Johnson 1990:199). While this category is rather straightforward, I also include those parts of the slaves' diets that were controlled by their owners (e.g., rations).

The risk of social conflict includes "interpersonal and intergroup violence and loss of social support" (Baksh and Johnson 1990:199). This category is also slightly modified to include sources of social conflict from slave owners, such as breaking families apart through sale.

The final category of risk defined by Baksh and Johnson (1990:199) is the risk of cultural loss, "especially through culture contact, such as conquest, displacement,

assimilation and migration." This is especially important considering the pressures from white domination to abandon African cultural characteristics.

Risks Faced by Slaves in the Upland South:
The Documentary Record

Slaves faced a variety of risks on plantations, farms, towns, and cities throughout the New World. Of course, risk varied according to many factors including one's hierarchical position on a plantation (fieldhand versus skilled craftsman, or adult male versus adult female, young man versus elderly man). It also depended on local, national, and international economic conditions, as well as those elements discussed above, like climate, demography, type of crop produced on a plantation or farm, and a host of other conditions.

When this research first began, I wanted to use extant documents to evaluate the actual risks faced by slaves in the Upland South. However, it soon became apparent that this was largely impossible. For instance, there is no way to quantify the number of pregnant slave women that were beaten, or how many slaves were sold away from their families. Instead, I have attempted to evaluate the perceived risks faced by slaves. To do this, two documentary sources were used. One source is the WPA

former slave interviews compiled and published by Rawick, editor (1977a, 1977b). During the Depression, writers interviewed former slaves and their children to record the conditions of slavery. The second type of source used in this study is fugitive slave narratives published by abolitionists. These two sources compliment each other quite well in that the WPA narratives covered the end of the antebellum period, while fugitive accounts tell of conditions earlier in the nineteenth century.

Using these documents as a data base, a list of perceived risks was compiled. Seven major categories of risks were revealed. These are:

1. Being beaten, whipped, or otherwise physically abused;
2. Being sold or otherwise separated from family and friends;
3. Being sold down the river (with or without family);
4. Starving;
5. Disease/Death of self or family member;
6. Injury/Death by accident (self or family member); and
7. Other.

These risks are presented in order of apparent importance to the slaves in the Upland South, based on their frequencies in the documents.

The top three risks are closely related in that they were all used as a form of punishment by slave owners. In the accounts, it was sometimes difficult to separate the risk of being beaten, sold, and sold down the river. The risk of starving or hunger was referred to many times, but

almost in an abstract manner, such as the injustice of raising large quantities of foodstuff for the master but being denied access to it. This was used, in the words of the former slaves, as justification for theft. Fear of injury or disease had few references, and often people were referring to their offspring or other children. The classification "other" includes not only rape, but also risks of being unable to provide clothing, shelter, or other goods for self or family members.

Coping with Risks:
The Slaves' Responses to Risk

The slaves in the South, both in the Coastal Lowlands and in the Upland South, had a number of mechanisms useful for coping with risks within their cultural arsenal. Some of these risk-minimizing strategies were particular to a specific risk (e.g., food storage for avoiding shortfalls of food), and some strategies were more generally useful for managing a number of diverse risks. Some of the general strategies included the development of a strong sense of community, a social organization based on kinship, sharing goods among households, information sharing, socialization practices that encouraged cooperation and discouraged aggressive behavior, and magic or ritual. All of these strategies can be used to minimize risks of beatings, sales,

disease and injury, starvation and others. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to understanding the role of kinship and community for managing risks faced by slaves in the Upland South, and how the archaeological record at Locust Grove provided data for unravelling kin and community. The following chapter (Chapter VI) concerns the use of ritual to minimize risks. Chapter VII deals with subsistence risks.

Kinship networks and community solidarity are well documented as mechanisms for managing risk in a variety of anthropological studies. For instance, Wiessner (1982b) discussed social organization and reciprocity for managing risk among the !Kung San. The environment inhabited by the !Kung, the Kalahari, can provide sufficient resources for meeting basic needs, but that environment is quite variable from one year to the next. This makes it difficult to predict where resources will be located, and makes it possible that a particular area inhabited by a band of !Kung will not provide all necessary resources. To overcome the risk of food and other unpredictable resource shortages, the !Kung pool "risk through storage of social obligations... using a system of mutual reciprocity called hxaro" (Wiessner 1982b:65-66). Hxaro partners are often consanguinal relatives, but sometimes the genealogical ties are unclear. Non-food items are exchanged to initiate a hxaro relationship, but in the event of environmental failure, a family may choose an extended visit with a hxaro partner in

a region where resources are more abundant. A hxaro partner, whether a consanguineous relative or not, becomes very much like a member of the family with the same obligations that are shared with blood relatives. Similarly, Cashdan (1985) demonstrated the importance of reciprocity networks among the Basarwa for managing the risk of resource shortfalls. Baksh and Johnson (1990) suggested that communities (hamlets) based on kinship reduced the risk of social conflict among the Machiguenga, Amazon Indians of Peru.

The role and organization of the African American family have been debated by social scientists for many years. Frazier (1939), Moynihan (1965), and others believed that the apparent deterioration of the African American family largely resulted from the terrible conditions of slavery, that the African Americans simply reacted to the institution of slavery, racism, and poverty. Other researchers, including DuBois (1908) and Herskovits (1941), suggested that the African American family was quite stable because of the adaptive significance of African consanguinal networks used and modified by African Americans both under slavery and after freedom.

A number of studies of African American family structure point to the use of kin and community for coping with risk. Stack's (1970) study showed how African Americans in an urban ghetto used reciprocity in the form of

swapping to relieve resource shortages. Aschenbrenner's (1973) analysis of African Americans in Chicago showed that the extended family was the primary social unit and socializing agent rather than the conjugal family common among white Americans. Her work also demonstrated that in extended family situations, borrowing and baby-sitting were common, information about employment opportunities shared, and economic aid was provided in the form of loans. Shimkin, Shimkin, and Frate (1978), Martin and Martin (1978), Bushman (1981), Lewis (1987), and Hunter (1993) all demonstrated that bonds of kinship were used to mitigate the hardships encountered as rural southern African American families moved to northern urban areas during the First Great Migration (1900-1920). Ford, Harris, and Turner (1991) suggest that the extended African American family today contributes a great deal of support such as advice, money, help with household tasks, and child care, and emotional support in the face of poverty, racism, and discrimination. Many of these helping characteristics are viewed as African in origin (Gutman 1976; Sudarkasa 1980, 1982; Foster 1983; McDaniel 1990).

It is argued here that the African American community at Locust Grove and other plantations in the region was composed of related families. At Locust Grove and other sites in the Upland South, the community extended off the plantation because typically, Upland South slaveholdings

were too small to be self-contained. One way to extend the family off the plantation was through "broad marriages" (marrying off the plantation). This was quite common in the Upland South. Further, it is suggested that the family functioned in the antebellum period in the Upland South much as it did during the twentieth century, to manage many different kinds of risks; environmental and subsistence risks, risks of social conflict, and risk of cultural loss. Family and community solidarity was the slaves' best defense against racial and economic oppression, because only by standing together could African Americans during the antebellum period (like today) resist pressures from the dominant white society.

Kinship and Community at Locust Grove

Unfortunately, no documentary record exists that describes the family structure and social organization of the African American slave community at Locust Grove. Also, it is unfortunate that qualities like kinship, sharing, gifting, and community are not easily visible and recognizable in the archaeological record. However, how goods were distributed across a plantation may provide clues about kinship, sharing, and community.

It is suggested that the slaves at Locust Grove lived in (at least) three households; that is, each slave house

contained a family. The family may have been defined like the ideal white American nuclear (conjugal) family, or as an extended family. Further, each of these families sought to create bonds with each other on the plantation, and with slave and free black families on surrounding farms and plantations, and in the town of Louisville. The strongest bonds are those of kinship. Because no documentary sources are available concerning slave communities on plantations and farms surrounding Locust Grove in eastern Jefferson County, and because no archaeological collections from slave house sites on surrounding farms and plantations exist, the remainder of this discussion is confined to household interaction at Locust Grove.

Items like ceramics used for consumption and serving, decorated glassware like wine glasses, tumblers, and cup plates, and buttons were often purchased in matching sets. For instance, a tea set often consisted of a number of cups and saucers (often six or eight each), all decorated in the same manner. Likewise, matching buttons were acquired for a single garment. It is possible to identify matched buttons, glassware, and ceramics, or sets, from complete artifacts and from sherds recovered from the archaeological record (Young and Andrews 1994). This kind of analysis was completed for the decorated ceramics, fancy glass tableware, and buttons from the three slave houses at Locust Grove. The goal was to identify and quantify the matches between

houses because these matches likely indicate gifting and sharing between slave families.

There are, however, several possible ways that matched ceramics, glassware, and buttons could be deposited at different slave house sites. These are:

1. Items were shared between slave households, and were eventually broken and discarded around the house;
2. A set from the main house was distributed as gifts among several slave families;
3. Broken items from one house were discarded (dumped) at another abandoned house; and
4. Several households could randomly acquire the same sets.

The last method is considered the least probable and was not given further consideration here. However, the other three possibilities that matches could end up at more than one house were all examined.

Decorated ceramics, glassware, and buttons recovered archaeologically from the three slave house sites were used to define patterning and reconstruct exchange networks. A ceramic type collection was constructed, using attributes of ware type, decoration, and color. Ware types included creamware, pearlware, whiteware, ironstone, porcelain, refined redware, and stoneware. Decorated types consisted of the following specific patterns: blue transfer print, blue handpainted, blue shell edge, polychrome handpainted, annular, mocha, brown transfer print, red transfer print,

purple transfer print, green transfer print, black transfer print, spatter, flow blue, overglaze enamelled, luster, embossed, Canton, red shell edge, green shell edge, gilt, and rusticated. First, the south slave house ceramics were analyzed. A total of 199 different ceramic types was identified. These types and their frequencies are presented in Appendix 22. The central slave house assemblage was analyzed next, and 123 different types were recorded, in addition to types that were previously identified in the south slave house ceramic assemblage. These are presented in Appendix 23. The north slave house decorated ceramic assemblage consisted of only 40 additional types, shown in Appendix 24. The main house assemblage consisted of 130 types, 14 of which were matched in the three slave house assemblages.

To determine if ceramics and glassware were hand-me-downs from the main house, decorated ceramics from the main house were compared to decorated ceramics from the three slave houses. Previous analysis (Young and Andrews 1994) indicated that from the south and central slave houses, nearly 13% of the decorated ceramics came from the main house, and from the north slave house, nearly 8% were possible hand-me-downs. A total of 14 different types of decorated ceramics from the main house also appeared in the slave house assemblages. These are shown in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1: Ceramic Types and Frequencies from the Main House that Matched those from the Three Slave Houses.

Type*	Ware	Decoration	South	Central	North
1920	pw	blue tp	1		
2309	pw	blue tp	1		
283	porc	Canton	28	29	19
340	pw	blue tp	1	3	2
3772	porc	overglaze	4		
4691	pw	blue tp	7		
5896	ww	blue tp	2		
801	pw	blue tp	13	1	1
7063.88	porc	overglaze		1	1
2984.88	ref r	luster		5	
7385.88	cw	mocha		1	
1257.89	pw	blue tp			4
2219.89	ww	green tp			1
2314.89	porc	overglaze			4

*Type numbers refer to catalog numbers in the Locust Grove collection.

Rather than indicating gifting and sharing between slave households, these ceramics likely reflect the practice of giving chipped or out-of-date ceramics as hand-me-downs to slaves, and were therefore eliminated from further analysis.

To discover if discard practices resulted in matches between houses, attempts were made to refit or mend every match. Only in a single case, a pearlware saucer, did sherds from a single vessel come from two different houses. The remainder of the matches did not appear to mend or refit. This, as well as the distance between the three slave houses (see Figure 2.3), indicates that discard or dumping does not account for a significant portion of matched ceramics between the three slave houses.

Table 5.2 shows the remaining types and frequencies of matches of decorated ceramics among the south, central, and north slave houses. As can be seen, 32 different ceramic types were shared among the slave families at Locust Grove. The south and central households shared 20 different ceramic types, while the south and north households shared seven, and the central and north shared five kinds of ceramic types.

Analysis of glass tableware, including wine glasses, decanters, tumblers, cup plates, celery vases, compotes, and serving dishes, did not reveal any patterns of sharing among the slave households. However, the frequencies of these items were quite low (see Chapter IV), and except for wine

TABLE 5.2: Ceramic Matches and Frequencies from the South, Central, and North Slave House Assemblages.

Type*	Ware	Decoration	South	Central	North
1788	pw	annular	1	1	
1970	ww	blue tp	2		1
1971	pw	blue tp	3		1
2144	porc	overglaze	1	7	
2315	ww	blue tp	1		9
2498a	iron	flow blue	1		1
2554	ww	blue tp	1		3
2654	ww	blue tp	2		3
2853	pw	blue tp	2	1	
3078	ww	red shell	2	20	
32	ww	purple tp	1	1	
3203	ww	poly hp	1	2	
347	ww	poly hp	10	1	
3578	ref r	rusticated	1	1	
3996	ww	blue tp	1	1	
4005	pw	blue tp	2	5	
4040	ww	red tp	1	1	
4242	ww	red tp	2	3	
4550	ww	red tp	1	1	
4605	pw	blue tp	1	1	
4704	ww	blue tp	1	3	
4792	ww	blue tp	1	2	
4920	ww?	blue tp	1	2	
55534	pw	poly hp	1	1	
654	ww	green tp	2	4	
85	pw	poly hp	28	2	
979	ww	blue tp	6		3
1537.88	ww	black tp		1	1
1732.88	ww	blue edge		1	4
4575.88	pw	blue tp		1	1
4686.88	ww	brown tp		8	1
6692.88	ww	blue tp		1	1
TOTALS			78	72	29

*Type numbers refer to catalog numbers in Locust Grove collection.

glasses, cup plates, and tumblers, these items were not always acquired in matched sets.

Button analysis, however, did reveal matches between slave houses. A single blue transfer printed (calico) milk glass button was found in each of the three slave houses. Also, a stamped design, yellow metal, four hole button from the south slave house matched one found in the central slave house.

Refined tablewares from Curriboo and Yaughan plantation slave houses (Wheaton et al. 1983; Wheaton and Garrow 1985) were reanalyzed according to decorative types. From Curriboo, Structure B, Structure C, Structure D, and Structure A were included in analysis. From Yaughan, Structures 76A and 76B were included. A total of 485 ceramics was analyzed from Structure B. Structures C and D each contained only 11 refined ceramics each. Structure A contained 15. At Yaughan, Structure 76A yielded 140 refined tablewares (creamware, porcelain, pearlware, whiteware, and delft). Structure 76b contained 556 ceramic sherds that were refined tablewares. Just as for the Locust Grove decorated ceramics, the ceramics from Curriboo and Yaughan were assigned decorative types. Those types that are shared among cabins are presented in Table 5.3. Sixteen different decorative types displayed matches between slave houses. It is interesting to note that there are even matches between Yaughan slave houses and Curriboo slave houses. The houses

TABLE 5.3. Ceramic Matches from Curriboo and Yaughan Slave Houses.

Type*	Cur-b	Cur-c	Cur-d	Cur-a	Yau-a	Yau-b
1 (1)	11		1		1	5
31 (1)	1					5
31 (7)	6					3
31 (15)	1					2
33 (1)	6				1	
33 (2)		1			2	
36 (2)	4					2
41 (2)					3	2
48 (3)	2		1		1	3
48 (4)	1			1	4	
48 (5)	2				10	14
49 (1)	6			1		2
51 (1)		1		1		
51 (4)	3		1		1	
51 (x)	1					1
Whield					2	1

*Type number refers to typology developed for analysis of Yaughan and Curriboo collections.

at these South Carolina plantations slightly pre-date those at Locust Grove. This suggests that sharing behavior is not associated only with antebellum African American slaves in the Upland South, but was a behavior common to many enslaved blacks in the South.

Conclusions

The data presented here indicate that some amount of sharing of non-food goods took place within the slave community at Locust Grove. That the items that were matched between the slave households were often luxury items (such as decorated tea and dinner ceramics and buttons) is also relevant. Often these kinds of artifacts are used to illustrate status in archaeological studies of slave sites (see especially Adams and Boling 1989). However, the sharing of these goods suggests that such "luxury" items may have had different meanings for African American slaves. This can be illustrated through an example derived from the work of Wiessner (1982b). Gifts for hxaro among the !Kung San are often symbolic, like beads (Wiessner 1982b:70-72), and manufactured in a social context. The meaning of hxaro gifts likewise becomes associated with the social context. For the African American slaves at Locust Grove, the gifts of tea cups and saucers, rather than being viewed by the slaves as high status items, could have been seen as items

used and appreciated in friendly social contexts in the quarters.

The extension of bonds of kinship outside the immediate household would have been particularly important to slaves at Locust Grove and other plantations and farms in the area because of the apparent high risk of being sold away (particularly being sold "down the river"). In the event that a parent (either mother or father) was sold, and the child or children kept behind, strong bonds of kinship would help insure the future of the dependent offspring robbed of biological parents. Further, when faced with being overworked, driven too hard, or beaten, a reaction from the entire slave community would have been difficult for the slave owner to withstand with impunity. Finally, emotional support from within the community during life crises of birth, illness, and death would have been particularly important to a group of people often denied access to comforts of a formal church and professional medical care.

The theory of risk management has been used to formulate and test hypotheses concerning the importance of kinship and community solidarity for the slaves at Locust Grove. Matched ceramics and buttons indicate that the practice of sharing and gift-giving was used at Locust Grove and at Vaughan and Curriboo in South Carolina, and, it is argued, was associated with strategies of risk minimization. These actions were possibly to strengthen the bonds of

kinship and community. This kind of behavior, that is, reciprocity for mitigating the risks posed by the environment (social and physical), and for coping with social conflict and cultural loss, was probably universal throughout the entire antebellum period for African Americans all over the South. Shared behavior of this nature does not imply that African American culture throughout the South was uniform. Nor does it necessarily imply that this behavior is African in origin, although there is ample evidence to support this connection (Sudarkasa 1980, 1982; Foster 1983; Zollar 1985; McDaniel 1990). Rather, some kinds of risks were common to African Americans from the beginning of the colonial era until the present day. Some kinds of risks, however, were peculiar to a specific region and temporal period. The kinds of risks faced by slaves in the Upland South region during the antebellum period have been illustrated, as well as some of the responses to those risks of the slaves who lived and worked at Locust Grove.

CHAPTER VI

Religion and Ritual in the Upland South

Introduction

It has long been recognized that African American religion is a complex interaction of traditional African folk beliefs and Christianity (Rawick 1972; Mitchell 1975; Raboteau 1978; Sobel 1979; Hall 1993; Joyner 1993). It has also been recognized that African American religion is an integral part of African American culture. As noted by Carter G. Woodson in the early twentieth century, "a definitive history of the Negro Church...would leave practically no phase of the history of the Negro in America untouched" (Woodson 1939:7 cited in Sernett 1985:1). As such, any attempt to understand the complexity of the African American past must address religion. For the black slaves in America, religion provided a means for resistance (Harding 1969), creolization (Sobel 1987; Joyner 1993, 1994), and ultimately for pan-African solidarity (Rawick 1972). In many ways, African American religion is a microcosm of African American culture in its entirety. Just as African Americans did not simply adopt European Christianity, neither did they simply adopt the culture of the dominant white culture. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the development of both African and Christian religious elements in black slave society from the early

colonial period to the late antebellum period, especially as it concerns material culture and the archaeological record, focussing particularly on material recovered from Locust Grove.

Until very recently, historical archaeologists investigating slaves and slavery in North America have been reluctant to incorporate African American religious behavior into their research. After all, archaeological evidence of the more spiritual segment of culture is rare and difficult to interpret. According to Demarest (1989:89):

...the analysis of religion presents formidable conceptual, epistemological, and methodological obstacles...In American archaeology the return of evolutionism came together with the introduction of culture ecology, and quasi-Marxist concepts in the work of Leslie White (1959), Julian Steward (1955), and others. Ideology was explicitly viewed as a trivial, secondary, or "epiphenomenal" force...

Some historians have documented that a portion of the African American religious belief system was kept secret from slaveholders and other whites (Herskovits 1958; Raboteau 1978:212-213, 215-216; Webber 1978). The secret or "invisible" nature of at least part of slave religion makes interpretation by archaeologists even more difficult. Nevertheless, archaeologists are beginning to turn their attention to archaeological evidence of the religious beliefs and practices of slaves in the South (Adams 1987; Klingelhofer 1987; Brown and Cooper 1990; Singleton 1991;

Ferguson 1992; Orser 1994). This chapter focuses on a number of artifacts found within the remains of the three slave houses at Locust Grove. These objects appear to have had religious or ritual significance for the slaves there. The continuity of various African religious practices, those of colonial African Americans discussed by Ferguson (1992), and the adoption of Christian practices by slaves in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is addressed in light of objects recovered from Locust Grove. Finally, the role of religion on a nineteenth century Upland South plantation is reviewed.

It is hypothesized that traditional African beliefs amalgamated in the New World under the slave regime, called by Sobel (1979) a "quasi-African" world view. This developed most fully in the lowcountry of South Carolina and Georgia during the early colonial period and spread from that region. Further, Africanized Christianity (for lack of a better term) did not develop from the quasi-African world view until the 1740s and 1750s during the Great Awakening when significant numbers of slaves became Christian. When this happened, the symbols and elements of the traditional African world view did not disappear, but were slowly modified and incorporated into the black slave society of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, just as Christianity was modified and incorporated into the slave, free black, and white societies. The archaeological

material from each of the three Locust Grove slave cabin sites attests to the dynamic nature of African American religion.

The Artifacts from Locust Grove

Three artifacts that were recovered from the southern slave house deserve additional attention and may have been used as religious objects (PLATE 6.1). One is a small, faceted blue glass bead. Another is a Chinese coin of unidentified date. Similar coins were recovered from slave pens in Alexandria, Virginia. The coin is over an inch in diameter and has a square hole in the center. The third artifact is a two cent U.S. coin. Unfortunately, the date is illegible; however, these coins were manufactured only from 1864 until 1873, with the greatest number issued in 1864 and 1865. The quantities minted declined drastically from 1866 through 1873 and only proofs were issued in 1873. The interesting thing about this artifact is that it has been modified. Four notches have been carved or ground into the edges of the coin so that if string or twine were wound around the coin through the notches, an "x" or cross of string would show on the faces of the coin.

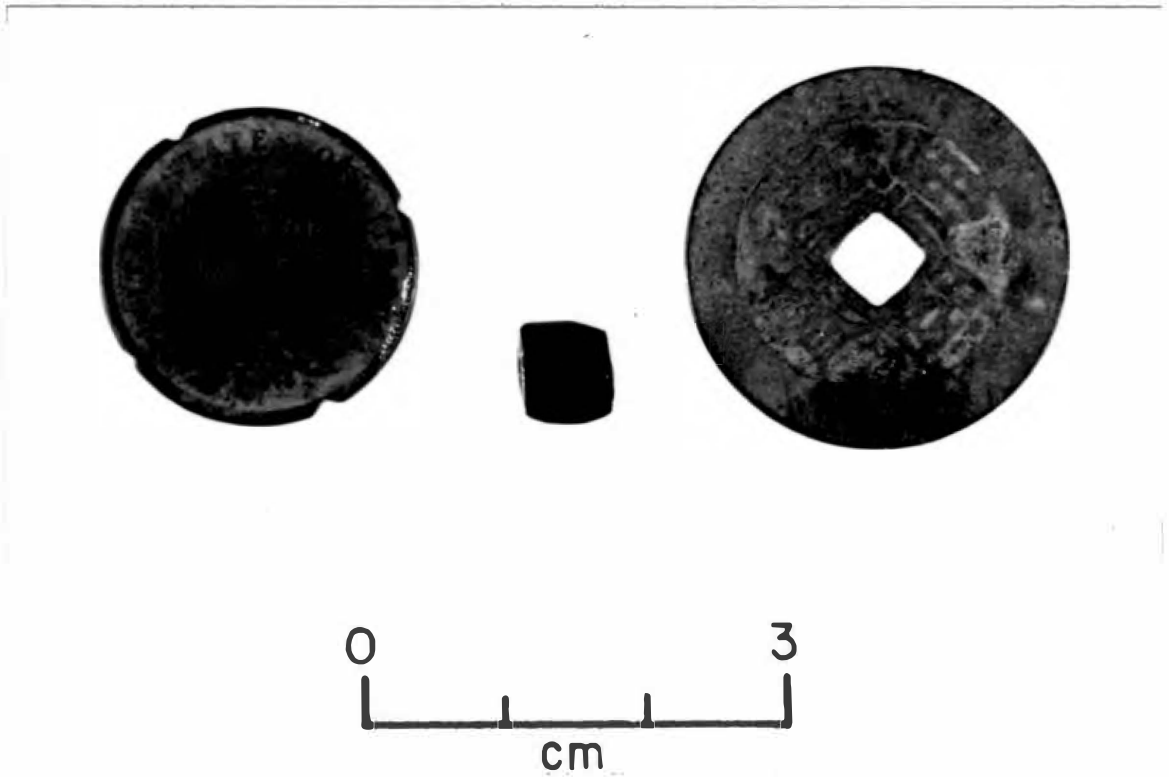


PLATE 6.1: Objects from the South Slave House Site.

From the central slave house, several chandelier crystals and a silver dime were recovered (PLATE 6.2). On the obverse face of the dime is a capped bust, and on the reverse, is an eagle. The date is 1827; however, the coin is extremely worn. What is remarkable about this artifact is that on the reverse side of the coin over the eagle, a cross or "x" has been scratched.

Several noteworthy artifacts were recovered from the northern house (PLATE 6.3). The first is a silver tea spoon back-marked "W&D." On the front of the spoon, on the end of the handle, an "x" or cross has been scratched. A plain white clay marble was also recovered. It, too, has a cross or "x" incised in it. This was done prior to firing. A similarly marked clay marble was found in one of the slave houses at the Hermitage in Nashville, Tennessee (Smith 1976:1187, Figure 34h). Finally, a perforated Chinese coin of unknown date was discovered within the remains of the house. This Chinese coin is smaller than the one from the south slave house, but otherwise is very similar. Several chandelier crystals were also recovered from this house.

The thesis here is that the objects described above from the three slave houses at Locust Grove served as religious artifacts. The design elements of circles, and crosses or "x's" are related to West African cosmology, to the colonial African American world view, and to the modification of aspects of Christianity during the First and

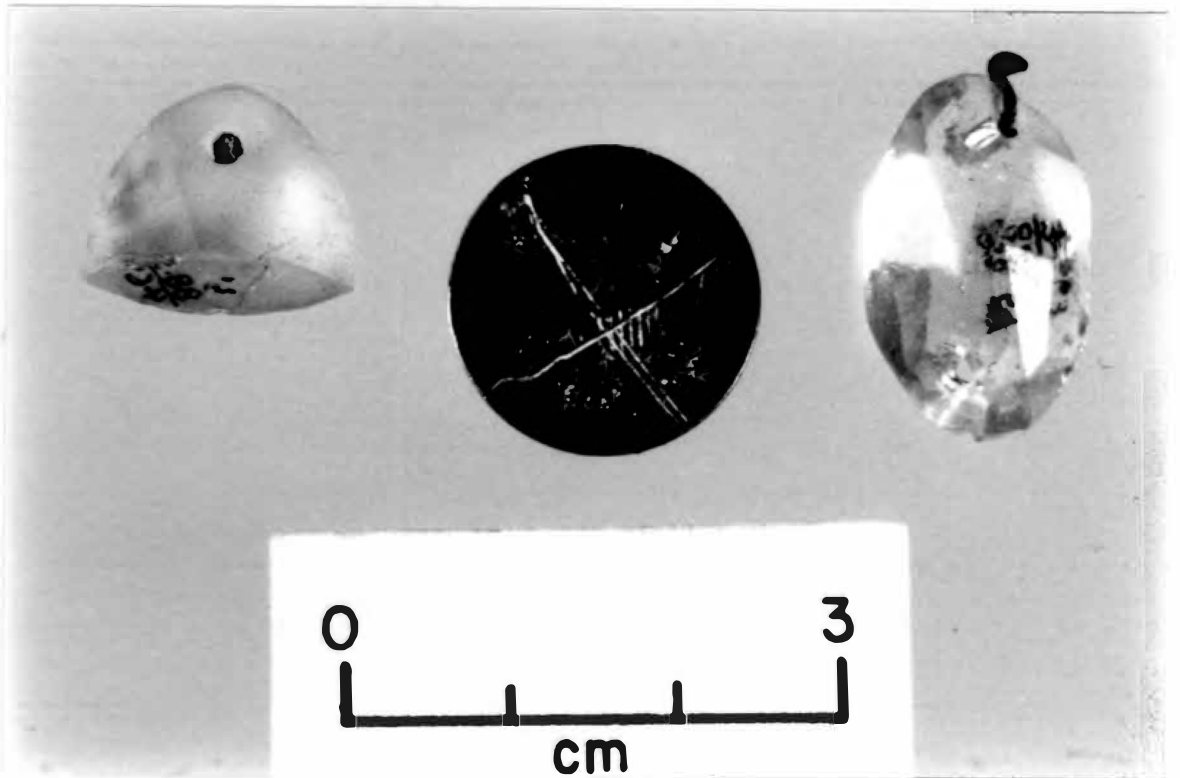


PLATE 6.2: Objects from the Central Slave House Site.

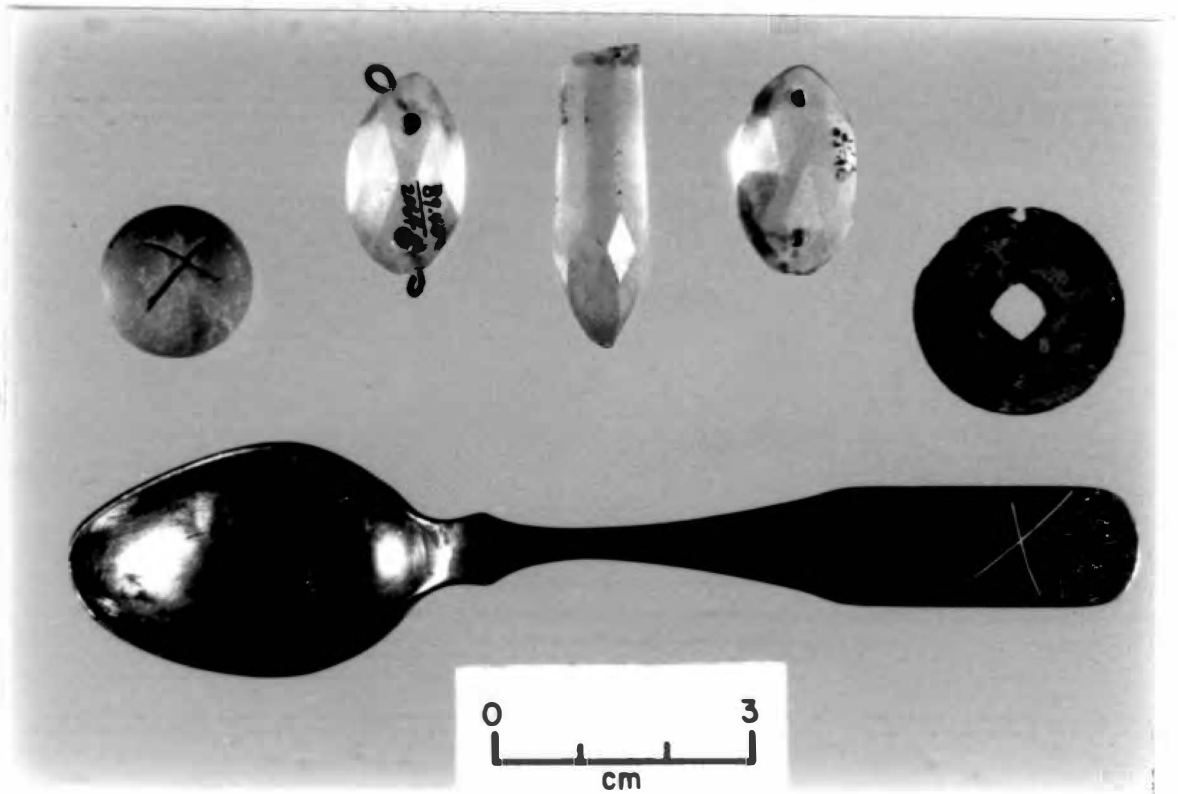


PLATE 6.3: Objects from the North Slave House Site.

Second Great Awakenings in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It seems fairly unlikely that the "x's" were used to show individual ownership because the mark is too common (Ferguson 1992) and because "x"-marked artifacts were recovered from all three slave houses at Locust Grove.

African Cosmology

According to Sobel (1979:5) and others, there was no single "West African Sacred Cosmos" because of the many different cultures and ethnic and linguistic groups in various regions of West Africa. West African religions were extremely diverse and complex (Raboteau 1978; Sobel 1979; Joyner 1984, 1994; Karenga 1989). Some scholars, however, suggest that a common bond united many West African religious groups that, according to Joyner (1984:143), "stressed the African's mystical relationship to God and the supernatural." The importance of shamans or conjurers in the social order also functioned to unite West African religions.

A number of characteristics seem to apply to what little is known of sixteenth through eighteenth century West African religious systems. First is a belief in a High God or Creator (Alho 1976:44; Raboteau 1978:8; Karenga 1989:272). Second is a belief in a world of spirits that

sometimes interacted with, or otherwise affected the living world (Alho 1976:44; Raboteau 1978: 11; Karenga 1989:272). Third is a belief in a particular class of spirits, the ancestors (Alho 1976:44-45; Raboteau 1978:12; Karenga 1989:273). Finally, a belief in magic through use of medicine and charms by shamans to control aspects of the spirit world was also fairly common in West Africa (Alho 1976:45; Raboteau 1978:14). Sobel (1979:21) proposed that the similarities in West African religions encouraged a melding into a single "quasi-African world view in America" under slavery.

African American Religion During the Colonial Era

The beliefs and practices just described were imported with some of the African slaves from different cultural origins into the New World. This created a social environment where "an enslaved African would meet more Africans from more ethnic groups than he or she would encounter in a lifetime in Africa" (Joyner 1989:2). West African ethnic groups were not evenly distributed in the New World (Sobel 1979:25; Curtin 1969). Planter prejudices and shifting economic conditions helped to create clusters of Africans from specific regions and cultural affiliations. Curtin's (1969) study shows that there were two distinguishable slave populations during the colonial

period; one in the lowcountry region of South Carolina and Georgia, and the other in the Chesapeake region of Virginia and Maryland. According to Curtin (1969:157), South Carolina planters more often purchased Africans from Angola, while slaves in Virginia and Maryland were more often from the Bight of Biafra and the Gold Coast north of Angola.

Sobel (1979:25) states:

Intercolonial and interstate slave trade later led to a general mixing of slaves, but most members of the black communities in the eighteenth century were apparently ethnically distinguishable, while many were ethnically localized.

Deetz (1988), in his study of colonoware, also detected two distinguishable groups of slaves; one in Virginia, and the other in South Carolina. Virginia colonoware was usually made to resemble English vessels like "punch bowls, pipkins, and handled drinking cups" while South Carolina colonoware vessels were "primarily large and small globular pots and shallow bowls" (Deetz 1988:365). The South Carolina vessel forms resemble pots from West Africa. Deetz attributes the differences between Virginia and South Carolina pots to "different patterns of planter-slave interaction in each region" rather than to ethnic differences. Ferguson (1992) ascribes the differences in vessel forms to the contrasting populations of the two regions. The Carolina lowcountry population had a much larger African component; in many areas, an African majority. The Virginia population, on the

other hand, was composed primarily of Europeans and the slaves made up a much smaller portion of the total. Because of the African majority in South Carolina, Ferguson believes that:

...black slaves in the Carolina lowcountry led domestic lives much more African in character than those of Virginia (Ferguson 1992:36).

These are cogent arguments; however, differences in colonoware vessel forms could also have been affected by the different ethnic groups inhabiting the two regions. One of the most striking qualities that Ferguson (1992) discovered about the colonoware from South Carolina and Virginia underscores the ethnic differences.

Ferguson (1992) found a number of colonoware bowls, especially those recovered from underwater (river) sites in South Carolina, were marked on the bases. Some were marked on the exterior (n=8) and some were marked on the interior (n=9). Most of the marks were "x"'s or crosses, or some variation of this motif. Some marks were enclosed in circles or squares. Some pots were marked prior to firing and some after. The similarity in design elements and method of marking, if not media, to Locust Grove material is striking.

Ferguson (1992:114) believes that the marks on colonoware bowls from South Carolina resemble Bakongo cosmograms. The Bakongo homeland is in the area of modern

Zaire and northern Angola (Thompson 1983; MacGaffey 1986, 1988, 1991; Ferguson 1992:114), an area from which many Africans were captured and brought to South Carolina as slaves. Elements of Bakongo religion were similar to, or incorporated into many surrounding West African religious systems.

The Bakongo symbol for the cosmos is basically a cross (MacGaffey 1986:42-62). The horizontal line of the cross separates the spirit and living worlds. The vertical line represents the "path of power from below to above (Ferguson 1992:110). In Bakongo religion, as in many other West African religions, people can control the power of God and the spirit world through the use of medicines, called *minkisi* in *KiKongo* (MacGaffey 1988:188; Ferguson 1992:114). *Minkisi* are made of various objects composed of clay, crystal, and other minerals, as well as animal and vegetable materials (MacGaffey 1988:190, 1991; Ferguson 1992:114). White kaolin clay is almost a universal ingredient of *minkisi* (MacGaffey 1988:191). *Minkisi* are often contained in clay pots, but a shell, gourd, wood, or woven container can also serve this function (MacGaffey 1988:191, 1991; Ferguson 1992:114). *Minkisi* are the local dwelling places and personalities of the dead, a portable shrine (MacGaffey 1988:190-191). An important part of a *nkisi* is its container, which recipes often specify (MacGaffey 1988:191). Ferguson (1992) interprets the South Carolina colonoware

bowls marked with crosses as containers of minkisi. Again, the material used for minkisi are remarkably similar to Locust Grove materials.

The West Africans, when first brought to the New World as slaves, did not arrive with a single, shared world view. However, many unifying concepts of various West African religious systems did lead to the creation of a basic African religious perspective in America, or using Sobel's (1979:21) terminology, a "quasi-African world view." As part of this unified cosmos, the belief in magic and the spirit world manifested itself in pre-Christian slave society. In colonial African American culture in South Carolina, this belief was expressed materially and visually on the bases of small colonoware bowls, containers of traditional medicines. This predominantly "quasi-African" belief system continued to develop in the South for approximately 150 years (Sobel 1979).

Christianity and Africanized Christianity Under the Slave Regime

It is well documented that a religious system incorporating a belief in conjuring, magic, and spirits continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Puckett 1969; Mitchell 1975; Rawick 1977; Blassingame 1979:3-48). However, African American religion during this latter period is profoundly Christian (Herskovits 1958;

Mitchell 1975; Raboteau 1978; Sobel 1979; Joyner 1984; Pitts 1989). How did Africanized Christianity develop under slavery and why were elements of the traditional African world view retained as they apparently were in part, at Locust Grove and other areas throughout the South?

Many scholars studying slave religion agree that it was not until the Great Awakening beginning in the 1740s and 1750s that slaves and free blacks in significant numbers began converting to Christianity (Sobel 1979; Frey 1993; Raboteau 1994; Joyner 1994). Earlier attempts by white Anglicans to convert slaves were met with disdain. Anglicanism stressed logic, dispassionate worship, literate instruction, and a slow process of conversion and salvation. At the same time, Anglicanism disassociated itself with magic and witchcraft that were considered evil and satanic. These characteristics held little interest to many slaves who believed that magic was neither inherently good nor evil, and above all, regeneration was emotional and instantaneous.

Beginning in the 1740s, revivalist Christian movements in the South attracted large numbers of slaves and free blacks. The appeal of revivalist Christianity was much more than slaves gravitating toward a religious sect that strongly condemned slavery. Rather, the slaves' traditional world view shared many elements with the new Christian evangelists. These included ecstatic behavior, open air

preaching, emphasis on oral instruction, and instantaneous regeneration.

The evangelistic movement continued throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century and was revitalized in the 1820s when the Second Great Awakening was sparked by revivals in Kentucky and Virginia. This later evangelical preaching deemphasized abolition (Raboteau 1994:5) but continued to attract slaves by inspiring shouting, swaying, and other ecstatic behavior, reinforcing African patterns of spirituality (Joyner 1993:15). But as Raboteau (1994:9) has noted:

...the slaves did not simply become Christians; they fashioned Christianity to fit their own peculiar experience of enslavement in America.

In fact, they Africanized Christianity for themselves and for all evangelistic Christians in the South, both black and white (Frey 1993).

While WPA-era former slave narratives document a continuing belief in witches, charms, and haunts by some African Americans, many also clearly show that many former slaves and their children did not hold these beliefs. Why did later-generations slaves "forget" African rituals and symbols? Joyner (1994:36) suggests that the "once-unified religious cosmology fragmented" and was abandoned, or became less coherent (also see Sobel 1979). Sobel (1979:73) believes that the spirits as the control or source of omens

and signs were forgotten, but the signs were remembered. In other words, signs and symbols lost original meaning for African Americans who, as Christians, began to associate magic and spirits with evil. The process of losing or changing meaning was not uniform as historical records testify (Mitchell 1975; Sobel 1979; Joyner 1994). Some slaves, no doubt, totally abandoned supernatural African beliefs, while some retained a selected portion of African practices (Joyner 1994). But perhaps the meaning and significance changed. Perhaps, over time, the charms became more "stylistic" and less a means to control supernatural power.

Discussion and Conclusions

Wobst (1977:317) has argued that "stylistic behavior may be viewed as a strategy of information exchange." I posit that the symbols of crosses, circles, and squares on material culture may have functioned partly as a way of sending messages, as well as a way to control supernatural power in pre-Christian African American culture. These symbols were both non-threatening to whites (after all, what is wrong with a Christian cross?) (Joyner 1994:36; Orser 1994:39), and very difficult for white colonial Americans to decode. When Africanized Christianity became the dominant religion, some or most of the supernatural powers were

dropped and forgotten. However, their power as message transmitters were likely retained. This transition was probably fairly slow. Wobst (1977:322) noted that a symbol as signaler has "great relative longevity" and "does not change rapidly."

Use of stylistic messages helps establish and maintain cultural boundaries. The target group, according to Wobst (1977:325) is one that is outside the realm of relatives and close friends where stylistic messages are not needed. The target group is socially distant, yet able to decode the message. In the case of African American slaves on plantations in the nineteenth century, the target group may have been slaves on geographically distant plantations, as well as slaves and free blacks in town (Figure 6.1). Use of stylistic messages helped reinforce black community with symbols that were becoming less and less associated with charms, witches, magic, and evil, but still African. Re-affirmation of what was shared among free and enslaved African Americans in cities, and on plantations and farms throughout the South served many functions. It helped create and recreate pan-African solidarity that was necessary in overcoming the segmenting of classes within slave society and those segmenting pressures from white slaveholders. In other words, pan-African solidarity was a way to fight racial oppression.

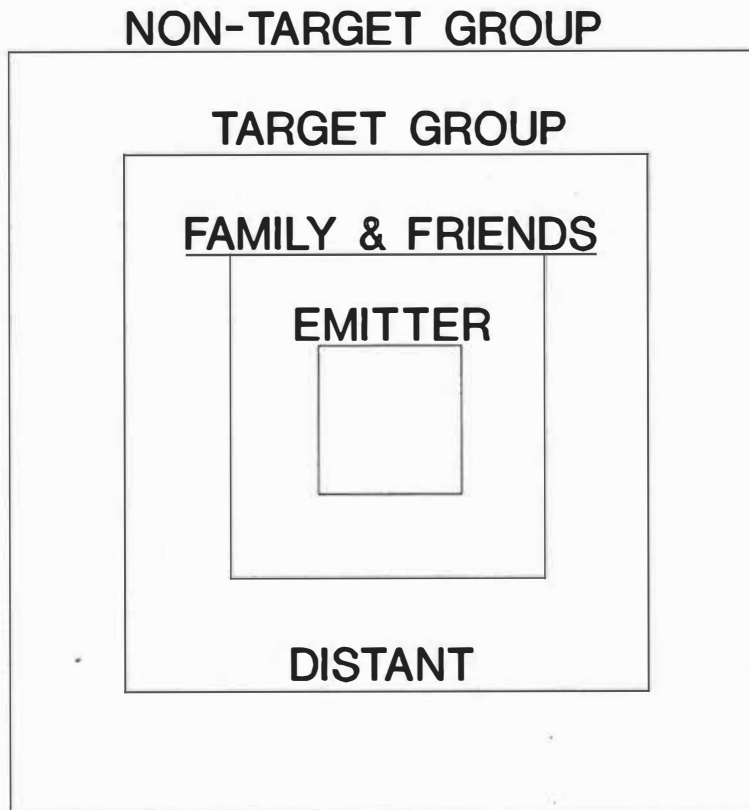


FIGURE 6.1: Wobst's (1977) Model for Stylistic Transmitters.

Locust Grove is not the only antebellum slave site to yield ritual and religious objects that appear African in design. Brown and Cooper (1990) found a collection of fairly mundane objects including chalk, bases of iron kettles, animal bones, chert, and other materials that, they argue based on ethnographic analogy, were used for African-style healing rituals. Also recovered from Levi Jordan plantation was a brick with a cruciform or "x" enclosed in an oval on one side (Brown, personal communication 1995). Drilled coins noted in WPA-era former slave narratives have been found on archaeological slave sites (Patten 1992). The Hermitage in Nashville, Tennessee yielded three fist amulets (figas) (Orser 1994:39). Blue beads have been found on many slave sites (Cabak and Groover 1994). Even African slaves working to extract mahogany in Belize may have participated in the same African American religious system as those at Locust Grove, Levi Jordan, the Hermitage, and other locales. The base of a pearlware bowl recovered from an archaeological site in Belize and associated with African slaves there had an "x" scratched on the base (Finamore 1995). Most of these sites date to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While some objects may have actually been used to control supernatural power as charms and amulets, they may also have served as symbols and messages to enslaved and free black Christians.

The coins, marble, bead, spoon, and the crystals recovered at Locust Grove make up a very small portion of the overall assemblage. Yet their presence is significant. Some artifacts, like the coins, the bead, and the crystals could have been worn as charms and amulets, as described in former slave narratives. The spoon, marble, and crystals could have been used as medicine, or in preparation of medicine. Their resemblance to Bakongo minkisi is remarkable. Likewise the crosses, circles, and squares are remarkably similar to marks on colonoware bowls found in South Carolina. But the objects from Locust Grove, a site so far removed from West Africa, from colonial South Carolina, and from the rest of the plantation South, provide compelling evidence of the continuity of African American culture through time and space. These artifacts speak of a maintenance of strong ethnic ties with Africa taking place simultaneously with a process of creolization. This provides a rich field of study for archaeologists who can best study this phenomenon by examining changes over time and making regional comparisons. Finally, the objects from Locust Grove, and those found at other slave sites, attest to the fact that the archaeologist can view the "invisible institution" of slave religion.

CHAPTER VII

Pit Cellars

Introduction

This chapter focuses on pit cellars found at the three slave house sites at Locust Grove. These important features, according to Singleton and Bograd (1995:19), appear to be common on slave sites in the Upland South. Pit cellars have received much attention in the archaeological literature of late, and many archaeologists have emphasized that these features are useful ethnic identifiers. The importance of pit cellars as cultural or ethnic markers notwithstanding, their primary function was to store food. Pit cellars as food storage facilities, as well as possible ethnic markers, is addressed below.

Reliable Food Sources for Slaves

As outlined in Chapter V, slaves all over the South, including the Upland South, faced a variety of risks. One prominent risk is lack of adequate food. This is especially important considering that for many slaves who depended upon rations, their subsistence was entirely in the hands of their owners. When meeting basic needs is beyond control of individuals and families, stress often results. A

continual and adequate food supply is such a basic biological requirement that slaves, no doubt, developed many strategies to insure adequate diets for themselves and their families.

Slaveholders forcibly extracted labor from their slaves, and in return were to provide them with housing, protection, and food (Berlin and Morgan 1993). Slave owners typically utilized, or at least emphasized, one of three strategies to feed their slaves, depending on the principal crop grown on the plantation, and the economic circumstances of the time. The three strategies were: 1) importing rations from outside the plantation; 2) supervising food production on the plantation; and 3) allowing or requiring slaves to feed themselves by giving over a small portion of the plantation to slave gardens and time for slaves to see to their own subsistence (Berlin and Morgan 1993:23). From the slaves' perspective, there were four basic sources for their food: 1) master-distributed rations; 2) slave controlled gardens and livestock pens; 3) food from hunting, fishing, and gathering; and 4) food "stolen" from their master. McKee (1988:28) describes the first three sources as "a subsistence triangle." Hilliard (1972:56) suggested that food from rations, gardens, and hunting and gathering was relatively equal in forming the slave diet; an equilateral triangle. This view may be overgeneralized. Rather, proportions depended on the plantation crop and

system of labor employed on the plantation (gang or task), external economic conditions, and the amount of control a plantation's slave population managed to gain concerning their subsistence (Berlin and Morgan 1993:23-25). For instance, Berlin and Morgan (1993:14) state that "slaves enjoyed a good deal more latitude under the task system" that potentially allowed more time for the slaves to raise their own provisions. These slaves strongly resisted attempts to change the labor organization (Berlin and Morgan 1993). Additionally, slaveholders were more likely to require slaves to provide their own food when provisions were expensive (Berlin and Morgan 1993:23), while on plantations where labor requirements of the cash crop were high, masters found it cheaper to import rations from outside the plantation.

Slaves in the United States grew corn, turnips, cabbages, potatoes, and yams in their gardens (Berlin and Morgan 1993:29). They also frequently raised a variety of barnyard fowl and kept small stock, principally goats and hogs (Berlin and Morgan 1993:29-31).

The practice of provisioning themselves placed additional burdens on the slaves' time and labor requirements. However, according to Berlin and Morgan, "in a manner that characterized so much of the slave experience, slaves turned the masters' additional demands to their own advantage, transforming attempts to tighten the bonds of

servitude into small grants of independence" (Berlin and Morgan 1993:22). In this way, perhaps, the slaves at Locust Grove controlled a significant portion of their lives.

Pit Cellars

Cellars for storing food were commonly used in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries in parts of the South. Kelso (1984:201) recognized these facilities as a "long-standing English tradition" brought to the New World. Faulkner (1986) described three types of cellars often found on sites dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the southern Appalachians: the structural or foundational cellar; the banked earth cellar; and the pit cellar. It is Faulkner's (1986) pit cellar that concerns us here, since three slave house sites at Locust Grove were each found to contain this type of storage facility.

A pit cellar, according to Faulkner (1986), is always found beneath buildings. Sometimes pit cellars were quite large, though never as large as the room or building above, and entrance was gained through an outside entryway. More often, however, these features were small square or rectangular pits, and entered through a trap door in the floor of the room above. Sometimes, too, the cellars were lined with wood planks, stone, or brick (Faulkner 1986:54).

They were customarily used to store apples, cabbages, turnips, pumpkins, meat, milk, and especially root crops like potatoes and yams.

Historical archaeologists have debated the value of these small pit cellars as ethnic markers (Kelso 1984; Mauer 1991; Sanford 1991; Singleton 1991; Yentsch 1991; Kimmel 1993). Kelso (1984:201) began the debate by suggesting that pit cellars "may be more Afro-American than English" and usually associated with slave quarter sites (Kelso 1984:104). Singleton (1991:166-167) believes these small storage facilities may represent a unique African American adaptation to slavery, one that may be based on African (Yentsch 1991) rather than English (Kelso 1984) tradition. Kelso (1984:201) proposed that pit cellars were used by slaves to conceal goods from their masters. Singleton (1991:166-167) also has remarked on the importance of sub-floor cellars for hiding items from masters, and proposed that they may have resulted from the negotiations between slaves and masters concerning autonomy, food procurement, and ownership of property. Sanford (1994:128) indicates that "repeated use of underground storage cellars...point to slave-based notions of defining cultural space and social status." Hall (1992:385-386) believes that they were part of the everyday resistance to the "dominant white ideology." He states, "such evidence for everyday resistance...shows slaves creating a world for themselves within the daily

brutality of plantation life, and masters having to concede a compromise far short of the ideal of patriarchal discipline" (Hall 1992:385-386).

Kimmel (1993:102) reminds historical archaeologists that the presence of these pit features is insufficient evidence to "indicate African American occupation." Kimmel (1993) points out that many sites occupied by English, French Canadian, Anglo-American, Native American, and German American ethnic groups have associated subfloor pit cellars (also see Kehoe 1978; Faulkner 1986; DeBoer 1988:13-14; Pogue 1988:42; Mauer 1991:6; Young 1994a). Quite obviously storage pits are common on eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century sites regardless of ethnic or economic association (Kimmel 1993). However, the presence of pit cellars on sites occupied by European Americans and Native Americans does not negate the significance of these features on African American slave sites. These features and their function have been clearly documented for slave sites. For instance, Mrs. Mary Emily Eaton Tate, a former slave, described a pit cellar in her cabin back on her plantation in East Tennessee near Knoxville:

Every day, spies were making their rounds and often soldiers, both Yankee and Rebel, visited our cabin taking what they could find...The cellar, a hole dug out under some boards in our cabin contained our supplies...(Rawick 1977b:212-219).

Analysis of pit cellars and their contents gives us clues about food procurement strategies, slave treatment, and the slaves' struggle for independence.

Pit Cellars Associated with the Three Slave Houses

All of the slave houses at Locust Grove had associated pit cellars that measured approximately 3.3 by 5 feet (1 by 1.5 m). The cellars of the north and south houses, and likely the central house as well, were placed directly in front of the hearth (see Figure 2.6). The cellar in the south house site was unlined. In the central house site, the cellar walls were lined with dry-laid bricks and the floor was earth. The cellar in the north house was wood-lined.

The southern-most house site and its associated pit cellar were excavated in 1987. The cellar was roughly rectangular with maximum dimensions of 6 by 3.6 feet (1.8 by 1.1 m). It was not lined; however, the impermeable clay subsoil makes lining unnecessary. The cellar fill was a very ashy, loose dark soil which was screened through quarter-inch mesh hardware cloth. Large artifacts were piece-plotted. Unfortunately, no soil samples were saved for fine water screening. Animal bone was quite common in the fill (see Chapter IV).

A total of 126 artifacts was recovered from the cellar of the south slave house. Of these, a significant portion are unidentified iron and other metal objects, possibly representing curated tools like hoe and shovel blades. Ceramics represent 30% of the assemblage. Twelve percent of the assemblage is made up of cut and wrought nails. Window glass, bottle glass, buttons, identified metal, other, a large cent that dates 1828, and a stub-stemmed grey stoneware tobacco pipe complete the assemblage (Table 7.1).

The ceramics recovered from the cellar are quite interesting in that decorated plates, tea cups, and saucers dominate the assemblage. Of the 35 sherds recovered, most are refined tablewares (n=33), while only two are utilitarian lead glazed redwares. Of the total ceramic assemblage from the cellar, 31 could be classified by function based on vessel form (Table 7.2).

Decorated ceramics dominate the refined wares (n=26, %=87). Most sherds are blue transfer printed (n=12, %=40) and hand painted blue and polychrome (n=11, %=37). One plate is green shell edge and two hollow ware sherds are annular (Table 7.3). A mean ceramic date was computed for ceramics from the cellar. Dates were assigned based on a combination of variables, including glaze color, decoration techniques, and decoration colors (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). The date computed, 1807.27, appears to represent the median date between when the house was constructed, and when

TABLE 7.1: Artifacts from the South Cellar

Artifact	N	%
Unidentified Metal	51	41
Ceramics	34	27
Nails	15	12
Window Glass	7	5
Bottle Glass	5	4
Identified Metal	4	3
Buttons	2	1
Tobacco Pipes	1	
Coins	1	
Marbles	0	
Other	6	5
TOTAL	126	

TABLE 7.2: Vessel Forms of Ceramics from the South Cellar

Vessel Form	N	%
Teas (cups and saucers)	12	39
Plates	9	29
Hollow ware	4	13
Flat ware	2	6
Utilitarian	2	6
Other	2	6
TOTAL	31	

TABLE 7.3: Decorations on Refined Ceramics from the South Cellar

Decoration	N	%
Blue transfer print	12	40
Hand painted	11	37
Annular	2	7
Shell edge	1	3
Plain	4	13
TOTAL	30	

the cellar was filled. Apparently, the cellar was filled before the house was abandoned. Given the small sample size used to compute the mean date (n=28), caution must be exercised in interpretations. A more useful piece of information is when the cellar was backfilled. The rise of agricultural journals and societies in the 1830s and 1840s, along with the advent of more scientific methods of managing and housing slaves and raising crops may coincide with the date when masters insisted on raising slave quarters on two or three-foot piers and backfilling sub-floor cellars. This facilitated cleaning around quarters for health reasons, as well as providing masters with a means to gain more control over aspects of their slaves everyday lives. The latest ceramics in the cellar fill, decorated pearlwares dating from 1790 until 1830, suggest that the cellar was filled by 1830. The 1828 large cent recovered from the cellar fill supports this conclusion.

Understanding the origin of the fill in the cellar could yield clues about the activities that took place inside the slave house. Preliminary analysis of the ceramics from the cellar and from the fill within the foundation walls indicates that the house was still being used long after the cellar was abandoned. The ashy deposits in the cellar, along with the significant number of artifacts in the cellar fill that exhibit evidence of burning (n=17, %=30) suggests that much of the fill

originated in the fireplace. The prominence of the fine tablewares in the ceramic assemblage, along with the very low occurrence of ceramics used in food preparation and storage, suggests that eating in the house was common, while food preparation may have occurred more often outside the house, in the yard. The hot and humid conditions of Kentucky summers may have made food preparation and cooking outside an attractive solution to keeping the house temperature comfortable.

The northernmost house and cellar were excavated in 1989. Two foundation walls were exposed and this house site was well-known prior to excavation. In fact, the last owners of Locust Grove who operated it as a farm before it was sold to the county, the Waters family, recalled that a former slave resided in this house until he died in the 1920s.

The cellar, like the one in the south house, was placed directly in front of the hearth. It measured about 5 by 3.3 feet (1.5 by 1 m) and the fill was loose, ashy soil. Excavation techniques were similar to those employed for the south cellar.

A total of 85 artifacts, excluding faunal materials, was recovered from the cellar (Table 7.4). Roughly 35% of the artifacts are unidentified iron. Ceramics make up nearly 26% of the total assemblage.

TABLE 7.4: Artifacts from the North Cellar.

Artifact	N	%
Unidentified Metal	30	35.3
Ceramics	22	25.9
Nails	12	14.1
Window Glass	3	.5
Bottle Glass	8	9.4
Identified Metal	0	
Buttons	2	.4
Tobacco Pipes	0	
Coins	0	
Marbles	2	.4
Other	6	7.0
TOTAL	85	

TABLE 7.5: Vessel Forms of Ceramics from the North Cellar.

Vessel Form	N	%
Teas (cups and saucers)	2	10.0
Plates	14	70.0
Hollow ware	3	15.0
Flat ware	1	5.0
Utilitarian	0	
Other	0	
TOTAL	20	

TABLE 7.6: Decorations on Refined Ceramics from the North Cellar.

Decoration	N	%
Brown transfer print	13	68.4
Blue transfer print	2	10.6
Hand painted	1	5.3
Annular	1	5.3
Shell edge	0	
Plain	2	10.6
TOTAL	19	

The ceramic assemblage consists entirely of refined tablewares; no utilitarian stoneware or redware was recovered from this feature. Classification based on vessel form shows that plates and teas (cups and saucers) dominated the assemblage. However, most of the ceramic assemblage is made up of 13 sherds of a single small brown transfer printed plate (Table 7.5).

Most of the ceramics from the cellar were decorated in some manner (Table 7.6). Nearly 80% were transfer printed (n=15). The only undecorated ceramics were two pearlware sherds that most likely were from the undecorated portion of a decorated vessel.

A mean artifact date was computed for the north cellar. Two pressed-Lacy glass sherds were also included in the mean date computation. The date, 1837.7, is significantly later than that for the south cellar.

Preliminary analysis of the ceramics recovered from outside the cellar in the north house indicates that the cellar was filled long before the house above was abandoned. Many late nineteenth and even a few twentieth century artifacts were recovered from the house area outside the cellar (see Chapter IV). The ashy deposits in the north cellar, along with the high incidence of burned artifacts (n=28, %=32.9) and dearth of utilitarian ceramics reflects the activities in the house above the feature. Like the

south house site, perhaps cooking and other food preparation commonly took place outside the house.

The central house site and cellar were excavated in the summer of 1988. The dimensions of this brick-lined cellar, 5.2 by 3.6 feet (1.6 by 1.1 m), are similar to those of the south and north house cellars.

Because of the very dry conditions in 1988 when the cellar was excavated, no attempt was made to section the feature to distinguish stratigraphic episodes of fill. Rather, artifacts were piece plotted and soil removed in 5 cm levels in case smaller artifacts were missed in the piece plotting. The fill was loose, dark soil and was screened through quarter-inch hardware cloth.

The artifact assemblage from the central cellar is immediately distinguishable from those of the south and north cellars (Table 7.7). A total of 885 objects was recovered from the central cellar. A significant portion of the artifact assemblage (39.7%) is composed of architectural debris, mostly nails and window glass. In addition to these architectural artifacts, brick and plaster fragments were also recovered from the central cellar. The high density of nails and window glass, along with the very large assemblage, indicate that the cellar was backfilled when the house over it was razed. This deviates from the events that resulted in the fills of the north and south cellars.

TABLE 7.7: Artifacts from the Central Cellar.

Artifact	N	%
Unidentified Metal	134	15.1
Ceramics	153	17.3
Nails	280	31.6
Window Glass	72	8.1
Bottle Glass	124	14.0
Identified Metal	21	2.4
Buttons	21	2.4
Tobacco Pipes	1	.1
Coins	1	.1
Marbles	2	.2
Other	76	8.6
TOTAL	885	

Artifacts from the central cellar were analyzed by McKelway et al. (1992). In their spatial study, utilizing K-means cluster analysis, McKelway et. al were able to distinguish three separate episodes of filling in the pit cellar. They suggest the lowest levels in the cellar represented the primary deposition, when artifacts from the house above were dropped in the cellar. The intermediate layer represents a fill episode when the house was destroyed. The top levels in the cellar may represent a depositional episode when a depression remained after the first two filling events, and small dumpings or natural formation processes caused the cellar depression to finally be filled.

In addition to the nails and window glass recovered from the central cellar, ceramics, bottle glass, and buttons were also collected in fairly high frequencies. Like the other two cellars, unidentified metal artifacts were common. A single coin was recovered from the cellar, a large cent dating to 1842. Its location in the middle of the fill and its good condition suggests that the cellar was filled not long after 1842. A complete hoe blade was found at the bottom of the cellar.

Of the 153 ceramic sherds recovered from the cellar, 129 could be classified as to vessel form (Table 7.8). Cups and saucers account for 37 percent of the ceramic sherds. Plates are also fairly common as well. Utilitarian

TABLE 7.8: Vessel Forms of Ceramics from the Central Cellar.

Vessel Form	N	%
Teas (cups and saucers)	48	37.2
Plates	32	24.8
Hollow ware	19	14.7
Flat ware	16	12.4
Utilitarian	13	10.1
Other	1	.8
TOTAL	129	

stonewares and redwares were much more common in the central cellar than in the other two cellars.

The ceramic assemblage from the central cellar is quite different from the other two cellars in terms of decoration on refined ceramics as well (Table 7.9). Just over 40 percent of the ceramics are undecorated. Undecorated ironstone and whiteware cups and saucers account for the high proportion of undecorated ceramics.

A mean ceramic date was computed for the cellar fill. A total of 101 sherds was used in the computation. The date, 1836.33, likely represents the median date of occupation of the house since the cellar was probably filled when the house was destroyed.

The three cellars associated with three slave houses at Locust Grove are, in many ways, remarkably similar in size and shape. All three measure approximately 5 by 3.3 feet (circa 1.5 by 1 m), and were placed in front of hearths. The major differences involve the backfilling of the three cellars. The ceramic analyses indicate that they were not all backfilled at the same time. This can be further substantiated by a study of the percentages of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware recovered from the three pit cellars.

Utilizing graphic seriation developed by Brooks and Hanson (1989), ceramics from the three pit cellars were identified as to ware (creamware, pearlware, and

TABLE 7.9: Decorations on Refined Ceramics from the Central Cellar.

Decoration	N	%
Blue transfer print	24	17.5
Other transfer print	11	8.0
Blue hand painted	11	8.0
Polychrome hand painted	22	16.1
Annular	4	2.9
Shell edge	2	1.5
Plain	55	40.1
Finger painted, mocha	8	5.8
TOTAL	137	

whiteware). Table 7.10 presents the percentages of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware recovered from the three pit cellars, along with their seriation ranks. As can be seen, the south cellar is the earliest, and the north cellar is the latest dated cellar. The different dates of filling suggest that the masters at Locust Grove were not responsible for the cellars' abandonment. Artifact analysis suggests further that the circumstances of backfilling were different as well. The north and south cellars were filled while the houses above were still in use, while the central cellar was filled just after the house above was destroyed.

Other Cellars in Piedmont and Upland South Contexts

Kelso (1984,1986) has excavated pit cellars associated with slave houses in Virginia. Eighteen cellars were excavated in one large communal quarter at Kingsmill located in the Chesapeake region of Virginia (Kelso 1984). Ten cellars were found in six slave houses along Mulberry Row at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello (Kelso 1986).

At Kingsmill, the cellars range in size from 2.9 by 2 feet (.8 by .6 m) to 5 by 8 feet (1.5 by 2.5 m). Some had wooden walls, floors, and partitions (Kelso 1984:120). The coins, buttons, tools, locks, ceramics, and discarded food remains, according to Kelso (1984:201), indicate that the

TABLE 7.10: Ceramic Seriation Rank.

Cellar	Creamware	Percent Pearlware	Whiteware	Seriation Rank
South	4.0	96.0	0	1
Central	3.3	33.3	63.3	2
North	0	21.0	79.0	3

cellars were used for more than storage of root crops, but also used for concealing goods pilfered from the master.

Larry McKee (1991, 1993) has found pit cellars associated with slave cabins at the Hermitage. The Hermitage, the home of Andrew Jackson, is located just outside Nashville, Tennessee. A slave house behind the mansion, as well as two field quarters some 650 yards (595 m) north of the mansion, have been investigated. Excavations of the cabin just behind the mansion revealed a small pit cellar measuring about 2 by 3 feet (.6 by .92 m). Cabin 3, a field quarter, contained a line of three pit cellars. One, a brick-lined cellar, measured 2.25 by 2.8 feet (.69 by .85 m), while the other two measured 3 by 2.5 feet (.92 by .76 m) and 3.8 by 3.4 feet (1.1 by 1 m). These last two cellars were separated by an upright stone slab, and may have been lined with wood planks (McKee 1991:7). Cabin 2, also a field quarter, contained multi-chambered root cellars as well, one of which was brick lined. The brick lined cellar measured approximately 4 by 2 feet (1.2 by .6 m).

The remains of cabins 2 and 3 represent double pen houses with end chimneys built on continuous limestone foundations (McKee 1991, 1993). Both measure approximately 20 by 40 feet (6 by 12 m), and McKee believes that each pen housed a slave family (McKee 1993:3).

In addition to the pit cellars excavated by McKee and Kelso, other pit cellars beneath former slave houses have been identified. Andrews (1992) discovered a pit cellar beneath a double pen slave house at Brabson's Ferry Plantation located in Sevier County, Tennessee, south of Knoxville. The house is still standing and the cellar has not been excavated. It was discovered during testing at the site. An auger sample showed the cellar contains very ashy soils and animal remains. McKelway (1992) discovered pit cellars in two slave cabins at the Mabry site in Knox County, Tennessee.

Two urban slave house sites in Knoxville, Tennessee have been tested, at the Blount Mansion site and at the Perez Dickenson site (Charles H. Faulkner, personal communication 1994). The slave house at Blount was a single pen frame structure set on a continuous limestone foundation. It was built around 1792. At the Perez Dickenson site, the slave house was a double pen structure built on a brick foundation. Neither of these slave houses contained pit cellars. It is much less likely that the slaves at Blount's or Dickenson's urban homes would have had their own gardens or livestock pens, making these storage facilities unnecessary. Pit cellars may have been more common at rural slave house sites.

Discussion

While pit cellars associated with rural slave houses have been reported, not all slave house sites contained pit cellars. Many Coastal Plain slave cabins, especially in the cotton belt and rice growing areas, did not contain cellars. For instance, no pit cellars were found at the Kings Bay slave sites in Georgia (Adams, personal communication; Adams 1987). This site, in the Coastal Plain region, was devoted to cotton agriculture. No pit cellars in slave houses were found at Vaughan and Curriboo in South Carolina (Wheaton et al. 1983). Pit cellars may represent an important Upland South adaptation.

Piedmont Virginia planters like Thomas Jefferson (Kelso 1984), diversified their plantation crops by increasing emphasis on livestock, vegetables, and grains as a risk-reducing economic strategy. Often these planters "found it advantageous to have slaves support themselves rather than have to subtract subsistence costs from plantation profits" (Sanford 1994:119). Many slave owners in other areas of the Upland South migrated from Piedmont Virginia, and adopted the same diversified agricultural practices, and no doubt slave-management practices on their new plantations in Kentucky. In other words, Upland South planters would adopt a strategy for feeding their slaves similar to Piedmont planters.

The use of pit cellars in slave houses at Locust Grove suggests that the slaves were responsible for at least a portion of their own food production. After all, slaves relying solely on rations distributed on a weekly basis from the master had no need for such food storage facilities. This conclusion is supported by the faunal analysis (Lev-Tov 1994; see Chapter IV). In addition, the slaves at Locust Grove may have marketed the surplus of their gardens and livestock in the nearby town of Louisville, or perhaps to their masters, as has been documented for many African American slaves in the New World (Berlin and Morgan 1993; Campbell 1993; Reidy 1993), thereby gaining further economic independence. While it cannot be stated with certainty, it seems that Locust Grove slaves were able to positively affect their material circumstances under the harsh plantation system.

In summary, the pit cellars at Locust Grove and their associated artifact assemblages have yielded information about lifeways and strategies of food production on Upland South plantations, hence informing us about slave treatment, as well as the slaves' struggle to gain independence. Artifact analysis suggests that cooking and food preparation may have been conducted in the yard more frequently than inside the house. Additionally, it appears that the Croghans at Locust Grove did not force, or at least were not successful in forcing the slaves to backfill their cellars.

Finally, slaves on Upland South diversified agricultural plantations were responsible for their own food procurement, another indication of the independence African Americans managed to gain under slavery.

CHAPTER VIII

Summary and Conclusions

According to census data, in 1860 there were 3,953,760 slaves living in the United States. Of these, 1,549,172 slaves lived in Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Missouri (Kennedy 1864). In other words, over one and a half million slaves were residing in states other than those associated with cotton, sugar, and rice agriculture. A significant proportion of slaves (39%) were living in the Upland South in 1860.

Among historians and anthropologists, very little scholarly work has been accomplished to understand the lives of slaves living in this region. Major works like those of Stampf (1956), Genovese (1976), Gutman (1976), Owens (1976), Webber (1978), Blassingame (1979), Fogel (1989), Mintz and Price (1992), Berlin and Morgan (1993), and others have long recognized the differences between life as a slave in the Deep South and life as a slave in the Upland South; however, very few researchers have concentrated exclusively on regions outside the Caribbean and Coastal Lowlands. Those few early historians that were interested in slavery in Kentucky, Tennessee, and other Upland South states frequently emphasized the mild conditions experienced by the slaves (Hedrick 1927; Coleman 1940; Mooney 1968). Although,

of course, Phillips' (1929) work on slavery in the Old South, not just in the Upland area, is just one example of a study that also emphasized the mild conditions of slavery during the antebellum period. A recent notable exception to understanding slaves and slavery in the Upland South include Inscoe's (1989) unique look at slavery in Appalachia. The work of Lucas (1992) also stands in contrast to earlier works about the lives of the slaves in the Upland South. His contribution to the field has shown that, while some slaves in Kentucky were treated humanely, the institution of slavery in Kentucky and in the South:

...was a heinous evil for everyone it touched, regardless of the degree of degradation. But there are, of course, gradations within systems, even the "peculiar institution." It does not excuse those systems to explain such differentiations. To state that slaves fared better under Kentucky's slave system as compared to that of the Deep South does not exonerate the evil of both systems...slavery was a system where one race controlled another, where psychological as well as physical restraints and wounds abounded... (Lucas 1992:43).

As historians have only recently turned their attention to slavery in the Upland South outside the Virginia Piedmont, so too have archaeologists only just begun to investigate the material aspects of slavery in this region (McKee 1991, 1993; Andrews 1992; Andrews and Young 1992; McKelway 1992, 1994, Young 1993; Lev-Tov 1994; Young 1994a, 1994b) where only three sites have been extensively investigated (the Hermitage, Mabry Plantation, and Locust Grove). There is a

growing interest (Orser 1994; Singleton and Bograd 1995) in the archaeology of slave sites in the Upland South, because the entire spectrum of the African and African American experience in the New World begs explanation.

This study is the first to document the archaeology conducted at Locust Grove and reconstruct the material culture of the slaves at this Upland South plantation. Several conclusions have been reached in this study. These include:

1. The slave population was quite dynamic throughout the antebellum period at Locust Grove.
2. Generally speaking, the houses and furnishings of the slaves at Locust Grove were small and meager, but perhaps sufficient to sustain the community. The few amenities were likely the result of the efforts of the slaves rather than the paternalism of the owners.
3. Generally speaking, the diet and health of the slaves at Locust Grove were adequate, likely through their own efforts, not through the generosity of their owners.
4. The slaves in the Upland South and at Locust Grove faced a number of risks, including risk of physical abuse, being sold away from family and home, lack of food, disease, illness, and overwork.
5. The slaves at Locust Grove managed to minimize some of their risks by forming strong family and community ties, raising their own livestock and gardens and storing surplus in small pit cellars, and through the use of magic and religion to ward off misfortune and strengthen community bonds.
6. The slaves at Locust Grove appeared to have maintained close ties with their African heritage, and used their African traditions to mitigate some of the evils of slavery.

This study has utilized the theory of risk management as a context for understanding the special circumstances of African American slaves in the Upland South and those experiences common to all African American slaves during the antebellum period. This framework does not assume that Southern slavery was uniform from colonial times until the Civil War in the United States, nor does it assume uniformity in the populations derived from Africa. Rather, risk minimization allows for a better understanding of the variability of the African American experience under the slave regime.

In addition to providing information about risk management and material lives of slaves in Kentucky during the antebellum period, this dissertation, in part, has dealt with the question of how Africans transferred their beliefs and values to a New World setting and how subsequent generations of African Americans maintained and transformed these beliefs and values. Even though Europeans and European Americans enjoyed greater freedom in the New World, this does not mean they enjoyed greater success in transferring their culture in the New World than the African and African Americans did. Freedom may have made the maintenance of cultural forms easier, it did not necessarily make maintenance more important to survival.

This question of Africanisms in the New World has a long history within our discipline (Cole 1985). In

anthropology, this essentially began in the 1940s with the work of Herskovits (1941) and his major protagonist Frazier (1939). Herskovits (1941) maintained that there is strong evidence that ties to Africa were found within the everyday context of African American culture. Frazier (1939), on the other hand, suggested that the differences found within modern African American culture were the result of slavery, racism, and economic deprivations; the African was stripped of her/his culture when forced to migrate to the New World. Interest in African retentions was renewed in the 1960s and associated with the great Civil Rights movements (Cole 1985; Singleton 1990). Fairbanks' (1972, 1984) archaeological work at Kingsley Plantation in Florida, and the study by Wheaton et al. (1983) at Yaughan and Curriboo in South Carolina, stand as major examples of archaeologists trying to understand the African connection in the New World. These are also some of the first major archaeological undertakings at African American sites. The quest for understanding continues today, although along somewhat different lines with an African diaspora perspective in anthropology and archaeology providing the framework (Posnansky 1984; Harrison 1988; Singleton and Bograd 1995). As McGuire (1982) and Singleton and Bograd (1995) point out, most archaeological studies of ethnicity (including those of African American sites) can be categorized as ethnic pride studies, assimilation studies, and studies of ethnic

markers. McGuire (1982) believes that, rather than trying to discover Africanisms, or describe ethnic history, archaeologists should try to understand processes like the formation and maintenance of social boundaries (Wobst 1977). This study of Locust Grove has attempted to do just that, to understand how African cultures were transported and transformed in a particular region of the New World under slavery, and how African American slaves created and recreated their ethnic identity.

Unfortunately, a static and romanticized image of plantations and slaves in the antebellum South has been created with movies like "Gone With The Wind." I call this "Taravision." This image, to some degree, has colored archaeologists perceptions of slavery and thus influenced our investigations of plantation life in the South. This image, of course, is not real, and ignores the importance of the roles of the African Americans, slave and free, in the culture of the Old South. Through emphasis of regional differences and manifestations, we can begin to understand the variability experienced by African American slaves in different regions of the South. Only in this way can we more fully appreciate the African American contribution to Southern and American culture.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Will of William Croghan, Sr.
Jefferson County Will Book 2, Page 229

I William Croghan of Jefferson County, State of Kentucky, do make and ordain the following as my last will and testament.

I give to my much beloved wife Lucy during her life time the tract of land I at present live on with the houses, furniture, stock of horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, farming utensils, and all articles appertaining to said tract of land.

I also give to her to dispose of as she may think proper five hundred acres of land on Clear Creek, Shelby County, the house at the corner of fifth and Main Street on lot No. 80, in the town of Louisville and the house joining and below it on Main Street. It is my will that my negroes continue under the direction of my wife & Executors untill [sic] my children are of age are married or may require them, in which case I wish equal distribution of them to take place, Except Malinda and her children, which I have given to Mrs. Emelia Calrke, such of my children as have received any of my negroes will account for them and allow their valuation when distribution takes place.

I give to my son John the following tracts of Military Land in this State To wit 1536 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres on Russells Creek Adair County, the Patent is for 2666 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres, 1130 acres of the 2666 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres is to be conveyed to the person having an assignment from me for it; Two surveys of 1000 acres each laying on the Waters of Russells creek & Cabin fork of said Creek in Adair County, one of which is patented to me the 19th March 1788, the other 11th January 1790. Two other surveys on Waters of said Creek containing 200 acres each patented to me the 24th May 1792, 413 acres on Cumberland River Adair County patented to me September 13th 1797. 800 acres Cumberland River in Cumberland County including a Salt lick patented to me 31st Novemb. 1799. 1300 acres on Waters of Paint Creek State of Ohio known by N. 877, patented to me by the president of the United States May 2nd 1801. 500 acres Illinois Crant Clark County Indiana known by No. 206 (two hundred & six), the half acre lot No. 280 in the town of Louisville. The three Story Brick house on Main Street on Lot No. 80, being the 3rd house below 5th Street including kitchen & about 100 feet back to the South West corner of the bank lot, thence Westwardly parallel to Main Street Nineteen feet thence Northerly through the alley to the Street, which

alley is for the use of said lot and the lot joining and below it.

Item I give to my sons John & William that part of my lot in Louisville No. 80; on 5th Street, which lays between that part of the said lot owned by the bank of Kentucky & the South line of said lot No. 80, Joining Alex Popes lot thence Westwardly with the line of said popes lot & the Bank lot 105 feet to the Western boundary of the lot.

In addition to the property I have heretofore given to my son George I give him 700 acres, about One third of my tract of land on the West fork of Red River Christian County. I also give to him 750 acres of land I own near Xena State of Ohio, 984 acres & 100 Acres joining it on Skaggs Beaver Creek Barren County Kentucky. 344 Acres Illinois Grant Indiana known by No. 106 & 200 acres No. 44.

In addition to the property I have heretofore given my Son William I give to him one third part of the land I own on the West fork of Red River christian County suppose to be about 700 acres. 500 acres on Cumberland River Livingston County patented to me March 21st 1797. 805 Acres near Cumberland River Christian County patented to me the 19th March 1788. 600 & 620 Acres on Cumberland River Caldwell County each of them patented to me April 13th 1787. 666 2/3 acres Cumberland River Livingston County, conveyed to me by Richard Throckmorton June 8th 1799. 1140 Acres on Tennessee River Livingston County, patented to me April 13th 1787. The first island in the Ohio called Cash Island and two islands at & below the mouth of the Cumberland River. 500 acres in the Illinois Grant No. 50, Clark County Indiana, & 300 acres said Grant part of the 500 acres No. 60. 592 Acres on the Waters of Darbys Creek State of Ohio No 6297, patented to me by the president of the United States.

The half Acre Lot No. 279, in the town of Louisville, Item It is my Will and desire that the farm I now live on including 400 acres with the houses and furniture & all articles belonging to the house & farm should on the death of my wife Lucy devolve and belong to my Son William, the 400 Acres to be bounded on the South & West by the Muddy fork & Mr. Bullitt land, and on the South East by lines of Terrell & Taylor land.

I give to my daughter Ann - 1000 acres of land on Peters Creek Barren County patented to my May 16th 1793, 1000 on said Creek patented to me July 3rd 1798, - 2200 on said Creek patented to me on July 25th 1798 - two tracts each on said Creek patented to me May 16th 1793, - 900 acres on said Creek patented to me July 25th 1798, - 1000 on Big Barren River patented to me June 28th 1799. - 416 on Big Barren River patented to me Novr 21st 1799, - 612 Acres on Big Barren

River part of a tract of 1233 1/3 acres patented to William Croghan & Abraham Chapline, 358 Acres on Indian Creek Barren County patented to me June 6th 1798, two tracts of land of 500 acres each in the Illinois Grant Clark County Indiana to Wit No. 128 & 267. 400 Acres & 174 acres of Military land in the State of Ohio patented to me by the president of the United States, and 384 acres part of 950 acres also patented to me by the president of the United States. - The Lot of land which lays North of the 5 acre lot No. 6, and between said 5 acre lot and the half acre lots in the town of Louisville.

I do hereby give to my daughter Eliza C. the following tracts of Military land, 700 acres on Cumberland River, Cumberland County, patented to me November 29th 1794. 1333 1/3 acres on said river and County patented to me August 13th 1798. 422 Acres said River & County patented to me May 13th 1801. 444 Acres said river and County patented to be Novemr 21st 1799. 1000 Acres head of little Barren, Barren County patented to me Novemr 29th 1794. - 851 Acres Glovers Creek a branch of Skaggs Creek, part of 2000 Acres patented to me July 3rd 1796. - 652 Acres Falling timber or Creek patented to me for 500 acres May 13th 1801, 268 Acres Glovers Creek patented to me for 338 1/3 acres the 13th August 1798. - 400 acres part of 666 2/3 acres on Skaggs beaver Creek patented to me July 3rd 1796. - 888 Acres near Sinks of Beaver Creek Barren County conveyed to my by Jeremiah Muse the 5th Septemr 1801. 317 also near Sinks of Beaver Creek patented to me the 13th August 1798, two tracts of land 500 acres each in the Illinois Grant Clark County Indiana known by Nos. 33 & 225. - The Lot of Land which lays North of the 5 acre lot No. 5, and between the said 5 acre lot and the half acre lots in the town of Louisville.

I do hereby give my Son Nicholas the following tracts of Military land, 562 Acres on branches of Cumberland and Little Barren River patented to me May 24th 1792, - 830 Acres conveyed to be May 16th, 1793, laying on Little Barren County patented to me July 3rd, 1796 - two tracts of 200 acres each on said Waters, One of them patented to me July 3rd, 1796, the other Deeded to me Nobermber 29th, 1794, 125 acres including horse shoe bend on Little Barren River patented to me Decemr. 17th, 1798. - 540 Acres including the Elk lick near Mouth of little Barren River patented to me May 16th, 1793. 1250 Acres on Baysfork of Big Barren River, Warren County patented to me Septr. 10th, 1793. 350 acres on Big Barren River Warren County patented to me Nobmr 29th, 1794. 480 & 483 Acres joining & below the last 350 acres on Big Barren River each of them were patented to me the 16th of May 1793. - 100 acres & 92 acres including Hog or Sycamore Spring Waters of Drakes creek patented to me July 3rd, 1796. - 200 Acres land Illinois Grant Clark County Indiana part of No.

171. - 100 Acres part of 281, - 300 Acres part of the 500 Acres No. 195 & 100 acres part of the 500 acre Survey No. 30. - The Three Story Brick house at the West end of lot No. 80, on Main Street joining Martin & Armes lot no. 79, thence from the Main Street Southwardly with the line of lot No. 79, - about 100 feet, or so far that a line running parallel with the Street shall striek [sic] the South West corner of the lot owned by the Bank of Kentucky thence from the lot No. 79 Eastwardly 19 feet, thence Northerly through the alley to the street including the kitchen etc; Item I also give my Son Nicholas 300 Acres of land on and near the bank of the River Ohio about 5 miles above Louisville, the run of the river with the lines of Terrell & Bullitts land so far as to include the quantity & not to interfere with the cleared land belonging to the farm which I have given my Son William.

I do hereby give my son Charles the following tracts of Military Land two tracts on Drakes Creek joining where the line dividing the Virginia State & continental land crosses the Creek in Warren County, one tract of 400 acres the other of 600, each of those patents are dated the 29th of Movembr 1794. - 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ Acres in the forks of Drake Creek patented to me the 13th of Septmr 1797. 100 Acres West fork of Drakes Creek patented to me the 31st Nobembr 1799. 100 acres including the War post lick patented to me July 12th 1796. - 600 acres on Whipperwill creek Todd County. - 166 $\frac{2}{3}$ Acres North fork of Red River Logan County part of 888 acres conveyed to my by Jer. Muse, 666 $\frac{2}{3}$ Acres on Cainy Creek of pond River Muhlenberg County patented to me Decemr 17th, 1798. - two tracts of 600 each on pond River and its Waters, the patents for those two surveys are dated the 13th of May 1801. 400 acres on Cypress Creek a branch of pond River in Muhlenberg County patented to me March 7th, 1799. - 125 acres on long Creek Muhlenberg County patented to me Septemr 10th, 1793. - 316 acres on Waters of Little River Christian County patented to John Hughs Septr 23rd, 1795 & conveyed to me by him Octover 1809. - 195 acres on little River Christian County Including Iron Ore, patented to me Novr 31st, 1799. 300 acres including sand lick on Trade Water Christian County, patented to me March 7th, 1799, - 888 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres on Trade Water River near the line dividing Livingston & Caldwell Counties patented to me February 26th, 1786, - 500 Acres near Henderson [?] lower line in Henderson County there are three patents to me for it, two of them are for 200 Acres each one of them dated the 26th of April, 1792, the other 3rd July 1796, the other for 100 acres is dated the 26th of April 1792, 1000 acres at the mouth of Mayfield Creek, - 500 acres land Illinois Grant No. 233 Clark County Indiana, - 234 acres part of the 500 acres No. 148 & 100 part of the 500 acre survey No. 116 in said Grant. The half acre lot in the Town of Louisville No. 75 and the two story brick house in said

town on Lot No. 80, on fifth Street leasted to Mr. Crane, also the half acre lot No. 126, in said town.

It is my will that no demand be made of My Nephew Nicholas Clarke of any money he stands indebted to me, but on the contrary I do hereby give to him Ten shares of the Bank stock I own in the bank of Kentucky and Michael Penaults Location or Entry No. 518 of 1000 acres on Mayfield Creek, made August 12th, 1784, and conveyed to me Septemr 1812.

Item I give to Mrs. Emelia Clarke, Malinda A Mullatto [sic] Woman and her child or children who have been living with her several years.

Item I give to William Clarke son of the above Nicholas Clarke Five shares of the Bank Stock I own in the bank of Kentucky.

Item It is my Will that all bonds or other Securities to me for the payment of Money, or Money on hand, be appropriated to the support and education of my children, and the payment of any just claim that may appear against me, and that all my property of every description not disposed of my this Will be equally divided between my Wife Lucy and my Children.

I do hereby nominate my truly beloved Wife Luch and my Sons John, George, William, Nicholas & Charles Executors of this my last Will and testament thereby revokeing [sic] any will heretofore made by me.

In Testimony whereof I hereunto set my hand & Seal this 27th day of August 1822.

W. Croghan (seal)

Appendix 2

Will of Dr. John Croghan
Jefferson County Will Book 4, Page 121

In the name of God Amen! I John Croghan of the County of Jefferson being weak in body but of sound and disposing mind & memory do make & ordain this as and for my last Will.

I give and devise Joseph R Underwood, George C Gwathmey and William F. Bullock my tract of land in the County of Edmonson called the Mammoth cave and also the Salts Cave tract of land and all other lands near thereto which I purchased for the Mammoth Cave tract, together with the privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging to be held by them or such of them as may accept this trust for the following uses and purposes viz: To rent out the said lands and buildings (except the Cave) from time to time for terms of five years until all my nephews & nieces hereinafter named shall die: To appoint from time to time a fit and competent agent whose duty it shall be to hire all necessary guides & servants & to provide such things as may be proper for the exhibition of the Cave to visitors; he is to keep a Good Book in which the names of visitors to the Cave shall be registered & the amount paid by each; And he shall keep an account of all Expences & pay the same and render to said Trustees accounts when required & pay over to them all monies which he may receive: The Rents aforesaid and money to be received from Visitors shall after all necessary expences are paid, be paid over at some stated period to be fixed to my said Trustees as follows: one ninth part to my nephew George Croghan, one ninth to my niece William, Charles, Lucy Ann, Mary Blair, Jane and Julia Jessup; and when any one or more of my said nephews and nieces shall die the portion or portion to which they would have been entitled, my said Trustees shall pay over to such person as would be entitled to inherit the real estate of such nephew or niece; And when all of my said nephews and nieces shall have died the said Trustees shall set at public sale the said Lands and Cave, having on credits of one two and three years after advertising the same in Boston, New York, Philadelphia Washington City, New Orleans & such other places as they may think proper, and distribute & pay over the proceeds of such sale to such persons as may be then entitled to inherit the real estate of each of my said nephews and nieces; the said persons to take only such portions as each of their ancestors would have been entitled to; that is to say one ninth.

I give and divide to Joseph R Underwood, George C Gwathmey and William F Bullock my Locust Grove farm together with all my slaves, except Isaac, and all crops on the same, farming

utensils, stocks of all Kinds thereon, my Library & Household & Kitchen furniture, Pictures & plate to and for the following uses & purposes and Trusts; Viz: that they shall permit my Brother George Croghan to occupy & use the same for his support only during his life; and after his death that they will permit my Nephew George Croghan to occupy & use the same in like manner; But if either of them should not choose so to occupy & use the said farm, then I desire that the said Trustees shall rent it out & apply the rents solely for the support of my Brother George during his life, and after his death apply the said rents to the use of my nephew George Croghan. And in case my said Brother should not occupy and use the said farm solely for his support, I direct my Trustees to hire out the said slaves (George Isaac excepted for four years) and to dispose of the other mere personal estate and to divide my library, Pictures & plate giving to my Brother George Croghan one half & to the children of my sister Jessup the other half, & the hire of the slaves for said four years & proceeds of sale of the other mere personal estate to go into the residue of estate hereinafter divided to my Executor; And after the expiration of four years, I direct my said Trustees to hire out all my slaves except Isaac for three years so as to prepare them for freedom & to provide the means for their support & removal to Libraria or elsewhere; and at the expiration of said three years to Emancipate the said slaves and all their increase. I direct my Executor to Emancipate & set free from bondage my slave Isaac, who has served me so faithfully.

I give and devise my interest in the House & Lot at the Corner of Main & Fifth cross street to my nieces Angelica Wyatt and Serena Croghan.

I give and devise to my niece Lucy Ann Jessup a tract of land in Russell County containing two hundred acres.

I give and devise to my nephew William Jessup a tract of land in Edmonson County called "Woolsey Tract."

I give and devise to my nephews and Nieces William, Charles, Lucy Ann Mary Blair, Jane and Julia Jessup a lot and House in Louisville on Main Street between fifth & sixth Cross Streets.

After the death of my Brother George and my nephew George Croghan, I direct Trustees to convey my Locust Grove Estate to the oldest male child of my said Nephew George; but if he shall leave no male child alive at the time of his death, then I direct them to convey the said Locust Grove farm to my nephew William Jessup, and if he should not be then alive, to convey the same to my nephew Charles Jessup.

I dedicate two acres of land where my parents are buried to be forever kept as a Grave Yard for their descendants; together with a right of way to the same.

In case any of the Trustees herein appointed shall decline to act or wish to relinquish the Trust the residue or any one who may act shall have all the powers which have been given to all of them: And if all relinquish or choose not to continue to act they or such as act may appoint a Trustee with all the power vested in the Trustees hereby appointed, & that either by Deed or Will; nor shall one Trustee be liable for the acts of another - But if the said Trustee who may act desire to appoint another Trustee for the Locust Grove Estate, the Cestui que Trust at the time of that Estate must be consulted as to the person to be appointed.

I give and devise and bequeath all the rest and residue of my Estate to George C Gwathmey whom I hereby appoint Executor of this Will, with power at his discretion to sell & convey the same; and out of the proceeds of such sales & monies due to me I desire all my just debts to be paid; And if the funds so to be raised shall not suffice for that purpose, then the proceeds of sales of the mere personal Estate at Locust Grove, and hires of the slaves for four years (except Isaac) shall be used for that purpose. Whatever money may remain in the hands of my Executor after the payment of my debts I direct to be paid over one half to the children of my Brother George Croghan & the other half to the children of my sister Jessup. It is my wish and request that no security shall be required from my Trustees or my Executor, but that they shall act without being required to give security. I hereby revoke all wills, parts of wills or Codicils to the same which I may have heretofore made.

John Croghan

Appendix 3

Estate Inventory of John Croghan
Jefferson County Will Book 4 Page 121

French China Set consisting of

- 149 Large Plates
- 34 Small Plates
- 17 Preserve Plates
- 10 Oval Dishes
- 18 Round Dishes
- 3 Square Dishes
- 2 Pietrie Dishes
- 2 Gravy Dishes
- 4 Butter Boats
- 1 Soup Tureene
- 1 Bowl
- 1 Custard Stand

\$ 71.71

Cut Glass consisting

- 1 Olive Dish
- 3 Preserve Dishes
- 2 Salt Cellars
- 2 Celery Vases
- 4 Decanters
- 3 Fruit Dishes
- 12 Olive Glasses
- 9 Champagne Glasses
- 10 Goblets
- 3 Tumblers
- 19 Jelly Glasses
- 7 Blue Finger Glasses
- 10 Hock Glasses [Rhenish wine]

\$ 70.00

Plain Glasses consisting of

- 2 Jelly Glasses
- 13 Champagne Glasses
- 2 Tumblers
- 9 Lemonade Glasses
- 2 Cake Stands
- 2 Glass Jars
- 3 Decanters Odd
- 1 Molasses Pitcher
- 7 Water Bottles

\$ 10.00

Yellow China consisting of

8 Saucers

6 Cups

\$ 1.00

White & Gold China consisting of

17 Saucers

17 Cups

1 Tea Pot

3 Sugar Dishes

1 Milk Pot

3 Dishes

\$ 5.50

White Stone consisting of

11 Saucers

9 Cups

2 Large Dishes

3 Small Dishes

11 Vegetable Dishes

10 Large Plates

1 Small Plate

1 Soup Tureen & Ladle

3 Covered Pitchers

5 Jelly Moulds

\$ 9.00

Knives and Forks consisting

24 Large Knives

1 Carving Knife & Fork

12 Small Knives

5 Small Forks

\$ 12.00

Room No. 1

1 Lounge

3.00

1 Mahogany Book case Glass door

12.00

14 Brown & Gold chairs

25.00

1 Common Walnut Table

1.00

2 Shaded Candlesticks

3.00

1 Cherry Dining Table

1.00

2 Chintz Curtain White Muslin Under

4.00

1 Carpet/Rug

5.00

1 Shovel & Tongs

1.50

1 Pr fire irons

3.50

\$ 54.00

Room No. 2		
2 Card Tables	25.00	
1 Work Table	2.50	
1 [Gett?] Vase	1.00	
2 Marble Vases	.25	
8 Mahogany chairs	30.00	
2 Arm chairs	14.00	
1 Sofa	30.00	
1 Music School	3.00	
1 Carpet	12.00	
1 Rug	2.50	
1 Mirror	10.00	
2 Foot Stools	.50	
1 Snuffer & Bronze Candlestick	.50	
Fire dogs Bronze [?] Tong, Shovel, Broom	10.00	
		\$140.25

Room No. 3		
6 Arm Chairs	16.00	
1 Cover & Table	1.50	
1 Carpet	10.00	
1 Mirror	5.00	
2 [curtains? rugs]	[??????]	
1 Sideboard	[??????]	
1 Carpet	6.00	
2 [Saukeen?] Curtains	2.50	
1 Tongs & Shovel	[1.00?]	
1 Oil Cloth Table Cover	.50	
		\$ 16.00

Entry 1st Floor		
1 Clock	3.00	
1 [Extension?] Table		
1 Dining Table 2 pieces	6.00	
1 Sofa	4.00	
1 Carpet	[15.00?]	
1 Chandelier	5.00	
3 Astral lamps	6.00	
1 Small Bell	.25	
		\$ 39.25

Room No. 5 1st Story		
1 Chest of Drawers	6.00	
1 Single Bedstands	2.00	
1 Mattrass [sic]	2.00	
3 Pillows	2.25	
1 Bathing Tub	6.00	
1 Clothes Basket	.50	
2 Foot Stools	.25	
3 Small Tables	1.00	
1 Wash Stand	.25	
1 Looking Glass	.10	

1 Wash Basin	.25	
1 Black Walnut [?]	.50	
1 Cherry Walnut [?]	5.00	
2 Candlesticks & Arms	.25	
		\$ 46.60
Room No. 6 2nd Story		
1 large cherry bedstead	6.00	
3 Mattrasses [sic]	24.00	
1 Feather Bed	8.00	
3 Pillows & 1 Bolster	4.00	
1 Large Sofa	5.00	
2 Mirrors	[14.00]	
1 Rocking chair	1.00	
1 Wash Stand	.50	
1 Basin, pitcher, soap stand	1.50	
1 Table	3.00	
2 Chintz Curtains	1.50	
1 Carpet	2.00	
		\$ 59.50
Room No. 7 2nd Story		
1 French Bedstead	25.00	
1 Mattress	8.00	
1 Feather Bed	8.00	
1 Cherry Wardrobe	8.00	
2 Foot Stools	1.00	
2 Fire Dogs	3.00	
1 [?]	.25	
2 Wash Stands	1.00	
3 White Curtains	1.50	
1 Toilet	.25	
1 Mirror	2.00	
1 Carpet	15.00	
1 Rug	2.00	
1 Cherry Table	1.00	
2 Pitchers & Basins	1.00	
		\$ 77.00
Rooms No. 8 2nd Story		
1 Bedstead	3.00	
1 Matrass [sic]	1.50	
1 Feather Bed	2.50	
1 Carpet	1.00	
		\$ 8.00
Room No. 9 2nd Story		
1 Bedstead	20.00	
1 Carpet	15.00	
1 Mirror	3.00	
1 Large Mattrass [sic]	8.00	
1 Feather Bed 3 Bolsters	12.00	

1 Pitcher & Basin	2.00
1 Washstand	2.00
1 Bureau	3.00
1 Toilet Table	.25
2 Fire dogs	1.50
1 Table	1.00

\$ 67.75

Room No. 10 2nd Story

2 Bedsteads	6.00
2 Large straw Mattrasses [sic]	10.00
2 Feather Beds 2 Pillows 2 Bolster	22.00
10 Bed Curtains	4.00
1 Arm Chair	3.00
2 Foot Stools	.50
1 Wash Stand	1.00
1 Pitcher & Basin	.50
1 Mirror	2.10
2 Curtains	1.00
1 Carpet made at L.Grove	10.00
1 Table	.37

\$ 60.77

Entry 2nd Story

1 Sofa	1.00
1 Arm Chair	1.00
1 Carpet	12.00
1 Ottoman	1.50
1 Stair Carpet	3.00
14 Stair rugs	.75

Garrett

1 Small Crib	2.00
1 Small Bedstead	1.50
1 Small Carpet	3.00

\$ 25.75

Linen

21 Sheets Linen	25.00
7 Cotton Sheets	3.50
4 Cotton Pillow Cases	.50
11 Linen Pillow Cases	2.75
8 Towels	1.00
25 Napkins	2.50
3 Window Curtains	1.50
5 Toilet Covers	1.25
5 Toilet Petticoats	1.25
1 Large Counterpane	5.00
1 Large Counterpane	2.50
1 Large Counterpane	2.50
1 Large Dimity Counterpane	1.00
1 Figured Quilt	1.00

2	Marseilles Counterpane	2.00
2	Rose Blankets	2.00
2	Rose Blankets Red Striped end	2.00
2	Blankets, Rose	1.50
2	Blankets, Rose, Black Stripe	1.50
2	Blankets, Rose, Odd	2.00
1	Blanket, Colored Stripe	.75
2	Table Cloths	5.00
1	Small Table Cloth	.75

\$ 68.75

Kitchen Furniture Consisting of the following

4	[?] Pots
2	Ovens
1	Skillet
2	Lids
1	Griddle
1	Gridiron
1	Kettle Brass
1	Skimmer
1	Flesh Fork
4	Tin Coffee Pots
5	Tin Plates
2	Mortars
1	Tea Kettle
1	Steamer
1	Coffee Mill
1	[Castor?]
1	Cream Pot
6	Spoons
2	Pot Hooks
1	Table
5	Chairs
1	Safe
2	Candlesticks
1	Bucket
1	Funnel
1	Large Copper Kettle

\$ 15.00

Farming Utensils

Vis

1	Corn Sheller	.10
1	Threshing Machine	1.00
1	Fanning Mill	5.00
1	Half Bushel Measure	.20
1	Horse Hayrake	2.00
1	Horse Wagon	25.00
1	Small Wagon	5.00
1	Carriage & Old harness	10.00
1	Harrow	1.50
2	Carriage Tongues	3.00

2 Saws	3.00	
3 Double Trees	1.50	
5 Large Ploughs	5.00	
4 Small Plough	16.00	
2 Shovels	.50	
2 Crowbars	1.50	
1 Dung Fork	.50	
5 Sythes & [?]	.75	
2 Cradles	1.00	
1 Single [Hausp?] & Rockaway	30.00	
1 Market Wagon	40.00	
		\$152.55

Horses

1 Bald Horse	10.00	
1 Printer	10.00	
1 John	.00	
1 Alfred	15.00	
1 Sorrel Mare	25.00	
1 Bay Mare & Colt	40.00	
1 Bay Mare	20.00	
1 Sorrel Horse	35.00	
		\$175.00

Cattle

1 Bald faced Cow and White tail	15.00	
1 Large Bull	8.00	
1 Red Cow White Spot on tail	12.00	
1 Old Red Cow two teats	6.00	
1 Pole red Cow	10.00	
1 Pyed Cow	12.00	
1 Brindle Cow & Calf	15.00	
1 Red Herffer	4.00	
1 Broken Horned Pyed Cow	6.00	
1 Broken Horned Brindle Cow	10.00	
1 White back brindle cow	10.00	
1 Small Bull	4.00	
1 Red heifer with star	2.50	
1 Red Cow & Calf		
		\$ 44.50

Negroes Names	Years	Months	Value	Remarks
Jeke	45		\$300	
Gabriel	35		450	
Peter	45		400	
Humphrey	48		300	
Tom	24		600	
David	15		450	
Peter	10			Idiot
Tom	10		300	
Gibson	7		225	
Jake	5		200	
James		8	100	
Melinda	4		175	
Susan	1	6	125	
Silvie	51		150	
Maria	40		250	
Louisa	40		300	
Sarah	22		500	
Cinthia	13		350	
Mary	55			Cripple
Rachel	40			Blind
Hannah	42		300	
Hannah	11		300	
			5775	

We the undersigned Robert T. Bate, Neville Bullitt, and W.S. Thompson Commissioners appointed by the County Court of Jefferson to appraise the slaves and personal Estate of John Croghan dec'd being first duly sworn proceeded to make the foregoing inventory and appraisement. Given under our hands this 16th day of July 1849.

N. Bullitt
W.S. Thompson
R.T. Bate

State of Kentucky

At a County Court held for Jefferson County at the Court House in the City of Louisville on the thirteenth day of August 1849.

Appendix 4

1900 Census of Waters Household
at Locust Grove

Indian Hill Precinct

Name	Race	Sex	Birthdate	Age
Waters, John S.	W	M	June 1869	30
Lillian	W	F	Nov 1871	28
Parmalena	W	F	June 1894	6
John S., Jr	W	M	Jan 1896	4
Duke	W	M	Feb 1898	2
William E	W	M	Oct 1899	7/12
Masterman, Louis	W	M	May 1862	38
Mabelle, Ana	B	F	Aug 1879	20
Jameson, James	B	M	Mar 1870	30
Cann, William	B	M	May 1862	38
Hallie	B	F	June 1863	37

Appendix 5

1910 Census of Waters Household
at Locust Grove

Indian Hill Precinct

Name	Race	Sex	Age
Waters, John S.	W	M	40
Lillie	W	F	38
Parmalena	W	F	15
John S.	W	M	14
Duke A.	W	M	12
William C.	W	M	10
Robert S.	W	M	8
Archie	W	M	6
Henry B.	W	M	4
Taylor, Belle	B	F	22
Griffen, Jessie	B	M	54
Medley, William	B	M	29
Clara	B	F	34

Appendix 6

1920 Census of Waters Household
at Locust Grove

Indian Hill Precinct

Name	Race	Sex	Age
Waters, John S.	W	M	50
Lily	W	F	48
Vivian D.	W	M	21
Robert L.	W	M	18
Archie C.	W	M	16
Henry B.	W	M	14
Caldwell, John	B	M	45

Appendix 7
Ceramic Foodways Artifacts from the
South Slave House

ware	dec	vessel	n	cate	subcat
cw	annular	bowl	3	foodways	service
cw	annular	hollow	7	foodways	service
cw	none	pitcher	1	foodways	service
cw	none	plate	6	foodways	service
cw	none	unid	3	foodways	service
del	blue enamel	plate/platt	3	foodways	service
is	none	cup	1	foodways	service
is	none	lg hollow	4	foodways	service
is	none	plate/platt	27	foodways	service
is	none	saucer	3	foodways	service
is	none	teapot	1	foodways	service
is	none	unid	21	foodways	service
porc	canton	lg serving	1	foodways	service
porc	canton	plate/platt	18	foodways	service
porc	canton	saucer	1	foodways	service
porc	canton	unid	8	foodways	service
porc	gothic	plate/platt	13	foodways	service
porc	none	cup	2	foodways	service
porc	none	hollow	5	foodways	service
porc	none	saucer	9	foodways	service
porc	none	serving dis	1	foodways	service
porc	none	unid	18	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	cup	6	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	hollow	5	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	plate/platt	3	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	saucer	5	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	unid	4	foodways	service
pw	annular	hollow	11	foodways	service
pw	annular	pitcher	1	foodways	service
pw	blue edge	plate/platt	9	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	bowl	1	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	cup	8	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	hollow	7	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	saucer	38	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	unid	2	foodways	service
pw	blue shell	plate/platt	12	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	cup	7	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	hollow	16	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	plate/platt	44	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	saucer	8	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	teapot	14	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	tureen	4	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	unid	10	foodways	service
pw	green shel	plate/platt	5	foodways	service
pw	none	creamer	1	foodways	service
pw	none	cup	5	foodways	service
pw	none	hollow	6	foodways	service
pw	none	plate/platt	39	foodways	service
pw	none	saucer	4	foodways	service
pw	none	unid	45	foodways	service
pw	poly hp	cup	14	foodways	service
pw	poly hp	hollow	1	foodways	service
pw	poly hp	saucer	21	foodways	service
pw	poly hp	unid	1	foodways	service
ref	annular	hollow	5	foodways	service
ref	blue	saucer	1	foodways	service

ware	dec	vessel	n	cate	subcat
ref	blue hp	cup	3	foodways	service
ref	blue hp	saucer	5	foodways	service
ref	blue hp	unid	2	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	hollow	3	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	plate/platt	8	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	saucer	2	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	unid	12	foodways	service
ref	none	cup	4	foodways	service
ref	none	flat	6	foodways	service
ref	none	hollow	2	foodways	service
ref	none	mustard pct	1	foodways	service
ref	none	saucer	3	foodways	service
ref	none	unid	31	foodways	service
ref	poly hp	saucer	1	foodways	service
rrw	embossed	hollow	2	foodways	service
rrw	rusticated	cup	1	foodways	service
ww	annular	hollow	23	foodways	service
ww	black tp	cup	1	foodways	service
ww	black tp	plate	2	foodways	service
ww	blue	plate/platt	1	foodways	service
ww	blue hp	cup	2	foodways	service
ww	blue hp	saucer	7	foodways	service
ww	blue shell	plate/platt	11	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	cup	18	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	hollow	6	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	plate/platt	44	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	saucer	8	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	servng dis	5	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	unid	21	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	cup	2	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	hollow	1	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	plate/platt	7	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	saucer	3	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	unid	2	foodways	service
ww	flow blue	bowl	1	foodways	service
ww	green tp	cup	3	foodways	service
ww	green tp	plate	3	foodways	service
ww	green tp	saucer	1	foodways	service
ww	green tp	unid	3	foodways	service
ww	none	cup	5	foodways	service
ww	none	hollow	14	foodways	service
ww	none	pitcher	3	foodways	service
ww	none	plate/platt	60	foodways	service
ww	none	saucer	9	foodways	service
ww	none	servng dis	1	foodways	service
ww	none	unid	138	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	cup	19	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	hollow	1	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	saucer	17	foodways	service
ww	red shell	plate	2	foodways	service
ww	red tp	cup	7	foodways	service
ww	red tp	hollow	3	foodways	service
ww	red tp	plate/platt	7	foodways	service
ww	red tp	unid	6	foodways	service
ww	spatter	hollow	1	foodways	service
ww	flow blue	plate	1	foodways	service

ware	dec	vessel	n	cate	subcat
yw	none	hollow	1	foodways	service
rw	none	crook	1	foodways	storage
rw	none	hollow	80	foodways	storage
sw	alkaline	hollow	1	foodways	storage
sw	salt	crook	3	foodways	storage
sw	salt	hollow	53	foodways	storage
sw	slip	hollow	56	foodways	storage
sw	unid glaze	hollow	4	foodways	storage
util	unid	hollow	1	foodways	storage

Appendix 8
 Container Glass Foodways Artifacts from the
 South Slave House

vessel	color	ves.part	n	category	subcat
goblet	leaded	base	1	foodways	service
hollow	leaded	body	122	foodways	service
tumbler	leaded	base	1	foodways	service
tumbler/go	leaded	rim	15	foodways	service
spirit	aqua	body	3	foodways	storage
bottle	aqua	neck	1	foodways	storage
spirit	dk olive	neck	6	foodways	storage
spirit	dk olive	bases	11	foodways	storage
spirit	lt olive	base	5	foodways	storage
spirit	aqua	body	17	foodways	storage

Appendix 9
 Additional Foodways Artifacts from the
 South Slave House

object	n	category	subcategory
iron kitchen utensil	9	foodways	preparation
metal ladle bowl	1	foodways	preparation
metal pot handle	3	foodways	preparation
gun flint	1	foodways	procurement
minnie ball	1	foodways	procurement
iron 2 tine fork	1	foodways	service
iron knife blades	3	foodways	service
metal & shell handle	1	foodways	service
metal salt shaker	1	foodways	service
silver-plated spoon	2	foodways	service
tin can	30	foodways	storage

Appendix 10
Ceramic Foodways Artifacts from the
Central Slave House

ware	dec	vessel	n	cat	subcat
cane	embossed	pitcher	1	foodways	service
cw	mocha	bowl	3	foodways	service
cw	none	plate	4	foodways	service
cw	none	saucer	1	foodways	service
is	embossed	cup	3	foodways	service
is	none	cup	2	foodways	service
is	tp	cup	1	foodways	service
is	embossed	hollow	2	foodways	service
is	flow blue	hollow	10	foodways	service
is	spatter	hollow	3	foodways	service
is	flow blue	lg serving	1	foodways	service
is	none	lg serving	1	foodways	service
is	embossed	pitcher	3	foodways	service
is	blue shell	plate	3	foodways	service
is	flow blue	plate	1	foodways	service
is	none	plate/platt	31	foodways	service
is	embossed	saucer	6	foodways	service
is	none	saucer	4	foodways	service
is	flow blue	unid	2	foodways	service
is	spatter	unid	1	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	bowl	2	foodways	service
porc	canton	cup	1	foodways	service
porc	none	cup	1	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	cup	4	foodways	service
porc	blue under	flat	2	foodways	service
porc	none	flat	4	foodways	service
porc	embossed	hollow	1	foodways	service
porc	none	hollow	1	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	hollow	4	foodways	service
porc	canton	plate/platt	25	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	plate/platt	4	foodways	service
porc	canton	saucer	1	foodways	service
porc	none	saucer	1	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	saucer	15	foodways	service
porc	canton	serving dis	1	foodways	service
porc	blue under	unid	3	foodways	service
porc	canton	unid	1	foodways	service
porc	canton	unid	6	foodways	service
porc	none	unid	3	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	unid	1	foodways	service
pw	mocha	bowl	3	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	cup	3	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	cup	5	foodways	service
pw	none	cup	1	foodways	service
pw	poly hp	cup	4	foodways	service
pw	none	cup/saucer	1	foodways	service
pw	blue	flat	1	foodways	service
pw	annular	hollow	5	foodways	service
pw	blue	hollow	1	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	hollow	1	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	hollow	7	foodways	service
pw	embossed	hollow	2	foodways	service
pw	overglaze	hollow	1	foodways	service
pw	poly hp	hollow	2	foodways	service
pw	none	mug	2	foodways	service
pw	none	pitcher	1	foodways	service

ware	dec	vessel	n	cat	subcat
pw	blue shell	plate	1	foodways	service
pw	green shel	plate	5	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	plate/platt	16	foodways	service
pw	none	plate/platt	18	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	saucer	2	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	saucer	5	foodways	service
pw	none	saucer	4	foodways	service
pw	poly hp	saucer	2	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	serving bow	1	foodways	service
pw	blue	unid	1	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	unid	13	foodways	service
ref	blue	cup	1	foodways	service
ref	blue hp	cup	2	foodways	service
ref	none	cup	5	foodways	service
ref	poly hp	cup	2	foodways	service
ref	blue	flat	4	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	flat	2	foodways	service
ref	none	flat	33	foodways	service
ref	annular	hollow	5	foodways	service
ref	blue hp	hollow	3	foodways	service
ref	blue shell	hollow	1	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	hollow	5	foodways	service
ref	mocha	hollow	1	foodways	service
ref	none	hollow	14	foodways	service
ref	poly hp	hollow	3	foodways	service
ref	purple tp	hollow	1	foodways	service
ref	blue edge	plate	1	foodways	service
ref	blue shell	plate	8	foodways	service
ref	blue	saucer	1	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	saucer	1	foodways	service
ref	none	saucer	8	foodways	service
ref	poly hp	saucer	2	foodways	service
ref	blue	unid	11	foodways	service
ref	blue hp	unid	5	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	unid	23	foodways	service
ref	none	unid	76	foodways	service
ref	poly hp	unid	1	foodways	service
ref	tp	unid	2	foodways	service
rrw	embossed	cup	6	foodways	service
rrw	embossed	hollow	1	foodways	service
sw	none	hollow	4	foodways	service
sw	Westerwald	mug	2	foodways	service
ww	blue	cup	1	foodways	service
ww	blue hp	cup	1	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	cup	3	foodways	service
ww	flow blue	cup	2	foodways	service
ww	green tp	cup	3	foodways	service
ww	none	cup	3	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	cup	7	foodways	service
ww	purple tp	cup	6	foodways	service
ww	red tp	cup	1	foodways	service
ww	blue	flat	2	foodways	service
ww	green tp	flat	1	foodways	service
ww	red tp	flat	10	foodways	service
ww	annular	hollow	17	foodways	service
ww	black tp	hollow	1	foodways	service

ware	dec	vessel	n	cat	subcat
ww	blue	hollow	1	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	hollow	17	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	hollow	2	foodways	service
ww	flow blue	hollow	3	foodways	service
ww	mocha	hollow	2	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	hollow	9	foodways	service
ww	purple tp	hollow	5	foodways	service
ww	red tp	hollow	6	foodways	service
ww	spatter	hollow	2	foodways	service
ww	dendritic	pitcher	1	foodways	service
ww	black tp	plate	7	foodways	service
ww	blue edge	plate	8	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	plate	2	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	plate	15	foodways	service
ww	red & brow	plate	2	foodways	service
ww	red tp & c	plate	1	foodways	service
ww	red whell	plate	20	foodways	service
ww	blue shell	plate/platt	27	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	plate/platt	23	foodways	service
ww	brown tp &	plate/platt	1	foodways	service
ww	none	plate/platt	131	foodways	service
ww	purple tp	plate/platt	3	foodways	service
ww	blue	saucer	1	foodways	service
ww	blue hp	saucer	2	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	saucer	6	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	saucer	3	foodways	service
ww	flow blue	saucer	2	foodways	service
ww	none	saucer	19	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	saucer	20	foodways	service
ww	purple tp	saucer	3	foodways	service
ww	blue shell	serving	3	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	serving dis	2	foodways	service
ww	black tp	unid	1	foodways	service
ww	blue	unid	4	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	unid	14	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	unid	3	foodways	service
ww	embossed	unid	1	foodways	service
ww	flow blue	unid	1	foodways	service
ww	green tp	unid	1	foodways	service
ww	none	unid	351	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	unid	4	foodways	service
ww	purple tp	unid	9	foodways	service
ww	red tp	unid	4	foodways	service
yw	rockingham	hollow	8	foodways	service
rw	brown/brow	bottle	1	foodways	storage
rw	brown/gone	crock	1	foodways	storage
rw	brown/opaq	crock	1	foodways	storage
rw	clear/opaq	crock	2	foodways	storage
rw	green/gree	crock	2	foodways	storage
rw	opaque/opa	crock	2	foodways	storage
rw	brown/opaq	hollow	1	foodways	storage
rw	brown/opaq	hollow	6	foodways	storage
rw	clear in	hollow	1	foodways	storage
rw	clear/clea	hollow	2	foodways	storage
rw	clear/gone	hollow	18	foodways	storage
rw	clear/opaq	hollow	18	foodways	storage

ware	dec	vessel	n	cat	subcat
rw	clear/opaq	hollow	2	foodways	storage
rw	gone/clear	hollow	1	foodways	storage
rw	gone/opaqu	hollow	22	foodways	storage
rw	green/gree	hollow	2	foodways	storage
rw	green/opaq	hollow	1	foodways	storage
rw	opaque/opa	hollow	17	foodways	storage
rw	opaque/opa	hollow	2	foodways	storage
rw	clear/clea	pitcher	1	foodways	storage
sw	salt/salt	bottle	1	foodways	storage
sw	brown slip	crock	2	foodways	storage
sw	ex grey sa	crock	2	foodways	storage
sw	salt/slat	crock	2	foodways	storage
sw	slip/salt	crock	4	foodways	storage
sw	unid	crock	1	foodways	storage
sw	albany sli	hollow	2	foodways	storage
sw	British br	hollow	2	foodways	storage
sw	brown slip	hollow	1	foodways	storage
sw	brown slip	hollow	40	foodways	storage
sw	ex brown s	hollow	12	foodways	storage
sw	ex grey sa	hollow	2	foodways	storage
sw	ex salt	hollow	68	foodways	storage
sw	ext slip s	hollow	1	foodways	storage
sw	in slip	hollow	5	foodways	storage
sw	salt/salt	hollow	7	foodways	storage
sw	slip/salt	hollow	38	foodways	storage
sw	slip/salt	hollow	2	foodways	storage
sw	unid	hollow	7	foodways	storage
sw	unid	hollow	3	foodways	storage
sw	ex grey sa	jug	1	foodways	storage
sw	grey salt	pitcher	1	foodways	storage

Appendix 11
 Container Glass Foodways Artifacts from the
 Central Slave House

vessel	color	ves.part	n	category	suocat
bowl	lt green	rim	1	foodways	service
decanter	clear	body/rim	1	foodways	service
decanter	leaded	body/rim	2	foodways	service
hollow	leaded	body	48	foodways	service
hollow	pink depre	body	1	foodways	service
pitcher	amethyst	handle, bo	3	foodways	service
tumbler	amethyst	base	5	foodways	service
tumbler/goblet	clear	rim	5	foodways	service
tumbler/goblet	leaded	rim	3	foodways	service
bottle	amethyst	complete	1	foodways	storage
bottle	clear	neck	4	foodways	storage
spirit	dk olive	neck	19	foodways	storage
spirit	dk olive	base	22	foodways	storage
spirit	lt olive	neck	6	foodways	storage
spirit	lt olive	base	3	foodways	storage
spirit, flask	lt green	body	1	foodways	storage
jar	lt green	rim	1	foodways	storage

Appendix 12
 Additional Foodways Artifacts from the
 Central Slave House

object	n	category	subcategory
iron pot & handle	8	foodways	preparation
sieve	1	foodways	preparation
spoon bowl	1	foodways	preparation
gun part	1	foodways	procurement
shells/projectiles	4	foodways	procurement
bone handle	2	foodways	service
knife blade	1	foodways	service
pewter spoon	2	foodways	service
spoon handle	1	foodways	service
spoon handle	1	foodways	service
teaspoon, silver	1	foodways	service
bucket part	4	foodways	storage
stoneware bottle	1	foodways	storage

Appendix 13
Ceramic Foodways Artifacts from the
North Slave House

ware	dec	vessel	n	cat	subcat
sw	sponge, br	hollow	2	foodways	preparation
cw	mocha	hollow	4	foodways	service
cw	none	plate	3	foodways	service
is	none	cup	5	foodways	service
is	none	hollow	7	foodways	service
is	none	plate/platt	23	foodways	service
is	none	saucer	1	foodways	service
porc	blue under	plate	1	foodways	service
porc	blue under	unid	1	foodways	service
porc	canton	plate	19	foodways	service
porc	embossed	cup	10	foodways	service
porc	embossed	hollow	1	foodways	service
porc	embossed	saucer	1	foodways	service
porc	gilt	cup	2	foodways	service
porc	gilt	hollow	3	foodways	service
porc	green glaz	cup	1	foodways	service
porc	hotel ware	plate	9	foodways	service
porc	luster	hollow	1	foodways	service
porc	luster	saucer	3	foodways	service
porc	none	bowl	1	foodways	service
porc	none	cup	10	foodways	service
porc	none	hollow	6	foodways	service
porc	none	plate/platt	37	foodways	service
porc	none	saucer	22	foodways	service
porc	none	unid	13	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	flat	5	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	hollow	3	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	hollow	5	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	plate/platt	1	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	punch bowl	2	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	saucer	8	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	serving dis	1	foodways	service
porc	overglaze	unid	2	foodways	service
pw	blue	flat	1	foodways	service
pw	blue	unid	1	foodways	service
pw	blue edge	plate/platt	2	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	cup	2	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	hollow	4	foodways	service
pw	blue hp	saucer	1	foodways	service
pw	blue shell	plate/platt	8	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	cup	1	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	hollow	3	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	plate/platt	18	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	saucer	3	foodways	service
pw	blue tp	unid	5	foodways	service
pw	embossed	unid	2	foodways	service
pw	green shel	plate	1	foodways	service
pw	luster	hollow	1	foodways	service
pw	mocha	bowl	11	foodways	service
pw	mocha	hollow	2	foodways	service
pw	none	cup	1	foodways	service
pw	none	hollow	4	foodways	service
pw	none	pepper pot	3	foodways	service
pw	none	plate	36	foodways	service
pw	none	saucer	1	foodways	service
pw	none	unid	21	foodways	service

ware	dec	vessel	n	cat	subcat
pw	poly hp	hollow	5	foodways	service
ref	banded	hollow	1	foodways	service
ref	blue	hollow	1	foodways	service
ref	blue	plate	3	foodways	service
ref	blue	saucer	2	foodways	service
ref	blue	unid	4	foodways	service
ref	blue hp	cup	1	foodways	service
ref	blue hp	saucer	1	foodways	service
ref	blue hp	unid	1	foodways	service
ref	blue shell	plate	4	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	bowl	1	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	plate	5	foodways	service
ref	blue tp	unid	10	foodways	service
ref	mccha	hollow	1	foodways	service
ref	none	plate/platt	6	foodways	service
ref	none	salt cellar	1	foodways	service
ref	none	saucer	1	foodways	service
ref	none	unid	12	foodways	service
ref	overglaze	unid	1	foodways	service
ref	poly hp	hollow	2	foodways	service
ref	poly hp	saucer	2	foodways	service
ref	shell	plate	1	foodways	service
ww	black tp	flat	4	foodways	service
ww	blue	plate	5	foodways	service
ww	blue	unid	4	foodways	service
ww	blue edge	plate/platt	9	foodways	service
ww	blue hp	hollow	3	foodways	service
ww	blue hp	saucer	1	foodways	service
ww	blue shell	plate/platt	8	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	cup	4	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	hollow	26	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	plate/platt	100	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	saucer	3	foodways	service
ww	blue tp	unid	12	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	cup	1	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	hollow	2	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	plate	6	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	saucer	1	foodways	service
ww	brown tp	unid	1	foodways	service
ww	brown tp &	plate/platt	18	foodways	service
ww	brown tp &	unid	1	foodways	service
ww	embossed	hollow	8	foodways	service
ww	embossed	plate/platt	9	foodways	service
ww	embossed	saucer	3	foodways	service
ww	flow blue	bowl	1	foodways	service
ww	flow blue	cup	7	foodways	service
ww	flow blue	saucer	1	foodways	service
ww	green	unid	1	foodways	service
ww	green tp	cup	1	foodways	service
ww	green tp	hollow	4	foodways	service
ww	green tp	plate/platt	22	foodways	service
ww	green tp	unid	7	foodways	service
ww	luster	hollow	12	foodways	service
ww	mccha	bowl	2	foodways	service
ww	none	cup	10	foodways	service
ww	none	cup/saucer	3	foodways	service

ware	dec	vessel	n	cat	subcat
ww	none	hollow	18	foodways	service
ww	none	mug	1	foodways	service
ww	none	plate/platt	252	foodways	service
ww	none	saucer	10	foodways	service
ww	overglaze	unid	1	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	cup	42	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	hollow	11	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	saucer	21	foodways	service
ww	poly hp	unid	1	foodways	service
ww	purple tp	hollow	1	foodways	service
ww	red tp	cup	7	foodways	service
ww	red tp	hollow	8	foodways	service
ww	red tp	plate/platt	5	foodways	service
ww	red tp	saucer	2	foodways	service
ww	red tp	unid	10	foodways	service
ww	spatter	bowl	1	foodways	service
ww	yellow & b	cup	1	foodways	service
ww	yellow & b	plate	30	foodways	service
yw	none	flat	19	foodways	service
yw	none	hollow	3	foodways	service
yw	none	pitcher	1	foodways	service
yw	none	unid	12	foodways	service
rw	clear glaz	hollow	50	foodways	storage
sw	albany sli	hollow	38	foodways	storage
sw	albany sli	pitcher	1	foodways	storage
sw	brown slip	crock	9	foodways	storage
sw	brown slip	hollow	27	foodways	storage
sw	brown slip	pitcher	1	foodways	storage
sw	embossed s	hollow	1	foodways	storage
sw	salt glaze	crock	3	foodways	storage
sw	salt glaze	hollow	37	foodways	storage

Appendix 14
 Container Glass Foodways Artifacts from the
 North Slave House

vessel	color	ves. part	n	category	subcategor
unid, burned			48	foodways	service
decanter	leaded	body/neck	1	foodways	service
goblet	clear	stem,base	1	foodways	service
pitcher	leaded	body,rim	7	foodways	service
tumbler/goblet	clear	rim	7	foodways	service
tumbler/goblet	clear, bur	rim	1	foodways	service
tumbler/goblet	leaded	body	39	foodways	service
tumbler/goblet	leaded	rim	5	foodways	service
tumbler/goblet	leaded	base	15	foodways	service
bottle	clear	complete	1	foodways	storage
spirit	aqua	champagne	1	foodways	storage
spirit	dk olive	neck	2	foodways	storage
spirit	dk olive	base	8	foodways	storage
spirit	lt olive	neck	2	foodways	storage
spirit	lt olive	base	3	foodways	storage
spirit	olive	neck	1	foodways	storage
spirit	olive	base	2	foodways	storage
spirit, octagon	aqua	base	1	foodways	storage
spirit, flask	lt green	body	3	foodways	storage

Appendix 15
 Additional Foodways Artifacts from the
 North Slave House

object	n	category	subcat
cook pot frag	25	foodways	preparation
iron hook	1	foodways	preparation
iron pot handle	1	foodways	preparation
lg knife blade	4	foodways	preparation
pot/kettle handle	4	foodways	preparation
spoon bowl	3	foodways	preparation
fish hook	1	foodways	procurement
percussion cap	7	foodways	procurement
shot, shell	6	foodways	procurement
bone handles	3	foodways	service
fork	1	foodways	service
pewter container	1	foodways	service
pewter spoon bowl	1	foodways	service
sm knife blade	2	foodways	service
spoon handle	3	foodways	service
tin can	19	foodways	storage

Appendix 16
Household/Structural Artifacts from the
South Slave House

object	n	category	subcat
brick frag	1	household	architectural
cement	3	household	architectural
mortar	9	household	architectural
plaster	10	household	architectural
spike	1	household	architectural
ceramic drain pipe	6	household	architectural
chandelier crystal	1	household	furnishings
wedge	1	household	furnishings
barrel bands	9	household	furnishings
escutcheon plate	2	household	furnishings
key?	1	household	furnishings
lamp chimney	28	household	furnishings
lamp part	2	household	furnishings
plate glass	3	household	furnishings
stove part	1	household	furnishings
whet stone	3	household	furnishings
furniture tack	2	household	hardware
hinge	4	household	hardware
nuts/bolts	7	household	hardware
screw	6	household	hardware
washer	4	household	hardware

Appendix 17
Household/Structural Artifacts from the
Central Slave House

object	n	category	subcategory
brick frag	11	household	architectural
ceramic drain pipe	4	household	architectural
ceramic tile	1	household	architectural
padlock	4	household	architectural
plaster	2	household	architectural
chandelier crystal	8	household	furnishings
barrel bands	5	household	furnishings
brass spigot	1	household	furnishings
lamp chimney	17	household	furnishings
lamp part	1	household	furnishings
Staffordshire figur	1	household	furnishings
stove leg	2	household	furnishings
whetstone	3	household	furnishings
brass tack	1	household	hardware
iron latch	2	household	hardware
iron pipe	1	household	hardware
nuts/bolts	6	household	hardware
screw	5	household	hardware
unid metal rivet	1	household	hardware

Appendix 18
Household/Structural Artifacts from the
North Slave House

object	n	category	subcategory
brick frag	13	household	architectural
ceramic drain pipe	5	household	architectural
ceramic tile	1	household	architectural
barrel band	10	household	furnishings
ceramic knob	1	household	furnishings
chandelier crystal	1	household	furnishings
escutcheon plate	1	household	furnishings
metal drawer pull	1	household	furnishings
padlock	1	household	furnishings
stove parts	4	household	furnishings
hinge	2	household	hardware
nut/bolt/rivet	6	household	hardware
screw	1	household	hardware
washer	3	household	hardware

Appendix 19
 Labor Artifacts from the South Slave House

object	n	category	subcat
barbed wire	401	labor	agricultural
bridle chain	2	labor	agricultural
bridle part	1	labor	agricultural
bridle ring	3	labor	agricultural
chain	4	labor	agricultural
fence staple	5	labor	agricultural
harness strap holder	2	labor	agricultural
harrow blade	3	labor	agricultural
horseshoe	3	labor	agricultural
iron bit	1	labor	agricultural
iron buckle	3	labor	agricultural
shovel blade	2	labor	agricultural
wagon hitch	1	labor	agricultural
file	1	labor	industrial
unid iron plate	1	labor	industrial
unid iron tool	2	labor	industrial
unid metal tool	1	labor	industrial

Appendix 20
 Labor Artifacts from the Central Slave House

object	n	category	subcategory
bridle ring	2	labor	agricultural
chain, harness?	3	labor	agricultural
fence staple	4	labor	agricultural
hoe	1	labor	agricultural
horseshoe	1	labor	agricultural
iron hook	1	labor	agricultural
iron horse bit	1	labor	agricultural
iron wire	45	labor	agricultural
unid iron buckle	6	labor	agricultural
cog	1	labor	industrial
hammer head, rock	1	labor	industrial

Appendix 21
 Labor Artifacts from the North Slave House

object	n	category	subcategory
fence staple	20	labor	agricultural
fence wire	358	labor	agricultural
harness/bridle	4	labor	agricultural
horseshoe	1	labor	agricultural
rake	1	labor	agricultural
file	1	labor	industrial
machine part	1	labor	industrial

Appendix 22
Ceramic Types and Frequencies from the
South Slave House

id#	ware	decoration	notes	dates	so
1003	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
104	pw	blue hp	1 saucer		3
1084	ww	blue tp	1 serving bowl	1830-1860	3
1118	delft			1620-1770	1
134	ww	green tp		1830-1860	1
1389	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
139	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
1390	ww	poly hp		1830-1860	1
1443	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
1446	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	5
1453	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
1528	ww	purple tp		1830-1860	1
1529	pw	annular		1790-1830	1
164	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1
1652	ww	brown tp		1830-1860	1
1682	pw	blue hp	1739, 1 saucer	1790-1830	7
1697	pw	blue edge		1790-1830	1
1699	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1
1712	pw	blue hp	1 saucer	1790-1830	2
1738	ww	black tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
1741	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
1753	ref	poly hp			1
1788	pw	annular worm	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
1847	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1
1849	ww	green tp		1830-1860	1
1869	ww	brown tp	5897, 4108.88,s	1830-1860	4
1917	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	4
1920	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
1969	pw	blue tp	Enoch Wood & So	1818-1846	1
1970	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	2
1971	pw	blue tp	1 cup	1790-1830	3
1971a	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	1
1971b	ww	brown tp		1830-1860	1
1974	ww	brown tp	London style cu	1830-1850	1
2007	pw	blue hp	London style cu	1810-1830	3
2025	ww?	poly hp	saucer		2
2081	pw	poly hp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
2088	pw?	annular mocha	1 hollow		1
2094	ww	blue shell	1 plate	1830-1850	1
2144	porc	overglaze	1 plate, 1 sauc		1
2174	ref	blue tp	Hanshall & Co.		1
2178	porc	overglaze			1
2182	ww	annular	1 hollow		1
2183	pw	green shell	1 plate	1790-1830	2
2199	ref	annular	1 hollow		1
2280	ww	brown tp			1
2309	pw	blue hp		1790-1830	1
2315	ww	blue tp	6692.88	1830-1860	1
2449	pw	blue tp	1 bowl	1790-1830	3
2454	ww	annular, emboss	1 bowl	1830-1860	2
2498	delft	blue enamel		1620-1770	2
2498a	iron	flow blue	1 plate	1840-1860	1
2551	ww	brown tp		1830-1850	1
2554	ww	blue tp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
2592	porc	overglaze			1
2609	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	2

id#	ware	decoration	notes	dates	so
2654	ww	blue tp	1 cup (saucer)	1830-1860	2
2668	pw	blue tp	1 teapot	1790-1830	13
2722	pw	annular	1 bowl	1790-1830	1
277	ww	poly hp		1830-1860	1
283	porc	Canton	various	1800-1830	28
2853	pw	blue tp	1 hollow	1790-1830	2
2947	pw	blue tp	1 cup	1790-1830	1
2948	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	1
2949	pw	blue tp	1 tureen?	1790-1830	2
2951	pw	blue hp	1 saucer	1790-1830	5
3018	pw	blue tp	1 tureen?	1790-1830	1
3078	ww	red shell	1 plate	1830-1860	3
3118	pw	blue hp	1 saucer	1790-1830	2
3122	pw	blue tp	Tams & Co., 1 p	1790-1830	1
3123	pw	blue tp	willow, plate &	1790-1830	2
3125	ww	annular	1 bowl		1
3159	ww	red tp	in green 3475,	1830-1860	1
3159a	ww	red tp		1830-1860	1
3176	ww	blue tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
32	ww	purple tp		1830-1860	1
3203	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	1
3295	porc	overglaze			1
3328	ww	red tp	London style cu	1830-1850	1
333	ww	brown tp		1830-1860	1
3374	ww	mocha, worm	1 bowl	1830-1860	16
3377	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	3
340	pw	blue tp	1 flat	1790-1830	1
347	ww	poly hp	1484, 1 cup & s	1830-1860	10
3472	ww	blue tp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
3475	ww	green tp	in red 3159, 1	1830-1860	2
3568	ww	red tp	1 cup	1830-1860	2
3572	ww?	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	2
3572a	ww?	blue tp	1 flat		2
3573	ww	blue tp	flat & hollow	1830-1860	2
3578	ref r	rusticated	1 cup		1
3579	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	1
3583	ww	brown tp, embos	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
3585a	ww	brown tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
3585b	ww	brown tp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
3586	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
3588	pw	blue tp	1 plate, 1 sauc	1790-1830	8
3589	porc	overglaze			1
3636	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	1
3638	pw	blue tp	backmark, 1 pla	1790-1830	1
3673	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1
3685	ww	brown tp	backmark, flat	1830-1860	1
3693a	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
3713	ww	annular	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
3722	porc	overglaze			2
3737	ww	red tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
3771	ww	mocha, worm	1 bowl	1830-1860	1
3772	porc	overglaze			4
3773	pw	blue tp	1 serving bowl	1790-1830	2
3774	ww	spatter	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
3775	ww	blue tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
3789	ww	blue tp	1 cup	1830-1860	8

id#	ware	decoration	notes	dates	so
3847	ww	blue tp	1 vessel	1830-1860	11
3933	ww	blue tp	1 serving bowl	1830-1860	1
3960a	ww		creamer?		1
3966	ww	red tp	London style cu	1830-1850	1
3996	ww	blue tp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
4005	pw	blue tp	1 saucer (cup&sa	1790-1830	2
4038	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
4040	ww	red tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
4041	ww	red tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
4056	ww	blue tp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
4075	porc	overglaze			2
4090	ref r	embossed	1 cup		2
4161	ww	green tp		1830-1860	1
4242	ww	red tp	1 plate	1830-1860	2
4269	pw	annular	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
4272	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
4334	porc	overglaze			1
4485	ww	flow blue		1840-1860	3
4487	ww	embossed, gilt	1 lg serving bo		8
4516	ww	blue tp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
4517	pw	blue tp	1 cup	1790-1830	1
4550	ww	red tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
459	ww	brown tp		1830-1860	1
460	pw	green shell	1 plate	1790-1830	1
4604	pw	blue tp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
4605	pw	blue tp	Henshall & Co.,	1790-1830	1
4611	pw	poly hp	1 cup	1790-1830	1
4651	ref	blue tp			1
4691	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	7
4704	ww	blue tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
4748	ww	red tp		1830-1860	1
475	cw	annular		1760-1820	6
4750	cw	annular	1 hollow	1760-1820	1
4775	pw	blue hp	1 saucer	1790-1830	11
4780	pw	blue edge	1 plate	1790-1830	1
4792	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
481	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
4920	ww?	blue tp	1 hollow		1
5083	pw?	poly hp	1 saucer		1
5094	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	2
5245	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
529	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
530	ww	green tp		1830-1860	1
5369	ww	red tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
5467	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	1
5468	ww	black tp	backmark, 1 fla	1830-1860	1
5534	pw	poly hp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
5537	pw	annular, emboss	1 hollow	1790-1830	3
5538	ref	annular embosse			1
5551	pw	blue tp	Henshall & Co.,	1790-1830	1
5552	pw	blue hp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
5558	pw	blue hp	1 saucer	1790-1830	1
5561	pw	mocha, dendriti	1 pitcher	1790-1830	1
5811	pw	blue tp	1 cup	1790-1830	1
5812	ww	blue tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
5815	ww	embossed	1 plate		6

id#	ware	decoration	notes	dates	so
5896	ww	blue tp	1 saucer	1830-1860	2
594	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1
5974	ww	annular	1 hollow		1
5995	ww	green tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
6089	ww	brown tp	1 sm plate?	1830-1860	1
6156	ww	black tp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
624	ww	blue hp		1830-1860	1
6263	pw	blue hp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
6364	ww	blue hp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
654	ww	green tp	1 cup	1830-1860	2
6559	pw	blue hp	1 saucer	1790-1830	1
657	pw	annular	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
6602	pw	blue edge	rope and tassel	1790-1830	8
701	pw	blue shell		1795-1830	1
729	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
732	ww	brown tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
77	ww	poly hp	king's rose, 19	1830-1860	2
780	ww	poly hp	cup & saucer	1830-1850	12
80	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	1
801	pw	blue tp	Bristol or John	1790-1830	13
85	pw	poly hp	London style cu	1810-1830	28
881	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
884	ww	blue tp	1848, 1862	1830-1860	3
884	ww	blue shell	1 plate	1830-1845	1
886	ww	blue tp	William Ridgway	1830-1834	1
979	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	6
980	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
981	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	2
982	pw	blue tp	1 teapot?	1790-1830	2
992	pw	blue shell	1 plate	1795-1840	1
996	ref r	embossed	1 cup		1

Appendix 23
Ceramic Types and Frequencies from the
Central Slave House

id#	ware	decoration	notes	dates	ce
1462.88	ww	brown tp	1 saucer		1
1513.88	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	2
1537.88	ww	black tp	1 flat	1830-1860	1
1539.88	pw	blue tp	willow	1790-1830	1
1596.88	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
1647.88	ww	annular	1 bowl	1830-1860	9
1652.88	ww	red tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
1674.88	ref	blue edge	1 plate		1
1732.88	ww	blue edge	1 plate/plat	1830-1860	4
1869	ww	brown tp	4108.88	1830-1860	
1927.88	pw	blue hp	1 saucer	1790-1830	1
1929.88	iron	flow blue	1 saucer	1840-1860	1
1931.88	pw	blue tp	1 cup	1790-1830	1
1969.88	pw	blue hp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
1971	pw	blue tp	4944.88		
2077.88	iron	blue tp	1 cup		1
2086.88	ww	poly hp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
2125.88	porc	overglaze	1 cup		1
2127.88	iron	embossed	1 pitcher	1840-1860	3
2144	porc	overglaze	1604.88		
2155.88	pw	blue tp			
2232.88	pw	poly hp	1 saucer	1790-1830	1
2282.88	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	4
2603.88	ww	poly hp	1 cup & sauc	1830-1860	5
2605.88	pw	blue tp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
2608.88	ww	black tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
2614.88	iron	stick spatte	1 hollow	1850-1900	4
2653.88	ww	poly hp	1 London sty	1830-1850	1
2683.88	ref	poly hp	1 saucer		1
2684.88	ww	poly hp	1 cup	1830-1860	2
2696.88	ww	poly hp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
2699.88	ww	flow blue		1840-1860	1
2741.88	ww	blue tp	1 serving di	1830-1860	1
2743.88	ww	purple tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
2747.88	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
2750.88	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
2752.88	ww	red tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
2762.88	porc	overglaze	1 saucer		1
2885.88	ww	poly hp	1 hollow	1830-1860	4
2893.88	iron	embossed	1 cup	1840-1860	1
2978.88	ref	poly hp	1 hollow		1
2981.88	ww	blue edge	1 plate	1830-1860	1
2983.88	ww	red and brow	1 plate	1830-1860	1
2984.88	ref r	copper luste	1 cup	1790+	5
3090.88	iron	embossed	Gothic, cup	1840-1860	2
3097.88	pw	blue hp	1 saucer	1790-1830	1
3185.88	ww	mocha, worm	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
3188.88	ww	blue tp	red 1509.89,	1830-1860	1
3191.88	ref	red tp luste	1 hollow		1
3194.88	ww	mocha, dendr	pitcher?	1830-1860	1
3212.88	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	1
3298.88	pw	poly hp	1 cup & sauc	1790-1830	1
3376.88	ww	green tp	1 flat	1830-1860	1
3660.88	porc	black underg	flat	1850-1900	1
3720.88	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	1
3835.88	ww	mocha, worm	1 hollow	1830-1860	1

id#	ware	decoration	notes	dates	ce
4064.88	ww	blue edge, d	1 serving di	1830-1860	4
4108.88	ww	brown tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
4339.88	pw	blue tp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
4345.88	ww	red tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
4352.88	ww	purple tp		1830-1860	1
4421.88	pw	blue hp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
4426.88	ww	blue tp	1 serving	1830-1860	1
4428.88	iron	flow blue	1 hollow	1840-1860	1
4506.88	ww	black tp	1 flat	1830-1860	1
4511.88	iron	flow blue	1 lg hollow	1840-1860	4
4575.88	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	1
4632.88	ww	brown tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
4686.88	ww	brown tp, ov	feather, 228	1830-1860	1
4756.88	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	1
4812.88	ww	blue tp, emb	1 hollow	1830-1860	2
4815.88	ww	purple tp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
4944.88	pw	blue tp	1 hollow, 197	1790-1830	1
4986.88	ww	spatter	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
5252.88	porc	embossed, bl	1 hollow		1
5277.88	ref	poly hp	1 cup		1
5348.88	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	1
5511.88	ww	blue tp	Enoch Wood,	1830-1846	4
5568.88	ww	black tp	backmark, 1	1830-1860	1
5598.88	ww	red tp	1 cup & sauc	1830-1860	11
5683.88	ref	blue hp	1 hollow		1
5692.88	ww	blue tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	3
5698.88	ww	red tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
5699.88	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	1
5910.88	ww	poly hp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
6000.88	ww	poly hp			1
6006.88	ww	black tp		1830-1860	1
6020.88	ww	blue tp	1 flat		1
6061.88	ww	red tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
6063.88	ref	blue tp	1 saucer		1
6078.88	pw	blue tp	London style	1810-1830	2
6196.88	ww	blue tp	backmark, pla		1
6206.88	ww	blue edge	1 plate	1830-1860	1
6207.88	porc	overglaze	1 bowl, Chin		1
6286.88	ww	poly hp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
6289.88	ww	blue tp	1 flat	1830-1860	1
6290.88	ww	blue tp	1 flat	1830-1860	1
6314.88	pw	annular, emb	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
6345.88	ww	blue tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
6382.88	ww	blue tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
6401.88	ww	brown tp	saucer?	1830-1860	1
6501.88	ww	blue tp	1 flat	1830-1860	1
6743.88	cw	annular		1760-1820	1
6769.88	ww	black tp		1830-1860	1
6780.88	pw	annular		1790-1830	1
6823.88	ww	poly hp		1830-1860	1
6825.88	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1
6826.88	ww	poly hp		1830-1860	1
6827.88	pw	poly hp		1790-1830	1
6850.88	ww	flow blue		1840-1860	1
6945.88	porc	overglaze			1
6947.88	pw	mocha, worm	1 hollow	1790-1830	1

id#	ware	decoration	notes	dates	ca
6349.88	ww	poly hp		1830-1860	1
6980.88	ww	red tp		1830-1860	1
6999.88	ww	red tp		1830-1860	1
7002.88	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1
7060.88	pw	blue hp, emb		1790-1830	1
7061.88	porc	overglaze			1
7063.88	porc	overglaze			1
7061.88	porc	overglaze			1
7062.88	ww	red tp		1830-1860	1
7084.88	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1
7085.88	porc	overglaze			1
7186.88	ww	red tp, over			1
7385.88	cw	mocha	1 hollow	1760-1820	1
6692.88	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	
1788	pw	annular	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
2498a	iron	flow blue	1 plate	1840-1860	1
283	porc	Canton	varicus	1800-1830	29
2853	pw	blue tp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
3078	ww	red shell	1 plate	1830-1860	20
32	ww	purple tp		1830-1860	1
3203	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	2
340	pw	blue tp	1 flat	1790-1830	3
347	ww	poly hp		1830-1860	1
3578	ref r	rusticated	1 cup		1
3996	ww	blue tp	1 cup	1830-1860	1
4005	pw	blue tp	cup & saucer	1790-1830	5
4040	ww	red tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
4242	ww	red tp	1 plate	1830-1860	3
4550	ww	red tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
4605	pw	blue tp	Henshall & C	1790-1830	1
4704	ww	blue tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	3
4792	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	2
4920	ww?	blue tp	1 hollow		2
5534	pw	poly hp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
654	ww	green tp	1 cup	1830-1860	4
801	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
85	pw	poly hp		1810-1830	2
6692.88	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1

Appendix 24
Ceramic Types and Frequencies from the
North Slave House

id#	ware	decoration	notes	date	no
1006.89	ww	embossed	1 flat		6
1078.89	ww	blue tp	1 flat	1830-1860	2
1121.89	porc	overglaze	1 flat		2
1124.89	ww	red tp	1 lid handle	1830-1860	6
1167.89	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	7
124.89	ww	blue tp	1 plate/plat	1830-1860	17
1257.89	pw	blue tp	willow, 1 sm	1790-1830	4
126.89	porc	overglaze lu	1 saucer		9
127.89	ww	brown and ye	1 plate, 1 c	1850-1870	23
128.89	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	15
1344.89	ww	blue edge	1 plate/plat	1850-1900	8
1346.89	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	7
1352.89	porc	overglaze	1 cup		1
1355.89	ww	luster	1 hollow	?	12
136.89	ww	brown tp	backmark, G1	1914-1917	1
1376.89	ww	green tp	1 hollow	1830-1900	2
1382.89	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	5
1392.89	ww	poly hp	1 London sty	1830-1850	20
14.89	ww	green tp	1 plate	1850-1870	21
1462.89	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1860-1900	6
1463.89	ww	blue tp	1 flat	1830-1900	1
1503.89	ww	poly hp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
1506a.8	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	3
1506b.8	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	5
1508.89	cw	mocha, worm	1 bowl	1760-1820	2
1593.89	pw	blue tp	1 plate	1790-1830	1
1627.89	ww	poly hp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
1717.89	ww	red tp	1 cup		1
1767.89	ww	brown tp, em	1 plate	1830-1860	1
1784.89	pw	blue hp	1 London sty	1810-1830	2
1787.89	ref	blue tp		1820-1840	1
1852.89	ww	blue tp	1 flat	1830-1860	1
1892.89	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
1895.89	ww	blue tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	4
1898.89	ww	blue tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	10
1909.89	ww	brown tp	1 plate/plat	1880-1900	2
1912.89	pw	blue tp	Enoch Wood &	1818-1830	1
1960.89	ww	poly hp	1 cup/hollow	1830-1860	2
2062.89	pw	poly hp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
212.89	pw	poly hp	1 hollow	1790-1830	1
2197.89	ww	poly hp	2 cups	1830-1860	11
221.89	ww	poly hp	1 cup, 1 sau	1830-1850	14
2216.89	ww	purple tp	1 hollow	1830-1860	2
2217.89	ww	poly hp	1 hollow	1830-1900	1
2218.89	ww	blue tp	1 flat	1830-1860	3
2219.89	ww	green tp	1 flat	?	1
2222.89	ww	red tp	1 flat	1830-1860	2
2222a.8	ww	red tp	1 flat	1860-1900	2
2224.89	ww	embossed	1 saucer		2
224.89	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	1
2314.89	porc	overglaze	1 punch bowl		4
234.89	porc	overglaze	Chinese expo		1
242.89	ww	red tp	1 bowl	1830-1860	1
2607.89	ww	overglaze			1
2694.89	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	3
2757.89	pw	blue edge	1 plate/plat	1790-1830	2

id#	ware	decoration	notes	date	no
2764.89	porc	green tp, em	1 cup	1860-1900	1
2781.89	ref	blue tp	1 plate	1820-1840	1
2782.89	ref	blue tp	1 bowl	1820-1840	1
2784.89	sw	blue sponge		1860-1900	2
2883.89	pw	mocha, worm	1 bowl	1790-1830	2
2926.89	ww	blue tp			1
299.89	ww	red tp	blue 3188.88	1830-1860	6
2992.89	ref	blue tp	1 plate	1820-1840	1
3051.89	ww	brown tp	1 hollow	1860-1900	1
3076.89	pw	mocha, worm	1 bowl	1790-1830	11
319.89	porc	Trenton hote	2 plates	1859-1891	9
3190.89	ww	green tp	1 hollow	1870-1900	1
3282.89	porc	poly hp	1 saucer	late	1
3320.89	ww	poly hp	1 saucer	1830-1860	1
3487.89	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1830-1860	1
355.89	porc	overglaze, e	1 cup		2
3712.89	ww	brown tp		1830-1850	1
428.89	ww	poly hp	1 hollow	1830-1860	1
429.89	ww	blue spatter	1 bowl	1830-1860	1
445.89	ww	flow blue	1 cup, 1 sau	1840-1860	3
447.89	ww	brown tp	1 saucer, 1	1860-1900	2
4686.88	ww	brown tp ove	feather, 228	1850-1870	1
568.89	porc	embossed	1 Present mu	1850-1900	5
590.89	ww	brown tp		1860-1900	1
596.89	pw	blue tp	1 flat	1790-1830	1
597.89	iron	black tp, hp			
653.89	ww	flow blue	1 cup	1840-1860	1
668.89	ww	flow blue	1 cup	1840-1860	3
760.89	pw	blue tp	1 flat	1790-1830	1
779.89	ww	mocha	1 bowl	1830-1890	1
783.89	ww	blue tp	1 plate	1860-1900	2
800.89	ww	blue tp	1 flat	1830-1860	2
851.89	ref		1 salt cella		1
854.89	ww	blue tp	1 bowl	1830-1860	8
899.89	porc	embossed	Dionysius, 1		1
900.89	ref	poly hp	1 hollow		1
925.89	ww	blue tp	1 cup	1860-1900	1
926.89	ww	blue tp	1 flat	1830-1900	2
928.89	iron		black tp bac		1
933.89	ww	green tp		1830-1860	1
937.89	ww	embossed	1 hollow		6
1970	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1
1971	pw	blue tp	1 cup	1790-1830	1
2315	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	9
2554	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	3
2654	ww	blue tp	1 saucer	1830-1860	3
283	porc	Canton		1800-1830	19
340	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	2
801	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
979	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	3
1537.88	ww	black tp		1830-1860	1
1732.88	ww	blue edge		1830-1860	1
4575.88	pw	blue tp		1790-1830	1
4686.88	ww	brown tp		1830-1860	8
7063.88	porc	overglaze			1
6692.88	ww	blue tp		1830-1860	1

VITA

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